

**Thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in English Literature at
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MOSES WALL

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A B S T R A C T

E. Helen Setright, M.A.:

MOSES WALL

My purpose has been to discover and present all that is known of Moses Wall (1606?-1664+). In approximately 62,000 words this study addresses the three main aspects of his work.

1 HOUSE OF LORDS DEPOSITIONS

These documents were officially destroyed but secretly copied; I found and examined them in the House of Lords archive. I present detailed considerations of the material and the implications of Moses Wall's close involvement with Sir Harry Vane, as messenger and as spy for the Independents.

2 TRANSLATION OF *SPES ISRAELIS*

As a scholar and millennial idealist Moses Wall was the anonymous translator for the first English edition of *Spes Israelis* by the Dutch Rabbi Menasseh ben Israel. Responding to MP Edward Spencer's reply, the second edition contained a cogent and well-argued *Discourse* by Wall, establishing a rational and religious case for readmitting the Jews as citizens of England. I establish the context and consequences of this work.

3 CORRESPONDENCE with SAMUEL HARTLIB and JOHN MILTON

Fourteen letters written by Moses Wall between 1652 and 1660 are available from the Hartlib archive. They offer political, personal and practical information, with rare insights into daily survival under the Commonwealth. In my work these letters are edited and examined as a body for the first time. Together with supporting detail from other sources I show how these offer a living record of the man Moses Wall and his achievement. I offer the possibility that these letters conveyed more than their immediate meaning.

One single letter from Moses Wall to John Milton survives, well known and discussed by Milton scholars. In the context of other material here presented, this is perceived as a source of inspiration and influence from 1659 to 1980.

PREFACE

The life and work of Moses Wall offer a wonderful opportunity to examine twenty years in the career of a minor but significant character on the fringes of an exceptional period in English history. His story records the experiences and achievements of one who, neither noble nor exceptionally talented, was probably typical of many on the periphery of great events. Retiring as he was during his lifetime, his influence extends far beyond his death through connection with others such as Samuel Hartlib, Sir Henry Vane and John Milton.

The purpose of this thesis is to present all that is known of Moses Wall (1606? - 1664+). It has been possible to assemble a surprising body of information about this man of whom Richard H. Popkin wrote, 'Practically nothing is known about Moses Wall.'¹ This is not a new observation: in 1756 Mr. Hollis, who was desirous of finding out as much of Milton's connections as he could, 'made enquiry after Mr. Wall of Causham'; but as appears, by a note found among Hollis' papers, 'obtained no satisfaction',² and J. Milton French in the 1950s thought Moses Wall might possibly be a Jew 'based on' Wall's *Discourse* on the conversion of the Jews added to Manasseh ben Israel's *The Hope Of Israel*.³ This is certainly not the case, as would have been clear if French had looked further into the introductory note from '*The Translator To The Reader*', where Wall twice refers to 'us Christians.'

¹ H. Mechoulam & G. Mahon. eds. *Menasseh ben Israel*, OUP 1987, p.165.

² Thomas Hollis of Corscombe 1720-1774. *Antiquary*, Hollis Memoirs, F. Blackburn. London 1780. p.63-4.

³ J.M. French. *Life Records of John Milton*, New Jersey 1956, Vol. IV. p.269.

French also confused Moses Wall with a character called 'Heyling' Wall⁴, based on a list he reprinted from G.H.Turnbull's early work on the papers deposited by Lord Delamere at Sheffield.⁵ Since the publication of the Hartlib Papers Project⁶ this can be discounted and Moses Wall can be reinstated as one of those listed among the Commissioners for the 'Act of the Councel of Schooling' together with John Milton.

In Richard Popkin's essay on *The Jewish Indian Theory* published in 1989,⁷ he is described as 'the wild-eyed millenarian Moses Wall', epithets entirely unsuitable for a man who will be seen below to be scholarly, sceptical and rational. This inappropriate description borrowed from Cecil Roth's visualisation of the traveller Montezinos in his biography of Manasseh ben Israel,⁸ does however bear some relation to Wall, since it was Wall who translated the learned Rabbi's work responding to Montezinos' story, into English.

Moses Wall appears just once in the vast John Milton archive: he wrote one letter to the poet in 1659 which alone has survived to illumine an apparently longstanding acquaintance. In the Yale edition of Milton's private correspondence between 1656 - 1659, Alberta and Arthur Turner note in their introduction that 'Little is known of Moses Wall except what is implicit in this letter.'⁹

⁴⁴ Ibid. Vol. II. p.169.

⁵ G.H. Turnbull., *Hartlib, Dury & Comenius*, Liverpool 1947, p.40.

⁶ University of Sheffield 1992.

⁷ In *Menasseh ben Israel & His World* ed.Y. Kaplan, H. Mechoulam & R. Popkin. E.J. Brill Leiden 1989, p.68.

⁸ C.Roth. *A Life of Manasseh ben Israel*, Philadelphia 1934, p.176.

⁹ C.P.W. Vol. VII, p.510.

The first line itself presents a tantalising problem – 'I received yours the day after you wrote' - since it suggests an ongoing correspondence, of unknown duration, now lost. On the basis of this opening sentence J.M. French¹⁰ has an entry 'May. Writes a letter to Moses Wall and encloses a copy of Treatise of Civil Power (?)'. The reason for this queried assumption is that it is clear from the text that Wall has lost no time in replying to a letter which reached him only one day after Milton wrote it. Austin Woolrych and Gordon Campbell¹¹ perceive problems beyond the written word with the date of the letter, questioning whether it was really written on 26 May 1659 as shown on the surviving copy, since the contents might well imply that the restoration of the Commonwealth, on 7 May, had not yet happened. Because of this they suggest a possible mistranscription of May for March. This dispute can now be settled as May by reference to the original papers and material made available through the Hartlib archive as will be shown below.

To religious historians Moses Wall is known as the English translator of Rabbi Menasseh ben Israel's *Spes Israelis*. As will be shown in Section 3 below, Wall was the anonymous translator for the first English edition in 1651; his name only appears on the title-page of the second edition together with his closely argued '*Discourses upon the Conversion of the Jewes*', which follows the text. This is his only independent published work.

Moses Wall is known to Commonwealth historians for a collection of fifteen letters which he wrote to Samuel Hartlib between 1652 and 1660. He also had a lifelong admiration for Sir Henry Vane the Younger whose name

¹⁰ J.M. French. *Life Records of John Milton*, Rutger University Press. N.J. 1956. Vol.4, p.263.

occurs frequently in this correspondence. Secret depositions that I found and examined in The House of Lords archive reveal Wall's active involvement in Civil War politics, as a negotiator and as a spy.

All this material put together offers fascinating political, personal and practical information regarding the day-to-day living of one committed Republican scholar during the Civil War, Commonwealth and Protectorate years.

¹¹ G.Campbell. *A Milton Chronology*, Macmillan Press 1997, pp.183-184.

Conventions

I have retained original spelling, capital letters and punctuation in contemporary quotations, I have also lowered superscripts, expanded contractions and abbreviations and regularised I and J, U and V as necessary.

Regarding dates, I have attempted to negotiate the confusions caused by the English adherence to the Julian calendar rather than the Gregorian, already in use on the continent at this time, but not fully implemented in England until 1752. Because of this, dates given for events in the British Isles are ten days in arrears in comparison with Europe. It is also important to note that the Old Style Julian new year was set to begin on March 25, the vernal equinox known as Lady Day rather than on January 1.

Where appropriate I have indicated the alternative system, of which Moses Wall was clearly aware.

Abbreviations

C.P.W.	The Complete Prose Works of John Milton. Yale University Press. 1980.
C.S.P.D.	Calendar of State Papers Domestic
H.P.P.	Hartlib Papers Project, University of Sheffield. (NB: I have indicated H.P.P. numbers for easy reader reference although I have personally transcribed all material from the original documents).
J.H.S.E.	Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England.

Notes

Throughout this work I have used the 1611 Authorised Version of Old and New Testaments which agree in all but a very few cases with Moses Wall's own references.

Unless otherwise stated, pressmarks refer to the British Library collections.

All texts and their annotations are presented at the end of the narrative. I have made new copies retaining the original layout and lineage.

Chronological list of material written by Moses Wall

The Hope of Israel by Menasseh ben Israel. 4 July 1650. Translation of the text into English not attributed, but includes 'Note from the Translator to the Reader'.

'Considerations upon the Point of the Conversion of the Jewes'

Some *Discourses* and a letter by Moses Wall added to the second English edition of *The Hope of Israel*.

Letters to Samuel Hartlib

In the Sheffield Archive:

From Greenwich	18 June 1652	Sheffield 34/4/1A
From Whitton	17 July 1653	34/4/3A
From Whitton	21 August 1653	34/4/5A
From Whitton	26 August 1653	34/4/7A
From Caversham	?9 March (undated)	34/4/29
From Caversham	19 March 1654/5	34/4/9A
From Caversham	3 April 1655	34/4/11A
From Caversham	8 May 1655	34/4/13A
From Caversham	12 June 1655	34/4//15A
From Caversham	4 January 1658/9	34/4/17A-18B
From Caversham	9 January 1658/9	34/4/19A-B
From Caversham	22 January 1658/9	34/4/21A-B,

		22A
From Caversham	25 January 1658/9	34/4/23A-B
From Caversham	6 February 1658/9	34/4/25A-B
From Caversham	30 December 1660	34/4/27A

Letter to John Milton	26 May 1659	British Library
		Add MS
		4292.121 fols.
		264-5
Republished	1753	685.i.12
	1756	599.i.14
	1770	8122F46
	1781	E2101 (22)

List of principal figures mentioned in the following work.

Comenius i.e. Jan Amos Komensky. 1592 - 1670. Inspirational educational reformer. Moravian national. Author of *Lux in Tenebris*. Associate and correspondent of Samuel Hartlib. Visited England 1641/2.

Oliver Cromwell 1599 - 1658. Lord Protector 1653 - 1658. M.P. for Huntingdon 1628, for Cambridge 1640. 'The great Independent' (*Mercurius Civicus* 16-26 Sept. 1644). Formed New Model Army 1646. Regicide Jan. 1649. June 1650 Commander in Chief of all Commonwealth forces. Installed as Lord Protector wearing a civil sword and plain black velvet, 1653; re-installed robed in purple and ermine carrying a gold sceptre, 1657. Died 1658, buried at Westminster Nov. 1658. Disinterred in 1661 and hanged at Tyburn.

Isaac Dorislaus 1595 - 1649. Judge advocate, scholar. Born in Holland, educated in Leiden and at Cambridge 1628 - 9. Judge advocate in the war against the Scots in 1640 and subsequently in the Earl of Essex's army. Interrogated Wall and associates in that capacity. Prepared and managed the charge of High Treason against King Charles I. Assassinated at The Hague 1649, buried in Westminster Abbey. Disinterred and disgraced in 1661.

John Dury 1596 - 1688. Lifelong Pan-Protestant evangelist. Studied at Leyden and Oxford. 1628 Protestant minister to The English Company of

Merchants at Elbing near Danzig, birthplace of Samuel Hartlib. 1641-2 Tutor and Chaplain to Princess Mary of Orange at The Hague. Corresponded with Samuel Hartlib and Menasseh ben Israel. Contributed an epistemological discourse to T. Thorowgood's *Jews in America* as well as the introduction to Moses Wall's translation of *The Hope of Israel*. Diplomatic negotiator for Cromwell in Europe 1654. Named as 'the time-serving Proteus and Ambidexter Divine' by William Prynne, responded as 'The Unchanged, Constant and Single-hearted Peacemaker'. Retreated to Germany in 1661.

Samuel Hartlib 1600 - 1662. Facilitator of new ideas and inventions. Born at Elbing Germany to an English mother and a Polish father. Studied in Cambridge ?1621-5. Settled in England from 1628. His Office of Address was based on the Neo-Platonic principles of Francis Bacon's *New Atlantis*, collecting and diffusing new scientific, religious, political, commercial and educational information for the welfare and benefit of all citizens. He exchanged and promoted ideas with scholars, politicians and religious leaders throughout the known world. Moses Wall corresponded with him from 1652 - 1661.

Arthur Haselrig d. 1661. Statesman. 1640 elected M.P. for Leicestershire. Leader of the Independent Party in the House of Commons and member of the Commonwealth Council of State. Privy to the Vane-Wall spying venture. Opposed Cromwell's 'usurpation' in 1653 and excluded from Parliament until 1658. Opposed the Restoration of Charles II. Died in the Tower 1661.

Martin Holbeach d.1670. Headmaster of Felsted School, Essex. Entrusted with the education of Cromwell's sons. Married to Lydia, younger sister of Moses Wall.

Menasseh ben Israel 1604 - 57. Scholar, rabbi and Judeo-Christian negotiator of Amsterdam. Corresponded with Oliver Cromwell and various English theologians regarding the imminent millennium and the urgent resettlement of the Jews. Author of *Spes Israelis* at John Dury's instigation.

Antonio Montezinos 1604 - 1648. Merchant and traveller in the New World. Discovered the 'hidden people...Indians who were Hebrews' reported under oath to Menasseh ben Israel, on his return to Amsterdam in 1644 and reconfirmed on his deathbed in 1648. His story sparked the composition of *Spes Israelis*, translated as *The Hope of Israel* by Moses Wall.

Sir Edward Spencer 1595 - 1660. M.P. for Middlesex. Responded immediately to *Spes Israelis* with *A Brief Epistle to the Learned Menasseh ben Israel* which caused Moses Wall to append his *Discourses upon the Point of the Conversion of the Jewes* and thus reveal that he and not John Dury was the translator.

Peter Sterry 1613 - 1672. Contemporary of Moses Wall at Emmanuel College Cambridge from 1627; elected Fellow 1637. Member of the Westminster Assembly 1643. Prime witness in the Vane-Wall venture.

Sir Henry Vane the Younger. 1613 - 1662. M.P. for Kingston upon Hull.

Charismatic leader and idealist. While leader of the Parliamentary

Independent Party in 1643 used Moses Wall to make contact with the King's

party. From 1649 - 53 Member of the Council of State. Opposed Oliver

Cromwell after 1653 and the succession of his son Richard Cromwell in 1658.

Arraigned for High Treason by the Restoration Parliament and beheaded

1662.

SELECTIVE CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

1648	Dec	Pride's Purge
1649	Jan	Trial and execution of Charles I the Commons claimed 'supreme power' Council of State appointed
	Mar	Rump abolished Monarchy and Lords Cromwell appointed Lord Lieutenant in charge of Parliamentary army
	Apr	Digger commune set up in Surrey
	May	England declared to be a Commonwealth Leveller rising against Rump crushed by Cromwell
1650	Aug	Cromwell entered Scotland
	Sep	Cromwell defeated Scots at Dunbar
1651	Jan	Charles II crowned in Scotland
	Sep	Cromwell defeated Charles II at Worcester
	Oct	Navigation Act introduced Charles II escaped to France
1652	May	Outbreak of the Dutch War
	Aug	Committee for the Propagation of the Gospel formed
1653	Apr	Cromwell dispersed the Rump
	Jul-Dec	Nominated Assembly
	Jul	New Council of State appointed by Assembly
	Dec	Nominated Assembly dissolved itself

		<i>Instrument of Government</i> adopted
		Cromwell installed as Lord Protector
1654	Apr	Dutch War ended
	Sep	First parliament of Protectorate
		Treaty with Denmark
	Dec	English fleet sailed against Spanish colonies
1655	Jan	Cromwell dissolved first Protectorate parliament
	Oct	Defensive alliance with France
1656	Sep	Second Protectorate parliament
		Beginning of war with Spain
1657	Jan	Abandonment of Major-Generals
	Feb	Cromwell offered the kingship
	Mar	Military agreement with France
	Apr	Cromwell declined kingship
	Jul	First session of parliament
1658	Jan-Feb	Second session of parliament
	Feb	Cromwell dissolved parliament
	Sep	Death of Oliver Cromwell
		Richard Cromwell became Protector
1659	Jan-Apr	Third Protectorate parliament
	Apr	Richard Cromwell resigned – end of the Protectorate
	May	The Commonwealth restored – Rump reassembled
	Oct	Army expelled the Rump
	Oct-Dec	Government by Committee of Safety

widespread disturbances throughout England

Dec Rump reassembled

1660 Jan Monk's troops crossed from Scotland to England

Feb Monk's troops reached London

Return of excluded members to the Rump

Rump dissolved

Mar Long Parliament restored

Apr-May Convention Parliament

Apr General Lambert's army defeated at Edgehill

House of Lords re-convened

May 8 Charles II proclaimed king

29 Charles II entered London

CONTEXTUALISATION

Moses Wall's first surviving letter to Samuel Hartlib in 1652 declares 'My heart longs for truth...'; this is the authentic voice of one man who devoted his life to further his firm belief in the promises made by God and the fundamental truth of the Bible. This he supported by an active personal dedication of mind and body. Millennial expectations and turbulent politics interacted during Moses Wall's life to create a charged atmosphere for action and change.

England became a republic between 1642 and 1649. As Austin Woolrych points out, 'in 1642 the Long Parliament went to war for King and Parliament' in what came to be known as the first Civil War¹². During this period Moses Wall acted as a spy for Sir Henry Vane and the Independents. It was not until 1647, as Mark Kishlansky notes, that the army became politicised as a power against the King, and it was not until his duplicitous dealings with the Scots to supply an army for the invasion of England that he was seen as a traitor in the country.¹³

At the Battle of Preston on 17 August 1649 Cromwell defeated the Royalist-Scots coalition and only the Treaty of Newport, opened on

¹² A. Woolrych. *England Without A King*, London 1983, p.1.

¹³ M. Kishlansky. *The Army and the Levellers; the Roads to Putney*, Historical Journal Vol xxii, 1979.

September 18, held the monarchy tenuously in place. Regarding this treaty the King declared to those around him that he as God's anointed had no need to honour negotiations agreed with rebellious subjects. Under such circumstances there could be no way forward. On 5 December both Houses voted that the King's behaviour in waging war upon his people constituted High Treason and was grounds for 'settling the kingdom'. They recognised themselves as the 'people under God, the origins of all just power...the Commons of England...to have the supreme power in this nation'.¹⁴

What followed shocked the world, but for those who accepted the predictions of Moses Wall's respected Cambridge mentor Joseph Mede, the killing of the King was one more confirmation that the Second Coming and the ultimate fulfilment of God's purpose was fast approaching and would take place in England.¹⁵

In April 1653 the rift between soldiers and Parliament led to Cromwell's angry dissolution of the Rump. Moses Wall's admired friend, Sir Henry Vane, leader of the Independents, speedily left London for his remote Lincolnshire estate of Belleau.

From July to December 1653 the nominated assembly of Barebones Parliament was imposed with army backing, on the understanding that Christ and His nominated Saints would exercise power until the people should be fit to exercise suffrage, 'Christ reigning in their hearts' as Cromwell declared at the first meeting on 4 July.

¹⁴ Quoted in *England Without A King*, pp.8-9.

¹⁵ H.P.P. 34/4/9A.

It is noteworthy that from 17 July until 26 August 1653 Moses Wall's letters to Samuel Hartlib are sent from the home of the excluded M.P. for Twickenham, Thomas Westroe, whose house was at Whitton, a tiny hamlet on the edge of Hounslow Heath, a major training and muster ground for the army. Later letters show that Wall had an interest in the new science of telescopes since Cambridge days. There is a strong possibility that the coincidence of Wall's new place of residence and his (damaged) correspondence with Hartlib, at this time offered the possibility for espionage.

Assembled in September 1654, the first Protectorate Parliament was largely Cromwell's instrument, denying the republican and Independent ideals. The members elected in limited circumstances could not question the position of the Protector, could not exercise any control over the army and could not consider freedom of worship. Sir Henry Vane stayed stubbornly out of politics despite pressures to support this regime.¹⁶

Moses Wall's letters from 1654 onwards come from a retreat in Caversham, then on the border of Oxfordshire, where he endures the 'country solitude' and writes how much he prizes his correspondence with Hartlib who remains close to the centre of things in London. His situation doubtless mirrors the experience of many whose political ideals were dangerously incorrect for the time, including Sir Henry Vane who had withdrawn to his remote properties of Belleau and Raby Castle in County Durham.

In the late summer of 1656 Vane was arrested and was imprisoned at Carisbrooke Castle on the Isle of Wight. In response he openly declared war

¹⁶ Clarendon. *State Papers* Vol.ii ed. R Scope, Oxon 1767-86, p.213.

on the regime since 'nothing of truth and righteousness remained in the land but the name; Cromwell' and since the army were only given their authority by the nation a Protector could be no more than an appointed official.¹⁷ He was released after four months, having made connections with Fifth Monarchist prisoners such as Christopher Feake who aimed to replace the laws of England by a system based on the God-given Mosaic Code. When Oliver Cromwell died in September 1658 Vane re-entered the political arena, hoping to revive original Commonwealth ideals from before 1653, using the help of the army and the support of Fifth Monarchy men.

It is just at this time that Moses Wall resumes his abandoned correspondence with Hartlib, aiming once more for the achievement of 'a common-wealth, not in the name, but the thing.' Between 4 January and 6 February 1659 Wall and Hartlib energetically exchanged letters. On 9 January Wall wrote unequivocally of 'that barbarous action of committing that gallant gentlemen Sir Henry Vane (whose name will live in honour when the name of that great persecutor shall rot)', on 22 January 'I believe that God is about to do great things by this ensuing Parliament' and on 25 January he is anxious to hear of 'the most considerable speeches and actions of the Parliament.' By 6 February he is confident that 'God will undo all that fine cobweb of the devices of the late Oliver..., let us not be dismayed, the work is God's and in the close will be better than our hearts can think.' On 8 February Vane once more took his seat in Parliament, having avoided swearing an oath of allegiance to Richard Cromwell; Wall's last letter to Hartlib in this sequence

was dated 6 February. Richard Cromwell resigned in April so ending the second Protectorate, but in the ensuing chaos Vane failed to take control.

On 26 May 1659 Wall wrote a positive and constructive letter to his old acquaintance John Milton: although he recognised the failure of John Dury's pan Protestant efforts over the last thirty years with regret, he was full of ideas for the improvement of trade, full of praise for Milton's most recent publication which was..... and not without optimism for the future. All too soon the revived hopes of such as Moses Wall and his friends became the stuff of the worst nightmares. On 8 May 1660 Charles Stuart was proclaimed King and on 29 May was crowned Charles the Second. On 1 July Sir Henry Vane was arrested and taken to the Tower where he remained until his trial and execution.

Moses Wall disappeared. In August his friend from Cambridge days, John Worthington, did not know where to get in touch with him and Samuel Hartlib had no news of his whereabouts.¹⁸ John Milton was arrested and imprisoned for some weeks (he was released on 17 December 'having now laid long in custody'), after the House of Commons had resolved on 16 June that some of his books be publicly burned. Moses Wall sent a final despairing letter to Samuel Hartlib who was himself mortally sick; on 30 December 1660 he writes in 'gloomy and mysterious times' from 'a dark and distracted world' in which he is uncertain 'what...God is doing.' He gives no address although apparently still in Caversham, but he has been forced out of his home, rented

¹⁷ *Proceeds of the Protector*, 12 August 1656.

¹⁸ H.P.P.34/4/9A.

and improved at huge expense from Lord Craven who was recently back from exile with the Stuarts.

England was now no country for old outspoken Commonwealth idealists. One way or another they were eclipsed in the bright light of the Glorious Restoration.

WHO WAS MOSES WALL?

The actual date of Moses Wall's birth is unsure, the precise date of his death unknown, but circumstantial evidence suggests that he was born in 1606 and died after 1664.

Conflicting material has first to be disentangled. By some unlikely coincidence there were three men of the same name living and active in southern England in the first half of the seventeenth century. The puzzle is to identify which Moses Wall did what.

In 1609 one Moses Wall identified as 'gent' was recorded as a juror at the Assizes in Braintree, in a trial for murder.¹

On 13 February 1611/12, another Moses Wall received his BA from Exeter College Oxford,² and in 1613 took up a post as Rector of Mickleham in Surrey, as clearly recorded: 'Wall, Moses, B.A. from Exeter Coll. 13 February 1611 - 12; rector of Mickelham, Surrey, 1613.'³

Alumni Cantabrigiensis records yet another Moses Wall 'of Essex', admitted 'Pensioner' at Emmanuel College⁴ on 11 September 1631. He received his MA in 1635.

In 1643/4 one Moses Wall was officially chaplain to Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick, as recorded in depositions at the House of Lords. A Moses Wall

¹ Essex County Archives, (ASS. 35/51A/T/7).

² Parker & Co. *Alumni Oxoniensis*, Vol. iv. Oxon. 1892, p. 1560.

³ Foster. J. *Index Ecclesiasticus*, p. 1560.

⁴ Emmanuel was *the* Protestant College, founded in 1154 by Walter Mildmay 'for the study of divinity & The Scriptures.' While Wall was there, 1627-35, under William Sandcroft's Mastership, the founding bias was tempered by neo-Platonism.

is then identified again in 1651 on the title page of *The Hope of Israel* and again in a correspondence with Samuel Hartlib which spans eight years. The first letter was sent from Greenwich and directed the recipient to send the reply to Whitehall. Others were sent from Whitton in Middlesex and Caversham in Oxfordshire.

According to parish records, Moses Wall of Oxford and Mickleham was Rector from 1613 to 1636. Between 1612 and 1626 he raised a family of seven daughters and two sons, although the first boy may have died young since the last child received the same name, Samuel, as one born nine years earlier. Circumstantial evidence suggests a settled family parsonage. At any rate, the burial of 'Mr. Moyses Wall, Rector of the Parish Church of Mickleham' is entered in the Vestry Book for '11 October 1636'.⁵ A plaque on the church wall today commemorates his life and death. This Moses Wall cannot have been Chaplain to the Earl of Warwick in 1643/4, nor is it likely that someone of an age to be a juror in 1609 would hold such a post thirty-four years later.

By establishing that Moses Wall of Oxford and Surrey was no longer alive after 1636, and that the Moses Wall who was once a juror of Braintree must have been too old, the way is clear to enquire more closely into the circumstances of Moses Wall of Essex, Cambridge, Whitehall, Greenwich, Whitton and Caversham, trusted correspondent of Samuel Hartlib and friend of John Milton.

⁵ Surrey History Centre, Woking. PS8/Mic/1/2.

The Moses Wall of this study can first be definitely identified when admitted as 'a pensioner' on 11 September 1627 to Emmanuel College, Cambridge, with no more than that he is 'of Essex.'⁶ The man of the same name, recorded at Braintree as a juror at the Essex Assize Court in 1609, was most probably his father, which links him to a wider family from Little Bromley in Essex. Unfortunately the seventeenth-century records for this parish are damaged and illegible. According to the International Genealogical Index⁷ (which is all that is available, since no Bishop's transcripts for this time and place exist), Moses Wall the younger was born in 1606 and was followed by two sisters, Lydia and Mary. Their mother Anne Skinner had been previously married and already had one surviving male child, John Talcott, named after her deceased first husband. The Talcott connection gave Moses Wall a direct personal link to the recently settled colonies in New England, which was further developed through his youngest sister Mary who married into a network of Massachusetts and New England families. The International Genealogical Index also records a marriage between Lydia Wall (1608 - 1682) and Martin Holbeach (1597 - 1670) in April 1628. As Samuel Hartlib noted in his *Ephemerides* for 1649, 'Holbeck an excellent schoolmaster at free-school at Felstead...Id. Mr. Wahl allied with him by marriage.'

While at Emmanuel College between 1627 and 1635 Moses Wall was the immediate contemporary of the astronomer Joseph Horrocks and shared

⁶ *Alumni Cantabrigenses* J & J.A.Venn. Part 1. Vol.iv. and *Emmanuel College Register*, Cambridge.

⁷ The IGI is the International Genealogical Index. Established and continually expanded by the Mormon Church for religious purposes, it is the largest collection of information on births, marriages and deaths, not entirely reliable since it often depends on family records rather than official documentation.

his fascination with the new technology of telescopes, as evident from his later letters to Samuel Hartlib. While there he also met Peter Sterry with whom he was involved in Civil war politics, in the service of Sir Henry Vane. His wider Cambridge acquaintance at this time may have included John Milton, who was at Christ's College from 1625 to 1632 and with whom he was associated in the early 1640s and again in 1659. He also began a lifelong friendship with the future scholar, diarist and divine John Worthington who wrote to Hartlib of him in 1661, 'You know Mr. Moses Wall; doth he live in London and visit you? There is a short treatise of the Temple of Jerusalem...if you see him I wish you could borrow it from him...' ⁸ but Moses Wall had disappeared. ⁹ It was while at Cambridge too that Wall became a disciple of Joseph Mede, ¹⁰ whose millenarian teachings and writing influenced him for the rest of his life.

All that is known of Moses Wall's life immediately after he went down from university is an entry in Hartlib's occasional papers, presented as *Ephemerides* in the Hartlib Project. Under a heading 'Since the Account of 20. Of Febr. 1639' ¹¹ is the entry 'Mr Holback 20 April 1640 per Wahl. £3-0-0', both eccentric spellings recur in Hartlib's wider archive and are readily attributable to his continental beginnings.

⁸ Worthington *Diaries & Correspondence*, ed. Crossley. Chetham Soc. 1847, Vol. Xiii, 22 August 1661.

⁹ The 'short treatise' was most probably *Tavnit Heikhal*, published at Middleburgh in the Netherlands in Hebrew in 1650 by Jacob Judah Leon, friend and associate of Manasseh ben Israel, with whom Moses Wall had his own connections. Leon was known as 'Templo', in complimentary reference to his writings on the subject and actual scale modelling of the original Temple at Jerusalem. This model was shown to Henrietta Maria in the Netherlands in 1643 and brought to England in 1671. JHSE Transactions ii, 156-67; & xxv, pp.120-136.

This appearance marks the first recorded contact to be found between Samuel Hartlib and Moses Wall; Wall is identified as the agent of Martin Holbeach, his brother-in-law. The family link helps to establish Wall in Puritan intellectual society; Martin Holbeach had been appointed headmaster at Felsted School in Essex in 1627, where he remained enjoying a high reputation for the next 22 years. His patron, like Wall's, was Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick. All four of Oliver Cromwell's sons were sent to be educated under his charge, and contemporaries such as John Wallis, Cromwell's chaplain, paid tribute to Holbeach as a sound and inspirational teacher¹². The names appear together again on the next page of Hartlib's accounts, headed 'Receipts of Anno 1640'.¹³ On 24 March £1-0-0 is credited 'Ex dur Wall' and under 4 April the reference 'Ex com. Holbach £3-0-0.' No further information is given regarding these donations though the Latin tags might indicate the donors' personal attitudes.¹⁴ Later however, Wall was persuaded to give again. Under the heading 'November 16 1643',¹⁵ on a list headed in a scribal hand not Hartlib's, 'List of Subscribers to Felton's Cause', Samuel Hartlib copied a receipt signed by Edmond Felton, acknowledging 'the some (sic) of fifteen shillings by the appointment of Mr Wall'. Further down the page in a list also dated 'Novemb. 16, 1643' the name of Mr Milton appears for 'three shillings' and Mr Wall for '0-5-0' among almost forty other subscribers.

¹⁰ See *infra*. Letter to Hartlib '19 March 1654/5'.

¹¹ H.P.P. [23/2/15b].

¹² M.Craze. *A History of Felsted School*, London 1955, p.51.

¹³ H.P.P.[23/12/1A].

¹⁴ Although the dates of the second reference precede those of the first, the chronological headings of the two documents have been taken in H.P.P. sequence.

¹⁵ H.P.P. [8/40/8A].

This last donation was made just one calendar month before Moses Wall was involved on active Civil War service for Sir Henry Vane.

Felton's Cause is important as an indicator of the way in which Moses Wall's mind was running at this time. Edmond Felton, brother of John Felton the Republican icon and assassin of the Duke of Buckingham, designed a mobile defensive device to be used by the army. This was demonstrated to the Committee for Fortifications on 19 February 1643¹⁶ and is described as 'an engine which 2 or 4 men may manage with pleasure,(it) shall supply place in front of 48 Pikemen, keep the horse from routing the foot and also secure many musketeers from Musket shot...',¹⁷ but no government finances were forthcoming to support development, hence the need for private subscription. Timothy Raylor in his article 'New Light on Milton and Hartlib'¹⁸ fully examines the case for identifying 'Mr Milton' as John Milton, and draws conclusions about his interest at this time in active military participation on the Parliamentary side. The fact that Moses Wall appears as one of the other subscribers suggests similar interests, and possibly direct discussion at this time as hinted in Wall's one surviving letter to Milton dated May 1659, examined below.

To appear in such company is significant; it establishes Moses Wall among men ready for active confrontation in the Parliamentary cause, and this in turn gives credence to his next appearance as a spy sent into the

¹⁶ CSPD 1641-3, p.450.

¹⁷ Felton E. *Engines Invented to Save Much Blood and Moneyes*. London 1644.

¹⁸ Raylor, T. *Milton Quarterly* 27, 1993, pp.19-31.

Royalist camp. Depositions in the House of Lords provide minute details of this dangerous service.

Later in the same year Moses Wall was one of Samuel Hartlib's nominees, together with John Milton, for a committee planned to restructure education in England, on the principle that the nation can be effectively reformed only by remoulding its education'.¹⁹

Nothing further is known of Moses Wall until 1651 when he reappears as a scholar translating Menasseh ben Israel's *Spes Israelis* into *The Hope of Israel*. In the climate of belief in an imminent Second Coming, Wall's was the English voice which made a powerful argument for the return of the Jews to England after three and a half centuries of exclusion. That Wall was no credulous dreamer is clear from his address in the first edition, 'From the Translator to the Reader', although his name as translator is not given.²⁰ The second edition 'corrected and amended', together with *Some Discourses upon the Point of the Conversion of the Jewes*,²¹ did name Moses Wall. His *Discourses* and letter which follow all English editions after the first, rationally and elegantly argue the case for religious toleration, specifically of the Jews which was an immediate political and religious issue as will be discussed below.

While he pursued his work as a scholar, Moses Wall continued on the periphery of great events. He obliquely reflects the uncertainties of the

¹⁹ Samuel Hartlib, *Some Proposals Towards the Advancement of Learning*, 1648. Quoted Turnbull p.52.

²⁰ *The Hope of Israel*: Written by Manasseh ben Israel...Translated into English by authority...Printed at London by R.I. for Hannah Allen, at the Crown in Popes-Head alley, 1650

²¹ *The Hope of Israel*, written by Menasseh ben Israel...the 2nd. Edn., corrected and amended...printed by R.I. for L. Chapman, 1651.

Commonwealth experiment, reporting to Samuel Hartlib in a sequence of letters from politically significant army and navy locations, between 1652 and 1655 when the ideal of Commonwealth failed with the forcible dissolution of Parliament. The disgrace and exile of Wall's admired friend Sir Harry Vane followed and he too left the political arena of London. Wall next appears writing to Samuel Hartlib from the 'retirement' of Caversham in Berkshire, where he lived in a property sequestered by Parliament from the Earl of Craven²² who was currently living abroad in the service of Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia.

Here at Caversham, according to the Hartlib correspondence, Moses Wall worked to prove his religious and theoretical ideals in practical terms, following the Commonwealth imperative of 'restauration' to return the land to its true God-given potential.

It is possible that some of the Wall-Hartlib correspondence masked political information hidden in plausible domestic exchanges, as is more clearly evident in the correspondence of John Stoughton.²³ Contemporary politicians such as John Winthrop described Samuel Hartlib as the 'Great Intelligencer of Europe.'²⁴ Through Wall's letters it is possible to follow his daily experiences as he grapples with everything from current apocalyptic predictions to troubles with his health, his telescope, his house, his money or his cows. Through it all neither he nor his reader ever lose sight of the Millennial promise and that God is about to do great things in England.

²² Act for the Sale of the Estates of the Earl of Craven, 3/8/1652. Thurloe State Papers, ed. T. Birch. 1842, p.513.

²³ Compare H.P.P. 46/11/3A.

Only one post Restoration letter from Moses Wall to Hartlib survives, dated 6 December 1660. It is largely concerned with his own desperate situation and questions Hartlib 'what do you believe god is doing?'²⁵ After this only his shadow can be glimpsed as he is the subject of speculation between Hartlib and John Worthington in August 1661 and the mysteriously non-active participant in a matter of family business, when Martin Holbeach writes as his agent in May 1664: 'About my brother Wall's land, he is now minded to sell it and I promised to let you have the first offer'.²⁶ Why Wall cannot act on his own account is not known.

It is possible that he left England for the Netherlands or that he changed his name in order to disappear, considering his close links with Sir Henry Vane. Vane himself was arrested in September 1660 and despite all Royal promises of indemnity, was subject to Capital Proceedings,²⁷ found guilty of High Treason, and executed on 14 June 1662 as, in the words of Charles II, one 'too dangerous to let live'.²⁸

Whatever his eventual fate at this unstable time, Moses Wall's name cannot be found. It does not appear in the will of his sister Lydia, issued in 1682, nor in that of his brother-in-law Martin Holbeach dated 1670.²⁹ No

²⁴ The definition for "intelligencer" is at this time ambiguous. J. Winthrop Jr. first Governor of Connecticut. Quoted by W.J. Hitchens in *Hartlib and Comenius*, Sheffield 1988, pp. 1-2.

²⁵ H.P.P. 34/4/27A.

²⁶ Egerton MS. 2649, p.100.

²⁷ Commons Journals viii. p.317.

²⁸ Burnet, G. *History of My Own Time*, ed. Airy, OUP 1897, Vol 1, p.286.

²⁹ Essex Record Office. 1670 (D/AMW/7/115) & 1682 (D/AMR/7/94).

record of his death can be found in England, the Netherlands or in the New World where he might have taken refuge with his extended family

MOSES WALL AS A SPY

This material is based on contemporary copies of depositions officially destroyed, which I discovered and transcribed from the House of Lords archive. These are in Appendix A.

In December 1643 Moses Wall acted as an agent for Sir Henry Vane the Younger in a devious escapade, apparently to make direct contact with the enemy.

Any efforts to negotiate peace in the escalating civil war between King and Parliament had failed earlier in 1643. In March and again in July, opposition raged between non-combatant politicians and soldiers active in the field. In Parliament Sir Henry Vane spoke persuasively against treating with the enemy before they disbanded their troops. Confident of ultimate Parliamentary success he asserted to fellow M.P.s, 'We are to have no mediators between us and the King...our purpose will be accomplished without a treaty...because the disbanding...will carry us on in our ancient way of parliament'.¹

¹ Add. 18.777.i.f.64.

Infuriated by this pronouncement, the Earl of Essex sarcastically responded that Sir Harry Vane should be sent to him in the field 'soe he might advise with him touching the great affairs of the kingdom, and that if the said Sir Harry Vane should advise him to march up to the Walls of Oxford he would go with him'.²

Ignoring the military leader's challenge, Vane addressed Parliament on what he recognised as a more important issue, '...let us propose we are to have an ordinance for money'.³ Money was a key factor in the war and Henry Vane as the son of his father⁴ had invaluable knowledge and connections. He recognised that whoever controlled the City businessmen could gain continuing military support and supplies, and could also strangle the flow of money from this major source to the enemy. Vane had already persuaded the Mayor and Aldermen of the City to advance substantial loans for the Parliamentary war effort on several occasions, sometimes with menaces, as in February 1643, when he asked the Lords to join with the Commons to 'request...that the City might advance more money for the payment of the army...and if there should be anything objected against the said advancing of money...that the said committee might have power to remove the said obstructions'.⁵

In the first week of 1644 a plot attributed to Sir Basil Brooke, to have the King's proclamation summoning a Parliament and the Lord Mayor of

² Harl. 165.f.26.

³ Add. 18.777.f.157.

⁴ Sir Henry Vane the Elder 1589-1655. In 1617 he was appointed Cofferer to the Prince of Wales; in 1629 Comptroller of the King's Household; in 1639, Treasurer; and by 1640 Secretary of State.

⁵ Harl. 164ff. 380-380v.

London to Oxford, was intercepted and revealed to the Commons.⁶

Immediately Henry Vane called the Liverymen of the City companies to a meeting to warn them that if the Parliament and Law Courts were moved to Oxford, London would be 'desolate from all traffic...and businesses'.⁷ He also pointed out that those who did contemplate defecting to the King at Oxford should hereby be warned that their estates would be confiscated. Moses Wall was sent to try and discover the names of those who might be considering such a move.

Political confrontation and even death were familiar in the domestic everyday setting of English rural life in the winter of 1643-4. The city of Oxford was established as the King's headquarters with royal forces in towns, fortresses and villages for one day's ride around, bounded by the Berkshire Downs to the south and the Cotswolds to the west. Military support for the King came from the Midlands via Worcester. Parliamentary forces held London and exerted pressure from Reading and Windsor. Daily skirmishes and ambushes, as the two sides tried to keep supply routes open, made the countryside all around uncertain and unsafe. This situation is brought vividly to life in the following chain of events.

In September 1643 after the unexpected defeat of the King's forces at Newbury when fresh supplies of ammunition had failed to arrive from Oxford in time, the confidence of the Royalists began to waver. The route to London was barred by Parliamentary forces under the Earl of Essex. In a strategic

⁶ C.J. 358.6.Jan. 1644.

⁷ E 29 (13).

attempt to clear a way from the southwest, reinforced by troops from the West Country and Oxford, the Roundheads holding Southampton, Poole and Portsmouth, Royalists finally secured Arundel in early December, but lines of communication were dangerously exposed. On 13 December 5,000 Parliamentary horse and foot fell on the Royalist Earl of Crawford and his men under cover of night at Alton in Surrey. According to Colonel John Birch, on the winning side, battle raged in the Market place and the churchyard, the King's men inside the Church keeping up heavy fire for two hours despite repeated attacks with hand grenades thrown in at the windows. Finally the Parliamentary forces stormed the doors where they found the enemy waiting behind a breastwork of dead horses drawn up to block the aisles. Halberds, swords, hand to hand fighting with any likely weapon within reach and the death of the Royalist commander, struck down in full view of his men by the butt of a musket after he had killed seven soldiers himself, gave the final victory to Parliament. Many Royalists refused quarter and were butchered in the Church. No list of casualties exists but an estimated 700 prisoners were taken. By 7 January Arundel was back in Parliamentary hands.

It was in conditions like these that Moses Wall undertook his mission. He travelled from London to Windsor and from there was escorted through enemy territory to meet the Royalist agent Lord Lovelace on behalf of Sir Henry Vane. Nominally he went to hear '...some propositions from authority which might lead to a public peace', actually he was to use the opportunity to try and discover the names of any others implicated in the Brooke Plot. This

involved city financiers willing to lend money to the King. He was also to find out whether the Earl of Bedford was communicating with the King.

The first official evidence of Moses Wall's involvement can be found in the Journal of the House of Commons for 17 January and records the presentation of a letter to Sir Henry Vane from Lord Lovelace. Vane officially informed the Speaker of the House that he had received this letter and a Committee had been set up to '...examine the last design in London', most likely the Brooke Plot, and sent a reply 'by Messenger...one Mr Moses Wall'.⁸ The Speaker had in fact himself been one of those privy to the adventure.

By this date the mission itself was complete and Wall was back in London. Having survived the dangers of civil war in the countryside and winter weather on the roads, he was now arrested and subject to martial law. In an effort to topple Sir Henry Vane, his old enemy, the Earl of Essex threatened to hoist him with his own petard, planning to invoke an ordinance created by Oliver St. John the Solicitor General and Vane himself in 1643, by which it was treason to hold 'intelligence' with Oxford unless both Houses were previously fully informed.⁹ Moses Wall, under Vane's instruction had held 'intelligence'.

It seems from his deposition that Moses Wall was aware of this ordinance, but that he was also assured of the legitimacy of his position since the Speaker of the House Sir William Lenthall had been present at the original briefing. What he could not know was that Isaac Dorislaus, the Earl of Essex's ally and Advocate-general of his army, also knew of the mission. He

saw an opportunity, and was able to pounce on the protagonists Peter Sterry, James Hudgebant¹⁰ and Moses Wall on behalf of his master, Vane's implacable enemy. He began the moves towards impeachment on 17 January and as interrogator took depositions on the following Thursday, Friday and Saturday.¹¹

These depositions survive in contemporary seventeenth-century copies, as part of a cache found hidden in a false ceiling in the garrets belonging to Sir John Thurloe's¹² chambers in Lincoln's Inn¹³ more than twenty years after his death and now in the House of Lords archive.¹⁴ Their ordered destruction and secret preservation suggests that they were of potential future use to Thurloe; they cast a direct light on Moses Wall's mission and his immediate personal risks of involvement in active politics at this time.

The three depositions in the House of Lords archive, all copied and signed in the same hand (which is entirely different from the handwriting of Moses Wall's letters to Samuel Hartlib), give detailed access to a chain of events in the first two weeks of January 1644, nominally aimed at the achievement of peace between King and Parliament. The whole episode was reported to the House of Commons on Wednesday 17 January when it was reported that '...a Messenger...one Moses Wall'...had presented a narrative of all that had passed between him and the Lord Lovelace'. This was expanded

⁹ Baillie, R. *Letters & Journals* ed. D. Laing. Edinburgh 1842 Vol ii, pp.135-6.

¹⁰ Sometimes spelt Hudgebaut or Hugebaut.

¹¹ Margin note to *Journal of the House of Commons*. 17/1/1643/4.

¹² John Thurloe 1616-68. Secretary to the Council of State 1652-60.

¹³ No.xiii near the Chapel in Lincoln's Inn. C.H. Firth. D.N.B.O.U.P., p.824.

one week later in the Journal of the House of Lords, naming the interrogator as The Lord General and identifying two more participants, James Hudgebant and Peter Sterry. Wall's narrative and those of the other two named were the depositions taken by Isaac Dorislaus.

As the dates show, James Hudgebaut, equerry to the old Lady Lovelace, was the first to be examined. He is identified as an unquestioning courier for the Lovelace family, travelling from Henley (the Lovelace country seat was close by at Hurley) to Oxford, where the younger members of the family lived at Wade Eaton, and also to Reading and London. His journeys are all identified as domestic errands to report on the health of the children or to deliver personal letters. His anxious affirmation that he 'stayed no longer till he drank a cup of beer' at Oxford has an air of circumstantial panic about it. His deposition takes the form of answers to questions which we do not have, but the sequence is unrelenting and suggests repetitive pressure. Each sentence begins 'That' with staccato and mechanical regularity. By carefully establishing that he 'knoweth not the business contained in the letter' which he carried from Lord Lovelace to Sir Henry Vane, James Hudgebant is establishing his personal innocence. Faced with closely detailed questions his responses show a man desperately anxious to distance himself from any witting involvement: 'not at any time'...'not..at no time', 'no reward', 'he hath acquainted nobody'. He also finally affirms that he has not

¹⁴ *House of Lords Main Papers*. Jan. 1643/4. 'Examinations taken by the Lord General about intelligence being sent to Oxford.'

been aware of any attempts to contact him '*during his restraint*'¹⁵. This sinister phrase confirms that he has been taken and kept against his will.

It is also made clear that Hudgebant had no prior knowledge of Moses Wall, who had to be identified at Windsor. Because of this emerges the rare possibility of seeing Wall as he actually appeared in life, described for recognition as 'a tall slender man...in outside like a citizen, brownish hair both on his head and beard.' This description is interesting as a portrait and informative regarding the mission; Wall travelled incognito, not presented according to his station as a gentleman or a scholar, which might be memorable to witnesses; nor was he accompanied, as might be expected for a man of his station, by a servant. As Hudgebant reports in his Deposition (see Appendix A below), Wall travelled as a 'citizen', alone, on horseback, his beard and hair undressed, that he might pass as one of many ordinary men going about their daily business.

Moses Wall is examined on the following day, identified officially as 'Chaplain to my Lord Warwick'. No other evidence of this position can be found, this is extraordinary since it was precisely the Earls of Essex and Warwick who were seeking to discredit Sir Henry Vane. For Vane to involve this particular man adds extra dimensions of complexity; it suggests that Moses Wall was persuaded to act within his own beliefs rather than as Warwick's employee.

In Moses Wall's deposition, after the establishment of circumstantial facts, where each sentence begins menacingly as before with 'that', the tone

¹⁵ My italics.

changes and responses are reported in a more distanced format, beginning 'and he further saith...' as if the interrogator were listening to a report rather than firing peremptory questions. The mood changes again later when Peter Sterry is questioned. Circumstantial information at this historical remove suggests evidence of the dramatic situation as it was actually experienced in January 1644.

Unlike James Hudgebant, Moses Wall accepts responsibility for his actions and also makes clear those who were 'privy' to the venture, which he recognised as legitimate, considering their status in the House, and that he was briefed in 'Mr. Sollicitor's chamber'. He also by contrast makes it clear that he and Peter Sterry, yet to be examined, knew the contents of the letter from Lord Lovelace to Sir Henry Vane and were shown the response. Details of times and places are precise but what the letter said is only given 'as far as he remembereth', which signals possibly both precision and caution. Wall is however absolutely clear that he accepted the mission wittingly and in good faith, as legitimate Parliamentary business, 'attested by Mr Speaker.'

The evidence of his complete involvement suggests that Moses Wall was already known as trustworthy and loyal to Sir Henry Vane, and was well enough placed to be accepted by Lord Lovelace as an official envoy from Parliament, which he himself had deserted only four months before for Oxford and the King.

Moses Wall pursued his mission with adaptability and authority. In Windsor, on Monday, by noon as arranged, he found no escort from Lovelace. Although specifically told he might 'come away if by that time nobody came for him' he waited twenty-four hours until just before noon on

the next day and then went with Hudgebant to Henley, not Reading as arranged in London. In times of civil unrest and in enemy territory, Wall now needed a pass signed by Sir Edward Nicholas. Any unscheduled changes of plan on such a venture must be suspect and require independent judgement.

The official business of the meeting consisted of three propositions made by Lord Lovelace from this 'authority', actually identified as the King. They were not to be written down, although Moses Wall pressed 'with as much civility as he could' on this point. Suspiciously there was to be no tangible evidence of this meeting for future negotiation; Moses Wall alone held the information in his head. As with the depositions under consideration, there is always the danger that although officially destroyed, documents can be hidden and later found; living men can be silenced forever, and Wall was apparently seen as an expendable go-between should the need arise.

On taking his leave from Henley the morning following his meeting with Lovelace, Moses Wall was enjoined to keep corresponding personally, which he admits he 'would not then flatly deny'. Lovelace wanted the connection to be maintained, however forbidden, and suggested a way to exchange messages secretly via Windsor in the future. On this point however Wall is absolutely clear: 'nothing followed'.

This, as reported when he returned to London, was the given purpose covering 'the end pretended', of the mission which Moses Wall undertook at Sir Henry Vane's instigation.

The second deposition given on the same day uncovers Vane's real interest in sending an ambassador into the enemy camp; Moses Wall was to make every effort to discover the identities of any pretended 'friends' of

Parliament who were actually in sympathy with the other side or implicated in the recent Brooke Plot. It is clear that Lord Lovelace, aware of this agenda, kept 'close' and would give nothing away.

On the same day Moses Wall was subjected to a third interrogation. This uncovered a further specific and political reason for sending Moses Wall to Lord Lovelace. He was to 'search out as occasion should ask for it', to spy and pry where ever possible, to discover whether William Russell Lord Bedford, Joint Treasurer of the Navy with Sir Henry Vane since 1639, still owed allegiance secretly to the King and was party to the Brooke Plot, or, as now professed, was a true Parliament man. His behaviour during the last two years made this a very real question.

William Russell¹⁶ had represented Tavistock together with John Pym in the Long Parliament. On his succession to the earldom of Bedford, in August 1641, the Lords chose him to accompany the King to Scotland,¹⁷ which order he managed to avoid, and in July 1642 he was made General of the Horse in the Parliamentary army.¹⁸ He fought at Worcester and Edgehill with the Earl of Essex, but in August 1643 went to join the King and fought on the Royal side at Gloucester and Newbury. In December, disillusioned with the King's policy, he surrendered himself to the Earl of Essex, explaining to the House of Lords that he had only gone to the King in order to 'procure his Majesty to comply with his Parliament' but found the attempt fruitless.¹⁹ He thus returned to 'the mercy of the Parliament'.

¹⁶ William Russell, first Duke of Bedford. 1613-1700.

¹⁷ Lords' Journals iv, p.642.

¹⁸ Ibid. v. 306.

¹⁹ Ibid. vi.356

His conduct was deeply suspicious and Moses Wall was, as he admitted in his third and final deposition, instructed to search out whether the Earl 'newly returned from the King did keep any correspondence with the King's side for to further the plot lately discussed in London.' The threat of city money being diverted to Oxford was serious enough, but Henry Vane also possibly suspected that his co-treasurer might be diverting naval funds with a view to subverting the Navy itself to the King's side.

The instruction to 'sift out what he could' is of vital importance to a serious assessment of Moses Wall's mission, since nominally his situation was not dissimilar to that claimed by William Russell. Not only did he go to Lord Lovelace as Sir Henry Vane's envoy, apparently to undertake overtures of peace with the King, but on his own account was enjoined by Lovelace to 'keep corresponding with him still'. In the event he claims he discovered nothing.

Moses Wall's mission was a double deception at least, by Sir Henry Vane who had so recently declared himself averse to any negotiation with the King. The evidence suggests that the Wall-Lovelace meeting was agreed in order to get an observer into the enemy camp to spy out anyone who might be a double agent. It is possible to speculate that had the King's three propositions of appeasement officially been committed to writing and openly discussed between the two sides, history might have been very different, but Lovelace was playing a wary game on behalf of his master.

The whole episode was most precarious from Moses Wall's standpoint: he was deeply implicated since he admitted going to the King's

camp. Although he may have believed the assurances of legitimacy given by Sir Henry Vane, he had nothing in writing to prove his case.

Peter Sterry, the final examinant in these depositions, was, on his own admission, brought in as a final witness to allay Moses Wall's apprehensions of the venture. Identified as Chaplain to Lady Brooke, he had been a contemporary of Wall at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and so was personally known to him. In his deposition Sterry corroborates the evidence that Sir Henry Vane claimed 'all was safe because he had acquainted Mr. Speaker and Mr. Solicitor of the business, according to an order or ordinance of Parliament'; he cannot however remember specific details, claiming that names such as Bedford and Holland were only mentioned 'occasionally'. Such amnesia might well be politic since his inquisitor Isaac Dorislaus was supported by the Earl of Warwick, whose half-brother was actually Henry Rich, Earl of Holland, the man in question. The web was intricate and dangerous: with Vane, Warwick and Essex battling at the centre such men as Sterry and Wall might well be expendable.

The whole tenor of his deposition shows Peter Sterry as very anxious to establish that he was merely present as an observer. He confirms that Moses Wall 'seemed willing' to undertake the mission, reaffirming at the end of the session that he was merely present at the original noon meeting in Sir Henry Vane's house, but was not subsequently involved, that he knew none of 'the particulars in the case', nor was he ever officially informed of any outcome. His situation and circumspection are further underlined by the admission that he was eventually told by Sir Henry Vane, on his passing enquiry, that the expedition had 'nothing of it to any purpose'.

That might have seemed to be the end of the devious affair so far as Peter Sterry, James Hudgebaut and Moses Wall were concerned. Parliament first and then the Lords were informed of the events, the depositions were circulated, secretly copied, and declared publicly to have been destroyed, as footnoted on the only copy available today, '*deest in originale*'.

A Parliamentary committee was assembled, excluding Sir Henry Vane, to discuss whether or not it could be counted as an infringement of the rights of M.P.s that the Lord General had taken depositions in preparation for those involved to be tried by martial law, when this had not been declared.²⁰ At this point the fate of Moses Wall, Sir Henry Vane, and possibly James Hudgebaut too, hung in the balance. The gravity of the situation is underlined by the fact that Isaac Dorislaus himself was declared innocent of any wrongdoing in actually taking the depositions, by the statement in the Lords' Journal which accords him thanks 'for his care enquiring to the bottom of this business'. He was publicly assured 'that he had done nothing but according to the duty of the Lord General'.

Contemporaries such as Baillie²¹ considered that the Earls of Warwick and Essex were trying to prepare a situation in which they could blackmail Sir Henry Vane, whom they perceived planning to revive the impeachment charge for 'desertion', first brought in November 1643, against the Earl of Holland for going to the King at Oxford.²² His 'return' to Parliament was

²⁰ C.J. 24 Jan. 1644.

²¹ R. Baillie. *Letters & Journals* ed. D. Laing. Bannantine Club, Edinburgh, 1841-2. vol ii, pp.135-6.

²² C.J. 7 & 11 Nov. 1643.

suspect and his petition to rejoin the House of Lords was vehemently opposed by Vane.²³

Guarding his back, Sir Henry Vane also pointed out to the Commons that the ordinance of 1643 which he and Oliver St. John had drawn up that year, establishing that it was treason to hold talks with the court at Oxford unless both Houses were previously alerted, was not valid since it had never been entered into the Lords Journal.²⁴

Baillie considers that the Earls of Essex and Warwick were willing to drop any charges which might arise from Isaac Dorislaus's enquiries into the Lovelace/Vane/Wall affair, if in return the attacks on the Earl of Holland would be dropped. Sir Henry Vane refused, and at this point Moses Wall might well have fallen victim to the whole complicated intrigue. However, on 17 January Parliament rejected the revival of Holland's impeachment by five votes and the matter was dropped.²⁵

Although it appears that Moses Wall was being risked as a pawn in a devious political game, his original mission did itself have some actual substance. There was an encounter between him and the King's representative at Henley at which attractive-sounding propositions were verbally made in what might really have been an attempt to foster peace negotiations. In his later correspondence with Samuel Hartlib, Wall consistently advocates discussion and patience rather than violent action.

²³ C.J. iii p.349.

²⁴ Baillie, ii. pp.135-6.

²⁵ Ad. Ms. 18,779.f.49.

According to a contemporary reading of the venture appearing in *Anti Aulicus* the King might have been trying to discredit Vane by tempting him to participate in the mission and then making sure the involvement became public.²⁶

It could be to balance just such a situation that Vane used Moses Wall, uniquely identified as 'Chaplain to the Earl of Warwick' for the mission. In the event of such accusations, Vane might point out connections which would seriously embarrass his Lordship. Moses Wall, on the evidence of his depositions, does not seem to have been aware of the Machiavellian ramifications of this double bluff.

Letters to Samuel Hartlib examined below show Wall's devoted loyalty to Sir Henry Vane for the rest of his life; there is no mention at all of Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick.

Moses Wall himself does not reappear for six years. In 1650 he emerges in the persona of a religious scholar, the anonymous translator of *Spes Israelis* by the Dutch rabbi Menasseh ben Israel.

²⁶ *Anti Aulicus*. E 31 (17).

MOSES WALL AND *SPES ISRAELIS*

Mid-seventeenth century Philosemitism and Wall's place within it.

In 1650 Moses Wall translated *Spes Israelis* into English as *The Hope of Israel*. This work, originally written in Latin and Spanish by Rabbi Manasseh ben Israel of Amsterdam,¹ was part of an urgent initiative to encourage the resettlement of the Jews in Commonwealth England. They had been expelled by royal decree in 1290; now their residence in the country was seen by many as a vital precursor to the imminent Second Coming of Christ.

There had been scholarly contact with Jews in Europe since the Reformation, when Protestants, free to confront the word of God without priestly intercession, recognised the importance of reading the Old Testament in Hebrew, its original language.² Arising from this perception, schools and universities were encouraged to teach 'the language of Canaan' from the mid sixteenth century.³

In the 1640s English scholars and clergy such as John Dury, Henry Jessey and Nathaniel Homes maintained a lively correspondence on

¹ Manasseh ben Israel. *The Hope of Israel* : written by Menasseh ben Israel, an Hebrew divine and philosopher...translated into English and published by authority...London 1650.

² G.L. Jones. *The Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England*. Manchester. 1983, pp.190-201.

questions of language and interpretation with Menasseh ben Israel.⁴ One important subject discussed was Hebrew as a possible key to the secrets of the universe and the authentic voice of God. In Genesis I,3, when God said 'Let there be light' there was light and in Eden, according to Genesis VI, 9, 'whatever Adam called every living creature, that was the name thereof'. On the basis of such perceptions, contemporary Jews who still practised their ancient tongue could be seen as possible keepers of a fundamental wisdom, and as a people who maintained a special relationship with the Almighty.⁵

A further issue which made Jews a part of urgent contemporary public debate in England was a widespread belief in the imminent Second Coming of the Messiah. Writing on this millennium phenomenon, B.S. Capp notes that some 70% of the clergy who published material between 1630 and 1660 recognised the hope as a fact. Further they believed that each man must use his individual talents to remove all obstacles from the Messiah's path.⁶ It is evident that Moses Wall shared this view in his writing and translation, in his political activity and even in his farming experiments at Caversham.

According to Scripture however, such prophecies as the dispersion of the Jews throughout the world and their conversion to Christianity must be fulfilled⁷ before The Return. In his introduction to the apocalyptic 'Little Horns

³ S. Steen. Phillipus Ferdinandus Polonus; a sixteenth century Hebraist in England. In *Essays in Honour of J.H.Hertz*, ed. I. Epstein et al. London 1944, pp.397-412.

⁴ E. van der Wall. ed. *Jewish-Christian Relations in the Seventeenth Century*, Dordrecht 1988, pp.73-94.

⁵ D. S. Katz. *The Language of Adam in 17th Century England...In History and Imagination...*ed. Blair Worden et al. London 1981, pp.132-45.

⁶ B. S. Capp. *The Fifth Monarchy Men*, London 1972, p.38.

⁷ Daniel, vii, 27 and Tim. I.16. & Rev XX.

Doom and Downfall'⁸ published in London in 1650, Henry Jessey promised that England would witness 'the conversion of the Jews and the Scripture order in these proceedings...before 1658', probably based on the interpretation of recent historical events by Joseph Mede in 'Clavis Apocalyptica';⁹ only then could the Thousand Years of Christ's reign begin 'and marvellous things therein and afterwards happen'.¹⁰ Moses Wall's translation of *Spes Israelis* and his own *Discourses* appended to the second edition were part of the vital response to such urgent religious pressures.

Jews were also a contemporary political issue, since two English subjects, Johanna Cartenright and Ebenezer Cartwright living in Amsterdam, had issued *The Petition of the Jews*, requesting their readmission, to the Council of War early in January 1649.¹¹ An optimistic colophon is appended to this document, promising that it will be taken into 'speedy consideration when the present more public affairs are dispatched.'

However, the situation was deeply controversial. The Royalist broadsheet *Mercurius Pragmaticus* was incensed by the possibility, declaring 'No marvell that those which intend to crucifie their King should shake hands with them that crucified their Saviour',¹² while Clement Walker saw any invitation to the Jews as 'the last damnable design of Cromwell and Ireton' which would threaten the national economy and promote 'the sale of English

⁸ Mary Carey *Little Horns Doom and Downfall*. London 1650.

⁹ Joseph Mede *Clavis Apocalyptica*. London 1636. Translated as *The Key of the Revelation* by Richard More. London 1650.

¹⁰ St. John. Chapters 21 & 22.

¹¹ J. Cartenright and E. Cartwright. *The Petition of the Jewes*. London 1649, pp.1-3.

¹² *Mercurius Pragmaticus* 40-41. 26 Dec. 1648-9 Jan. 1649.

families as slaves to Turks, Moores and other Mahometans.¹³ It was even rumoured that St. Paul's Cathedral was to be sold and become a synagogue. Possibly influenced by such scaremongering the Council of War when it returned to the readmission question decided to offer toleration only to those who 'profess faith in God by Jesus Christ.'¹⁴

The immediate battle was lost but the war would go on. For Moses Wall and his fellow millenarians this profession of Christ was the very point at issue in the readmission of the Jews. The translation of *The Hope of Israel* into English would make it plain for all Englishmen to read, that the time of the Conversion had come; the evidence was unfolding, the arguments were strong. With its anecdotal evidence of the possible existence of some of the Ten Lost Tribes in the farthest reaches of the New World, the prophecy of dispersal was confirmed. Since many New World Indians were already converted to Christianity and some of them might be remnants of one of the Lost Tribes, the process was already under way for the conversion of the Jews. Debate begun by Thomas Thorowgood in 1649 on these points with John Dury in his later published work *Jewes in America or probabilities that the Americans are of that race, with the removal of some contrary reasonings and earnest desires for effectuall endeavours to make them Christians*¹⁵, was given a Jewish dimension at Dury's instigation, by Rabbi Menasseh ben Israel in his tract *Spes Israelis*.

¹³ C. Walker. *Independency*. London 1649, pp.60-62.

¹⁴ S. R. Gardiner. ed. *Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution*. OUP 1906, p.370.

¹⁵ T. Thorowgood. *Jewes in America*, London 1650.

Moses Wall, as he says in his note from 'The Translator to the Reader', made 'this discourse of a Jew speak English; for the benefit of my Countrymen who wait for the redemption of Israel; and at the same time of the gentiles also'.

THE HOPE OF ISRAEL

Spes Israelis was first published in Amsterdam on 15 January 1650 in Spanish, Menasseh ben Israel's original language, as *Esperanca de Israel*. It was dedicated to the Wardens of the Great Synagogue. Almost simultaneously it was published in Latin and came to England in the summer of the same year. This is evident from Menasseh ben Israel's letter to John Dury dated 14 July in which he remarks, '...it is already two months since...Master Morianus¹ has had copies, and I am in no doubt that they have been handed over to you, if indeed a favourable wind has befriended England for some days.'²

The Latin version is presented simply with a superscript in Hebrew of the title followed by the translation, *Hoc est Spes Israelis. Menasseh ben Israel. Theologio et Philosopho Hebraeo Amstelodami. Anno 1650.*³ No mention of any translator is given, nor any printer, which suggests that the author, who was a printer and publisher by trade, was himself responsible.

Further, in his original dedication to the *Parnassim* of the Amsterdam community, Menasseh ben Israel takes full responsibility for the Latin version,

¹ Moriaen, Johannes, d.1661, German theologian and alchemist.

² H.P.P. 44/5/3,4.

³ Emmanuel College Library, Cambridge. *Spes Israelis*. 1650. S3/5/59/1.

'because a man of quality in England recently insisted that I should enquire further into this subject, I have put this work into Latin with particular care'.⁴

Méchoulán and Mahon note that the Latin version cannot be followed directly from the Spanish since language sense and constructions vary. It is notable that some expositions are fuller in the Latin than in the Spanish. This fluid adaptation and addition to such a vital text is actually endorsed by Menasseh ben Israel himself in the letter to Dury of 14 July 1650 concerning the English version, 'Please see these few things which I wish to be added...I certainly congratulate myself that you judge this little work of ours fit, and that having been transferred into your language, it may be read by all your people'.⁵

The original Spanish version bears no sign that the text might be seen to be of value in the Anglo-Jewish resettlement question. From the evidence of this December letter to Dury, however, the idea is forming: "this little book...I have resolved to dedicate, according to your advice, 'To the High Court, the Parliament of England, and to the Council of State'", where the question of Jewish readmission was currently under heated debate.

Given Dury's correspondence with Menasseh ben Israel, it is not surprising that he should be mistakenly judged as the translator of *Spes Israelis*. The first printing of the English text, in 1650 gave no attribution. Sir Edward Spencer M.P.⁶ who responded directly as one of those addressed in the Epistle Dedicatory, adds the confident postscript after his letter *To the*

⁴ Translated and quoted in C. Roth, p.186. MBI. See also, Van der Wall, op. cit. p.51, note 16.

⁵ H.P.P. 44/5/3-4.

⁶ Sir Edward Spencer MP for Middlesex, born c1595, dead by 1660.

Translator, 'I have it from a good hand that Master Jo. Dury is the Translator of that Booke'.⁷

This response by Edward Spencer M.P. is entered in the Stationers' Register for 1 July 1650 and the date handwritten on Thomason's copy is 4 July.⁸ It is strangely at odds with evidence in Wall's *Discourses* at the end of the second edition, where he states, 'After that I had published in English about last Autumne, the Booke of Menasseh ben Israel, called, *The Hope of Israel*...'. Yet this accords with the letter from Menasseh ben Israel to John Dury dated 14 July 1650⁹ in which he mentions that although Dury has already had the Latin text for two months, 'jam duo sunt menses, quod penes se habuerit illa tractatus...' he still expects that the treatise will be '...transferred into your language' 'ut in linguam vestram traductum' Clearly he did not yet know that the English version was already available in London. Evidence from *Several Proceedings*¹⁰ for the week 4 - 11 July 1650 advertised '...there is Extant a Sermon preached in Summerset House on Thursday 27 June 1650. Also *The Hope of Israel*, written by Menasseh ben Israel'. The disparity in dates is certainly curious. For Moses Wall, looking back at his work for the 1651 *Discourse*¹¹ it is possible that he relied on the October and November dates of his exchange of letters with Edward Spencer, appended to the second edition, for chronological orientation.

⁷ Appended to *The Hope of Israel*. Whereunto are added some *Discourses upon the Conversion of the Jewes*: by Moses Wall. The Second edition. 1651, p.57. Emmanuel College Library, Cambridge. S4.3.50.4.

⁸ E. 1350 (3).

⁹ H.P.P. 44/5/3/4.

¹⁰ *Severall Proceedings in Parliament*. 4–11 July 1650. Printed for Robert Ibbitson, London.

¹¹ See below.

Three letters sent by Menasseh ben Israel to John Dury, and copied by Samuel Hartlib,¹² identify the genesis and importance of the work which Moses Wall translated. The urgency of involvement in public debate with the M.P. Edward Spencer and others make it clear that this publication was recognised as a work of serious importance and not '...some mad Traskite excess.'¹³

Edward Spencer's lively '...careless dash of my pen...this little work of mine of a few days production'¹⁴ suggests that argument was directly joined. After careful dissection John Sparrow is able to establish the precise date of composition as 12 June 1650, and he concludes that Spencer himself first read the work in Latin.¹⁵

The Hope of Israel was inspired by a traveller's tale. Since the Ten Tribes were scattered by the Assyrians in 722/1 BC, stories of secret communities waiting for God to call and reunite them for the End of Days are a recurrent theme.¹⁶ Now, at a politically and mystically sensitive time, a Portuguese New Christian Jew, Aaron haLevy, known as Antonio Montezinos, the son of a respected Jewish merchant in the community of Amsterdam, returned from travels in the remote New World with a remarkable story. On 19 September 1644 he told his version to the Elders of the Great Synagogue at Amsterdam

¹² Published and discussed by Ernestine Van der Wall in *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkesgeschiedenis*. Leiden 1985, pp.47-63.

¹³ John Traske 1585-1637. Radical Puritan Church of England minister who preached and promoted Mosaic ceremonies. His followers, Traskites, declared Saturday to be the Sabbath and adopted Jewish dietary laws.

¹⁴ *A Brief Epistle to the Learned Manasseh ben Israel*. 6 September. Printed at London 1650. British Library. 701.a.40.

¹⁵ JHSE. Transactions. 1959-61. Vol xx, pp.233-5.

and swore an affidavit to confirm that it was true. Among those listening was Rabbi Menasseh ben Israel.

John Dury probably heard the story when resident at The Hague on his brief stay as tutor to princess Mary Stuart. He was reminded of it when among other scholars¹⁷ he was sent proofs of a forthcoming publication by his friend Thomas Thorowgood entitled *Jewes in America, or Probabilities that the Americans are of that Race*¹⁸ which was prepared in 1648. Dury recognised that Montezinos' account would support Thorowgood's speculations and this together with Menasseh ben Israel's confirmation of the virtue and probity of the teller, was finally published as an appendix to his work in 1650. The correspondence involved inspired Menasseh ben Israel's response *Spes Israelis*, shortly translated into *The Hope of Israel* by Moses Wall.

Montezinos offers all the elements of a religious revelation especially significant for this particularly sensitive time. On business for his father in the New World in what is now roughly Ecuador, he travelled with a native guide into the unknown hinterland of the Cordillera Mountains and, after some days and many desperate adventures, heard of a holy and hidden people. On his return to Cartagena he was imprisoned by the Inquisition. While in prison he had a vision from God indicating that Hebrews and Indians were one people. On his release he retraced his steps, found his original guide, and after

¹⁶ Fully discussed in D. Katz. *Philosemitism & the Readmission of the Jews*. OUP 1982, pp.89-91.

¹⁷ E. Van der Wall *Three Letters by Menasseh ben Israel*. Leiden 1985, pp.61-2.

¹⁸ T. Thorowgood *Jewes in America or probabilities that the American Christians are of that race, with the removal of some contrary reasonings and earnest desires for effectual endeavours to make them Christians*. London 1650.

carefully detailed practical arrangements, set out for a six day trek into the mountains. Arriving at a wide river on the seventh, certain prearranged signals were made and three men and a woman came in a boat from the further shore. The surprise was that their greeting was the Hebrew text from Deuteronomy VI,IV recited at dawn and dusk by every Jew, affirming the First Commandment: 'Hear O Israel, the Lord is our God, the Lord is One'. This familiar prayer made the longed-for point that this remote people shared the Five Books of Moses and therefore were probably a remnant of the Lost Tribes. .

All further contact was through conversation with the woman. In contemporary terms this adds to the dramatic tension, since the word of a woman, ever since Eve, was not wholly to be trusted. The information this woman gave was that she and her companions were of the tribe of Reuben, the descendants of the tribe of Joseph lived nearby, and that the time was shortly to come when they would issue forth to unite and triumph over all their enemies.

After his adventure Montezinos returned to Puerta de Honda whence he sailed for Europe, arriving in Amsterdam on 19 September 1644, where he told his story.

If Montezinos's claims could be admitted, then they added vital weight to Thorowgood's argument, and this might be seen to confirm the immediate urgency of God's plan for imminent English action. Dury wrote an enquiring letter, the contents of which can now only be deduced from Menasseh ben Israel's response, which he wrote on 25 November 1649:

Reverende et doctissime Vir Quod ad tuas simulac deletae fuere non responderim, nlim exitemes minus eo gratus fuisse. Nimirum cum me aliquem esse censeas, dum iudicium nostrum supra illa Antonii Mortosini (sic) relatione expostulas, ac, deesse humanisseeimae invitati tuae nec possem nec vellem, responsionem distuli, quia explicationem quaestonis propositae una mittere erat animus. Sed enim dum plenius desiderio tuo satisfacere satagebam, accidit, ut mediatione alia aliam pre/perimente, id quod pagina una altera absolutorum me separam in iustum tractatum exceverit.¹⁹

[Venerable and most learned man, though I did not respond to your letter as soon as it was brought, I do not wish you to consider that I was any the less grateful. Certainly, since you esteem me as somebody of importance, while you urgently demanded a report of Antonio Mortesinos (sic), as one of the judges in charge of these things, and as I am neither able nor willing to fall short of your kind invitation, I have delayed a reply because I wanted to send an interpretation of the published enquiry. But in fact, while I had enough to give satisfaction to your request, it happened that with one 'thinking over' destroying another, what I had expected would be complete with one more page, increased into a formal treatise.]

There follows a clear synopsis of *Spes Israelis*, the work that was to be translated out of the Latin by Moses Wall.

¹⁹ Menasseh ben Israel to John Dury. H.PP. 44/5/5. 1A.

As soon as Manesseh ben Israel's work became available in England *A Brief Epistle to the Learned Manesseh ben Israel* was published by Edward Spencer M.P.²⁰ amidst other documents in a little nine-page book, dated London, 1650.²¹

This letter disputing the truth of Montezinos' story as a 'double heresy containing not the least ounce of truth'²² resulted in Moses Wall's response appended to the Second English edition of *The Hope of Israel* entitled '*Considerations upon the Point of the Conversion of the Jews.*' It is his only published work, apart from the brief introduction to the first anonymous translation entitled '*The Translator to the Reader.*'

Moses Wall addresses his audience directly. In sixty lines he justifies making the work of a Jew 'speak English'. With the support of Old and New Testament quotations he shows that there is 'no scandall' in such an undertaking, rather the reverse. With the conversion of the possible Jews of the New World, *Spes Israelis* is the beginning of the final phase of God's fulfilment of the Messianic return, and God will come first to 'his Jewes'.

Interestingly Moses Wall shows generous admiration for 'the Author and his learning'; indeed, though necessarily handicapped, he may well be seen to set an example 'to us Christians, who possess much better but live much worse.' He castigates his 'unthankful generation' unmindful of God's mercies in these late revolutions', let alone those who revel only in 'plentiful tables, full purses and rich accoutrements'. He warns his countrymen not to

²⁰ Sir Edward Spencer: ? – 1655. Corpus Christi, Cambridge 1609-12: Lincoln's Inn 1618: Knighted 1625. MP for Middlesex 1648.

²¹ E 701 2 40.

²² Ibid pp.4–5.

curse those whom God has blessed nor to condemn 'this present good' .

Finally, he disclaims promoting Judaism, rather he wishes to understand and love the people 'for their Father's sake'.

Many, including John Milton, shared Wall's belief that the conversion of the Jews would happen in the Commonwealth of England which had 'this grace and honour from God, to be the first that should set up a standard for the recovery of lost truth, and blow the first evangelic trumpet to the Nations, holding up, as from a hill, the new lamp of saving light to all Christendom'.²³ This echoes Moses Wall's more mundane perception of significant 'revolutions'.

Even though the Members of Parliament to whom it was originally dedicated could read *Spes Israelis* in the Latin text²⁴ of 1650, as suggested by Lucien Wolf,²⁵ there can be no doubt that access to the work in the vernacular had a profound effect on many in the newly formed Commonwealth who, not necessarily educated as scholars, yet perceived their destiny to be closely connected to that of the Biblical Jews and their contemporary descendants. As David Katz points out, *The Hope of Israel*, with its allusive title taken from Jeremiah XIV, VII,²⁶ was immediately successful in Jewish and Christian circles alike, evident from three printings in three successive years.

²³ John Milton. *Of Reformation touching Church Discipline* CPW, pp.525-6.

²⁴ It is of interest that Spencer's immediate public response, *A Briefe Epistle to the Learned Manasseh ben Israel*, London 1650, was printed in Latin and English versions bound together, suggesting a wide audience.

²⁵ L. Wolf. 'Menasseh ben Israel's Mission to Oliver Cromwell', *JHSE* XXVII, 1901, pp.73-81.

²⁶ 'O the hope of Israel, its saviour in times of trouble, why shouldst thou be as a stranger in the land, and as a wayfaring man that turns aside to tarry for a night?'

Oliver Cromwell himself asserted that the English Commonwealth was 'at the edge of the promises and prophecies...it may be as some thing, God will bring the Jewes home to their station from the isles of the sea...and answer their expectations'.²⁷ Hopes to institute a political and spiritual 'restauration' using the Old Testament as a guide, gave a positive bias towards Judaic ideas and learning as an alternative to the rejected Stuart and Papal visions. Matters referring to God's first Chosen are directly identified with the contemporary English situation, as for instance David Aspinwall wrote in 1654, 'For though Daniel knew not England...yet by a Spirit of Prophecie and revelation, Daniel did foresee all these things.'²⁸

Careful Biblical reading recognised Millennial pre-requisites such as Daniel's pronouncement that 'All things shall be finished' when God has '...accomplished to scatter the power of the Holy people' (Daniel 12, 7). Recent European upheavals such as the Chmielnicki²⁹ massacres in the Ukraine and Poland, directed specifically against contemporary Jews who fled where they could, suggested that this scattering was happening now. Messianic hope was also rekindled for the persecuted Jews who recognised in their current experiences the likely fulfilment of Deuteronomy 28, 64, where the Biblical Jews as the People of God were told, 'The Lord shall scatter thee among all the people, from one end of the earth even to the other'. If the Royal ruling of 1290 expelling all Jews from England stood in the way of

²⁷ *The Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*. ed. W. Abbott. Cambridge, Mass. 1937-47 iii pp.64-5.

²⁸ W.M. Aspinwall. *An Explication and Application of the Seventh Chapter of Daniel*. London 1654.

God's given plan for salvation of the world, in the revolutionary Commonwealth which rejected the words of Kings this could now have no credence.

Introduced with John Dury's active help at Menasseh ben Israel's request³⁰ and colloquially translated by Wall, the work was an important success. The Epistle Dedicatory by Dury is flattering, urbane and dramatic, ending with a final theatrical sweep to the MPs: 'Farewell, most renowned Fathers and flourish most prosperously'.

In times of extravagant claims and prophetic recognitions, Moses Wall's *Considerations upon the Point of the Conversion of the Jewes* takes the form of a rational argument, dramatic at the beginning with an itemised logical central section and an exhilarating ending. Questions and answers in the form of correspondence are added as an appendix. There is an impression of directness and urgency. The reader is directly addressed, 'We are sharing these last days in which God has promised to do great things'.

Actual evidence offered to indicate the progress of the metaphysical scheme can be recognised in recent cataclysmic events. Now only the sixth

²⁹ Widespread Jewish massacres in Poland and the Southern Ukraine in 1648-9, led by the eponymous Bogdan Chmielniki (1595-1675). M. L. Dimont. *Jews, God and History*. 1962. p.245.

³⁰ See letter from Manasseh ben Israel '23 December 1649'. H.P.P/44/5/1. 'Sed enim quia facile a me, vel in titulis, vel in ipsis etiam rebus, multis modis peccare posit, ignosces mihi, vir reverende, si dedicationem ipsem a te confectam...' [But truly, because it would be easy for me to cause unwitting offence in many ways, either in titles or content, forgive me venerable sir if I ask you to prepare the dedication yourself...].

vial, marking the penultimate stage - the conversion of the Jews – awaits fulfilment,³¹ and its prompt completion is thus greatly to be desired.

Wall's practical work in the translation of *Spes Israelis* and his consideration of its implications mark a step in this process, as a political-metaphysical bridge between hopeful Jews and the expectant English millenarians. To begin, Wall engages his audience by citing two familiar references, the Wedding at Cana which was Christ's first miracle, and the Nebuchadnezzar story of glory, pride and disaster. These set the tone and mood of this encomium. The imagery of both stories is vivid and the message clear: Christ will perform miracles for his people who have faith however humble their station, and God will punish offenders however powerful they may be, when they transgress His will. He further supports his idea of the wonderful end/beginning of things with reference to the Aristotelean forms of comedy.

Moses Wall in *Considerations* shows how the parables and stories establish a mood of vivid expectation and span the spiritual worldly divide. He makes clear that the devil and triumphant kings (including Charles Stuart), who began blessed with golden promise, come eventually to dust, while Jesus and his believers will share the enduring feast of glory and light.

The immediate situation - 'we are now being on the borders of...Canaan' - equates the audience with the original Children of Israel; similarly the luxurious and hugely promising image of miraculous harvests to come in political and millennial terms is shown by the well known Old

³¹ *Romans xi*, pp.25-6 cf Joseph Mede: *The Key of the Revelation* trans. R. More 1650.

Testament picture of phenomenal fruit brought back to the original Children of Israel by the spies sent ahead as recorded in Numbers 13, 24. Future promise is further confirmed by recognition of present events in Europe and the Turkish Empire. These are seen as messages that God is now present. The overpowering and triumphant image of redemption out of chaos, Samson/Christ, is perceived to have 'risen up like a mighty giant' and 'light and truth' have come 'to all sorts of people'. Jewish recognition of Jesus represented the last stage before the Second Coming. Moses Wall's support as a member of The Committee for the Propagation of the Gospel is further proof of his active commitment. The meeting on 20 March 1651 discussed the question: 'whether Jews should be tolerated among us or no'. The response was positive because:

We would, if under their power, that they should tolerate us.

We cannot be perfect without them.

Our Salvation came by their falling.

In the 'Discourse', reference to Thomas Brightman's interpretation of the *Return of the Shulamite* reminds readers of the lyrical Song of Songs and suggests the metaphysical triumph of Jews, just so, returning to Jesus. The accompanying images from events in the Passover/Exodus story add evidence of God's design and positive identification to the current situation.

Following this vividly illustrated preamble Wall presents eight separately itemised and logically presented arguments for the imminent acceptance of the Jews in England, all supported by highly specific Biblical

references. This clear direct exposition underlines his pragmatic approach to the achievement of the coming miracle.

In the final section he allows his personal voice to be heard once more: 'I must speak... on the time and the manner of the Jews' conversion.' Cutting through contemporary calculation and speculation on God's will, Moses Wall follows the teachings of Joseph Mede, substantiated in his correspondence with Edward Spencer and Samuel Hartlib; as with Paul on the road to Damascus, God himself will effect their conversion...'for particularities...secret things do belong to God.'

This *Discourse* uses popular and scholarly persuasion and underlines Wall's undoubting conviction that God is currently working with his Englishmen for the promised Second Coming and that he himself was one of those who could change the world and have a part to play in the imminent Redemption.

LETTERS TO SAMUEL HARTLIB

Fifteen letters written between June 1652 and December 1660 by Moses Wall survive in the Hartlib archive. They offer a direct, conversational voice.

Samuel Hartlib, as a disciple of Francis Bacon, was inspired by *The New Atlantis*¹ with its presentation of an ideal commonwealth at whose centre is the College of the Six Days Work which collects and disseminates knowledge for the benefit of all citizens of the state. Following Bacon's model he set up his Office of Address collecting ideas and supporting new scientific and educational ventures, largely through correspondence with scholars, politicians, teachers and leaders of the reformed churches in Europe and the New World.

The letters cover the turbulent years when there were a number of attempts to set up new forms of government. Austin Woolrych identifies the problems of a nation trying to survive without a king, under Commonwealth and Protectorate. Christopher Hill writes variously about the period in terms of class struggle and the experience of the people, while Conrad Russell, Derek Hirst and John Merrill all chronicle the processes of personal and

¹ Sir Francis Bacon, Baron Verulam, Viscount St. Albans. 1561-1626. *The New Atlantis*. London 1627.

political conflict and the nature of revolution in seventeenth-century England and Ronald Hutton identifies an inevitable national development in relation to the Scottish and Irish positions of the time.²

Moses Wall's place in the great web of information Samuel Hartlib controlled is not certain but circumstantial evidence suggests that there was probably an underlying political motive to this exchange of correspondence.

He writes to Hartlib in English in a flowing hand, often making use of a whole quarto sheet. Sometimes the initial letters of address and the capitals of the signature present a theatrical flourish, but otherwise the writing is regular, legible and clear, there are few additions or emendations and the impression is one of confidence and familiarity.

For comparison, from Europe Jan Komensky as 'Comenius' wrote to Hartlib in a scribal hand using Latin as a common language, as did many others although they were Englishmen writing to fellow correspondents in England. One John Jonston who wrote to Hartlib about shared books and the discipline of logic addresses Hartlib 'Salutem' and continues in Latin throughout, even altering his name at the end to J. Jonstonous. An appeal circulated to raise funds to promote Comenius' scheme of universal learning is issued with a sample promissory note in Latin,³ but responses from supporters such as John Stoughton are in English.⁴ The mode of address

² A. Woolrych. *England Without a King*, Methuen 1983.
C. Hill *The World Turned Upside Down*, Penguin 1975.
Conrad Russell *The Crisis of the Protestants*, OUP 1971.
Derek Hirst *Authority of Conflict*, Edward Arnold, 1986.
John Morrill *Oliver Cromwell & the English Revolution* Longman, 1990.
Ronald Hutton *The British Republic 1649-60*, Macmillan, 1990.

³ H.P.P. 18/20/1A-2B.

⁴ 46/11/3A-4B.

here is conversational as with Wall, 'Good Mr. Hartlib' and after discussing common acquaintance and political and religious matters the closure too is informal; 'Your assured Friend (sic) Jo. Stoughton.'

Peter Figulus, Comenius' son-in-law, begins a letter in English then moves into Latin and concludes with personal news (such as his wife's recent miscarriage) in German. He closes once more in English with the formal convention of 'Yr. Humble and Faithful Servant'.⁵

In the diversity of correspondents writing to Hartlib, Moses Wall's letters are in plain contemporary English, direct and personal, a clear voice in touch with a trusted correspondent.

I have transcribed these letters from the originals, indicating page breaks and preserving the punctuation, lines and spellings as Moses Wall wrote them.

⁵ H.P.P. 9/17/11A-12A.

Letter dated 18 June 1652

Less than two years after his *Discourse* which followed *The Hope of Israel* Moses Wall gives continuing evidence of his belief and active involvement in facilitating the imminent Millennium.

In the first surviving letter of his correspondence with Samuel Hartlib he is once again concerned with the conversion of the Jews to Christianity. On 2 November 1650 he had written to Edward Spencer '...concerning your desire of converting the Jews...I verily think that when it shall be done it shall be God's work and not man's.'⁶ Now, returning a manuscript corrected and transcribed 'according to my promise', which suggests earlier contacts, he is sceptical of the truth of 'such leane stories' as it contains of 'a great council of Jews' and their leaders all gathered on the Plains of Ageda in central Hungary, ready to accept Christianity and thus fulfil the final shape before Christ's second coming.

Optimism was currently high. John Dury and Thomas Thorowgood had hoped that the discovery of New World Indians – with Old Testament memories - ready to convert brought the desired moment materially nearer, and Henry Jessey computing Cabbalistic facts and figures wrote to Manasseh ben Israel on 24 December 1649 'We can expect no more than, in the said 1655 yeare but the call of the Jewes.' Moses Wall does not admit such precise hopes; his response is firmly rooted in the day-to-day world. '...the

⁶ Lecker appendix to the Second English edition of *The Hope of Israel*.

1652 year is passing and yet no tidings of their return, but a nation shall be born in a day when God's time is come...'. His impatience is tempered with familiar faith and confidence.

Wall regrets he lacks the 'leisure' to improve the manuscript as he would wish. The Greenwich address at the end of this letter offers a clue. At just this time the new Commonwealth teetered on the brink of a war with its Protestant ally and wartime enemy, Holland.⁷ On June 11 the Dutch Ambassador Extraordinary, Adriaan Pauw, arrived in England for urgent discussions aimed at averting armed confrontation.⁸ Moses Wall, already established as Sir Henry Vane's confidential agent in delicate negotiations, was once more at an historical and geographical flashpoint where Vane was a central and contentious player. Currently Treasurer for the Navy, he was deeply opposed to an Anglo-Dutch War, calling rather for a 'coalescence' of fellow Protestant nations.⁹ This was very much the same view held and supported actively by Samuel Hartlib, John Dury and Moses Wall who all followed the idea of Pan Protestant unity.

Considering the particular moment and Moses Wall's known sympathies and political record it is possible that he was concerned with business important to Sir Henry Vane, at naval headquarters at Greenwich.

The next three letters are sent from the hamlet of Whitton in Middlesex where Wall would be close to army muster grounds on Hounslow Heath.

⁷ C.S.P.D. June 11-26.

⁸ L. Miller. *Milton and the Anglo Dutch Negotiations*, 1995 p.72.

⁹ T. Burton. *Diary* ed. D. Rutt. Vol III p.433.

Letter dated 17 July 1653

Moses Wall's second letter apparently suggests a medical enquiry. It is accompanied by an anatomical diagram, '...I have drawn up the...of my Body...' which is now missing.

All three letters sent from Whitton are very short. In almost all other instances the whole sheet of paper is used, but on this occasion his script only covers half the sheet (34/4/3A) and the page edge is torn, presumably where something was roughly detached, and some words are just incomplete. The most decipherable is 'affectionat...' which leaves little room for doubt. The missing word at the end of line 3 offers no clues except that it must be short to line up with the rest of the letter. 'A paper' would not fit the sentence or the space but 'plan' would. Since the page edge is torn and the diagram missing, it can be concluded that '...the paper containing the state of my body'¹⁰ has been removed. This appears to be the only instance in the collection where a letter is incomplete.

Beginning 'God's providence by your means...', the opening and the closing remark '...this and your many other courtesies to your most affectionate friend' (where 'affectionate' is read as 'mentally disposed towards' in the usage of the time), set the tone of familiarity and shared religious sympathies. No final identification of '...the Gentleman in your house' can actually be confirmed. Assuming that the enquiry for '...an answer and prescript' is taken to refer to questions of a medical nature, then it is likely that

¹⁰ Next letter H.P.P. 34/4/5A.

the Gentleman in question is Friederich or Frederick Clodius, who like Hartlib was an expatriate German and recently had married Hartlib's daughter. At about this time it is possible that Clodius was a resident in his father-in-law's house, since in a letter to Robert Boyle dated 28 February 1653, Hartlib writes of 'our quondam back kitchen whereof my son-in-law hath made a goodly laboratory'.¹¹ This could explain the absent diagram. The question arises however why Hartlib needs to be the intermediary in medical matters.

Considering Wall's undercover adventure for Sir Henry Vane ten years before and his presence at Greenwich, it is a notable coincidence that now he is at Whitton, Middlesex in the summer of 1653, following Vane's public disgrace and exile from Westminster after the expulsion of the Rump in Cromwell's military coup of 20 April.

Anthropomorphic language to describe political situations was current in communication at this time:

Ruptures there are that must be restored; *dislocations* that must be reduced; *wounds* that must be cured...none can be more fit to effect this than the old physicians who have attended all the *fits* and *distempers* and are best acquainted with *the state of the body*...the *patient* should have a care by all means to see that the physicians do not long try practices and conclusions and by this means deprive the *body of health and liberty*.¹²

¹¹ Letter from Hartlib to Boyle, quoted by C. Webster in *The Great Instauration*, Duckworth 1975 p.302.

¹² *Mercurius Politicus* 6-13 November, 1651 on the state of the nation.

It may be no coincidence that Wall, who had already proved his diplomatic allegiance and skill to the Independents, should be living with precisely one of those 'old physicians' mentioned above, Thomas Westroe MP,¹³ a confirmed moderate, veteran of the Lower House, now old and ailing, in a place strategically convenient to note the movement of troops. Just as Greenwich was a pulse-point for the potentially rebellious navy, so Hounslow Heath was the mustering and manoeuvring ground for a restless army, currently the strong arm of Cromwell's virtual dictatorship.

According to Clarendon, that which troubled Cromwell most in the summer of 1653 was '... the jealousy that his own party of independents had contracted against him; that party, that had advanced him to the height he was at, and made him superior to all opposition, even his beloved Vane, thought his power and authority to be too great for a Commonwealth and that he and his Army "had not dependence enough upon, or submission to, the Parliament".'¹⁴ To consolidate his strength Henry Vane needed current strategic information.

A map dated 1636 (Appendix C) shows Whitton as a hamlet of no more than twenty dwellings, right on the edge of Hounslow Heath. An anonymous verse dated 1686 sums up its importance:

Near Hampton Court there lies a Common

Unknown to neither man nor woman!

¹³ Thomas Westroe 1587-1653, M.P. for Twickenham, Middlesex. Member of the Hale Commission for Legal Reform 1651. Corresponding with Hartlib and a friend of Sir Cheney Culpeper since 1640s. H.P.P. 13/129A-130B & 13/169A-170B.

The Heath of Hounslow it is styled
Which never was with blood defiled,
Though it has been of war the seat...¹⁵

Moses Wall's brief letter 'gladly attends' an 'answer and prescript' which in current usage transmits an ambivalent message. In the Oxford English Dictionary, 'prescript' may indicate medical advice but equally can suggest a rule for action. This compounds the uncertainty already raised about the true purpose of Wall's communication, the nature of the lost plan and for whom it was intended.

¹⁴ *Clarendon's History of the Rebellion & Civil Wars in England*, xiv 3, ed W. Dunn Macray, Clarendon Press 1969, p.269.

¹⁵ Quoted in *And so Make a City Here...* G.E.Bate. Heritage Press 1990. p.57.

Letter dated 21 August 1653

This letter from Whitton briefly recalls the contents of the one sent on 17 July. Anxious for a reply, Wall complains that he has been 'all this time waiting' and in his panic he miscalculates the time since he sent his note and the diagram of 'the state of my body' as six rather than the actual five weeks which have passed.

The previous letter contained a diagram and in some way Wall is waiting for advice to act. Adding to his earlier requests, Wall would welcome 'any intelligence'¹⁶ which Hartlib might have to communicate. The ambiguity of the language could equally imply a medical or a political subject.

By 1696 'intelligence' unequivocally implied the information of a spy, and in 1613 is already recorded as describing material of specifically military value. If Wall is concerned with 'intelligence' of this second kind he may well worry that the information has fallen into the wrong hands. Supporting the notion that he might be a central source for political intelligence, on 5 May 1655 Samuel Hartlib told Ralph Austen that he had orders from 'His Highness the Protector' to attend once a week 'to acquaint His Highness with affairs'¹⁷.

Moses Wall living at the house of Tom Westroe also suggests a political angle. Thomas Westroe, 1587 - 1653, had been an early intimate of Cromwell, a committed Republican associated with the Eleutheria Experiment

¹⁶ IOED 5b (1696) & 7(1613 and 1695).

¹⁷ Quoted by Turnbull in *Hartlib, Dury and Comenius*, p.31.

in the Bahamas promoting independence and religious toleration.¹⁸ He opposed the Regicide, returning to the Commons only at Cromwell's personal persuasion in December 1651, but he did not resume his seat in the House after the forced dissolution of the Rump in April 1653.

In July and August 1653 the exchange of possibly strategically sensitive information regarding the disposition and dispensation of the army and trained bands on Hounslow Heath would be of great interest to the Independents planning possible retaliation against a military dictatorship; its unauthorised communication could be an act of great risk. Under such circumstances, Moses Wall would be anxious regarding the fate of his (over-long unanswered) letter and the accompanying plan.

No action did ensue. Instead Clarendon notes 'Vane and the most considerable men of the Independent Party from the time he (i.e. Cromwell) had turned them out of the Parliament, and so dissolved it, retired quietly to their houses in the Country; poisoned the affections of their neighbours towards the government; and lost nothing of their credit with the people; yet carried themselves so warily that they did nothing to disturb the peace of the nation, or to give Cromwell any advantage against them upon which to call them in question'.¹⁹

At this sensitive time Moses Wall was at Whitton in a strategically significant area staying with a disaffected ex-Member of Parliament, and Samuel Hartlib was at the centre of his web monitoring and dispensing 'intelligence', as John Morrill quotes from the Day Books of Dr. Henry

¹⁸ R. Brenner, *Merchants and the Revolution*, Princeton, 1993.

Sampson, 'Therefore such as resided about London met together and gave intelligence by Mr Samuel Hartlib and Mr Fraser to those in the country, of affairs.'²⁰ Morrill is doubtful about information given from this source, but actually thinks that references to Samuel Hartlib in the text give plausibility to the rest.²¹

Considering the circumstances it is possible that letters from Wall to Hartlib, apparently on matters of personal health, actually refer to the health of the immediate situation on Hounslow Heath.

Letter dated 26 August 1653

The third letter in the Whitton sequence is dated only five days after the last communication. In the interim Moses Wall has received a personally encouraging response: '...pledges of your love' and a discourse from 'the honourable Gentleman'. The 'discours' is dutifully returned '(according to desire)', its contents are recorded as both 'theor[et]icall' and 'practicall' and Wall awaits the blessing of God upon the 'Councell and Prescripts'.

This letter is notably one without the urgency of foregoing communications. Words such as 'patiently', the Old Testament reference to the patience of Job, 'the less...the more...', and the promise not to be importunate, all lead in a natural way to the final uncharacteristic salutation, 'I

¹⁹ Op. cit. p.349.

²⁰ B.L. Add. MS 4460, fo74v.

²¹ J. Morrill, *The Nature of the English Revolution*. London 1993, p.143.

shall now take my leave', as Wall literally signs off. He is no longer anxious regarding further communication; he has understood his instructions now safely returned, and concludes: 'I shall not be importunate to hear from the Gentleman, but stay his leisure'. The mention of 'business', readily defined as official duties at this time, is a reminder that matters more important than personal health could be at stake. It is also of interest to note that in subsequent years Wall showed a keen interest in telescopes, the latest advance in Seventeenth Century technology for useful distance observation.²²

Moses Wall signs off and takes his leave. The next letter is dated March 1655 and comes from his 'retirement' at Caversham.

Letter dated 9 March [no further date]

This brief and hastily written note lacks a full date. Considering the format and contents, it is possible to suggest a place for it in the overall collection.

Uniquely written on only half the full sheet, it nevertheless begins with a brave sweeping diagonal line, below the initial 'Sir' which uses up over one fifth of the available paper. Almost in parallel and more than half as long, the

²² H.P.P. 34/4/25/A.

top of the initial 'T' on the next line, which begins the text of the letter, is reminiscent of the confident flourishing handwriting to be found in other letters written only in the early years of the exchange.

Regarding contents, in the letter dated 19 March 1655 Wall writes of 'some in the world who love your person and price [sic] your correspondence', and on 12 June 1655 he thanks Hartlib for 'your intelligence which feeds my spirit...in my solitude and retirement'. This compares closely with statements made in the letter under consideration; 'Your letters and informations are very acceptable to me, and a great refreshing to my spirit in my country solitude'. Such overt allusions to his lonely personal situation do not occur at other times in the correspondence.

The letter sent on 19 March 1655 is the first one fully dated to be directed from Caversham. References to his recent return from London, and his promise of future attention to be 'testified by all the ways in the power of your faithful friend' suggest a sincere if hurried reassurance that he wishes the correspondence to continue. The fact that he feels he has to state this after three years suggests altered circumstances on his part.

This evidence, together with the further point that this is the only time Wall actually names his current abode, 'Caversham at the How-house'²³ at the foot of the letter - all others are directed from Caversham alone - leads to the suggestion that this hasty note is actually the first piece of

²³ This cannot be traced by name on any contemporary maps or documents at present. 'How' suggests that the house is on a hill or a ridge where the land falls steeply away. (A. H. Smith. *English Place-Name Elements*, CUP 1956, Part I. p.256). This makes it likely that it was one of the earlier buildings on the site of the present Caversham Park, Berkshire, which stands on an escarpment high above the Thames, at a small distance from Caversham Bridge.

correspondence since Wall's removal from Whitton, and should be dated 9 March 1654/1655.

The tone of the letter suggests that Wall is hardly reconciled to his 'country solitude' yet he still affirms his belief that he 'who Himself is better than all his gifts' is yet to come. In the meantime he is anxious that Samuel Hartlib should continue sending letters. In a rare appearance of warmth he admits 'your correspondence...is very dear to me'. Signing off he promises to fulfil the friendship 'by all the ways' in his power, once more intimating that the correspondence may offer more than a friendly exchange.

Letter dated 19 March 1654/5

The next letter is dated eighteen months after the last in the archive but there has obviously been some contact since Moses Wall begins 'I received your last...'. The undated note simply headed 9 March may explain this as discussed above.²⁴

Previous communications were sent from Greenwich and Whitton, this and all subsequent letters come from Caversham, the strategically important Thames crossing on the Berks/Oxon border.

Samuel Hartlib has sent 'the Treatise of the French Minister' (possibly Robert Vilvain's 'Theoremata Theologica' which had just been published)²⁵ and calculated calendar predictions of specific events imminently prior to the second coming, such as 'a firestorm to destroy the wicked' for 1656. The voice which speaks out 'I shall say this to you...' is a strange outburst in the context of the ongoing discussion unless Moses Wall's 'retirement' is linked to Sir Henry Vane's exile in remote Lincolnshire at this time. Then 'some who love your person and prize your correspondence' could refer to a link between Wall and Vane via Hartlib on continued espionage now that England is no more than a 'refined Babylon' which must fall.

This discussion echoes current views, such as John Rogers' *Mene Tekel or A Little Appearance of the Handwriting against the Powers and Apostates of the Perez' Times* which was specifically addressed to Oliver

²⁴ H.P.P. 34/4/29A above.

²⁵ Robert Vilvain *Theoremata Theologica*. Fol 186. London 1654.

Cromwell who had dissolved the first Protectorate Parliament in January and so now could be seen as a tyrant.²⁶

Similar apprehensions such as Nathaniel Holmes' message of an immediate timescale in *The Resurrection Revealed*²⁷ held a very real importance for Moses Wall, 'tinctured' as he says by the teaching of Joseph Meade at Cambridge. The alchemical language resonates with the sense of a vital and mystical conviction. Nathaniel Holmes recognised 'We can expect no more in the said 1655 year but the call of the Jews who from that time shall strive with the Turk.' These references were 'excellent good hints to awaken the mind.' Consistent with his translation of *The Hope of Israel* five years before, Moses Wall is still sure of the imminent conversion of the Jews as an indicator of God's immediate involvement in the redemption of the world.

His interest in John Dury's pan-Protestant crusade²⁸ shows a continuing involvement in achieving this end despite exile from the immediate centres of activity.

Moses Wall's actual voice at this time can be heard from remarks attributed to him in Hartlib's 'Ephemerides' for January/February 1655 such as 'Little Parliament did nothing just, the last just did nothing.' This nice aphorism is followed by 'A prediction of 4 Parliaments to be in England. The 1 should be wise but not honest. 2 honest but not wise. 3 neither wise nor

²⁶ *Mene, Tekel Perez* etc. J. Rogers. London 10/6/54 E. 23(4).

²⁷ N. Holmes. *The Resurrection Revealed*. London 1654, p.30.

²⁸ John Dury. 1596 -1680. A Scot, born in Germany. Dedicated to uniting all the Protestant churches in Europe.

honest. 4 both wise and honest.' This optimistic progression gives an alternative insight to his lines of thought in 'these tempting and trying times.'

Letter dated 3 April 1655

Samuel Hartlib responded to Moses Wall's letter within three days giving news of John Dury as requested. 'The packett...as alwayes welcome' cannot be identified.

Dury's paper *Concordiae Inter Evangelicos* had been published in March calling for a positive response to the persecution of the 'Reformed Christians and Protestants dwelling in Piedmont, by the Duke of Savoy's Forces. Papers setting out their 'murders and other cruelties' in vivid detail, were submitted to Cromwell on 12 June and in July he issued a proclamation for their relief. Their plight caught the public imagination, John Milton called on God Himself to 'avenge' his 'slaughtered saints' and Moses Wall – recognising 'a people precious in the account of God' so cruelly treated by 'the Popish crue' – sees their suffering as confirmation of Biblical prophecies leading ever closer to the desired 'ruin of Rome'. Keen to learn more of their history, he requests specific information. In 1655 Samuel Morland travelled as Cromwell's emissary to the Vaudois and compiled A History of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piedmont which was not actually published until 1658, but there is a handwritten undated manuscript copy

extant and now lodged in the Cambridge Public Library collections. This could well be the Ms which Wall was hoping to see.

Despite his country life Wall is alert to immediate religious and political concerns as he makes clear with his references to *Politicus* the Parliamentary broadsheet published weekly in London by Marchamont Needham 'for the better information of the people'. Despite supporting the Royalist cause Needham was pensioned by Cromwell and forced to flee to Holland at the Restoration. From this doubtful source Wall can selectively follow current affairs at Westminster even out in Caversham.

Similarly he shows himself to be no credulous optimist when evaluating the wild claims of Thorean John, alias Thomas Tany, a fanatic who styled himself the Lord's High Priest, performed auto-circumcision, set up a tented community 'of all the tribes of Israel' at Lambeth and finally, wearing an 'antique habit' and flourishing a rusty sword 'did run...towards the Parliament door...and bounced the door with his feet, to have forced his entrance, and just as he had opened the door...he was laid hold on.'²⁹

In Thomas Tany's writings as sent by Samuel Hartlib, Wall finds only ignorance and misrepresentation. Confusion and Babel are recognised to be a punishment inflicted on corrupt and fallen man, as shown in Genesis,³⁰ who will be redeemed at the Second Coming.³¹ Still Wall himself does not waver in his belief that 'he who is the desired of all nations' shall come soon, but order and patience will bring this about rather than crazy activity. Interestingly

²⁹ *The Perfect Diurnall*, (1-8 Jan 1655) pp. 4061-2.

³⁰ Genesis 11: 6-9...Let us go down there... confound their language...so the Lord scattered them abroad...upon the face of the earth.

³¹ Corinthians 11:34.

he compliments Samuel Hartlib as a 'midwife' in the rebirth of the saved world, an immediate and resonant medical simile which go some way to support my suggestions regarding the Whitton letters of 1653.³²

³² H.P.P. 34/4/9Aff.

Letter dated 8 May 1655

A month after his last letter Moses Wall has received three more 'packets' from Samuel Hartlib but has not responded directly since he has nothing 'worthy' and declares himself at present 'wholly a recipient'. He is not active. The contents of these 'packets' are never explained but he is anxious to confirm that 'none miscarry' which suggests that the material sent may be sensitive. In support of this the O.E.D. definition for 1653 of 'a packet' is 'a parcel of dispatches, especially political.' Samuel Hartlib is keeping Wall informed but Wall has 'nothing worthy' to send in return.

In March there had been a Royalist rising against the Protectorate led by John Penruddock in nearby Wiltshire. Clearly there was unrest in the country; by September eleven Major Generals had been appointed to enforce central co-operation with the government. It is notable that Berkshire was particularly disinclined to this local extension of direct rule from Westminster³³ as apparently watched by John Thurloe and his spies.³⁴ Caversham, with its bridge over the Thames suitable to carry an army, might well be of interest to the disaffected at this time.

Personally Moses Wall writes of his own responses to Oliver Cromwell's pride in terms of Quaker passion. In 1647 John Salmon had written 'The sin of pride is in all of us, thy heart is that temple of God where

³³ A. Fletcher. *A Country Community in Peace & War. 1600-1660*, 1975, p.307.

³⁴ I. Roots *Swordsmen & Decimators* 1970, p.82.

this great whore sitteth.³⁵ Evidence of similar consternation in the rest of the Hartlib circle at this time comes in a letter from John Dury dated 22 July 1655: 'I hope our great man who is now the obloquie of some, the admiration of others and the terror of those that oppose him most cunningly; I hope I say, that the Lord will hide him in his pavilion from the pride of men.'

Moses Wall's solution 'to pessundate' is much more passionate; the 1656 definition of the word in the OED suggests that he would 'ruin, cast down and destroy' such pride. Without naming names his position is made clear and he castigates himself for his own inaction³⁶ comparing John Dury's energy³⁷ in the Protestant cause. He had just published *Declaratio Amplissimorum Helvetae Reformatae etc.* and was shortly to petition Cromwell to have troops in Scotland for support of the King of Sweden in the Calvinist and Lutheran cause.³⁸ In the same sentence Wall mentions 'the honourable gentleman' probably Constantyn Shaum identified more recognisably in the next letter as 'the Transylvanian Agent', who was in England to petition support for beleaguered Protestants in Poland and Hungary.

Concerning the situation at home Wall is challenging in tone: 'Well Sir, The 1655 year is passant, and yet what hath God wrought?' 1655 had been predicted in the second English edition of Joseph Meade's *Clavis*

³⁵ J. Salmon. *Anti Christ in Man* 1647 [sig A2V], p.10.

³⁶ 'Why do you speak more bravely than you live?' Seneca *Epistolae Morales*.

³⁷ *Declaratio Amplissimorum Helvetiae Reformatae Magistratuum Super Negotio Pacificatorio* etc 21 April 1655.

³⁸ Letter to Sir George Fleetwood 4 August 1655, mentioned Turnbull p.277.

Apocalyptica,³⁹ as a time of great things. The full subtitle is immediately encouraging: *Clavis Apocalyptica; or a Prophetical Key: by which the great Mysteries in the Revelation of St. John and the Prophet Daniel were opened; it being made apparent that the Prophetical Numbers come to an End with the year of our Lord 1655...In Two Treatises.....! Shewing what in these our times hath been fulfilled. 2. At this present is effectually brought to pass. 3. And henceforth - is to be expected in the years near at hand...* John Dury followed with a Discourse endorsing 1655 as *the* year. Ralph Josselin,⁴⁰ Nathaniel Holmes⁴¹ and John Evelyn⁴² all expected 'some extraordinary events' for these days and Moses Wall still believes 'great things will be done shortly'. He is impatient with God but tries to remind himself of man's importance in the face of all Creation.

Exiled far away at his home in Belleau, Lincolnshire, Sir Henry Vane had completed the introduction to his *Retired Man's Meditations* in April 1655 attempting to reconcile the relevance of apocalyptic prophecies to the immediate English experience, predicting that 'the iniquity at Whitehall will now soon be resolved by the direct agency of God.' Like his admirer Moses Wall he never lost faith that the Millennium was imminent and would happen in England by direct divine intervention.

³⁹ *Clavis Apocalyptica* 'corrected & enlarged' 1651. Edited by Samuel Hartlib and with an introduction by John Dury. E. 1260. (1).

⁴⁰ Ralph Josselin, *Diary* ed. A. MacFarlane, London 1976, p.228.

⁴¹ N. Holmes, *The Resurrection Revealed*, London 1654, p.564.

⁴² Diary of John Evelyn for 28 August 1655 (iii) OUP 1955, p.158.

Letter dated 12 June 1655

After a month Moses Wall writes again to Samuel Hartlib, this time in a more direct and less conversational tone. This immediate note of 'solitude and retirement' has an echo of Vane's *Retired Man's Meditations* and the 'intelligence which feeds my soul' could once more be metaphysical or practical. However, the enquiries about the Spanish Plenipotent and the Transylvanian Agent show that he keeps in close touch with immediate affairs and the request for information 'so far as is communicable' suggests that he knows Hartlib is privy to sensitive political detail.

In May the Marquis of Leida had arrived at Whitehall with an impressive retinue 'to offer the entire friendship of the Catholic King'. The possibility existed that the Protector, ruling now without a Parliament which he had dissolved in January, might be seduced into a politically expedient if religiously abhorrent alliance. In October 1655 Cromwell did make a defensive pact with Catholic France but in June, having been 'coolly received', the Spaniard left for Flanders.⁴³

On the Protestant side Moses Wall now identifies 'the honourable gentleman' of the previous letter as the Transylvanian Agent who can further be identified as Constantyn Schaum, recommended to Hartlib by Comenius in a letter dated 23 January 1655. He came to London to petition support for Lutherans and Calvinists in the hostile religious climates of Hungary and Poland and was sympathetically received.

⁴³ Clarendon *History of the Rebellion*, Vol xv 8, p.57.

The rest of the letter is concerned with detailed instructions for the personal delivery of an enclosure. The recipient 'my cousin Arthor' is likely to be Arthur Skinner, employed as an usher at Felsted School during the headship of Martin Holbeach, Moses Wall's brother-in-law and eventual executor. 'Mr Colbron' may be either Thomas or Henry, two scrivener brothers, both with connections to John Milton's family.⁴⁴

It is clear that Moses Wall himself has recently been in London since he has acquired *Chymical, Medicinall and Chyrurgical Addresses*, a book as he notes dedicated to Samuel Hartlib and only available from 7 April 1655.

The repeated references to material passed between family and friends by detailed routes suggests clandestine co-operation in response to the hostile situation. It carries the hint of secrets and fear experienced day by day.

⁴⁴ H. F. Waters. *Genealogical Gleanings in England*, London 1901 Vol I. p.317.

Letter dated 4 January 1658/9

It was not until January 1659 that Moses Wall wrote his next letter to Samuel Hartlib. He gives no explanation for the three and a half years gap but instantly reinstates his connections with Sir Henry Vane by presenting his country life 'where I retire to my own thoughts', paraphrasing *A Retired Man's Meditations*.

Since the death of Oliver Cromwell in the previous September there were hopes of reviving the Good Old Cause of Commonwealth under Vane.

On 30 November 1658 Cromwell's spymaster John Thurloe had written to Henry Cromwell in Ireland: 'The Commonwealth's men have their daily meetings disputing what kind of commonwealth they shall have, taking it for granted that they may pick and choose...I like not the aspect of things.'⁴⁵ These meetings took place at Sir Henry Vane's London house at Charing Cross; Samuel Hartlib lived close by in King Street, Westminster; and the army, unimpressed by Richard Cromwell now supported Vane.

Moses Wall's place of retirement overlooked Caversham Bridge, the Thames crossing vital in the movement of troops between London and the heart of England. In 1643 it had been the object of a long and bitter siege; with Vane now making a common cause with the army, information from such a key position would be of vital importance.

⁴⁵ *Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow*. ed. Sir Chas. Firth Oxon. 1894 vii, p.541.

Not only is Moses Wall disappointed by Oliver Cromwell's betrayal of original Commonwealth ideals, in this letter he condemns the currently 'empty form in religion'. His old Cambridge contemporary Hugh Peters, addressing Parliament at just this time, was of similar mind declaring 'the old fire has bene quelled...religion was left by our ancestors hot...fiery hot...but has now fallen into lukewarm hands...'. He encouraged his audience once more to 'boil up religion to the height'.⁴⁶ Arthur Haselrig too, one of the original plotters in Moses Wall's 1643/4 escapade and now again one of Vane's close supporters, declared 'The Commons of England will quake to hear that they are returning to the garlic and onions of a kingdom'.⁴⁷ This Old Testament reference recalls original Commonwealth identification with God's promises to the Children of Israel.

To these swirling currents Moses Wall himself adds a classical perspective quoting the sixteenth-century Florentine neo-Platonist teacher Marcilio Ficino to reinforce his recurrent belief that 'ultimately the salvation of the Jews will be brought about by God himself...' and then the way will be clear for the Second coming.

These immediate concerns might well cause Moses Wall to resume a close and frequent correspondence with his old acquaintance the 'intelligencer' Samuel Hartlib.

The conclusion to this letter might seem innocuous, but 'the bird of my own breeding' sent as 'a testimony of my old respect' might be the cover for

⁴⁶ T. Burton. *Diaries*. Vol ii. p.246.

⁴⁷ Compare *Numbers* 11, 5. 'We remember...the onions and the garlick...which we did eat in Egypt.'

passing information. Certainly Hartlib replied straight away because Moses Wall's return letter is dated only five days later.

Letter dated 9 January 1659

The second letter Moses Wall writes to Samuel Hartlib after their long break in correspondence is apparently personal and passionate, concerned with lost chances and betrayals but also with a hope 'of God returning to us more sweetly than ever.'

The two men have exchanged three letters in five days; perhaps 'the packets enclosed' (untraceable) in the returned basket had something to do with this fast turnaround. After a few personal details Moses Wall reviews his feelings on 'the dark and dismal world'. In ringing phrases reminiscent of John Milton's *Areopagitica*⁴⁸ he recalls his earlier vision and condemns 'the late Usurper' as a traitor and 'great persecutor', acknowledging that he too was misled against his better judgements by the attraction of Whitehall power. From the country, where he has been since Cromwell was declared Protector, things look very different; Henry Vane is 'that gallant gentleman' and Wall has returned to his first apprehensions. This frank, outspoken and clear

assessment is recognisable as an immediate voice, but it is significant that nowhere is Oliver Cromwell mentioned by name. He may be dead but his spies are still active and elaborate arrangements for the exchange of unsigned correspondence testify to Wall's fear. As Kevin Sharpe notes,⁴⁹ 'under Charles I men feared that private letters were likely to be intercepted and read', quoting an interchange between Ashburnham and Nicholas Barrington 'I am informed that all letters are opened.'⁵⁰ Promulgating the Act for Settling the Postage of England, Scotland and Ireland, Cromwell had made it clear that close control would enable the Government to 'discover many dangerous and wicked designs which have been and are daily contrived against the Peace and Welfare of this Commonwealth, the intelligence whereof cannot be well communicated but by letter'. To this end Thurloe had already for many years employed an 'expert letter opener' who worked under cover from 11pm at night in a secret room adjoining the Foreign Office.⁵¹ This licensed spy was the son of that Isaac Dorislaus, Judge Advocate, who took depositions after Moses Wall's exploit for Sir Henry Vane. Knowing that the Post might be used as an instrument of political surveillance Wall suggests detailed measures to break the chain of obvious communication. In support of this assumption, he is shortly to be most concerned to learn that a later letter may not have reached its destination as expected.⁵²

⁴⁸ 'A noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep and shaking her invincible locks' John Milton *Areopagitica* 1644.

⁴⁹ K. Sharpe *The Personal Rule of Charles I*. Yale 1992, p.682.

⁵⁰ C.S.P.D. 1639. p.274.

⁵¹ C.S.P.D. 1653-4, p.328.

⁵² H.P.P. 34/4/21 A below.

January 1659 was a time of hope for Moses Wall both spiritually and politically. According to Thomas Burton, Sir Henry Vane actually recognised his re-election to Parliament 'as a special testimony of God's providence'⁵³ which accords with Wall's mood that God is returning to his Englishmen. The army and its leaders now supported Vane recognising that 'his Highness is not the General his father'⁵⁴ 'was' and Fifth Monarchists were seen as supporters at the other extreme through Vane's friendship cemented with their leader Christopher Feake whilst they were both prisoners on the Isle of Wight; at his call two thousand men would rally in support of the army at Southwark.⁵⁵ Wall saw that practical and spiritual tendencies showed 'much mercy to the nation and the cause of God'.

On Cabbalistic numerology Wall confesses himself 'at a loss.' Earlier letters hoped for specific dates to fulfil given prophecies which would confirm the imminent Millennium; now he rejects learned treatises on such speculations and professes patience, castigating those self recognised 'saints' who live after the flesh' in a 'polluted and dark world'. These are discussed as easily as the sick cattle for which Hartlib has sent a paper offering a 'cure'...or is the term anthropomorphic? This would make more sense in terms of the following careful instructions for further correspondence from Hartlib. That Moses Wall has not become a credulous outsider of political affairs is obvious from his clear judgement of Marchamont Needham

⁵³ T. Burton. *Diaries*, Vol iii. p.181.

⁵⁴ J. Thurloe. *Op cit.* p.259.

⁵⁵ V. Rowe. *Op cit.* p.218.

as a media manipulator of variable loyalty; though often disappointed Moses Wall himself never wavers.

Letter dated 22 January 1659

Moses Wall wrote again after a silence of nearly two weeks, worried that his previous communication might have 'miscarried'. At the end of this letter he requests anonymity in future exchanges, which suggests once again that more than farming information is being shared.

A lengthy discourse on husbandry does actually occupy the first foolscap page, concerned with bees, clover grass and barley, cows and the perils of 'experiment'. His experiments and records of such practical matters show his active dedication to the idea of 'restauration'.⁵⁶ This mission was also dear to Samuel Hartlib who declared in his *Legacie of Husbandry*, 'providence having directed me unto the experiences and observations of

⁵⁶ See below.

others, I find myself a conduit pipe thereof towards the public'.⁵⁷ Some of those 'others' were Christopher Wren reporting on his transparent beehive and Walter Blith who advocated methods which 'would cause some land to be advanced double or treble... that this very nation might be made the Paradise of the World'.⁵⁸ Moses Wall trying to put theory into practice found that however carefully he might sow and reap the results 'signify nothing', indeed he 'lost about twenty pounds in experimenting with clover grass.'

Although the second page appears to promise more in the same vein, the 'husbandry' offered is very different and very politically outspoken 'now that the monarchy is (or ought to have gone) and the nation set at liberty.' This use of the present tense offers explanation of real and immediate action: Moses Wall has not retreated from political involvement in his 'country solitude', he is very aware of Vane's revived hopes.

In consideration of this positive situation he recalls his credo for a true common-wealth which will transform the nation through Old Testament promises and New Testament action not for 'the powerful and great' but for 'the poor dispirited dues.' Now all shall properly share common land for subsistence, an echo of earlier Leveller beliefs, and on the question of trade such as the manufacture and processing of home grown wool Moses Wall chimes with an enthusiastic contemporary, W.S. Gert, author of an exhaustive tract entitled *The Golden Fleece, wherein is related the Riches of English Wool in its Manufactures together with the True Uses and Abuses etc.* This claims that the 'Nation is by God peculiarised in these blessings...the

⁵⁷ Samuel Hartlib ed. *A Legacie of Husbandry*. London 1652, p.139.

exploration of which is little less than felony...forraigne abuses prejudice the public utility...a great barre to a well governed Commonwealth.⁵⁹ Export of raw wool was finally forbidden by the first Restoration Parliament in May 1660.⁶⁰

On the subject of tithes Moses Wall's position reflects the revolutionary ideas of the Quakers and other sectarians. Tithes had been the issue which 'overturned' the Rump in 1653, their abolition would challenge the whole structure of Church Government hierarchy and its relation to the state. Moses Wall returns to this problem in his letter to John Milton four months later, discussed below.

The vivid 'scars of the Norman Conquest' also looks back to the early perceptions of English common-wealth; Gerald Winstanley the Leveller encouraged Oliver Cromwell in 1652: 'God hath honoured you with the highest honour of any men since Moses' time to be the head of a people who have cast out an oppressing Pharaoh. For when the Norman power had conquered our forefathers he took the free use of our English ground from them'.⁶¹ Cromwell was now dead but for Moses Wall the issue was still live.

Educational reform on the Dutch model had already been admired ten years before by Samuel Hartlib, Moses Wall, John Milton and Robert Boyle who reported back enthusiastically from Leiden and Amsterdam in 1648. Instead of education by patronage and purse there should, in the words of

⁵⁸ Walter Blith *The English Improver*, p.28.

⁵⁹ W. S. Gent *The Golden Fleece* etc. London 1656.

⁶⁰ D. Coleman *The Economy of England 1450-1750*. 1977, p.187.

⁶¹ M. James 'The Political Importance of the Tithes Controversy in the English Revolution' *History*, June 1641 p.16ff.

Isaiah, 'be an extension of light over all men'⁶² and to this end Hartlib in an undated list named⁶³ interested parties to act as commissioners for the Act of the Council of Schooling, tentatively dated 1647.⁶⁴

As J. Milton French notes, the handwriting on these fragments is difficult to read, and he transcribes the puzzling 'Heyling' Wall, with no explanation other than an embarrassed question mark in parentheses. No person of this name occurs anywhere in Samuel Hartlib's archive. Since the work done by French in 1950 and Turnbull in 1947 the Hartlib Papers Project (1987-1992) has transcribed and edited 25,000 pages which survive as the working papers and correspondence of Samuel Hartlib. With their help the puzzle can be solved, since on the page following the apparent 'Heyling Wall'⁶⁵ entry, the names 'Heyling' and 'Wall' appear in vertical order; 'Heyling' is on a separate line, above Dr. Cox and below what may, with some optimism, be transcribed as 'Wall'. The specific name is of less importance than the position which makes it reasonable to assume that as they appear on this page they list two separate people. This would establish Moses Wall as one of Hartlib's proposed Commissioners for the Act of the Council of Schooling and give credence to Christopher Hill's statement that 'When Hartlib listed the proposed commissioners...he included Milton, together with Dury, Pell...and Wall'. The 'Heyling' in question is likely to be Peter Heylyn, 1600-1662, one time Chaplain to the Earl of Danby and author of *Microcosmos*, Oxon 1625 and *The History of the Sabbath* published in

⁶² Isaiah 65, 20.

⁶³ H.P.P. 47/13/3A-B.

⁶⁴ J. French *Op. cit.* Vol 2 p.169 & G. Turnbull *Op.cit.* p.40.

⁶⁵ C. Hill. *Milton and the English Revolution.* p.147.

London in 1636. He was briefly concerned with education before moving on to more fashionable political issues.

Now Wall recognises that 'the printing of many profitable books' gives greater access to 'truths of all kinds' to 'poor and dispirited ones' rather than the 'great'. David Norbrook in *'Writing the English Republic'* argues that the virtual collapse of censorship between 1640 and 1660 resulted in a huge increase in publications and the consequent spread of information.⁶⁶

Christopher Hill had a similar perception in his study of *Some Intellectual Consequences of the English Revolution*.⁶⁷

However enthusiastic he may be for the printing of profitable books, Moses Wall has not lost his critical judgement and condemns the reprint of Thomas Horne's *Janua Lingarum*⁶⁸ as 'an empty paper'. Based on the methods of Comenius, Wall judges that it is parasitical and plagiaristic. This manual on the teaching of languages had originally been published in 1634, now it was 'corrected and republished by W.D' in London. Considering Wall's interests expressed in the next letter he judged from a position of immediate involvement.

Despite disappointments in 'this dark and miserable world' Moses Wall remains enthusiastic about 'this ensuing Parliament' and the ultimate fulfilment of God's promises if only man will act his part, so he is anxious for detailed information on what he judges to be 'the second Great Parliament'⁶⁹

⁶⁶ D. Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic*, CUP 1999, p.13.

⁶⁷ C. Hill. *Some Intellectual Consequences of the English Revolution*, London 1980, p.49.

⁶⁸ Thomas Horne 1610-54. Master of Eton and author of *Janua Lingarum*, or *The Gate of Languages Unlocked*, London 1634.

⁶⁹ Parliament called for 26 January 1659.

whilst remaining aware of possible interceptions by Isaac Dorislaus or John Thurloe, servants of the old corrupt regime.

Letter dated 25 January 1659

On the day before 'the Second great Parliament' is due to assemble Moses Wall writes to Samuel Hartlib again, acknowledging receipt of his communication in the intervening three days and confirming the rather complex methods of exchange.

Sir Henry Vane did not take his seat at this first Parliamentary session, certainly to avoid swearing an oath of allegiance to Richard Cromwell, possibly to await developments in the country.⁷⁰ Half way down the second foolscap page, buried amidst dense scholarly discussion, Wall once more asks for detailed and current information from Westminster. Clearly he has no respect for Cromwell's father 'the late man' or son. He is also still more fearful of discovery: 'I shall hereafter write to you without name and expect the same

⁷⁰ *Against Richard Cromwell*. Sir Henry Vane. ed. W. J. Bryan.

from you.' Views on universal language or the dial of Hugenius scarcely warrant such care, nor such rapid exchange of letters.

In a bitter diatribe he does condemn the current national church as 'drawn from that Popish and putrid fountain', preferring the Quaker mission 'to fulfil that liberty and equality Christ hath endowed his churches with'⁷¹ to recover 'the floor of the True Church discovered as it was in its Purity in Primitive Time' but he immediately distances himself from that persecuted sect. On a personal note his answer to Hartlib foreshadows his next letter 'A man may as soon possess heaven by a telescope, as by school divinity'. Moses Wall's telescope was still in its box.

In his preference for 'Libera Philosophia' Moses Wall also looks ahead. In 1665 under the auspices of the Royal Society Robert Hooke defined this as the new direction, experiential and experimental philosophy instead of the traditional philosophy of discourse.⁷² As shown here and in related letters Wall has devoted much of his life to the practical skills, especially experiment in husbandry. In the same vein he can have no views on the 'Diall of Hugenius'⁷³ because he has been given no actual information on the subject. His interest in the overthrow of 'vulgar apprehensions' regarding Saturn could well refer to Christopher Wren's lectures at Gresham College published as 'de Corpore Saturnii' in 1658 and underlines his interest and continuing knowledge of events in the capital, despite residence at Caversham.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Robert Hooke, *Micrographia*, London 1665. Preface, unpaginated.

⁷³ C. Huygens. *Automaton Planetarii* 1654. This offered practical illustration of astronomical theories.

Not only scientific enquiry but a practical approach to language also fascinated Moses Wall. He had translated *Spes Israelis* ten years before 'that it might speak English', now he grumbles about Edward Pocock's *Arabic History* which was not made 'intelligible' until 1663, when published as a dual Arabic/Latin text in expanded form as *Historia Compedios a Dynastum Abu-L-Faraj*.⁷⁴ By then Wall, though still alive, had disappeared from view.

The search for a universal language to replace Latin, voice of Rome, was a vital quest. On 13 May 1661 Christian Huygens noted that Dr Wilkins was working on a universal language in a letter from London to his father in the Netherlands but Comenius had already proposed the reformation of universal learning with books of universal language in chapter 17 of his *Via Lucis* of which Hartlib possessed an undated manuscript copy.⁷⁵ Edward Stafford's work remains untraced but is mentioned in a letter 'to Mr. Hartlib at Oxford' dated 20 April 1657.⁷⁶

References to the 'Second Great Parliament' from which he hopes 'much good' are topical and biblically endorsed by contrast with 'him that did let' that is, hindered God's will as Pharaoh hindered the Children of Israel',⁷⁷ and his death can be seen as a providence for the nation. Pairing Oliver Cromwell with Ahab, the cheating ruler who met his just deserts in the vineyard he had unjustly seized, offers powerful and familiar imagery 'in the place where dogs licked the blood of Naboth shall dogs lick their blood, ever

⁷⁴ Oxford 1663.

⁷⁵ J. Comenius. *Via Lucis*. Ms. Copy H.P.P. 7/66/1A.

⁷⁶ Letter to Hartlib. Add Ms. 4377.f. 143 ff.

⁷⁷ Exodus. 5, 4.

thine!⁷⁸ In his anger Moses Wall writes Ahab twice instead of making the second name Naboth. Ominously, the same image had been used to condemn Charles I as David Lowenstein records in his essay *The King Among the Radicals*.⁷⁹

Political and apocalyptic events seemed to be moving together once more and Moses Wall was optimistic since he could see that 'many things do concur hopefully.'

Letter dated 6 February 1658/9

Samuel Hartlib responded to Moses Wall's last letter on the day following its receipt. He then wrote again on 2 February, sent another which seems to have 'miscarried' and is now writing again on 6 February. That is evidence for four letters sent from London to Caversham in twelve days. Such urgency is suspicious considering the volatile political situation just at this moment, also no more letters such as this discursive communication are ever exchanged and Wall may well be indicating as much when he signs off, uniquely 'When I

⁷⁸ Kings 21, 19.

⁷⁹ D. Lowenstein in *The Royal Image*, ed. T. Corns. Cambridge 1999.

am able to be serviceable to you, I shall freely do it'. He has no more information to give at present.

On 8 February 1659 Sir Henry Vane did actually take his seat in the House. His passionate opposition to the new Protector rings out clearly in his '*Speech Against Richard Cromwell*'...'one could bear a little with Oliver Cromwell that contrary to his oath of fidelity to the Parliament, contrary to his duty to the public, contrary to the duty he owed that venerable body from whence he received authority, he usurped the government. His merit was so extraordinary that our judgements, our passions might be blinded by it...but as for Richard Cromwell...who is he? What are his titles? We have seen that he has a sword by his side but did he ever draw it?...a man without birth, without courage, without conduct! For my part it shall never be said that I made such a man my master!'⁸⁰ Moses Wall too was sure, as he wrote at this time, that 'God will undo all that fine cob-web of the devices of the late Oliver to set up himself and family, to the debusing of the nation, the best men and the truth itself'.

On 9 May 1659 Richard Cromwell was ousted in favour of a Committee of Safety to run the country and by September 1659 Sir Henry Vane was President of the Council, effectively executive head of the nation.

In January and February 1659 Moses Wall at Caversham had the ability to monitor and report on the vital route to London should army support be needed to remove Richard. When he published an '*Essay in Defence of the Good Old Cause... and an Equal Commonwealth*' together with 'a

⁸⁰ Sir Henry Vane in *The World's Famous Orations*. Vol. 3. ed. W. Bryan 1906.

Vindication of the Hon. Sir Henry Vane' in London on 4 July 1659 Henry Stubbe spoke for many whose ideals had foundered with the Protectorate and now cherished hopes of a second chance.

If Moses Wall was covertly passing information, it is difficult to identify. Possibly he just translated information using Biblical terms, where men are frequently portrayed as grass, cattle and sheep,⁸¹ this could be signalled by 'I must freely say', as suggested in the letter for 8 May 1655.

Regarding the enquiries Moses Wall made about help with his telescope, a letter to Morian from Johann Weissel dated 17 December 1649, and signed 'Opticus of Augsburg',⁸² gives detailed information regarding the complicated construction, assembly and maintenance of just such a 'tubo'. Although written ten years earlier, this gives topical access to Wall's own situation and his sense of wonder at the experience, 'so good that goes farre beyond all others wherof myself also do not a little rejoice'.⁸³ It is likely that Wall became interested in the subject of astronomy while at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, where he was a contemporary of the brilliant young astronomer Jeremiah Horrocks as well as other enthusiasts such as Ralph Grestorex, John Bainbridge and Richard Reeves.⁸⁴

Ownership of such an instrument gives the first real evidence of Moses Wall's financial situation. According to an undated list of telescopes and their prices⁸⁵ from Morian, a small hand-held instrument might cost no

⁸¹ e.g. Isiaiah 40, 6, 'What shall I cry? All flesh is grass.' See also *Lycidas* 'The hungry sheep look up and are not fed.' *John Milton* ed. G. Campbell 1996, p.44.

⁸² H.P.P. 8/34A-B. See Appendix C.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Emmanuel College Register, Cambridge.

⁸⁵ H.P.P. 39/2/143A-4B.

more than 2 ducats, but one 16 feet in length is priced at 100 ducats. This, together with the information about his considerable expenditure on improvements to the estate rented from Lord Craven,⁸⁶ makes it clear that Wall was a man of impressive financial means.

The closing paragraph deals with personal matters of health and belief. Wall saw Hartlib's infirmities as a microcosmic mirror reflecting the whole ailing world, in tune with the contemporary mood of philosophical anthropology and the new science of optics.

In this last 'political' letter, Wall's previous allegiances and interests are still his current concerns; the dream is for 'new heavens and a new earth', but there now appears to be an element of doubt in the statement since he hopes for confirmation of the belief that his faith in the immediate future has not been misplaced.

Considering current political events it is tempting to project that Wall's deductive experience and desperate faith now offered him only tenuous hopes of what was to come. He writes of 'the great abyss' and the 'glorious issue', reminiscent of Armageddon and the Second Coming or revolution and fulfilment. In metaphysical vein he compared Cromwell's devices to a 'fine cob-web', insidious sources of unseen control and danger, greatly at odds with the original concept of common-wealth. Moses Wall was however finally in no doubt that God's will was supreme and good beyond the concepts of man's belief or imagining. Sadly, his next letter shows that all his hopes have indeed been in vain.

⁸⁶ H.P.P. 34/4/24A.

Letter dated 30 December 1660

After almost two years the last known letter from Moses Wall is sent to Samuel Hartlib. In that time the political world and his personal prospects have completely changed. All hopes of common-wealth are over, the Stuart monarchy is restored and Sir Henry Vane is a prisoner in the Tower.

Since their last correspondence in February 1659 Wall has lost all fear of interception: letters can henceforth be sent by courier or the common post and can once more be signed, implying that now they convey nothing other than personal contents, although he is still aware that Hartlib can only send such information 'as it is safe for you to write' from London.

Despite the Bill for General Pardon, Indemnity and Oblivion introduced on the day following the coronation of Charles II, the danger of reprisal was a reality for those who had been closely associated with the Commonwealth and Protectorate. On 16 June 1660 an order was issued for the arrest of John Milton, with whom Wall had recently renewed an outspoken correspondence, in September his works were publicly burned and in November he was imprisoned for some weeks, with the Solicitor General of the opinion that he deserved hanging.⁸⁷

⁸⁷ W. Riley Parker. *Milton*, pp.575-6.

Sir Henry Vane was arrested on 1 July and taken to the Tower; in October four regicides were publicly hanged, drawn and quartered.⁸⁸ Truly these were 'gloomy and mysterious times' for one of Wall's beliefs and connections.

Amidst this chaos Wall nevertheless sends a turkey to his friend, continuing evidence of his interest in the 'restauration' of God's natural bounty. These birds from the New World were newly brought to England in 1643 and much prized for their abundance of tender white flesh.

Meanwhile Moses Wall has his own desperate problems arising from the current political changes. He writes of his recent eviction from a house in Caversham belonging to Lord Craven. An intimate friend and generous supporter of the Stuarts, Craven was stripped of his properties, as an offender against the Commonwealth, by Parliament on 16 March 1651; on 3 August 1652 an Act was passed for the sale of his estates. On the evidence of this letter and the change of address for Wall from Whitton in 1653 to Caversham in 1655, it would seem that he took up residence in Craven's sequestered house until forced out by the change of power. In March 1660 Parliament had issued an order to 'stay felling the woods in the Lord Craven's estates', and this probably signalled the end of Wall's tenure and of Craven's return to official favour.

As he writes, Moses Wall had not only spent considerable sums on the lease and in rent (£40 p.a), he had also developed the property with new

⁸⁸ Ludlow Vol II, p.340.

buildings and the latest experiments in crop and animal husbandry,⁸⁹ and was indignant at his treatment after such devoted investment. The sums involved come into perspective when compared to the annual salary of £25 for an usher at Felsted School, or £40 - £50 per annum for the Headmaster, Wall's brother-in-law Martin Holbeach.⁹⁰ He has hopes of Lord Craven's goodwill, despite the uncomfortable political situation under which he originally obtained tenure.

Although not yet finally identified, the house is likely to have been Caversham Park, used as a temporary prison for the King in 1647, at the beginning of the second Civil War.⁹¹

The son who is asked to intercede on Wall's behalf brings a lively new dimension into the picture. Young Samuel Hartlib was the close neighbour, drinking friend and civil service colleague of none other than Samuel Pepys. Both lived in Axe Yard, Westminster, and were cheerful drinking companions all that summer.⁹² On 23 July and 7 August they and their wives played cards and enjoyed convivial evenings with other neighbours. In August 1660 Pepys and his wife were present at the wedding of Sam's sister, after which he 'procured a letter' so that the newlyweds could travel to Holland where the groom was in business as a merchant.⁹³ On 23 February 1661 Pepys celebrated his 28th birthday with his friend Hartlib, noting that he was in 'the same bold, impertinent humour that he was always of and ever will be.'⁹⁴

⁸⁹ e.g. see 34/4/25A above.

⁹⁰ M. Craze, *History of Felsted School*, London 1955, p.52ff.

⁹¹ S. Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War* Vol. Iii, p.307.

⁹² S. Pepys, *Diary* ed. R. C. Latham & W. Matthews. London 1995 Vol.1, p.216.

⁹³ Ibid. pp.217-9.

⁹⁴ Ibid. p.40.

This glimpse of the robust and fun-loving younger generation contrasts nicely with the doubt and disillusion of the older man, Moses Wall, who had enjoyed his optimistic times almost twenty years before.

Forced out of his house on 29 September, surrounded by the collapse of his millennial and political hopes, aware of his friend's 'crazy' health and likely shared 'gloomy' spirit, it is no surprise that Moses Wall saw the world as 'dark and distracted'.

Samuel Hartlib the elder died in March 1661. After this date Moses Wall disappears as a correspondent, in fact he shortly disappears from the sight of his friends and contemporaries too. In the light of John Milton's experience of condemnation and imprisonment in November and December 1660⁹⁵ this has a sinister feeling. In August 1660 John Worthington wrote to Hartlib: 'You Know Mr. Moses Wall; doth he live in London and visit you? There is a short *Treatise of the Temple of Jerusalem* written by a Jew, (I think Leon Modena). If you see him I wish you could borrow it from him.' Hartlib could not help, replying 'If Mr. Moses Wall lived in London, I am persuaded he would have seen me before this time...as soon as I can meet with him or hear of him, I hope I shall not forget your desires.'⁹⁶

Considering Moses Wall's long association with Sir Henry Vane his disappearance is not surprising. Briefly in the ascendant once more during the period of the restored Parliament until October 1659, by January 1660 Vane's last hopes of power were dashed. On 9 January Samuel Pepys recorded: 'I heard how Sir Henry Vane was this day voted out of the House to

⁹⁵ W. R. Parker. *Milton*. pp.575-6.

sit not more there and that he would retire himself to his house at Raby...⁹⁷ In February Vane returned to London and was once more 'expelled by order of the House...to his house in Lincolnshire'.⁹⁸ By July 1660 he was a close prisoner in the Tower.

No further direct information has yet been discoverable either in his own time or now regarding Moses Wall. One clue might come from Samuel who, in a letter to Dr. Worthington dated October 1660, refers to the old dream of Macaria, an ideal society much discussed in the 1640s and loosely based on the principles of More's *Utopia*. With reference to this idea now, after all the lost illusions of the Commonwealth experience, Hartlib associates Peter Cornelisson with a hopeful new initiative to emigrate to Bermuda, under the auspices of Count de Worth from Cologne, and the Virginia Company⁹⁹; he then sends him to Moses Wall, as recorded in this letter. However no trace of anyone identifiable with Moses Wall can be found in contemporary Bermudan records. Family connections¹⁰⁰ already established in the New World suggest the possibility that Wall found refuge from the personal dangers of Restoration there, where his ideals might have another chance of fulfilment. Perhaps he changed his name. At present extensive enquiries have yielded no results.

⁹⁶ J. Worthington. *Diaries & Correspondence*. p.355.

⁹⁷ *Diary* Vol.1. p.13.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 51 & 56.

⁹⁹ As above.

¹⁰⁰ Wall's mother had been the widow of John Talcott of New England when she married Wall's father. Wall's younger sister Mary married Bygod Eggleston in 1635 and went as an emigrant to New England, where she raised a family. The New York Gen. & Biog. Record; *Compendium of American Genealogy*, Vol. 7.

One last reference has been found to 'My brother Wall' in a letter from Martin Holbeach who had married Moses' elder sister Lydia in 1628. This establishes that he was still alive in 1664 but unable or unwilling to negotiate the sale of his land in person. Holbeach has permission to act as his agent¹⁰¹ but no clue is given why this is necessary.

Whatever his eventual fate, this letter written in the dark days of December 1660 is the last time Moses Wall's own voice can be heard.

His correspondence with Samuel Hartlib identifies the lived experience of one man who believed, like his friend John Milton, that 'England was chosen before any other, that out of her, as out of Zion should be proclaimed and sounded the first tidings and trumpet of reformation to all Europe.'¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ Letter from Martin Holbeach of Felsted to Mr. Kendal of Hatfield. 31 May 1664. B. L. Egerton Ms. 2649, 1000.

¹⁰² John Milton C.P.W. ed. D. M. Wolfe. Vol. II p.52.

MOSES WALL'S LETTER TO JOHN MILTON

On 26 May 1659 Moses Wall wrote a letter to John Milton in response to one 'received the day after you wrote'. It has the immediacy of a dialogue resumed between two old friends, 'I confess I have...oft had thoughts of you'. It is possible that their acquaintance dates from Cambridge since Moses Wall was a pensioner at Emmanuel from 1627 - 1632 while Milton was at Christ's as a minor pensioner from 1625 - 1632, although at present no evidence actually linking the two men at this time has been found. In the second sentence of his letter Wall refers to shared ideals in times past, when he writes of 'your Friendliness to Truth in...early years' and 'bad times' ; now perhaps, in the shadow of Oliver Cromwell's death, there were possibilities for a revival, for 'truth emerging' once more.

The first real evidence of any direct connection between Moses Wall and John Milton occurs in Samuel Hartlib's *Ephemerides* under the heading November 16 1643. On a list (in a scribal hand not Hartlib's) headed *List of Subscribers to Felton's Cause* there is the copy of a receipt signed by Edmond Felton acknowledging 'the some [sic] of fifteen shillings by the appointment of Mr Wall'. Further down the same page, on a second list of the

same date, there is an entry for 'Mr Milton' who has donated 'three shillings' and Mr Wall who has given '0-5-0' among almost forty other subscribers.¹ These subscriptions were made towards the development of a revolutionary mobile military defence machine described fully in E. Felton's *Engines to Save Much Blood and Moneyes* published in London in 1644. The case for identifying 'Mr Milton' as John Milton is minutely examined in Timothy Raylor's article *New Light on Milton and Hartlib*² in which he shows Milton's interest in active military participation on the Parliamentary side at this time. By his inclusion in the same list it can be inferred that Moses Wall was of a similar mind.

In the following year their two names are linked again by Samuel Hartlib as proposed Commissioners for the Act of the Council of Schooling³, a group nominated to put the biblical vision that 'There will be an extension of light over all men'⁴ into practical form. This recognition establishes Moses Wall as one of Samuel Hartlib's nominees together with John Milton to develop the extension and scope of education, a subject to which Wall constantly returns in his long correspondence with Hartlib. For him the ends of education were not only spiritual but also pragmatic: learning must be 'accommodated to the uses of life' and not subject to the 'disease of Schooles, whereby all the time of youth is spent in Grammaticall, Rhetoricall and logicall toyes'.⁵

¹ H.P.P. 80/40/8A.

² T. Raylor, *Milton Quarterly* no.27.1993. pp.19-31.

³ H.P.P 47/13/3A-3B.

²³¹ Isaiah 55, 20

⁵ J. Comenius, *A Reformation of Schooles*, London 1642. p.20.

This approach was largely inspired by Comenius, the Moravian educational reformer Jan Amos Komensky, whose visit to England from June 1641 to September 1642 was arranged and managed by none other than Samuel Hartlib.⁶

Ten years later, in the *Second Defence*, Milton remembered his responses to that seminal time: 'When I had leisure to turn my thoughts to the promotion of real and substantial liberty...I perceived that there were three species of liberty which are essential...religious, domestic and civil; and as I had already written concerning the first, and the magistrates were strenuously active in obtaining the third, I determined to turn my attention to the second...as this seemed to involve three material questions, the conditions of the conjugal tie, the educations of the children, and the free publication of the thoughts, I made them objects of distinct consideration.'⁷ In June 1644 Milton's *Of Education* had been published with its dedication to Samuel Hartlib.

Another possible early link between Moses Wall and John Milton was a mutual acquaintance with Sir Cheney Culpepper, made evident once more through the agency of the Hartlib correspondence. On 12 November 1644 Culpepper wrote to Samuel Hartlib discussing the recent publication, John Milton's *Of Education*. In August 1653 Moses Wall wrote suggesting that Sir Cheney Culpepper would convey any intelligence Hartlib had to communicate to him, since he himself was then out of town at Whitton in Middlesex. By 26 August he is thanking Hartlib for 'the pledges of your love sent to me by Sir

⁶ H. Turnbull. *Hartlib, Dury and Comenius*, pp.42-54.

Cheney Culpepper'; they were clearly all known to each other. Now in May 1659, encouraged by his reading of Milton's 'last book', *A Treatise of Civil Power*, it is clear to Moses Wall that they still share ideals and are both actively concerned to pursue 'true liberty'. Fears that 'court relations and self interest (which) will wrest the writings of almost any man' and turn him into a parasite and a time server, as Wall had written of Marchamont Needham on 9 January 1659, he finds happily unfounded in Milton's case. The balance and common ground are carefully established, doubts are resolved and discussion can be resumed, since Wall is now sure 'that a Commonwealth was more friendly to you than a Court'.

This last statement is important in form as well as content since it confirms the date of this letter beyond scholarly argument. As seen in the manuscript copy at the British Library the letter transcribed by Josiah Owen of Rochdale in 1751 bears the date 26 May 1659. This date has been challenged by A. H. Woolrych as wrongly copied for 26 March, since the phrase 'I think a Commonwealth was more friendly to you than a Court' as he reads it, suggests that Richard Cromwell's court was still in place, whereas the Commonwealth had actually been restored on 7 May 1659. Gordon Campbell in his *Milton Chronology* enters the letter in two places, 26 (?) March and 26 May, with the explanation that 'It seems likely (but not certain) that 26 May is a mistranscription of the lost original.'¹⁸

Barbara Lewalski in her *Life of John Milton* simply states 'At the end of March Moses Wall... answered a letter from Milton' explaining in her notes

⁷ C.P.W. vii. p.189.

that the May date is 'almost certainly a mistake for March 26', citing Woolrych's argument regarding Moses Wall's lack of reference to the restoration of the Rump, and noting that 'His language suggests that the Protectorate 'Court' [sic] is still in being'.⁹

It is precisely 'his language' which can be used to settle the argument. On 4 January 1659 Moses Wall wrote to Samuel Hartlib 'were the Court turned into a commonwealth, not in name but the thing itself, I should be better satisfied'. Here Wall is clearly using the passive form of the subjunctive. If this is accepted then when he writes to Milton later in the same year 'I think a Commonwealth was more friendly to you than a Court' he is actually using an active construction in the past tense, which would allow Josiah Owen's date, as copied, to stand.

The implication regarding Moses Wall's statement on this new reading is that, far from ignoring the restoration of the Rump, he is actually congratulating Milton that a Commonwealth, for which they both strove in times past, is now once more in place.

The sentence which follows could be seen to support this argument, speaking of 'the retrograde motion of late' which appears to be quoting directly from Milton's lost letter: the construction 'of late' has various meanings but all tend towards the idea of 'recent' or 'lately' suggesting times past and now completed.

John Milton and Moses Wall have been and are both committed to the establishment of 'Liberty and Spiritual Truths...both spiritual and civill' over the

⁹ G. Campbell, *A Milton Chronology*, London 1997. pp.183&185.

past decade and now especially at this time. In his recently completed *Treatise of Civil Power* Milton addresses these issues, arguing for personal illumination by the divine, 'so to regard other men's conscience as you would your own...for beleef or practise in religion according to his conscientious perswasion, no man ought to be punished or molested by any outward force on earth whatsoever'.¹⁰

Civil authority should have no power in religious matters, since it is temporary and, unlike divine inspiration, fallible. Milton writes of the danger of civil interference 'as if God...when he gave us this liberty knew not of the worst which...men in their arrogance will follow.' This idea is brought to immediate life by Moses Wall who turns to scripture, equating the establishment of the Protectorate, when Cromwell seized power by force in December 1653, with Exodus Chapter 32 and the episode of the golden calf when the Children of Israel were misled by corrupt leaders.

Where John Milton is scholarly, politically argumentative and inspired, Moses Wall is Biblical and pragmatic. He brings immediate problems to the fore such as 'what can poor people do?' against for instance, a military regime; again the immediate situation is seen in scriptural terms, this time from the New Testament. The unsaid corollary of the references to the guardians of Jesus' tomb would not be missed by anyone familiar with the story, which teaches that despite Pilate's best efforts Jesus did escape, and that the Holy Spirit subsequently spread throughout the world. Such contrasting approaches to the same problems give a perspective on the way

⁹ B. Lewalski, *The Life of John Milton*, Oxford 2000. p.363.

in which others, sharing the unfettered link between biblical past and immediate present, actually responded to the political actuality of the time.

Although Moses Wall sees the world through the medium of the scriptures, he is deeply concerned with the immediate economic problems of everyday living. A practical and political dreamer, he addresses the 'improving of our native Commodities' severally, and condemns 'that cursed yolk of Tythes', an evil already identified by Milton in 1641 as 'the ignoble hucsterage'.¹¹

Clearly sharing such attitudes and recalling the author to the first line of *A Treatise of Civil Power*, after a lively diatribe on the evils of copyhold Moses Wall addresses Milton directly on further exploration of this subject: 'Sir, my humble Request is, that you would proceed and give us that other member of Distribution mentioned in your book; Sc. That hire doth greatly impede Truth and liberty'.

Milton did just that. On 8 September 1659 *Considerations Touching the Likeliest Means to Remove Hirelings out of the Church* was advertised in *Mercurius Politicus*. Barbara Lewalski speculates that Milton began work on *The Likeliest Means* in June, which suggests that Wall's encouragement in his letter of 26 May was a direct spur to its composition.

The last paragraph of Moses Wall's letter makes references to their shared scholarship using Latin, Greek and abstruse Hebrew allusions with the admonition 'but remember'. This whole section (lines 44-51) affirms a shared past. 'I have sometimes thought (concurring with your Assertion of that storied

¹⁰ C.P.W. vii. p.240.

voice...'); here he calls on an image already used twice by Milton to condemn tithes and luxury in the Church, first in *An Apology* published 1654. Wall then stakes his own scholarly claim with the assertion regarding... 'Gen. 4 ult. according to the Sense which it hath in the Hebrew', making clear that he recognises other versions as flawed, and that he has access to a relatively obscure exegesis presented by the twelfth century Jewish scholar Rashi not translated until the eighteenth century.¹² Both men would have become familiar with Hebrew at Cambridge. As David Katz explains in his *Babel Reversed*,¹³ 'by the mid-seventeenth century...most Englishmen agreed that God spoke Hebrew'. In identifying this point Wall was affirming his support for the anti-clerical argument with his own translation 'Then began men to corrupt the worship of God' transgressing the First Commandment as they called men and idols by the name of the Lord. This interpretation was not translated from the Hebrew until the eighteenth-century.¹⁴

The letter ends with admiration for Milton's work. Comparing Dury's pan-Protestant endeavours 'I rejoice in Mr Dury's spirit and indefatigable mind in the Lord's work', now he recognises that thirty years spent in 'travell and conference' have been in vain. He once more encourages Milton to write on the removal of 'Dignities, Preferments and Honor' to deflate the ecclesiastics and free the people 'into Truth and Liberty', concluding with the elegant gesture of leaving 'this quarrel' in Milton's most able hands, whilst himself engaging to remain a 'faithful friend'.

¹¹ C.P.W. iv. p.241.

¹² Bulletin of the John Rylands Library. Vol.xiv.1940. p.130.

¹³ Op. cit. p.44.

¹⁴ 'Rashi and the English Bible'. *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* xxiv. p.130.

No more letters between the two men are currently known to exist, but much in this text suggests an earlier and a close acquaintance. Letters from Moses Wall to Samuel Hartlib were interrupted between 12 June 1655 and 4 January 1659 without explanation other than the regretful comment, 'That you have not heard from me of late years, is not from want of respect to you'. The tone of this single communication extant between Moses Wall and John Milton has a similar tone of a lively and rewarding friendship resumed.

CONCLUSION

Moses Wall's letter to John Milton has been in the public eye for almost three and a half centuries. After the first exchange in 1659, the letter disappeared, then in 1753 Thomas Birch D.D. published the *New, Enlarged and Improved* folio edition of *The Works of John Milton*¹ in which he set Milton's prose works in their historical contexts. Considering *A Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes* he used a substantial part of Moses Wall's letter to John Milton, 'offered to the public for the first time', noting how this work 'restored him (Milton) to the good opinion of some of his republican friends who has before questioned his attachment to their principles. Birch prints a substantial extract from the letter, ('I confess...' to 'soldiers!'); he continues, 'Mr Wall then urges him (Milton) to proceed to that other subject which he had promised, that Hire greatly impedes Truth and Liberty, which Milton soon after executed in his Considerations'.

The only provenance given is the footnote 'transcribed from the original by the Reverend Mr Owen of Rochdale Lancashire'. There is no evidence of any previous knowledge of this material. John Toland in his biography of Milton published in 1698 makes no mention of it and Birch himself did not include it in his first edition of Milton's work in 1738.

¹ *The Works of John Milton* ed. T. Birch. Printed for A. Millar in the Strand, 1753.

'The Reverend Mr Owen' can be identified as Josiah Owen, the colourful and contentious nonconformist anti-Jacobite minister of Blackwater Street Chapel, Rochdale in Lancashire from 1740 -1752, recorded as 'the Zealot of Rochdale' in *The Gentleman's Magazine* of 1746. His possession of the letter could arise from historical or geographical causes. As minister of this chapel, Owen was one in a direct line of committed religious independents reaching back to Commonwealth days. A significant predecessor at Rochdale was Henry Pendlebury, who led the congregation from 1674 to 1695. Like Moses Wall and John Milton, Pendlebury had been at Cambridge; he graduated from Christ's in 1645. Ordained in 1650, he took up a living at Holcombe, Lancashire, but, unable to compromise with the Restoration Church directives, he was expelled in 1662 and with his family eventually found refuge with Israel Tonge near Bury. In 1644 the same Israel Tonge was associated with John Milton and Moses Wall on Hartlib's list of proposed Commissioners for the Act of the Council of Schooling, and his son John eventually married Milton's niece in 1683.² Circumstantial evidence suggests a sympathetic scholar in Pendlebury, with practical and family connections as well as religious inclinations to preserve a part of Milton's correspondence. In this way the letter could have become part of the Blackwater Street Chapel archive, its new relevance recognised by a later generation concerned with constitutional imperatives.

By 1753 the religious and political disorder of Wall's lifetime was ripe to become an instructive memory. Now, under George II, intense political

² John Pendlebury married Anne Milton in February 1683. Transactions. Harleian Society. vol.

rivalry was entangled in the machinations of bureaucracy and open to government patronage and corruption. An echo of clear voices from past times, questioning the power of the establishment and attacking current government malpractice, undoubtedly chimed harmoniously in many disaffected ears. John Milton and Moses Wall spoke with new meaning to a new audience.

The next appearance, this time of the complete text of Moses Wall's letter, only three years later, was more explicitly directed. In 1756 Richard Baron issued a beautifully presented folio edition of John Milton's *Eikonoklastes*. The title page declares enthusiastically that it is 'New and First Published from the authors Second Edition, printed in 1650 with Many Enlargements by Richard Baron and with a Preface, to which is added An Original Letter to Milton, never before published.' For Baron as an active republican between 1740 and 1766, the words of John Milton and Moses Wall held a living message. Coincidentally his employer and patron Thomas Hollis of Corscombe in Dorset was the eponymous great nephew of another Thomas Hollis who was Wall's contemporary at Emmanuel between 1627 and 1635 and the major benefactor of the first college in the New World, established by yet another Emmanuel contemporary, John Harvard in 1636; also the State Governor of Massachusetts at the time was none other than the young Sir Henry Vane.

Disgusted by contemporary corruption and inheriting a vast fortune, the eccentric and reclusive eighteenth-century Thomas Hollis refused to stand

xxiv. 1886. p.165.

for Parliament as his family wished; instead he became a dedicated collector of books and artefacts relating to the Commonwealth republican cause, many of which he distributed to colleges and institutions where he believed their influence would be beneficial. Richard Baron acted as his curator and editor. With evident excitement he prefaced his new edition of Milton's *Eikonoklastes*: 'Last summer I discovered a second edition of his (Milton's) *Eikonoklastes*...which had escaped the notice of both Mr. Toland and myself.' Hollis thereupon decided that 'the Public should be no longer withheld from the possession of such a treasure' despite those who would suppress it, since 'I ...from my soul love liberty'...and would serve its 'glorious cause...many circumstances at present loudly call upon us to exert ourselves. Venality and corruption have well nigh extinguished all principles of liberty.'

John Milton's words, he assures readers, 'will never die, never perish, whilst Reason, Truth and Liberty have a being in these Nations'. After this encomium he added 'the following letter to Milton...may be fitly preserved in this place', giving Moses Wall a complementary role in the eighteenth-century struggle for liberty. Maintaining the momentum, Baron followed the publication of Wall's letter with a sharp chastisement to his contemporaries: 'From this letter the reader may see in what way and wise good men of that age employed themselves in studying to remove every grievance, to break every yoke. And it is a matter of astonishment that this age which boasts of greatest light and knowledge, should make no effort towards a Reformation in things acknowledged to be wrong; but both in religion and in Civil Government, be Barbarian!'

There is one intriguing change to the original text, after the correct phrase 'Your faithful friend and servant', the signature given is 'John Wall'. On Josiah Owen's copy sent to Birch as it exists today in the British Library, it is clearly 'M. Wall'. This could be a mere calligraphic confusion, since the letter was written to John Milton, or it could serve another purpose. The forename may have been altered to give 'Moses' Wall the new guise of an eighteenth-century Everyman. Whereas during the Commonwealth names were enhanced by close association with the Old Testament because of the religious imperative, in 1756 political republicans with no religious agenda sought to present a different image. 'John' is emphatically a name of the people, John Bull and John Citizen are both contemporary forms. Signing the letter 'John' would add weight to its universal application, as a message to all men of whatever rank or persuasion.

In 1770 there was a cheap octavo reprint of the 1756 edition as a benefit for his widow and 'Mr. Baron's Family'. This kept the issues alive for a new generation. However, by 1781 the letter from Moses Wall to John Milton carried an even more immediate significance; it was 'Printed and Distributed Gratis by The Society for Constitutional Information' which listed 120 members and met every month at the New Inn Coffee House, London, to 'combat the evils of a wicked system...supported for many years by a corrupt majority of our representatives in Parliament.'³ Men who favoured the causes of the American and French revolutions such as Charles James Fox, Richard Brinsley Sheridan and Thomas Brand who had taken his friend's name Hollis

³ *Society for Constitutional Information* 1781, E2101 (22), unpaginated.

on inheriting his fortune, recognised that Moses Wall's letter could be used as part of a propaganda offensive on their mission 'to convince men of all ranks, that it is their own interest, as well as their duty, to support a free constitution and to maintain and assert those common rights which are essential to the happiness of human nature'.⁴ Although the focus had crucially moved from God to man, the perceived path and desired outcome were not so different from the original intent. The Society encouraged readers 'to contend for their rights as citizens with ardour and with firmness'. They had close connections with the new United States of America; in 1784 Brand Hollis actually sent a copy to his friend Benjamin Franklin then staying in Paris, with a letter regretting that unlike 'the Americans who have vindicated themselves...our modern ministers...seem to play with the people and will continue to do so...till the people are roused.' Keeping faith with English Commonwealth ideals the Society's final reminder that liberty would only be possible when men had 'courage enough to perform their duty faithfully and honourably between God and Man' would have been entirely acceptable to Moses Wall.

In 1969 the Open University was created in England by Royal Charter. It was to be open to all and accessible to all, through the public media. This was itself the fulfilment of a Commonwealth imperative expressed by Samuel Hartlib when in 1648 he noted that the Nation could only be effectually reformed through education. This idea was developed by Moses Wall in January 1659, when he wrote of his hopes for local dissemination of university education, far away from the artificial worlds of Oxford and

⁴ Ibid.

Cambridge. It is a nice coincidence that a substantial extract of Moses Wall's letter to John Milton is printed as part of an original O.U. sourcebook for student's home study.

As a final coda to his life, Moses Wall's faith in the immediate promises of the God of the Old Testament had temporal confirmation when in 1664, the same year as the last news of him flickers through the doubtful shadows of the Restoration, Jews were officially accepted as residents in England.

WALL AND RESTAURATION

A NOTE

An undated list in the Hartlib *Ephemerides* entitled 'Contributors Towards Printing of his Book' and promoting... 'Mr Austens Design for Planting' offers a brief insight into Moses Wall's attitudes and interests in the early 1650s. One of those named is Thomas Westroe, which safely dates the document before October 1653 when he died. Wall is identified as 'Moses Wahl', an affectation used occasionally by Hartlib whose continental origins probably led him to recognise the nice pun this allowed him, inferring that Wall was 'a man of worth'.

Parallel with the list of names on the right-hand side of the paper is a list entitled 'Agenda' which contains two headings, 'Promotion of Mr Austens Design for Planting', and 'A Letter to show to the Council for the National Poor, How this design conduces for the Employing and Maintenance of the Poor'. Wall's association with these projects helps to identify his wide practical and spiritual interests as an active participant in the restoration of a better world.

The book can be identified as Ralph Austen's *Treatise on Fruit Trees* printed in Oxford in 1653. Turnbull records that on 7 January 1652 Austen says that his work will be ready in April, and on 17 January he writes that his book will be dedicated to Samuel Hartlib, 'You being looked upon as being

really instrumental in the carrying on of profitable public designs in the Nation, above any other.'

This book, duly published at Oxford in 1653, has a full and informative title: *Treatise on Fruit Trees, together with the Spiritual Use of an Orchard, held forth in diverse Similitudes between National and Spiritual Fruit Trees in their Natures, and Ordering, according to Scripture and Experience.*

That Moses Wall should be identified as sympathetic to such a project is interesting on several counts; it gives access to some of his current thinking and adds weight to his future actions. The reference to 'Spiritual use of an Orchard' underlines the notion of pre-Expulsion restoration to the garden of Eden, and of Kabbalistic teaching with regard to the Tree of life. The idea of Restauration and spirituality in husbandry is based on Baconian ideas but has its origins in the disaster of the Fall, familiarly recorded in Genesis. Exiled from Paradise, man was condemned to slave: 'in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread till thou return to the ground'. However, even in this life there was the possibility of amelioration through study and practical husbandry.

Through association with the Hartlib/Austen project it can be inferred that as early as 1652/3 Moses Wall was perceived as one who subscribed to Bacon's pragmatic optimism in the sciences. At this time he is still defined, through his translation of *The Hope of Israel* and his correspondence with Hartlib, as a scholar active in the immediate political ideals and affairs of the new Commonwealth. After 1655 in letters from Caversham he tells of his experiments with practical husbandry to spiritual ends, as taught in Austen's book.

This inclusion of Moses Wall in Hartlib's list of contributors, by implication and later by example, alerts twenty-first century readers to the perception of one individual actually living according to millennial ideals in the early visionary days of the Commonwealth.

APPENDIX A

A copy of the depositions
taken by Isaac Dorislaus
together with a copy of the letter which Moses Wall
carried to Lord Lovelace

These documents have been directly transcribed
from the copies held in the House of Lords Archive
[Main Papers Jan 1643/4]

Journal of the House of Commons 17 January 1643

Die Mercurii [Wednesday]

A letter from the Lord Lovelace to Sir Harry Vane the which he acquainted Mr Speaker with, and the Committee appointed to examine the last design in London; with this letter, and by their advice and with their Privy sent an answer to the Lord Lovelace and a Messenger likewise, one Mr Moses Wall, who presented from the Lord Lovelace a narrative of all that passed between the Lord Lovelace and him; the which were all read; and were appointed to be delivered to Mr Speaker and to be kept by him from public view, and were accordingly delivered unto him.

Journal of the House of Lords 24 January 1643

The Lord General acquainted this House "That he hath taken the Examinations of James Hudgebait, gentleman to the old Lady Lovelace and Moses Wall and Mr Sterry concerning the keeping of intelligence with persons at Oxford; and because they concern some members of the House of Commons his Lordship hath delivered the originals to the House of Commons but hath* them not returned to him again and hath copies of them; and he thought it his duty to acquaint this House therewith because it concerns some members of this House.

Hereupon this House commanded the Lord General to produce the copies of the said Examinations and caused the same to be read.

Hereupon this House ordered the Speaker of this House to give the Lord General thanks for his care into enquiring to the Bottom of this Business; and declared that his Lordship had done nothing but according to the Duty of his place as Lord General."

* *Deest in originale*

Margin note. Examinations taken by the Lord General about intelligence being sent to Oxford.

The House of Lords depositions of 18-20 January 1643

XVIII Jan 1643

James Hudgebant gent equerry to the old Lady Lovelace examined saith that within these 6 months last past he hath been once or twice at Wade Eaton two miles beyond Oxford to see the children of the younger Lady Lovelace¹ by his own Lady's appointment and that he passed through Oxford, but stayed no longer than till he drank a cup of beer and that otherwise he hath not been at Oxford.

That he had been twice at Reading being sent for to come thither by Lord Lovelace within the time above mentioned. That he had not brought any letters from Oxford at no time.

That he hath brought one letter from Reading a fortnight ago, from my Lord Lovelace to Sir Henry Vane the younger which letter he delivered unto him at his house in the Piazza.

That he hath carried an answer to the abovesaid letter within 2 days after from Sir Henry Vane to my Lord Lovelace which letter he received from Sir Henry Vane's own hand at his house above named in the Piazza.

That he hath not at any time carried any communication or intelligence by word of mouth, neither from here to Oxford or Reading or from their plans either. That he carried the said letter in the skirt of his Rockett.²

That the said letters were sealed viz the letter of my Lord Lovelace to Sir Henry Vane and that of Sir Henry Vane to my Lord Lovelace.

¹ Lady Anne Lovelace, wife of 2nd Lord Lovelace of Hurley, 1616-1643.

² Rockett. OED. An outer garment of the nature of a smock or cloak.

That when he came to London he went first of all to Sir Henry Vane and delivered my Lord Lovelace his letter to him and that Sir Henry Vane bade him come again for an answer.

That he immediately upon receipt of the letter in answer from Sir Henry Vane went to Reading and delivered it to my Lord Lovelace.

That he hath no reward for carrying the said letters neither from the Lord Lovelace nor from Sir Henry Vane.

That he hath acquainted nobody besides Sir Henry Vane with any business and that he knoweth not the business contained in the letter to Sir Henry Vane.

That Sir Henry Vane told him after the delivery of my Lord Lovelace his letter that the man on Tuesday after without fail would be at the White Hart at Windsor it being then Sunday when the letter of answer was delivered unto him by Sir Henry Vane.

That on Tuesday after the man abovesaid whose name he learned to be Mr Wall was accordingly at Windsor and the same man went accordingly to Henley with this Examinant to my Lord Lovelace.

That Mr Wall stayed one night in Henley and supped with the Lord Lovelace and went away in the morning.

That the said Wall is a tall slender man, some 32 years of age or thereabouts, in outside like a citizen, brownish hair both on his head and beard. That the said Wall came alone on horseback without a man with him. That he had no pass at all coming from Reading or Oxford.

That he knows not of any pass procured or obtained for him which any other body hath made use of. Only he saith that when he went to London he had a pass by Sir Henry Vane's procuring from Mr Speaker.

1643-4 Jan 18

That he went from London upon Sunday last was sevenight and came to Reading on Monday morning and told my Lord Lovelace that Mr Wall would be at Windsor on Tuesday after. That my Lord Lovelace bad him go back to Windsor and to bring the said Mr Wall to him at Henley by Tuesday noon which this Examinant did by four o'clock in the afternoon. That my Lord Lovelace was private with the said Mr Wall in his chamber for a good while.

That he knoweth not of any endeavour by anybody to speak with him or to send any messages to him during his restraint.

That Mr Wall likewise had a pass from Mr Speaker to go to Windsor which pass was procured (as this Examinant conteineth [?]) by Sir Henry Vane.

That by my Lord Lovelace command he accompanied Mr Wall as far as Maidenhead in his return to London.

That upon the way Mr Wall told him that he Mr Wall would send an answer to my Lord Lovelace but that he Mr Wall would put his letter in a cover directed to this Examinant.

James Hudgebant

A copy of the letter (as near as Mr Wall remembereth) sent by Sir Henry Vane in answer to My Lord Lovelace his letter.³

My Lord

I have received your letter here and by your messenger I return the answer. I have considered the contents of your letter and shall send a gent, one Mr Wall, my friend, who shall meet at the White Hart in Windsor and stay there till Tuesday noon. I pray use him courtously. He is one with whom you may be as free as with myself. What you have to communicate with me I expect to hear it by him. For the mean while I shall remain

Your Lordship's humble servant

H V

This is as much of the letter as I can remember and I think all that was material in it.

Moses Wall.

³ House of Lords Main Papers January 1643/4.

19 Jan 1643 London⁴

Moses Wall, chaplain to my Lord Warwick examined saith that last Monday was sevenight this examinant went from London to Windsor.

That he was desired to go to Windsor by Sir Henry Vane junior and by Mr Sollicitor and by Sir Arthur Haselrigg⁵ and that some others were in the room when he was so desired who were privy to it in general. And he further saith that the motion first was made to go to Reading from here by Windsor.

And he further saith that this day fortnight (as he remembereth) there was a letter delivered to Sir Henry Vane from my Lord Lovelace which letter upon last Sunday was sevenight was read unto this examinant by Sir Henry Vane at 12 of the clock at noon in presence of Mr Sterry, my Lady Brooke's Chaplain. The contents whereof (as far as he remembereth) were these.

That His Lordship had found Sir Henry Vane of a public spirit ready to entertain what might conduce to a public peace. Therefore His Lordship had sent to him to desire him to send a messenger from him to Windsor where one from His Lordship should meet that messenger and conduct him from Windsor to Reading, where His Lordship would impart some propositions from authority which might tend to public peace. And he further saith that Sir Henry Vane sent an answer to the said letter of my Lord Lovelace on the same Sunday above named but a little before this Examinant had the letter of my Lord Lovelace read unto him. For which said answer Sir Henry Vane had named this Examinant to be the messenger that should come to Windsor.

And he further saith that after the reading of the said letter of my Lord Lovelace unto him, about noon, this Examinant was moved to go to Windsor by Sir Henry Vane and the rest of them in Mr Sollicitor's Chamber about 5

⁴ 19 Jan 1643, i.e. Friday 19 January 1644.

o'clock in the afternoon which this Examinant then undertook and performed upon the Monday after.

And he saith that he saw a copy of the letter which Sir Henry Vane had sent in answer to my Lord Lovelace's letters attested (as he thinketh by Mr Speaker) that it is a true copy.

That he came to Windsor on Monday by noon and that he might come away if by that time nobody came to him from my Lord Lovelace.

And that a little before noon on Tuesday Mr Hutchebought came from Hurley⁶ house or from Reading from my Lord Lovelace who brought a safe conduct for this Examinant signed by Sir Edward Nicholas upon receipt of which pass this Examinant went on with the said Mr Hutchebought to Henley on the said Tuesday in the afternoon it being my Lord Lovelace's desire the meeting should be there.

Round about 4 o'clock this Examinant met at Henley with the Lord Lovelace and there had spoken with him.

And he further saith that Sir Henry Vane had given this Examinant a copy along of that letter which upon the Sunday before he had sent away in answer to my Lord Lovelace, his letter to be a token and a sign for this Examinant whereby my Lord Lovelace might know him to be the true messenger.

And he further saith that after general discourse of news and the like my Lord Lovelace told this Examinant that he had from authority order to make some propositions for the public good which propositions this Examinant pressed with as much civility as he could. What they might be put in writing which his Lordship would not give way unto promising to repeat the propositions as often to this Examinant as he pleased. The propositions in effect were these.

⁵ Sir Arthur Haselrigg, d.1661. M.P. for Leicestershire. One of the Five Members impeached by the King 3/1/1642.

The first was that the King did esteem Sir Henry Vane and his party, the honestest men of them that took to the Parliament and that the King would be willing to prefer them before any other.

The second that the King will yield to the disanulling of laws which are made against tender consciences.

The third that the King will give any security for the performance of this which could be desired and that it was expected that Sir Henry Vane and not the King should propound what that security should be. And this was the only material which did pass in that discourse for that night.

And the next morning this Examinant took his leave of my Lord Lovelace who then asked if this Examinant remembered the propositions and that he would explain them once again to him if need were and in his evidence the said Hutchbought accompanied this Examinant as far as Maidenhead and there demanded his passport⁷ (signed by Sir Nicholas) back again which this Examinant accordingly gave back again.

And he further saith that my Lord Lovelace desired this Examinant to keep corresponding with him still which this Examinant would not then flatly deny.

And then my Lord Lovelace propounded the way to carry it secretly and that the plan should be for meeting at the White Hart in Windsor but of this nothing followed.

And he further saith that at his return to London he drew up in writing all the substance of that conference with my Lord Lovelace and signed it with his own hand and delivered it upon last Friday (this sevenight) in a robing room of

⁶ Hurley. Between Maidenhead and Henley-on-the-Thames about 8 miles from Windsor. Lady Place at Hurley, demolished in the 19th century, was the ancestral home of the Lovelace family. *Victoria County History of Berkshire*. Vol.iii, p.360.

⁷ Passport. OED. Late C16: An authorisation to pass through some sphere of action. In this instance it may have been an exit visa, a permit to leave the county.

the Court of Wards⁸ about 2 o'clock in the afternoon unto Mr Speaker⁹, Sir Henry Vane, Sir Arthur Haselrigg and Mr Browne¹⁰ of Lincolns Inn.

And he further saith that he questioned Sir Henry Vane whether it was safe for him to undertake this meeting with my Lord Lovelace and that Sir Henry Vane had answered to this effect that this Examinant might safely do it because it was but according to an ordinance of Parliament which doth not forbid to receive or send letters to or from the enemy.¹¹ So that Mr Speaker be acquainted with it which discourse was between them at Sir Henry Vane's own house aforesaid in the presence of Mr Sterry only upon last Sunday was sevenight.

Moses Wall

Second Examination of Mr Wall

eisdem die et loco

Moses Wall, chaplain to my Lord of Warwick examined saith that he never had any communication with Sir Henry Vane or anybody else concerning the business mentioned until the day above expressed.

That he is not acquainted with anybody that hath any correspondence or keepeth any intelligence which my Lord Lovelace or any man else of the king's side, besides what he hath said before.

And he further saith that he conteineth[?] that the very end intended copy he was sent was to search out by conference with my Lord Lovelace as occasion should offer, whether any nobleman or commoner or citizen did keep any correspondence or intelligence with the king side either in reference to his plot

⁸ A Court of Equity 1540-1660.

⁹ Sir William Lenthall, 1591-1662. M.P. for Woodstock . Speaker and Master of the Rolls.

¹⁰ Mr Samuel Browne, M.P. for Clifton & Dartmouth. D.1668. Cousin to Mr Solicitor, Oliver St. John.

¹¹ Vane must have had inside knowledge that the ordinance, untraced at present, issued in 1643, which imposed the death penalty for holding intelligence with the enemy, had not been entered in the Lords Journal and was therefore not binding. A similar Act was passed in

now discovered or any other. But the end pretended was to receive what propositions my Lord Lovelace had from the King to send to Sir Henry Vane and he further saith that he found my Lord Lovelace so close that he could not by any means find out anybody to keep correspondence there. And when this Examinant went about so – some – upon occasion on his behalf concerning Mr Henry Martin¹². The Lord Lovelace did utterly cast off that notion and peremptorily denied any such thing. And he further saith that – from 8 on the Sunday above mentioned Sir Henry Vane told this Examinant that he might do very good --- by his journey and --- with my Lord Lovelace in discovering such as making a show to be our friends had done[?] disservice to the State by keeping intelligence with the enemy.

Moses Wall

idem die et loco

Mr Moses Wall further saith that he had instructions from Sir Henry Vane to search out as occasion should ask for it – whether my Lord of Bedford who was newly returned from the King did keep any correspondence with the King's side for to further the plot lately discussed in London.

And that beside my Lord Bedford¹³ he had no hint at all to enquire after any one in particular but to use his own discretion and prudence to sift out what he could. And thought not fitting to mention anything concerning my Lord of Bedford or anybody else to my Lord Lovelace after the --- --- about the questions concerning Mr Henry Martin as above mentioned.

Moses Wall

August 1644, to last for four months. C. H. Firth & C. S. Rait. *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum*, Oxford 1906, pp.406-8.

¹² Sir Henry Martin, 1602-80. M.P. for Berkshire.

¹³ Lord Bedford. Sir William Russell, d.1654. Joint Treasurer of the Navy with Sir Henry Vane since 1639.

20 Jan 1643

London

Peter Sterry chaplain to my Lady Brooke examined saith that as he remembereth he hath seen a letter sent from my Lord Lovelace to Sir Henry Vane and he saith he hath seen such a letter upon Sunday last was sevenight (to his best remembrance) being acquainted therewith by Sir Henry Vane, junior in his own house, in the Piazza about noon in person of Mr Wall and then and there heard the substance of the said letter repeated unto him by Sir Henry Vane which substance was as he remembereth to this effect.

That my Lord Lovelace had somewhat to communicate with Sir Henry Vane which might tend to the public good and that the said Lord desired Sir Henry Vane to send somebody with whom he might have conference.

And he further saith that at the same time and in the same place, a motion was made by Sir Henry Vane to Mr Moses Wall to take a journey to Windsor (and some speech there was of going further to Reading as he remembereth) for to have conference with the Lord Lovelace concerning what the said Lord had expressed in his letter to Sir Henry Vane and this Examinant's apprehension. Mr Wall seemed then willing to undertake it and at the same time Sir Henry Vane told this Examinant that as he remembereth that he did speak before him this Examinant by reason he desired to have a witness of what he moved to Mr Wall. And Sir Henry Vane then further said that according to an order or an ordinance of parliament he had acquainted Mr Speaker and Mr Sollicitor with the letter which he had received from my Lord Lovelace and that he was the more desirous to send Mr Wall to the Lord Lovelace upon hope that thereby Mr Wall might come to get some further knowledge of the plot which were then newly discovered in London, and some other persons that might be engaged in the said plot and he further saith that at the same time he heard my Lord of Bedford named in discourse that fell concerning his coming from Oxford and inclination to the Parliament.

But after what manner this was spoken this Examinant remembereth not. And after the same manner my Lord of Holland was mentioned in particular and those two Lords were only spoken of occasionally and that but once in this Examinant's hearing as he remembereth.

And he further saith that he heard Sir Henry Vane tell Mr Wall at the same time and explain that before he went to Reading he should speak with Mr Sollicitor. But whether Mr Wall spoke with Mr Sollicitor or not this Examinant cannot tell. For this Examinant parted from Mr Wall presently after they came from Sir Henry Vane's house and there the said Mr Wall told this Examinant that he had been abroad. But this Examinant being in hast[e?] had no opportunity to speak further with him. And he further saith that on Sunday last this Examinant asked Sir Henry Vane what was become of Mr Wall's business and Sir Henry Vane answered to this effect. There is nothing of it to any purpose. And on the Friday my Lady Vane told this Examinant in way of discourse that the Lord Lovelace did in general express the king's desire to pardon and that the King thought Sir Henry Vane and his party in the house were very honest men and if they would be for peace the King should hope to effect it to his best remembrance. And he further saith that on Sunday last was sevenight Sir Henry Vane told this Examinant and Mr Wall in his house about noon that he had sent a letter in answer to the letter of my Lord Lovelace and that he had given a copy of that answer unto Mr Speaker and Mr Sollicitor unto whom he had shown the answer before he sent it. And he further saith that at the same time Sir Henry Vane showed this Examinant the copy of the answer sent to my Lord Lovelace which was a recommendation of Mr Wall to His Lordship and an expression (as he remembereth) of his own good inclination for so to do anything for the public good. But the particulars this Examinant remembereth not.

Peter Sterry

APPENDIX B

MOSES WALL AND *SPES ISRAELIS*

The two documents here are transcribed line by line

directly from original copies in

The British Library

482.b.3.4.

and in

Emmanuel College Cambridge

S.3.5. 59/2.

1. **The Translator to the Reader**

2. This discourse of a Jew comming to my hand, and
3. having perused it, I thought it not inconvenient
4. to make it speak English; for the benefit of my
5. Countrymen, who wait for the redemption of Is-
6. rael; and at the same time of the Gentiles also. That
7. the Author is a *Jew*, ought to be no scandall to us though
8. some of us Christian *Gentiles* are ignorant of, and scandalized at
9. the notion of the conversion of the Jewes, (as the Jewes of old
10. were, concerning our being converted and grafted into the true
11. Stock, as in Acts 11,3) for though God hath rejected them
12. yet not for ever; Rom. 11,25,26. And also the many prophecies
13. both in the Old, and New Testament, which concern their be-
14. ing received again into grace, gathered from their dispersion
15. and settled in their own Land; and their flourishing estate un-
16. der, now our, and then their and our Prince, Jesus Christ the
17. Messiah, who will then triumph gloriously, and all his people
18. with him; these and many more Promises would want a ful-
19. filling (which the God of truth will never suffer) if there should
20. not be the revolution of a time, in which they shall be conver-
21. ted, and grace and peace poured out upon *Jewes* and *Gentiles*;
22. though first upon the *Jew*, then the *Gentile*. But besides this, the
23. Author expresseth so much learning that he deserveth honour
24. of all; so much ingenuity, and (so far as his light reacheth) so
25. great a measure of the knowledge and fear of God, that he may
26. wel be set for a pattern to us Christians, who possess much better
27. than he, but live much worse. One thing is very remarkable in
28. him, that whereas many of us (like them that cannot see Wood for
29. Trees) though inviorned with mercies in these late revolutions,
30. (I speake not to them who measure mercies only, or chiefly, by
31. plentiful tables, ful purses, rich accoutrements, and the like; that
32. wretched generation is unworthy of the name of *Men*, much
33. more of *Christians*) yet will unthankfully cry out What have

34. we got by all these troubles? and what hath been done? sure
35. ly this Jew shall rise up in judgement against such unchristian
36. Christians; for he in his Epistle Dedicatory says, *The whole world*
37. *stands amazed at what the Parliament hath done*; besides, he cordially
38. and openly owns the Parliament, who as far as I know never did
39. him or his Nation any further good then to pray for them;
40. (though we hope, and pray that their favour may extend to realities, to-
41. wards that people, to whom certainly God hath made many, and great
42. Promises, and shortly will give answerable performances) but
43. many among us who injoy peace under them, and many other
44. blessings (too many for an unthankful Generation) doe re-
45. fuse to acknowledge them, do curse them whom God hath
46. blessed, and even in their prayers to the God who cannot be
47. deceived or imposed upon, doe vent themselves against this
48. present Government, in expresssions so wild and false, that
49. such language would be accounted most unworthy in our
50. addresse to any considerable person, much more then to the
51. great God. I shall only add this, Sc. Do not thinke that I aime
52. by this Translation, to propagate or commend *Judaisme* (which
53. its no wonder that the Author do so much favour, especially in
54. his thirtieth section) no, through Grace I have better learned the
55. truth, as it is in Jesus, but to give some discovery of what appre-
56. hensions, and workings there are this day in the hearts of the
57. *Jewes*; and to remove our sinfull hatred from off that people,
58. whose are the Promises, and who are beloved for their Father's
59. sakes; and who of *Jewes*, we shall hear to be ere long reall
60. Christians.

Notes on *The Translator to the Reader* B.L. 482. b3. 4.

1. The Translator

Named as Moses Wall for the first time on the title page of this second edition.

2. coming to my hand

Probably *via* Dury and Hartlib. See H. Méchoulan and G. Mahon. *Menasseh ben Israel*, OUP, 1987, p.166.

5. my Countrymen, who wait

Thomas Brightman, 1562-1607, respected minister of the Church, in *The Revelation of St. John* recognised that 'many large and pleasant prophesies do aime at the calling of the Jewes'; London 1644. p.89.

7. the Author

Rabbi Menasseh ben Israel.

11. *Acts* 11.3. 'Thou wentest in to men uncircumcised and didst eat with them.'

12. *Romans* 11.25,26. '...blindness in part is happened to Israel until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in. And so all Israel shall be served; as it is written, there shall come out of Zion the Deliverer, and he shall turn away ungodliness from Jacob.'

14. The Dispersion of the Jews by the Assyrians in *circa* 700BCE, as recorded in *Kings* 2, 17-25.

15. *Genesis* 48.4. 'Behold, I will make thee fruitful and multiply thee, and I will make of thee a multitude of people, and I will give this land unto thy seed after thee, for an everlasting possession.'

17. Messiah

Here Wall uses the Hebrew, meaning anointed, to establish immediate links with Old Testament prophecy. This also establishes that after the ingathering of the Jews will come their conversion, hence 'their and our Prince'.....in line 16 above.

20. the revolution of a time

OED 2a. A cycle or recurrent period of time. 1597.

21. poured out

Joseph Mede, 1586-1668, demonstrated the timescale of millennial prophecies from *Revelation* xiv., in terms of the pouring forth of seven vials of wrath.

24. so far as his light...

The author is not yet fully enlightened by conversion to Christianity.

26. possess

Have the gift of faith in Jesus Christ.

29. inviorned

OED: environed, alternative spelling 1c: Inviorn: To surround, encircle. 1632, 1658.

revolutions

OED 7a: a complete overthrow of the established government. 1600.

34. Reminiscent of *Numbers* 11.5-6, where the ungrateful Jews, released from slavery by God's direct intervention, lamented their loss of Egyptian luxuries. This idea recurs in Wall's subsequent *Discourse*.

39. **then**

OED. 1a. 1643. *Then* and *than* interchangeable.

42. **Promises**

Jeremiah 31, 3-4: 'I will build thee and thou shalt be built, O virgin Israel....'
and *Deuteronomy* 7, 6-10, 'For thou art a holy people unto the Lord thy God: the Lord thy God hath chosen thee to be a special people unto Himself... He would keep the oath which he had sworn to your fathers. The Lord thy God is a faithful God who keeps covenant and troth with those who love Him and keep His commandments, to a thousand generations.'

51. Sc. [-ilicet]..... namely.

57-8. **Promises**

Genesis 48.4: 'Behold, I will make thee fruitful and multiply thee,... and I will give the land of Israel to thy seed after thee for an everlasting possession.'

CONSIDERATIONS
Upon the Point of the
CONVERSION
OF THE
JEWES

1. **GOD** hath promised to do great things in these last
2. days, as namely to subdue all his Enemies, to re-
3. leive his people, to destroy all Tyranny and Op-
4. ression both civil and ecclesiasticall, and to amplate
5. the Bounds of Christs Kingdom, by a plentifull pou-
6. ring forth of his spirit, and by converting the multitudes both of Jews
7. and Gentiles. Herein he doth what the Ruler of the Feast said to the
8. Bridegroom in *John 2.10. he keepes the best wine till the last ;*
9. he makes the last Act, the best part of the Comedy. Whereas the
10. method of the Devill, and the World, is contrary; represented by
11. *Nebuchadnezzar's image*, whose head, or beginning, was of gold;
12. but the feet, or ending, was of iron, and clay. And of these great good
13. things, (we being now upon the borders of the long-looked-for-Ca-
14. naan) God hath given us some earnest (which is a small proportion,
15. with the whole for kind) a bunch of grapes; *Og*, and the *Amorites*
16. subdued; for he hath in our days arrested the *Turks* greatnesse; a-
17. bated the formidableness of the *German-Austrian Beast*; revealed
18. in good measure the hypocrisie and lies of the false Prophet, who hath
19. his seat at *Rome*: and hath brought to light the subtilties of Satan,
20. who hath shifted himselfe into severall dresses of pretended Reforma-
21. tion. Hee is risen up like a mighty Gyant, against his enemies a-
22. mong us, and elsewhere, and hath pleaded his peoples cause so signally
23. that all but those whose judgement it is to be wilfully blind; will

24. say, *The Lord is on our side*. He hath also scattered *Light*, and *Trust*
 25. in an unwonted measure, among all sorts of people; he hath given
 26. forth his owne good Spirit more plentifully than formerly (except in
 27. those extraordinary primitive times of Christianity;) and hath insta-
 28. ted us into liberty for our spirits; which though too many abuse, and
 29. turn into licentiousnesse, or a liberty to sinne, yet that is no dispraise,
 30. but a commendation to the thing; for it is a signe that liberty is ex-
 31. ceeding good in itselfe, seeing the corruption or abuse of it, is a thing
 32. so bad, but so hedged in by severall Fences, as it hath pleased God in
 33. much mercy to direct the wisdom of our State to it is a choyse
 34. mercy, and such as is suitable to our Principles both Humane, and
 35. Christian; Thus we have a Day-star to tell us that day is at hand;
 36. something prodromous concerning almost all the great things promi-
 37. sed, and looked for, as might be more largely shewn, if that were my
 38. proper work. But yet nothing concerning *the returning of the Shu-*
 39. *lamite*, in *Cant.6.ult* which Mr *Brightman* interprets to be the
 40. *Jewes* turning Christian, the clock of their conversion hath not yet gi-
 41. ven warning, it is as midnight with them still, as it was a thousand
 42. yeares agoe. Upon which, some ground the hopelesnesse of their re-
 43. pentance, but I dare not own that Logick, but rather conclude thus;
 44. That therefore their Conversion shall be the work of God (of which
 45. more anon) with whom all difficulties are no hinderance; and though
 46. *Israel* be bondmen in *Ægypt*, and sealed up to it by the darknesse
 47. of a midnight, yet let but God speake, and they are immediately at
 48. liberty, and sent away without waiting for the coming of the day.
 49. Now we ought much to minde their Conversion, exercising there-
 50. upon our faith, our prayers, and also our enquiries, and that for these
 51. following reasons:
 52. First, because they have the same Humane nature with us; from
 53. this ground we should wish well to all men, whether *Jew*, or *Gen-*
 54. *tile*; which is the precept of the Apostle, in *2 Pet. 1.7. To adde*
 55. *love to brotherly kindnesse*; that is not only to love Saints, but to
 56. love Men (though the Saints with a choyse, and peculiar love.) Yea
 57. it is Gods own practise, in *Mat.5.45*. There is a *φιλανθρωπια* in

58. God (as *Paul* saith to *Titus*) a love to Man-kinde. *Plutarch*
 59. could observe that God is not called φιλιππος, he beares another man-
 60. ner of love to men than to horses; so ought we to doe, and even upon
 61. this generall account to love the *Jewish Nation*.
 62. *Secondly*, because of their extraction; Their root is holy, though
 63. now the Branches be degenerate and wilde; so in *Rom.* 11. vers.16,
 64. & 17. Some good turnes are due to the bad children of good Parents
 65. for the Parents sake; and this *Paul* expresly urgeth in *Rom.* 11.28.
 66. *that they are beloved for the Fathers sake*; yea the chief root, or head
 67. of their Nation, *Abraham* is mystically our substituted father, as
 68. in *Galat.* 4-last; *if ye be Christs, then are ye Abrahams seed, and*
 69. *heires according to the promise*. The *Jewes* are children, and
 70. heires of the flesh of *Abraham*, but we of his faith; they by the
 71. Bond-woman, but we by the Free; but notwithstanding, *Abraham*
 72. is our common Father, and therefore we should love as brethren.
 73. *Thirdly*, because Gods covenant with the *Jewes* was not nulled, or
 74. broken, but only suspended. It is with them as it was with *Nebu-*
 75. *chadnezzars* tree, the leaves, fruit and boughes were all scattered
 76. and broken, yet there was a chaine of brass upon the root, to reserve
 77. that for future hopes; so though all true fruitfulnessse, beauty, and
 78. symptoms of life are long since gone, yet there is a root, a seed, which
 79. shall bring forth in Gods time; and this seemes a maine scope of *Paul*
 80. in *Rom.* 11. To this purpose may that be alledged of *Mat.* 24.22
 81. *Except those dayes should be shortened, no flesh should be saved,*
 82. *but for the Elects sake those dayes shall be shortened*; that is, so great
 83. shall the slaughter of the *Jewes* be, at the destruction of *Jerusalem*,
 84. that if those destroying dayes should last a little longer, their whole
 85. Nation would faile, and be cut off; which shall not be, because God
 86. hath elect ones to be borne of that People in future times. Hence you
 87. see, that in their lowest ebbe, that is, in the midst of their greatest
 88. guilt and sorest punishments, God hath still an eye upon a number of
 89. elect ones of that Nation; and Gods Covenant was never so with
 90. them, or with any People, as to take the whole of them for his in-
 91. heritance. In *Jer.* 31.36,37. Gods Covenant with *Israel* is surer

92. the Lawes of Nature(which we know, remain unviolable to the
 93. Worlds end) and he saith, that must come to passe, before he will
 94. cast off the Seed of Israel; for all that they have done; yea in *Isa.*
 95. 54.9.10. God confirms it to *Israel*, not only by the firmnesse of
 96. the Lawes of Nature, but also by an Oath; now what God ratifies
 97. with an Oath, is his absolute and positive Wil, that which makes the
 98. conclusion immutable, as in *Heb.* 6.18. And in this case God is ever
 99. too strong for all hardnesse of heart, disobedience, unbeleeffe, and an [sic]
 100. impediments that can be. See also that full place of *Levit.* 26.42.
 101. 44. and *ver.* 45. for I beleeve that place Prophetically, of times, and
 102. things not yet fulfilled.
 103. *Fourthly*, we *Gentiles* were gainers by their casting away, the
 104. whirlwind of Gods wrath that threw them downe, brought us
 105. much profit, even salvation itselfe, *Rom.* 11.12. *The fall of them be-*
 106. *comes the riches of the World* , *ver.*15. *The casting away of them*
 107. *is the reconciling of the World*; implying, that we *Gentiles* were
 108. poore, and miserable, till made rich, and happy by the *Jewes* spoyle,
 109. who by this meanes are as wretched as we formerly had been. Which
 110. consideration must needs move an ingenuous spirit, to pittie those so
 111. undone. Our Lord saith to a *Gentile* , in *Mark* 7.27. *Let the*
 112. *Children first be filled, for it is not meet to take the Childrens*
 113. *bread and to cast it to the Doggs*: They were Children, and we were
 114. Doggs, and we Doggs have got the Childrens meat before their bel-
 115. lies were full; which, as it should make us not to be high-minded;
 116. so also to pittie them, whose bread being taken away, and given to us,
 117. are brought to a starving condition.
 118. *Fifthly*, We shall be gainers by their receiving againe; it should
 119. be motive sufficient to us, that God shall be gainer by it, and that
 120. not only by the accession of a whole Nation to him, and also of that
 121. Nation which is as the lost Sheep, the finding of which is a matter of
 122. great joy, *Luke* 15. But also because it is said in *Psal.* 102.16.
 123. *When the Lord shall build up Zion, he shall appeare in his glory.*
 124. Now glory is a manifestation of excellency, and at that time Gods
 125. excellency shall shine forth, which is now much hid, and vailed; the

126. excellency of his mercy, of his truth and faithfulness, to remember
 127. an ancient Covenant made about four thousand yeares since, and his
 128. old friend *Abraham*, and the Patriarks ; all which have seemed to
 129. be asleep for many Generations together. So also in *Isa.* chaps 12.
 130. compared with chap.11. But not only God (which might have
 131. been a distinct reason) but we also shall receive great advantages
 132. thereby; for then there shall be not only an enlargement of good to us
 133. *Gentiles*, as a concomitant and synchronism with the *Jewes* conver-
 134. sion (the mistake about which, hath, and doth cause black thoughts in
 135. some) as in *Apoc.* 7.9. after the sealing of the hundred, and forty,
 136. and four thousand (which relates to the time of the forty two
 137. months) a great multitude, and innumerable, of all Nations,
 138. Kindred, Tongues, and people stood before the Lambe, and were
 139. cloathed with white Robes; now these numbers of all Gentile-Nati-
 140. ons are to be converted at that time when the *Jewes* are to be brought
 141. home; for it is to be at the sounding of the seventh Trumpet. But
 142. beside, the *Jewes* conversion shall in some sort be the cause of it,
 143. else what means the Apostle in *Rom.* 11.12. *How much more shall*
 144. *their fulnesse be the riches of the Gentiles?* and in vers.15. *What*
 145. *shall the receiving of the Jewes be (to the Gentiles) but life from*
 146. *the dead ?* The Apostle heightens the expression of the benefit by
 147. their receiving, to an higher degree than what we got by their fall.
 148. It is observable, that the Gospel did in some sense, first goe out of
 149. *Sion*, for the Spirit who enabled the Disciples to preach and propa-
 150. gate it was there given; and *Micah* speaking of the times yet looked
 151. for, says in *Mic.* 4.2. *The Law shall goe forth out of Sion, and the*
 152. *Word of the Lord out of Jerusalem;* that is, the fulnesse of the
 153. Spirit, and knowledge of Christ shall streame through the *Jewes* to
 154. the *Gentiles*. So that as it was in the first giving of the holy Spirit, he
 155. was first given to the *Jewes*, then to the *Gentiles*; yea by the *Jewes*
 156. to the *Gentiles* ; so shall it be in the last dayes, fulfilling what *Paul*
 157. says in *Rom.* 2. to the *Jew* first , and also to the *Gentile*, When God
 158. shall be reconciled to *Israel* their condition will be greatly changed; for
 159. they who are now actually the most accursed people, then as in *Mic.*

160. 5.7. *The remnant of Jacob shall be in the midst of many people as*
 161. *dew from the Lord; as the showres upon the grasse, that tarry not*
 162. *for man, nor waite for the sons of men.* Dew, and Showers in those
 163. hot Countries are Heavens bounty, a *cornucopia* of all good things;
 164. such shall the *Jewes* be to the places where they shall be, when they
 165. shall owne the Lord Jesus.
 166. *Sixthly* , They were Gods first Wife (as I may say) for a consi-
 167. derable time they were a faithfull people; and many of them have
 168. been Martyrs for God. And these things God will thinke on, though
 169. we may sleight them.
 170. They were Gods first wife. Did God ever assay to take any Na-
 171. tion before them to be his owne people? Yea, did he take any be-
 172. side them for two thousand yeares together? In *Isa.* 54.6. *I have*
 173. *called thee as a woman forsaken, and grieved in spirit, and a wife of*
 174. *youth, when thou wast refused,* saith the Lord; and what follows,
 175. vers.7. *For a small moment I have forsaken thee, but with great*
 176. *mercies will I gather thee.* An in verse 8. *With everlasting kind-*
 177. *nesse will I have mercy upon thee.* We see God forgets not, though
 178. men may, and doe.
 179. They were a faithful people. As great was their unfaithfulnesse;
 180. so there were times when great was their faithfulness. In *Jer.* 2.2.
 181. *I remember thee, the kindnesse of thy youth, the love of thy espou-*
 182. *sals, when thou wentest after me in the Wildernesse, in a Land that*
 183. *was not sowne.* It was something to follow God in such a Country
 184. forty years: and for so long a time to expose themselves, wives, and
 185. children daily to almost al sorts of deaths, and you see, God remembers
 186. it in these after times; and if he did in *Jeremiahs* time, when those who in
 187. person had been so faithfull, had been long dead; and that race of the
 188. *Jewes* then were very provoking and corrupt; why not also now, in
 189. this present succeeding generation of them.
 190. They were Martyrs for God. To prove this read the History of
 191. the *Maccabees*, and if we like not so farre to owne what is Apocry-
 192. phall, turn to *Heb.* 11. which is a booke of the *Jewish* Martyrs, a
 193. Catalogue of them that suffered under *Antiochus*, and those *Syrian*

194. Tyrants. And they were not few that suffered, but many; nor light
 195. punishments, but unspeakable torments. Now God takes it so kind-
 196. ly that we give up our lives to torments, and to death for his Name,
 197. that commonly he owes that person a good turne in his posterity. And
 198. if upon these accounts God hath an eye upon them, we also should be
 199. like minded, and love them too.

200. *Seventhly*, It is a duty which we owe to Gods expresse command,
 201. for so I take that in the literall sence, in *Isa.* 62. 6,7. *Ye that make*
 202. *mention of the Lord, keep not silence, and give him no rest, till he*
 203. *establish, and till he make Jerusalem a praise in the earth.* This
 204. duty the Prophet himselfe performed in vers. 1. *For Sions sake I will*
 205. *not hold my peace, and for Jerusalems sake I will not rest, till the*
 206. *righteousnesse thereof goe forth as brightness, &c.* And also the
 207. Church in her affliction, *Psal.* 137. 5,6. And now that *Sion* is in the
 208. dust, if we that beleeeve among the *Gentiles*, did pittie her, and com-
 209. passionate her in her ruines, it were an argument that God is about to
 210. arise, and have mercy upon her; as may be urged from *Psalm* 102.
 211. 13,14.

212. *Lastly*, They minded our conversion to God. This appears in
 213. the writings of almost all their Prophets, especially in the *Psalmes*,
 214. *Isaiah, Jeremiah, Hoseah, Malachi.* Now then for us to love the
 215. notion, and in what we may, help forward their returne;
 216. what is it but an honest and just retaliation?

217. Having dispatched the Reasons, two things yet remaine about their
 218. Conversion, which I must speake somewhat to, and those are the
 219. *Time* and the *Manner*: as for the *time when*, the determining of
 220. that is hard, though not impossible. I beleeeve that it is punctually set
 221. downe in Scripture, and God will be as criticall in looking after times
 222. as things; but all the difficulty of knowing it is from the darknesse,
 223. and defects of our understanding and not from a supposed uncertainty
 224. in the thing. So that I am equally adverse as to the common practise
 225. of the *Jewes*, who because they are unwilling to owne Gods accom-
 226. plishments, doe therefore dis-allow his computations, and expressly
 227. hold that man accursed who busieth himself in that study. So to the

228. too common opinion of those who say, That oft in such computati-
 229. ons God puts a certaine number for an uncertaine. No, there is an in-
 230. fallibility in the set times of Scripture; only the Well is deep , and
 231. the cord to our Bucket is but short! yet this difficulty should not
 232. cause despondency, but quicken our industry. All that I shall now
 233. say to it is this, I judge the time not farre off; this present age will
 234. see those things fulfilled which we have waited and prayed for. *R.*
 235. *Maimonides* says of Jesus Christ, that since *Moses* his time none
 236. so like to the Messiah as the Christ of the Christians; so I say, since
 237. Christ, no period of time so like to be that , in which the *Jewes* shall
 238. be called, as this in which we live. And perhaps it is nearer than we
 239. are aware of, being the more comfortably perswaded of it, by that
 240. excellent Treatise called, *The Revelation Revealed*, newly published
 241. by a Gentleman of indefatigable Spirit for God and publick good,
 242. Mr. S. *Hartlib*, in which Apocalyptically computations are explained
 243. the most harmoniously, and clearly, that I have read in any discourse
 244. of that nature. He saith positively, that the ending of the last yeare
 245. of 1655. the seventh Trumpet shall sound; whose effect will be as
 246. much good to Gods elected ones, whether *Jewes* or *Gentiles*, as
 247. our hearts can wish for. I shall adde this . The age in which we live,
 248. has been eyed by many Generations past, for the time wherein the
 249. *Jewes* shall be received to mercy; many of their owne Writers, and
 250. also of Christian Authors have pitched upon it; And I beleieve that
 251. God will be as gracious to them in their last, and greatest restau-
 252. ration, as he was to them in that of their returne out of *Babylon*; now
 253. concerning that there were three computations and epochaes of the
 254. beginning (and consequently of the ending) of the seventy yeares of
 255. captivity; and observe, that those seventy yeares ended, and the
 256. *Jewes* returned, not at the latest computation, but with the first, for
 257. there were but seventy yeares from *Jechoniahs* carrying to *Babylon*,
 258. (which was the first Captivity) to the release by the Proclamation of
 259. Cyrus. And as God ended that Captivity with the soonest, so I
 260. hope he will doe this; especially considering that speaking of
 261. these mercies to them, in *Isa.60.* in verse last, he saith, *I the Lord*

262. *will hasten in its time*; which he should not doe, if he should
 263. stay the longest calculation, and utmost period of time. O let us be
 264. Gods Remembrancers to put him in minde of this his promise.
 265. For the *manner* how, and *meanes* whereby their conversion shall
 266. be compassed; this also is a depth equall to the former. And as it is
 267. in things Propheticall, the event will best determine it; yet I shall say
 268. something to it, according to what I have attained. That of the or-
 269. dinary way of Christianizing a person, or people, seemes to me not of
 270. use here; which has been by Discourses written or printed Books,
 271. Preachers, or the will and command of a Conquerour; for all these
 272. have had their efficacy in (at least a seeming and out-side) conversion
 273. of many Nations. but after the application of these to the *Jewes*, for
 274. many ages together, yet we must say as *Gehazi* did to *Elisha*, when he
 275. had laid his staffe on the *Shunamite* her Son, thereby to bring him
 276. to life; *The childe is not awaked*. I then conclude, that their con-
 277. version shall be in an extraordinary way, it shall be the work of our
 278. Lord Jesus, and of his good Spirit. As *Paul* was turned by the ap-
 279. pearing of Christ to him, so shall they. He will manifest himselfe to
 280. them eminently, powerfully, and graciously, to forme them to be a
 281. people to himselfe. Whether this his presence to them shall be per-
 282. sonall, or only in the Spirit, I will not now say, but leave the Reader
 283. to make a judgement, as he sees most cause, out of the Scriptures
 284. which I bring. Consider that of *Mat. 23.38,39. Behold your house*
 285. *is left unto you desolate, for I say unto you, ye shall not see me*
 286. *hence-forth, till you shall say, Blessed is he that comes in the name*
 287. *of the Lord*. Here you have their doome fore-told, *their house shall*
 288. *be desolate, the Temple and Jerusalem shall be destroyed*; also
 289. their conversion, in those words, their saying, *Blessed is he that*
 290. *comes &c. the medium* to compasse it, sc. *their seeing Iesus*
 291. *Christ, ye shall not see me, &c.* In the order of causes, Christs discove-
 292. ring himselfe to them shall be first, and shall produce their relenting
 293. towards him. And for a further prooffe, let those two places be joyned
 294. together, as bearing the same sence; that of *Mat. 24.30.31.* and
 295. of *Apoc. 1.7.* both which are taken out of *Zechar. 12.10.* And

296. all three not to be understood of Christs appearing to Judgement;
 297. for here, saving repentance is the effect of his appearance; but repen-
 298. tance will be then too late when the Judge is come; that shall be a
 299. night to all sinners, in which no worke can be done. Again, there are
 300. but three grand periods mentioned in *Mat. 24.* namely, the destru-
 301. ction of *Jerusalem*, Christs coming (when, and whereby the
 302. *Jewes* shall be converted, who though they have resisted him, when
 303. he came in the flesh, yet shall they not, they cannot, when he comes
 304. in the Spirit) and the end of the World. Now the signs of the first
 305. of these are in vers. 14, 15, 21, 22. Of the second in vers. 29, 30, 31,
 306. &c. And of the last, in vers. 36 &c. So that this of vers. 30, 31 must
 307. concern some other thing than the end of the World. And that the
 308. three fore-named Scriptures are properly to be understood of the
 309. *Jewes*, the texts doe show; for that of *Zechariah*, (from whence the
 310. other two places are taken) expressly saith, *I will poure upon the*
 311. *house of David, and the inhabitants of Jerusalem, &c.* and other
 312. passages to the same purpose in vers. 11, 12, 13. of *Zechar* 12. And in
 313. the two places of *Mat. 24.* and *Apoc. 1.* it is expressly applyed to the
 314. *Jewes*; for in *Mat.* it is, *All the tribes of the earth shall mourn,*
 315. *and see him*; that is, All the twelve tribes scattered upon the face
 316. of the whole earth, and these shall be gathered by the Angels from
 317. the foure winds. And that of *Apoc. 1.7.* is clearly to be applyed also
 318. to them, for it is said, *They that pierced him, shall see him*; that is,
 319. the *Jewes*; and *All the Tribes* (for so the word *φυλαι* ought to be
 320. rendered) *of the earth shall waile*; that is the Twelve tribes scatte-
 321. red throughout all places. Now the *meane* whereby these *Jewes* shall
 322. be converted, is, *And they shall see him*; that is, Jesus Christ,
 323. for those words are in all the three Scriptures. It shall be such a sight,
 324. as the *Israelites* had of the Brazen Serpent in the Wildernesse, it was
 325. healing to them. Such a sight as *Paul* had of Christ in Heaven, upon
 326. which he saith, that he had seene the Lord. For particularities
 327. about this sight. I shall leave them, knowing that *secret things doe*
 328. *belong to God.*
 329. And because after that I had published the *English*, about last

330. Autumne, the Booke of *Menasseh Ben Israel*, called, *The Hope*
331. *of Israel*, I received a letter from an Honourable Person, concer-
332. ning that Booke, to which I wrote an Answer, and both containe
333. some further discourse about the *Jewes*, and their Conversion;
334. therefore I thought good to give you them, and they are these
335. which follow.

Notes on the Considerations

1 **these last days**

In 1650 this was a widely held belief, as for example in a letter from H. Jessey to Menasseh ben Israel 24/12/1649, in *Bonum Nuncium Israeli*, P.

Felgenhauer, Amsterdam 1655: 'A quondam *Christiano*, *qui adventum Messiae cum Judeis expectat....1655*' 'We can expect no more then, in the said 1655 year, but the call of the Jews....'; also 'It was in 1656, the Flood came on the world and lasted forty days: Ergo, in that year 1656 fire must come on this world and last forty years'. On this Day of Judgement 'the Jews will sure be suddenly called and Anti Christ ruined', Zachary Crofton, *Bethshemesh Clouded*, p3-4, London 1653. Thomas Brightman (see below) in his *Revelation of St. John*, London 1644, shows (p.1076-7) a progressive fulfilment of Biblical promises perceived in historical events, culminating in the conversion of the Jews by 1650.

4 **ampliate**

OED: Enlarge, dilate.

5 **pouring forth**

Clavis Apocalyptica (published 1627) by Joseph Mede, Wall's respected teacher, offered a key to the apocalypse promised in *Revelation xvi.*, whereby each one of seven vials was identified with an historical event since the Reformation. Hence, for example, vial 1 was the Protestant reform of the Waldensians, vial 3 the defeat of the Armada and vial 6 would be the destruction of Turkish power, and the conversion of the Jews would be the final act before the pouring of the seventh. This would herald the Second Coming and the pouring forth of the Holy Spirit over the nations of the earth, and Christ's kingdom should last for a thousand years. *Key to the Revelation*, J. Mede, London 1650, pp114-25.

6 converting the multitudes

In 1652 Moses Wall is listed on the title page of *The Fourth Paper*, by Major Butler (London 1652), as one of the Committee for the Propagation of the Gospel, which met on 20 March 1651. Other members were Charles Vane, Robert Norwood & Roger Williams, under the chairmanship of Mr. Scot. The first tenet of the Committee reads "For the propagation of the Gospel there must be a removal of all and everything which is contrary thereunto." E 656 (21)

8 John ii.10.

'Every man at the beginning doth set forth good wine; and when men have well drunk, then that which is worse: but thou hast kept the good wine until now.' The analogy is clear, also turning water into wine at Cana was the first of Jesus' miracles.

9 the last ...the best....

This echoes Shakespeare's *Richard II*: '...the daintiest last to make the end most sweet.' I.iii.68. London 1596.

Comedy

OED1: A narrative with a happy ending.

11 Nebuchadnezzar's image

Daniel i.2. 31-34. The contrary image of glorious Royal beginnings and endings in clay could also refer to King Charles' recent execution. As Sharon Achinstein points out in 'Milton and King Charles', Biblical analogies illustrating the perfidy of the King were often used. In *The Royal Image*. ed. T.S.Corns. CUP. 1999, pp146 &155.

13 upon the borders of... Canaan

Canaan was the land originally covenanted by God to Moses and the Children of Israel. Before entering they had to pause and reassert their

confidence and faith in the face of adverse evidence; 'It is a land of giants.....and we were in our own sight as grasshoppers.' Numbers 13, 32-3.

14 earnest

OED: A foretaste or pledge of anything later to be received in greater abundance. 1633.

15 a bunch of grapes

Numbers xiii, 24. Spies were sent ahead to Hebron. They returned with a cluster of grapes so heavy that 'They bare it between two on a staff.'

Og and the Amorites

Against overwhelming odds, with God's help, the Children of Israel defeated Og, King of Bashan, and Sihon, King of the Amorites in the last battle before crossing the Jordan into the Promised Land. *Deuteronomy* 3, 12.

16 arrested the Turk's greatness

Spes Israelis, point 32: 'That peace which the Venetians made with the Emperor Sultan Selim 75 years ago....' This probably refers either to the Battle of Lepanto, fought on 7 October 1571, or to the Treaty signed in 1573 at the conclusion of the Fourth Turkish War. Venice gave up Cyprus and paid a war indemnity of 300,000 ducats.

17 abated the formidableness of the German –Austrian Beast

With the conclusion of the 30 Years War in the Treaty of Westphalia, 1648, the power of the Holy Roman Empire, Spanish supremacy and thus Roman Catholic rule in the Netherlands and much of Western Europe was overcome. The image of 'the beast' refers to Revelation 13, in which the blaspheming beast makes war with the saints.

18 the false Prophet etc.

The Pope was identified as the motive power against the innocent Nation of the Jews, whose Elders alone were guilty of the murder of Jesus; yet Jews

were allowed in Italy, home of the Pope and his Inquisition 'because of the profit the Italians make of the Jews in diverse ways.' Edward Nicolas, *An Account given to Parliament*, Feb.1646 (quoted Katz. op cit. p181).

20 **pretended Reformation**

E.g. Calvin who offered predestination instead of the liberty of the inner man (Deut xxx, 15). ' See, I have set before thee this day, life and good, death and evil.'

24 Psalm 118, 6: 'The Lord is on my side. I will not fear; what can man do unto me?'

28 **liberty for our spirits**

Romans vii, 21: 'delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the Children of God.'

35 **Day-star**

OED: Jesus.

36 **prodromous**

OED1: Precursive, to herald an event.

38 ***the returning of the Shulamite, in Cant.6.ult***

Song of Solomon vi, 13.' Return, return O Shulamite. Return, return, that we may look upon thee. What will ye see in the Shulamite? As it were, the company of two armies.'

40 **the clock of their conversion**

'The time is at hand...touching those few events which yet remain to be accomplished.'
Thos. Brightman, 1562-1607, *A Revelation of the Revelation*, p1135, Leiden 1616. B.L. 3185.b.b.50.

46 **bond-men in *Ægypt***

Exodus i,13-14.'And the Egyptians made the Children of Israel to serve with rigour.'

46-8 The miracle of Exodus

Exodus xiii, 30-31. And Pharaoh rose up at night and he called for Moses and Aaron by night and said, Rise up and get you far from among my people....and go serve the Lord as you have said...'

57 **Mat.5.45**

'That ye may be the children of your Father which is in Heaven: for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good and sendeth rain on the just and the unjust.'

φιλανθρωπια

philanthropia: a love of mankind. The Greek script in the original text is extremely difficult to decipher, possibly due to the printer's use of a damaged font. The probability that this is the correct reading of the word is enhanced by its echo of Paul's epistle to Titus, referred to in the next line.

58 **Titus** iii, 4.

'But after that the kindness and love of God our Saviour toward man appeared'

59 φιλιππος

philippos: a lover of horses. As in line 57 above, the Greek, despite examination of two editions, remains partly indecipherable. However, as Plutarch is called upon at the end of line 58, it appears that the passage is a garbled recollection of Plutarch's *Moralia* 593A where God is said to be 'no lover of birds, but of men', and a man is said to be a 'lover of horses'.

another manner of love

God loves man in a particular way because only man is made in the image of God.

Genesis 1,25,26. 'And God said, let us make man in our image, after our likeness and let them have dominion over all the earth.'

63 **Romans** 11. 16,17.

'For if the first fruit be holy, the lump is also holy; and if the root be holy, so are the branches.'

66 **Romans 11:26,28.**

'And so all Israel shall be saved....as concerning the Gospel they are enemies for your sakes, but as touching the election, they are beloved for their Fathers sake.

71. As Paul argued in Galatians iv. 22-28, Hagar and Sarah are identified as 'an allegory' for 'the two covenants' and 'we, brethren, as Isaac was, are the children of promise.'

72 **We should love as brethren**

Galatians iv. 28-29. 'There is neither Jew nor Greek..... for ye are all one in Christ Jesus. And if ye are Christs, then ye are Abrahams seed and heirs according to the promise.

73 **Gods covenant**

Genesis xii.2-4. 'And I will make of thee a great nation, and I will bless thee, and make thy name great; and thou shalt be a blessing: and I will bless them that bless thee and curse them that curse thee: and in thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed.'

75 **Nebuchadnezzar's tree**

In *Daniel* iv, 10-24, the story is told of Nebuchadnezzar's dream of a great tree which reached to heaven and could be seen to the ends of the earth. But an angel came with divine orders to destroy it, leaving only the stump in the earth bounded by a hoop of iron and brass. The interpretation given by Daniel was that after a time of degradation, when it was recognised that 'the most high ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will', all would be restored.

80 **Rom.11.**

Verse 8: 'God hath given them the spirit of slumber....', i.e. they will awaken when God calls.

84-88 **Mat. 24,22**

At the end of the world only the elect will survive, but among the remnant will be Jews from whom the redemption will arise.

91 **Jer. 31. 36,37.**

'If those ordinances depart from before me, saith the Lord, then the seed of Israel also shall cease from being a Nation....'

92 **Laws of nature.**

Wall is here referring to *Jer.31.35*: 'Thus saith the Lord , which giveth the sun for a light by day and of the ordinances of the moon and of the stars for a light by night, which divideth the sea when the waves thereof roar....'

95 **Isa. 54. 9,10.**

'My kindness shall not be removed from thee, neither shall the Covenant of my peace be removed, saith the Lord.'

98 **Heb. 6.18.**

'...by two immutable things [His promise & His Name] in which it was impossible for God to lie, we might have strong consolation....'

100 **Levit.26. 42,44.**

'I will remember my Covenant with Jacob... for I am the Lord their God... neither will I abhor them, to break my covenant with them. But I will, for their sakes, remember the covenant with their ancestors....'

105 **Rom 11,12.**

'now if the fall of them be the riches of the world, and the diminishing of them the riches of the gentiles; how much more their fulness?'

118 **by their receiving againe**

That is, being received: transitive construction.

122 **Luke 15. 6,7.**

'Rejoice with me for I have found my sheep... Likewise joy shall be in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine persons, which need no repentance.'

127 **about four thousand yeares...**

This calculation is supported by the title of 'A Compendium of Chronology containing four thousand and thirty year complete, from Adams creation to Christs birth.' By Robert Vilvain. 1654. E897(S).

129 **Isa. 12. 6.**

'Cry out and shout... for great is the holy one of Israel in the midst of thee.'

130 **Isa. 11.11.**

'The Lord shall set his hand again the second time to recover the remnant of his people....'

135 **Apoc. 7,9.**

That is, *Revelation 7.9*... 'Lo, a great multitude which no man could number....'

141 **the seventh trumpet.**

Revelation 10,7, 'Then the mystery of God shall be finished....'

156/7 **Romans 2,9.**

'Tribulation and anguish upon every soul of man that doeth evil, of the Jew first and also of the Gentile.'

166 **God's first Wife**

Isa. 54.6/7. 'For the Lord hath called thee as a woman forsaken and grieved in spirit, and a wife of youth... For a small moment I have forsaken thee, but with great mercies will I gather thee.'

192 **Martyrs**

Heb. 11.13. Noah, Abraham, Joseph, Moses etc. 'These all died in faith, not having received the promises, but having seen them afar off....'

193 **Antiochus and those Syrian tyrants**

Maccabees 1.20-26. *Apocrypha of the Old Testament*. Revised Standard edn. Thos. Nelson. London 1957. p190. 'Antiochus went up against Jerusalem with a strong force. He arrogantly entered the Sanctuary....he took the silver and the gold....he took the hidden treasures... he committed murder.' Historically this happened in 168-165 BCE. The Syrian tyrants were in power from 312-65 BCE.

203 **Jerusalem**

Metonymy for Jews, as in *Isaiah* 62.1. 'For Zion's sake will I not hold my peace, and for Jerusalem's sake I will not rest.'

206 **etc.**

Quotation incomplete: '...and the salvation thereof as a lamp that burneth.'
Isaiah 62.1.

207 ***Psal.* 137. 5,6.**

'If I forget thee , O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning'

210 ***Psalme* [sic] 102.13,14.**

'Thou shalt arise, and have mercy on Zion.'

212 **minded**

OED, exhorted, advised.

219 **the *Time* and the *Manner***

Contemporary analogical schemes, e.g. Zachary Crofton's in *Bethshemesh Clouded*, London 1653, pp 3&4. E.722.(3)., which calculates ' It was in 1656 the flood came on the old world and lasted fourty daies; ergo in that year 1656 fire must come on this

world and last forty years. On this Day of Judgement 'the Jews will surely be suddenly called and Antichrist ruined.'

226/7 The Jews' disallowance of such computations is covered in the Talmud: Gemara, *Eduyot*, p340.

235 **R. Maimonides**

Rabbi Moshe ben Maimon, 1135-1204, also known as The Rambam (which is, transliterated, a cryptogram) and as Maimonides (which is the Greek translation of his patronymic *ben Maimon*). Maimonides' recognition of Jesus of Nazareth as one who came to prepare the world for the recognition of one God and the coming of the Messiah can be found in *The Laws of Kings and their Wars*, Moznaim Press. Ch.11, paras.6-8.

240 ***The Revelation Revealed***

The Revelation Revealed: or, A Prophetical Key: by which the Great Mysteries in the Revelation of St John & the Prophet Daniel are opened ...Written by a Germane(sic) Doctor & now translated out of High Dutch... dedicated by Hartlib to Oliver St John, Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas. London 1651.E.1260(1).

253 **three computations**

In *Leviticus* xxvi.43 God declares the principle of the Jews being exiled, for a period corresponding to the number of Sabbatical and Jubilee years that they fail to observe. Deportation from Jerusalem took place historically in three stages, viz. 597, 586 and 582 BCE. Cyrus conquered Babylon in 539 BCE and subsequently permitted the Jews to return home. This means that some Jews were permitted to suffer less than the 70 years predicted in *Jeremiah* xxix, 10.

258. **The Proclamation of Cyrus**

Isaiah xlv. 28. ...saying to Jerusalem, Thou shalt be built; and to the Temple, Thy foundation shall be laid.'

270 **Discourses**

Wall himself was at this time a Member of the Committee for the Propagation of the Gospels; his name is listed on the title-page of *The Fourth Paper*, Presented by Major Butler, London 1652, p3.

271 **will and command of a Conquerour**

For examples, the Spanish Inquisition, and the imposition of Christianity by the Spanish forces in South America.

274-5 **Gehazi...Elisha... Shunamite...**

2 Kings iv.31.

278 **St. Paul's conversion**

Acts ix. 3-5. ' And as he journeyed, he came near Damascus: and suddenly there shined round about him a light from heaven.'

287 **their house**

Metonymy, the house of Israel.

289 **Mat. xxiii,39: 'Blessed is he that comes....' etc.**

294 **Mat.24.30,31**

'...and then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven... and he shall send his angels... and they shall gather together his elect from the four winds'

295 **Apoc.1.7**

i.e. Rev.1,7. '...and every eye shall see him....'

295 **Zechar. 12.10**

'I will pour upon the House of David ... the Spirit of grace....'

297/8 Once the Messiah has come there can be no more repentance.

306 (Matt) **vers. 36. &c.**

'But of that hour knoweth no man....'

312 **vers. 11,12,13. of Zechar 12.**

'Behold I will make Jerusalem a cup of trembling' but 'I will hear them: I will say, it is my people; and they shall say, the Lord is my God.'

319 *φυλαι*

phylae: OED: tribes, kindred.

321 **the meane**OED.10a. a course of action by which some object may be attained. 1635. (Now only archaic in singular form.)

324 **Brazen serpent**

Numbers xxi.9.

325-6 *Acts ix.* 3-5.

329 **about last autumn**

Thomason's copy dated 4 July: E 1350(3); entered in the Stationers Registers (Transcript 1640-1708) Roxburgh Club 1913-14, Vol.1, p346 for 1 July 1650.

Edward Spencer's Letter, appended to the *Considerations*

To the Translator of *Menasseh; Ben Israels*
spes Israelis.

SIR:

Desire to be acquainted with you, because we have both fallen lupon one Booke, with the same intentions to convert the Jewes, though we take not one way; I desire therefore to conferre with you, to see who taketh the rightest way. You by your Translation seeme to me to prize the learned Jewes writing too much, which will beget pride, and not humility in him, without which he will not turne, repent, and be saved. Therefore for his good, and also for the Christians, and for the credit of us who are Parliamentarians, I would not see them too much yeelded unto. You justly perstringe¹⁴ him in his thirtieth Section, wherein he talkes so wildly of his goodly Martyrs, and truly if you marke him in his Discourse upon the Sabatticall River, which where it is he knownes not, you will finde him as faulty and dangerous, if we have any of the vice of the Thraskytes left among us; but Sir, in that you thinke that the Jewes shall now be called as a Nation, and not only by particulars, and would have them an earthly Kingdome againe; you doe more for the ten Tribes then he would have himselfe, Sect..25. p.79.80, and for the other two, of Judah and Benjamin, it is not so likely they should have a second Call, seeing that Christ and his Apostles preached to them, and all that were of the Election were then converted, as you may see by many texts, and after their rejection of the Gospell, their Country-men, Paul, and Peter seemed to the Gentiles. Therefore those two Tribes who Crucified our Lord, and persecuted his Apostles, are not so likely to be called againe as the ten Tribes who did neither, except some few who re-

turned into the holy Land; neither did many of them so much as heare of it, you might see your own sentence fulfilled then. First, the Jew was called, and then the Gentile. But now looke not for it, but for their single conversions, though numbers may be called upon one day, one Sermon as they were heretofore; but they must not exalt themselves as a Nation, for they must be ingrafted againe upon that branch, or Vine, Christ Jesus, and we must have one Shepheard, and be one flock. See Rom.11.ver.31. which you cite. Through your mercy they may also obtain mercy; I had writ it (shall) but it is only (may:) see the place to which this relates, Isa.59.v. 19,20,21. where you shall finde that all their hope is in eternalls, not in temporalls; and looke upon Rom.11.24. concerning the engrafting, and clearly, (unlesse you be a Millenarian) you will finde no such Nationall glory of the Jewes; therefore I pray you take heed you fall not into the same snare wherein the Jewes are, to looke for a temporall reigne, which you seeme to intimate, and too many were, and are of that opinion. Assure your selfe that Christ will come to such as a theife in the night, though his comming will be very glorious, yet it will be suddaine: the learned Jew can finde no text punctuall in all his Booke, but whatsoever he citeth, the same Chapter makes against him, and speakes not of temporallity, but of eternity, and the new Jerusalem. I rest, desirous of your friendship.

Octob.5.1650. E.S.

Postscript.

have it from a good hand, that Master Jo. Dury is the ITranslator of that Booke, and I have some Arguments to beleieve it to be so, because he seemes to be of the same minde in his Epistolicall Discourse before Mr.Thorowgoods pious booke, which I have gained since I wrote this Letter. But truly if it be so, I must move Mr. Dury both to amend his Translation from grosse faults, and to make some retractions upon that Epistle, which upon confe-

¹⁴ Perstringe...censure, criticise adversely. OED 2, 1549.

*rence I shall most plainely shew him, and in the meane time I desire him, that he will read a Booke of a most reverend and pious man, called The Revelation unrevealed; and thereby I beleeeve he will be convinced, and not looke for a fifth generall Monarchy ¹⁵up-
on Earth; for Christ reignes now, and hath so done ever since his Ascension, and so shall to the end of the World, untill he deliver the Kingdome to the Father.*

Octob.25.1650.

¹⁵ fifth general monarchy... The last of the great empires referred to in Daniel ii. 44. '...The God of Heaven shall set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed...'. Members of the Fifth Monarchy sect in Wall's time expected the immediate coming of Christ, to be established through the overthrow of earthly government by armed force.

Moses Wall's response to Edward Spencer.

1. SIR,
2. I received a letter directed, *to the Translator of Spes Israelis*,
3. which worke thus corrected, as I here-with present to you, I con-
4. fess mine. I left it with a friend to see it printed, my selfe going into
5. the country; but his occasions called him from the City also, when
6. it should have been reviewed; which is the reason that though there
7. be many Errata's in the Booke, that they are not gathered up at the
8. end. At my owne reading of it, I found many, and mended those I
9. found; and now I know it hath farre fewer then [sic] it had, and may
10. passe tollerably; though neither I, nor what I doe, can be said fault-
11. lesse. Concerning your desire of converting the *Jewes*, it is truly
12. Christian, and a work that shall not loose its reward. But you say,
13. We disagree about the way, that is very possible, for apprehensions
14. are various, and men must thinke, not as others do, but as them-
15. selves can, taking what is truth to them, to be their guide. But the
16. *quære* is, Who lights on the best way. For my part, I pretend not
17. to any way to convert them, for I verily thinke that when it shall be
18. done, it will be Gods worke, and not mans; as much as Paul's con-
19. version was wholly of God; which himselfe makes the type or pat-
20. terne of the conversion of his Country-men; as Mr *Mede* saith up-
21. on 1 *Tim.* 1. 16. in his *Fragmenta Sacra*, which I know not whe-
22. ther they be in print, or no. You say, I prize the learned *Iewes* wri-
23. ting too much, and that it will beget pride in them) Sir, pardon me, if
24. I doe not recant till I see my errour; but then I shall freely doe it. I
25. confesse, I do prize the Learned, whether *Jew*, or *Gentile*, for
26. though I am not σοφος, yet I am φιλοσοφος and I doe beleeeve the
27. Author of *Spes Israelis* to be a very learned man; and I have it from
28. those who are acquainted with him, that he is a very ingenuous and
29. civill man; and others there are, and have been among them, not
30. wanting a name for good learning. As for the fomenting their pride)

31. truly that vice is so evill, that I would not cherish it, neither in my self,
 32. nor in others. But Sir, whether is a more likely way to gaine upon
 33. men, to use them civilly, and with the spirit of meeknesse, or to be
 34. supercilious and tart towards them? What got *Austine* the Monke
 35. by using the Brittaines of *Bangor* so Lordly as he did? and (to come
 36. to latter dayes) did Mr *Broughton* gaine upon a learned Rabbi, in a
 37. Conference at *Dort*, where Mr. *Forbes* was Moderator, by his high
 38. and preremptory language? This he reaped, to set the *lew* at a grea-
 39. ter distance from Christianisme, and an abating of his own esteeme, in
 40. the judgement of wise men. As for *Menasseh's* Sabbaticall river, I
 41. know many Authors have said it, but whether true, or false, that is
 42. nothing to the Translator; and I am as farre from beleiving that story,
 43. as I am from the wilde opinions of Mr. *Thrask*. But these are of lesse
 44. concernment; you fall upon the maine of your judgement which re-
 45. lates to them, and pardon me if I deale as roundly in my answer; for
 46. I desire to have respect to Truth, and not to man. I do firmly be-
 47. leeve, and fear not to protest it; That the *Jewes* shall be called as a
 48. Nation, both *Judah* and *Israel*, and shall returne to their owne Land,
 49. and have an earthly Kingdome againe. For the prooffe of which, I
 50. could say much, but shall now but little; and if possibly I cite any
 51. thing which *Menasseh Ben Israel* brings for himselfe, beleieve me that
 52. I have it not from him, but from my owne observations out of Scrip-
 53. ture, some yeares since. There is weight of that place of *Mic.* 4.8.
 54. *The first dominion, the Kingdome shall come to the daughter of Je-*
 55. *rusalem*; and this is spoken of times after Christs incarnation, and
 56. not yet performed. See that of *Zech.* 10.6,7,8,9,10. there is
 57. *Judah* and *Ephraim* fore-told to be brought to *Gilead*, and *Lebanon*,
 58. and they shall so encrease, that they shall want room. Say not this
 59. was done in the returne of those few from the Captivity of *Babylon*;
 60. for those of the ten Tribes that then returned, were but some gleanings
 61. of them; and of *Judah* it selfe, there returned but about one halfe:
 62. now God doth not promise Mountaines, and perform but Mole-hils;
 63. yea in vers. 6. *God will save and strengthen the House of Judah, and*

64. of Joseph, and they shall be as if I had not cast them off.
 65. Which, if since that Propheſie, it hath been made good of *Judah*, yet be
 66. ſure not of *Joseph*. And in v.7. *They of Ephraim ſhall be like a migh-*
 67. *ty man*, but ſince the captivity of *Salmanassar* to this day, what
 68. might hath *Ephraim* ſhown? yea is he not poore, weak, ſcattered,
 69. and unknowne? And in ver.8. *I will gather them, and they ſhall*
 70. *encrease as they have encreased* ; hath this been fulfilled of *Ephra-*
 71. *im* ? Where is his fruitfulneſſe, which his name imports? much leſſe
 72. hath there been a time ſince their great captivity, in which they have
 73. encreased to their numbers and ſtrength, mentioned in the dayes of
 74. *Moses, Joshua, David, Solomon*, and under their owne Kings, after
 75. the defection from the houſe of *David*. See that noted place of
 76. *Ezek. 37. 16,17. 22.24,25.* Sir, in good earneſt hath this Scrip-
 77. ture been fulfilled? hath *Judah* and *Ephraim* been *but one ſtick*
 78. *in Gods hand, but one Nation, ſo that they ſhall be no more two Na-*
 79. *tions*, as in ver.22. Surely to this day they have been from their laſt
 80. diſperſion not only two, but many Nations. Neither will it be an an-
 81. ſwer to ſay, That now they are no Nation, therefore they are not two;
 82. yes, Hiſtorians report them many Nations; though perhaps ſcarce af-
 83. ter the juſt rules of Nations. And that phraſe hath not a negative, but
 84. a poſitive ſence, not that they ſhould be nothing, but that they ſhould
 85. be one Nation. More-over, in ver.24. *Judah* and *Ephraim* were ſo to
 86. be one Nation, that *David* (that is Jeſus Chriſt) was to be King over
 87. them: And when did *Judah* and *Israel* ever to this day, as a Nation
 88. acknowledge the Sovereignty of Jeſus Chriſt? and he to be their
 89. Prince for ever, as in ver. 25. But I muſt not too much enlarge. I
 90. ſhall only adde this; that as many places of the Old, ſo many in the
 91. New Teſtament agree thereto, as *Rom. 11. ver.12. 15. 25, 26. 28.*
 92. Though this of the *Romans*, chiefly proves one point, ſc. their gene-
 93. rall or Nationall conversion. Give me leave briefly to answer your
 94. objections. You ſay, The call of *Judah* and *Benjamin* is not ſo likely,
 95. becauſe Chriſt and the Apoſtles preached to them already. I answer;
 96. that by their preaching, all of thoſe living, who were elected, were con-

97. verted; but after-ages have a new race, and God hath his number a-
 98. mong them too; yea the words run high, then *All Israel shall be sa-*
 99. *ved.* You say, those two Tribes who crucified Christ, not so likely to
 100. be converted. I answer, by how much their sin is greater, by so much
 101. the greater will Gods mercy be; *Et Dei novissima erunt optima, &*
 102. *maxima.* You say, Their conversion shall be single, that is answered
 103. already; but I adde, that *Isaiah* is contrary to it, in *Isa.* 66.7,8.
 104. which Chapter I doubt not but it points to times after our Saviour. As
 105. for their being engrafted upon the Vine Christ, or being brought to
 106. one sheep-fold, what doth that hinder but that they may be a Nation
 107. of Converts brought to their owne Land? You object that of *Rom.*
 11.31. *That through your mercy they may obtaine mercy.* I an-
 108. swer, that I beleeeve the maine of their conversion will be from Heaven,
 109. and extraordinary; though the *Gentiles* by provoking them to emu-
 110. lation, and also by their gifts and graces, may some way be auxiliary
 111. to them. After this you are pleased to put the term *Millenarian* up-
 112. on me; which, though for what I have writ, I need not owne, yet I
 113. will not disclaime; they are not Names that affright me, but reall fal-
 114. sities. The term *Chiliast*, as it congregates the many odde, and false
 115. opinions of them of old, I explode; though to beleeeve those thousand
 116. yeares in *Apoc.* 20. to be yet unfulfilled, that I willingly owne. To
 117. put that sense upon them, as that they imply the thousand yeares of
 118. eternity, I can thinke little lesse of it then [*sic*] to be a contradiction. Againe,
 119. if the thousand yeares be the eternity in Heaven, what meanes that in
 120. ver.3. *Till the thousand yeares be fulfilled, and after that he must*
 121. *be loosed for a little season;* I pray, what little season is that that is
 122. after eternity? neither doth Christs *comming suddenly in the night*
 123. *as a theife*, hinder, but that when he doth come, he may stay a thou-
 124. sand yeares. But whether that time be *ante, in, or post diem judicii*, is
 125. not my taske to determine, or maintaine. As for what you adde in the
 126. Post-script, not to looke for a fifth Monarchy, because Christ reignes
 127. now. I answer, that though he reigns *de jure*, yet not *de facto*; for
 128. expresly in Scripture the Devill is called *κοσμοκράτωρ* he is the grand

129. Tyrant, and great Usurper, and the whole world κειται τοις ποδιν αυτου
130. yet I am farre from denying to Christ a Kingdome now in being, sc
131. Spirituall, and Invisible, but I looke for a visible one to come. In the
132. close (as also at the beginning) you are pleased to desire my acquaint-
133. tance; but Sir, I look not upon my self as a Star of so considerable a
134. magnitude, as to present my selfe to your eyes; but if I might be so
135. happy as to be capable to serve you really, none should be more desi-
136. rous of it (both as you are a Gentleman of Learning, by which you
137. have obliged the publick; and also a Member of that House which I so
138. much honour) than Sir,
139. Novemb. 5. 1650. *Your most humble Servant*
140. M.W.

Notes on Moses Wall's answer to Spencer's letter

2. The translator

The first English translation of *Spes Israelis* does not name Moses Wall as translator, hence the postscript to Spencer's letter appended to the second edition, 'I have it from a good hand that Master Durie is the translator'. First edition, entered Stationers Register 1 July 1650. E1350 (3).

4. A friend

Not identified at present.

11. converting the Jews

This was recognised as a necessary prerequisite to the Millenium and the Second Coming. Various sources esp. *Romans* 11, 25-6 & Thos. Brightman, *A Revelation of The Revelation* 1609, p836.

16. Quaere

OED. arch. Question, query.

18. Paul's conversion

1 *Tim.* 1,16. 'Howbeit, for this cause I obtained mercy, that in me first Christ Jesus might show forth all longsuffering for a pattern to them which should hereafter believe on him to life everlasting.'

21. *Fragmenta Sacra*

or *Remaines on Some Passages in the Revelation*, 1650. p39.

'They shall be called by Vision and Voice from Heaven as St. Paul was.'

26. σοφος... φιλοσοφος

.....though I am not wise I am a lover of wisdom.

30)

No opening bracket is to be found to correspond to this apparent closure of a parenthesis. In the original it looks as though a comma had been intended but the mark misunderstood.

34. Austine

Bede recounts how St. Augustine of Canterbury (d. 604.) summoned Welsh Christians to a conference at Aust on Severn to try and unite Roman and Welsh church usage. The Welsh agreed to be guided by a sign as to acceptance of Augustine's teaching; if, on their entry he rose to greet them, they would listen to him with humility, if he remained seated they would not, considering him without humility. He did not rise; the Welsh refused to listen to his teaching; the mission failed. *Historia Ecclesiastica* ii 2.

36. Mr Broughton

Hugh Broughton, 1549-1612, Puritan charismatic preacher and Hebrew scholar, involved in public disputations with rabbis at Worms and Frankfurt, 1590. *It is not well, that Men teach what they have not learned themselves.* Disputation printed at Amsterdam. 16-? B.L. 482.b3.1-21.

37. Dort

Dordrecht, centre for the reformed churches and venue for the Synod of 1618.

37. Mr Forbes

John Forbes, 1586-1634, English preacher to the Merchant Adventurers at Delft.

40. Sabbaticall river

The Sambatyon, a mythical river beyond which dwell the Lost Tribes. This cannot be crossed because it flows so fast, carrying boulders along with it. Every Sabbath the turbulence ceases; on the Sabbath, however, Jews are not permitted to travel. Talmud, Tractate *Sanhedrin* 29b.

43. Mr Thrask

John Thraske, 1585-1636, self-declared Jewish convert, fanatical proseletysing Judaiser, and self-styled interpreter of Mosaic Law as literal truth.

56. **Zech.** 10. 6-10.

'And I will strengthen the House of Judah....'

59. Only two tribes, Benjamin and Judah, returned.

66. The tribes of Joseph and Ephraim were among those 'lost' since the Babylonian captivity.

67. **Salmanassar**

Sometimes spelled Shalmanezzer, King of the Assyrians. 2 Kings xvii.3.

76. **Ezek**

'I will take the Children of Israel from among the heathen... and they shall dwell in the land forever.'

101. **Et Dei novissima erunt optima, & maxima.**

....and the things of God will be new and fresh.

114 **Chiliast**

One who holds that Christ will reign on Earth for a thousand years.

126. **fifth Monarchy**

The reign of King Jesus, to follow those of Babylon, Persia, Alexander and Rome. Declaration of the Army 1650. In *Some Account of the life and Opinions of a Fifth Monarchy Man*. London, 1867, p474-8.

128 **κοσμοκράτωρ**

The devil is called 'ruler of the world' (see *Ephesians* 6,12)

129 κείται τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτοῦ

lies at his feet...

Similar phraseology is to be found in 1 *Cor.* 15,27 and *Eph.* 1,22.

APPENDIX C

Letters to Samuel Hartlib

Transcribed line by line
from the originals in the Delamere Bequest
at Sheffield University

Letter from Moses Wall to Samuel Hartlib: 18 June 1652
Sheffield 34/4/1A

1. Sir
2. I have sent you according to my promise the
3. Narrative of the Jews Councill near Buda; whe
4. ther true or false, I know not; but this I can say, that
5. this manuscript hath fewer faults in it than that out of which
6. I transcribed; though mine should have had fewer, if I had
7. leisure now to read it over, and to amend it. My soul longs
8. for the truth of not only such leane stories, & beginnings
9. of their looking towards Christ, as are herein expressed, but the
10. Spirit of Christ to come upon them when they shall savingly look upon
11. him, whom they have crucified. We looked that annus 1650
12. shold have produced somewhat towards their conversion, and the
13. worlds great restoracion; hereupon I am somewhat bold in my
14. addresses to the faithfull, and mercifull God, to say that the 1652
15. year is passing, and yet no tidings of their return. but a
16. Nation shall be born in a day, when Gods time is come; & it
17. shall be gods work and not mans and it comforts me that he
18. hath sayd that he will hasten it in its time. Amen O
19. gracious, and faithfull father.
20. When you have done with this relacion, I pray en-
21. close it, and leave it with Captain Vaux, the housekeeper of
22. White-hall, for me. I pray God direct you, me, and all that
23. love him, to the patient waiting for his coming
24. Your affectionate friend to serve you M. Wall
25. Greenwich
26. Jun. 18. 1652.

Notes for letter from Moses Wall to Samuel Hartlib: 18 June 1652

3 *A Narrative of the Proceedings of a Great Councel of Jews assembled in the Plain of Ageda in Hungary etc.* by Samuel Brett dated 12 October 1650 but not published until 1655. Thomason (Fortescue) E833, actual MS now missing.

9 **'looking towards Christ'**

see Joseph Mede *Clavis Apocalyptica* (1627), also R Maton *Israel's Redemption* (London 1642) and R Maton *Israel's Redemption Redeemed* (1646).

10 **savingly**

OED 2: 'in a way that ensures salvation'; soteriological use common in seventeenth century English.

11 **Whom they have crucified**

Luke xxiv ;20. '... the chief priests and our rulers delivered him to be condemned to death and have crucified him.'

12 See 8-10 above and *Mark* iv; 12. 'That seeing they may see and not perceive; and hearing they may hear and not understand; lest at any time they should be converted and their sins forgiven them.'

14 See 7 and 8 above. Cabbalistic calculations of the actual date of the Second Coming were myriad and contradictory. See also B Ball *A Great Expectation*; also *Eschatological Thought in English Protestantism to 1660* (Leiden 1975).

15 *Daniel* xii:1- 4. '...and at that time thy people shall be delivered...and many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall wake, some to everlasting life... many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased.'

16 2 *Peter* iii:8. 'One day is with the Lord as a thousand years and a thousand years as one day'.

17 See also letter from Moses Wall to Edward Spencer dated 5 November 1650 appended to the second English edition of Menasseh ben Israel's *The Hope of Israel*, considered above.

18 *Isaiah* LX 22. 'A little one shall become a thousand and a small one, a strong nation. I the Lord will haste it in his time.'

21 **Captain Vaux**

'Captain GeoVaux to be allowed after the rate of 100£ a year for all charges disbursed since the sitting of Council being nine months 15 days for keeping Whitehall and the Courts clean; also a salary for attendance after the rate of 50£ a year.' CSPD Vol. XVI 29 November 1651.

Sheffield 34/4/3A

- ## Notes for letter from Wall to Hartlib 17 July 1653

5 prescript

9. **affectionate**

Letter from Moses Wall to Samuel Hartlib: 21 August 1653

Sheffield 34/4/5A

1. Sir
2. I wrote to you & sent a paper containing
3. the state of my body, to you, to be delivered to
4. the honorable Gentleman who lodgeth in your house,
5. & I have been all this while (which I think is
6. about six weeks) waiting to hear an answer
7. by you from him: and yet hitherto have received
8. nothing. Be pleased to give me some account of
9. the judgement of your Gentleman; & also if you have
10. any intelligence to communicate to me, send it to
11. me at Mr Westroes. Sir Cheney Culpepper will
12. direct the conveyance of it to me.
13. Your friend & servant
14. Whitton Aug 21 1653 M Wall.

Notes for letter from Wall to Hartlib: 21 August 1653.

2 17 July 1653

6 Actually five calendar weeks.

10 **intelligence**

OED 7b: Information, especially of military value. 1613.

11 **Sir Thomas Westroe**

1587-1653, MP for Twickenham, Middlesex.

Sir Cheney Culpepper

1601-1663, Parliamentarian and long-time correspondent of Samuel Hartlib, of Hollingbourne, Surrey, and Leeds Castle in Kent. At this time one of the Commissioners for Regulating Trade. (Firth and Rait. *Acts and Ordinances*. Vol.ii, p1290)

Letter from Moses Wall to Samuel Hartlib: 26 August 1653

Sheffield 34/4/7A

1. Sir
2. I humbly thank you for the pledges of your love sent
3. me by Sir Cheney Culpepper. The discours concerning
4. me, writt by the honorable Gentleman with you, I have perused, &
5. (according to desire) do also now return it. It exceedingly pleaseth
6. me, in the theoricall part; & also doth the practicall, for so far
7. of it as I understand. I shall patiently await the blessing of god
8. on the Councell, & Prescripts of that Gentleman; & do hope that one
9. end of god's sending him hither, is that he may be a means of
10. doing good to such an unworthy one as myself; but the less
11. I am, the more will his grace & mercy appear. I shall not be
12. importunate to heare from the Gentleman, but stay his leisure; I only
13. wrote the last to you, because that I hearing nothing, knew not whe-
14. ther my business was wholly forgot. I pray present my humble ser-
15. vice & thanks to the Gentleman; I shall now take my leave, &
16. remaine
17. Your faithful friend , & servant
18. Whitton, Aug.26. 1653 M Wall

Notes for letter from Wall to Hartlib: 26 August 1653

8 **Councell**

OED2, alternative form of 'counsel', to advise; or

OED5, secret purpose or design.

Prescript

O.E.D.1,. An ordinance, rule, command or instruction;

or O.E.D.2, medicine prescribed.

10/11 As *Job* xi, 6. 'Know therefore that God exacteth of thee less than thy iniquity deserveth.'

12 **Stay**

O.E.D. 9. To remain inactive. 1625.

14 **Business**

OED 11a: (1642), a task appointed or undertaken.

Letter from Moses Wall to Samuel Hartlib: 9 March

[no further date]

34/4/29A

1 Sir
2 This is only to tell you that your letters
3 do not miscarry; I received one packet this morning
4 & another before that, from you; so that I have now heard
5 twice from you since my return from London.
6 Your letters and informations are very acceptable
7 to me, & a great refreshing to my spirit in my
8 country solitude. I desire that country affairs may
9 not obliterate, nor dull in me the surge of divine
10 things, or my expectations of God, concerning when
11 he is coming into the world; he hath done great things
12 & will do greater, that we may marvel. It is good
13 waiting upon him; who Himself is
14 better than all his gifts. I write now, not ha-
15 ving leisure (before my writing, for the haste of sen-
16 ding this away) to read what you have sent me; but
17 your correspondence which is very dear to me, as shall be testi-
18 fied by all the ways in the power of your faithful friend, & servant
19 Caversham, at the Moses Wall.
20 How-house, Mar 9.¹

¹ How-house cannot be traced on any contemporary maps or documents at present. 'How' suggests that the house is on a hill or a ridge where the land falls away steeply. A.H. Smith. *English Place-Name Elements*. CUP 1956. Part I, p.256. This makes it likely that it was on the site of the present Caversham Park, Berks.

Letter from Moses Wall to Samuel Hartlib: 19 March 1654/5

Sheffield 34/4/9A

1. Sir
2. I received your last, and with it the treatise of the French Minister
3. which was sent to my Lord Protector. I shall say this to you, there
4. are some in the world who love your person & price your correspondence.
5. I have read that foresaid treatise, and say of it, the Lord God say
6. Amen to it, that Babylon shall fall so soon, yea even now. That the
7. Turk may be ruined quickly. And that the last day may hasten, so that
8. he that is the desire of all Nations, may come; when all sin shall be
eradica-
9. ted from our hearts & all tears wiped from our eyes. All discourses which
10. propound these things are pleasing to me. And though I cannot soon
11. concur with the Author in his Calculations, & Grounds (I being deeply
12. tintured with Mr Mede's notions, & whose demonstrations for his Assert
13. ions, seeme as yet to me stronger) yet in the foresaid discourses are
14. excellent good hints, to awaken the mind, & make it to wait for the com
15. ing of our Lord, both in his operations & also Personally. The Author
16. also gives divers choise things in that *παρερχα* of his discourse
17. But why doth he pass over the affaire of the Jews Call, & Reestabli
18. shing, so superficially? Surely their turn will come to be a considera
19. ble people in the hand of God, & in the eyes of the world.
20. I question not, but God will revenge himself on [illegible] Rome,
21. and on gross antichristianism; but that wold help us little if the refined
22. Babylon which is closely in all of us, were left standing in its strength; if
23. the beame were first cast out of our own eye, we then should the more
rejoyce
24. to see our brethrens eyes saved from moles. As you have opportu
25. nity, still let me hear from you; but I wold not have your corre
26. spondence with me be too burdensome to you. The Lord keep our spi
27. rits chaste to himself in these tempting & trying times.

28. Causham , Mar. 19. 1654. Your humble servant M.Wall

[written on the left margin:]

Your former packet I have perused, & am much pleased with Comenius his letter. The book of Prophecy called Lux in Tenebris I should gladly see; I hope God is pouring his spirit upon all flesh.

I would gladly know what Mr Dury doth.

Notes for letter from Wall to Hartlib: 19 March 1654\5

1 Hartlib, *Ephemerides*, Jan/Feb 1655 [29/5/1a-14b]

2 *Theoremata Theologica; Eight Theses of Divinity*, compiled by Robert Vilvain, 1654. Thomason E898.

3. **Lord Protector**

The title assumed by Oliver Cromwell on 20 December 1653.

4. **Price**

or 'prise' = prize. OED1, 1615, general term of appreciation, now obsolete.

5. See 2 above.

6 The equation of the contemporary Protestant situation with that of Babylon immediately prior to its fall is shown in such texts as *Mene Tekel Perez; or a Little Appearance of the Hand Writing Against the Powers and Apostates of the times*. A letter to Oliver, Lord Cromwell. By John Rogers.

10 June 1654. Thomason E23/(4), as well as in Rembrandt's painting of Belshazzar's Feast showing the 'Writing on the Wall' in which the protagonists wear contemporary Dutch seventeenth century clothes. National Gallery, London.

8. The great cataclysm predicted for 1656 by Vilvain when God would send a firestorm 'to destroy the wicked'. *Theoremata Theologica*, fol.186. 1654.

12. **tinctured**

OED 2b: an alchemical term signifying 'to impregnate with knowledge'.

14. **wait for the coming of our Lord**

Thessalonians IV, 15-16.

16. *παρεργα*

'parerga' (Greek), literally 'byways' or 'digression'. In his *Ephemerides* for 1654 Hartlib uses the same expression: 'there are too many *parerga* in Mr D'

17. **the Jew's Call and Reestablishing**

Romans XI: 25-27. 'and so all Israel shall be saved ...for this is my Covenant unto them...' On this point see also extensive discussion in the *Discourses* and correspondence by Moses Wall appended to the second English edition of Menasseh ben Israel's *Hope of Israel*, 1651, discussed above.

23. **the beam were first cast out of our own eye**

Luke VII, 41-43 and *Matthew VII*, 1-5.

27. **tempting and trying times**

A time of great political uncertainty: the Dissolution of the First Protectorate Parliament had taken place in January 1655, followed by Penruddock's Rising in early March .

28 **Causham** alternative spelling for Cavsham or Caversham. *Lord Craven's Case Briefly Stated*, printed by Thomas Newcomb, 2 November 1654. E 669 F 19 (65). Wall had apparently taken over Craven's sequestered property. See below, H.P.P.34/4/27A.

Left margin :

Comenius

See Comenius' letter to Hartlib, 19 July 1654. H.P.P.&/72/1A.

Comenius, i.e, Jan Amos Komensky, 1592- 1670, Czech educational reformer.

Lux in Tenebris. Hartlib had an undated copy in scribal hand. Mentioned in H.P. P. 35/8/1A-138B.

Dury

John Dury.1596-1680. A Scot, born in Germany. Dedicated to uniting all the Protestant churches of Europe. Frequent correspondent. See Dury-Hartlib letters 30 October and 23 November 1654; and S. Gardiner, *History of the Commonwealth & Protectorate* 1649-56, iv: p207.

Letter from Moses Wall to Samuel Hartlib: 3 April 1655

Sheffield 34/4/11A

1. Sir,
2. Yours of Mar. 22 I received, and the packett therewith, which was as
3. alwayes welcome to me. I shall not trouble you to inform me of what
4. Politicus prints, because I read him weekly. I thank you for Mr Dury's
5. paper, by which you inform me what he is doing, & that he is not idle, or
6. gone about a sleeveless errand. I should rejoyce to see that M.S. of the
Wal
7. denses, for the history of them is obscure, & sure they were a people
8. precious in the account of God; & the Popish crue stirring now so cruelly
9. against them, I believe will hasten the ruin of Rome, which we judge, was
10. already at the door. As for the book which you were pleased to send me,
11. of Thoroan John's News for Hierusalem, I prevailed with myself to
12. be so patient as to read it through, but truly I skill not the man
13. nor his spirit; in his writing he offends against all rules of Gram
14. mar, Geography, Geneaology, History, Chronology, Theology &c, so far
15. as I understand them; & I shall say no more about him but this,
16. that the Apostle affirms God to be the God of Order, & not of
17. Confusion (as his writings are to me); Confusion is Babel, & that is
18. not from God, but from the Devill.
19. Sir, it is now between 20, & 30 yeares since I looked
20. after Apocalyptically tracts, & the appearings of God; but yourself have
21. been so happy as to have been a much longer time a disciple in that
schoole,
22. & truly active to help those blessings (as a midwife) into the world; time
23. passeth, and there are revolutions, yet not the thing we wait for, that is
when he
24. shall come who is the desired of all nations; quem sequantur omnes, sayth
25. Plato; in the interim- Orbis Parturient montes, nascetur ridiculus mus;
26. but then Parturit unus mons descendet gloria caeli. God hasten
27. in his time, & make us & all his, happy in, & with himself.

Notes for letter from Wall to Hartlib: 3 April 1655

2 In response to Wall's previous letter dated 19 March 1654 (*i.e.* 1655 new style).

4 Politicus

Mercurius Politicus. Wall mentions again, in the letter dated 9 January 1659 below, that he reads it.

5 *Concordiae inter Evangelicos* etc. Published 10 March 1655. (E 8302)

6 sleeveless

OED 2b: errands ending in, or leading to, nothing, 1663.

6/7. Waldenses

Adherents of a reformed Christian sect, followers of Peter Waldo, originating in southern France c.1170, excommunicated 1184. Most followers settled in northern Italy. Associated with the Protestant Reformation as proto-Protestants.

7 *A Collection of the Several Papers sent to the Lord Protector concerning the Murthers & other Cruelties... committed on Reformed or Protestants dwelling in Piedmont, by the Duke of Savoy's forces.* 10 June 1655 (E 842-11)

11 *Thearaujohn his Theous Ori Apokalipikal; or. God's Light Proclaimed in Mysteries*, By Thomas Tany, 13 Aug 1651 (E640-8)

Thomas Tany first appears only in April 1650 when he published a broadsheet proclaiming the return of the Jews (London 1650). There are no

reliable records other than his own story of divine visitation and consequent self-circumcision, contained in *The Nations Right in Magna Carta* internally dated 28 December 1650, p8.

12 **skill**

OED 4: to understand or comprehend, 1657.

16 **the Apostle affirms...**

1 *Corinthians* ix, 34 ff *Genesis* xi, 9.

19 See H.P.P. 34/4/9A, above.

22 **Midwife**

OED 3: figuratively, one who helps to bring something to birth, 1658.

23 **revolutions**

OED 6b, OED1: the action of celestial bodies moving round in an orbit, 1678; also OED 5b: the action of turning over in the mind; and 6b: an instance of great change in affairs, 1663. See also C Hill on the changing meaning of 'revolution' in *Studies in Seventeenth Century History*, ed. R Ollard & P Tudor Craig, London 1986.

24 **quem sequantur omnes**

from which all else shall follow.

25 **Plato**

.....Let all men follow him sayth Plato ... not identifiable.

25 **(Orbis) parturient montes.....**

...The mountains (of the world) will go into labour and all they will produce is a little mouse. Horace, *Ars Poetica*, line 139. A proverb illustrating that large promises are often followed by small performance. *Cassell's Latin English*

Dictionary, London 1968, p379. Parentheses indicate where Moses Wall has added his own word to the original.

26 **parturit.....**

...meanwhile, one mountain gives birth and the whole glory of heaven will descend. A paraphrase for *Daniel* ii, 45, which reads 'Forasmuch as thou sawest that the stone was cut out of the mountain without hands...the great God hath made known to the King what shall come to pass hereafter; and the dream is certain and the interpretation thereof sure.'

Letter from Moses Wall to Samuel Hartlib: 8 May 1655

Sheffield34/4/13A

1. Sir/
2. I have heard from you thrice, (for so many Packets I have
3. received since I wrot to you; so that none of yours miscarry. I
4. shold be willing to write oftener but that I have nothing worthy
5. of you; & am wholly a recipient; yet one who doth rejoyce in god's coming
6. forth to glorify himself and in that good he hath promised, & will perform,
7. to Man. I wold not look to Self, & advance Self; for the much
8. is, corrupt Self (which is that that is the great Goddess of this world) is
9. such a thing, that a truly wise man would be so far from cherishing
10. it, that he would pessundate it, & doom it to destruction. These are brave
11. words, but as Seneca sayth, Cur fortius loqueris quam vivis? well,
12. God mend me, & all the world beside. I rejoyce in Mr Dury's spirit,
13. and indefatigable mind in the Lord's work; God grant a good success
14. the honourable gentleman at your house (whom you speak of in yours) I
shall
15. be glad to know what his errand is; but I can wait till it be com-
16. municable. Well, Sir, the 1655 year is passant, and yet what hath
17. God wrought? indeed great changes with this nation, but what are we
18. compared with the whole creation of God. Thereupon I conclude, How
19. great things will be done shortly. The Lord prepare us, & his, for them.
20. I shall now add no more, but that I am
21. Your unfeigned friend and servant M Wall
22. Causham, May, 8.1655.

Notes for letter from Wall to Hartlib: 8 May 1655

2 Last previous Wall letter extant dated 3 April 1655.

packet

OED1: a parcel of letters or dispatches, especially political, 1653.

Bracket unclosed on MS.

5 **Gods coming forth**

Isaiah XI:9. '...The earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea'.

8 **whore**

OED2: figuratively in Protestant use to describe a corrupt or idolatrous community, 1545; Brinklow, *Complete Works*, xii 1847, p30: 'That abominable Whore of Babylon (Rome I meane)'.

10 **pessundate**

OED: to ruin, cast down, destroy, 1656.

11 **Seneca**

Why do you speak more bravely than you live? *Epistolae Morales*.

14 **the honourable gentleman**

Constantin Schaum. See H.P.P.34/ 4/15A. note 7.

16 **the 1655 year**

This was confidently predicted as the year in which the conversion of the Jews would take place. See 2nd Edition of *Clavis Apocalyptica* 'corrected & enlarged' 1651. Edited by Samuel Hartlib and with an introduction by John Dury. E.1260.(1).

See also Ralph Josselin's *Diary* for 20 February 1650, p228. ed. A. Macfarlane, London 1976 and Nathaniel Holmes *The Resurrection Revealed*, London 1654, p562.

17 Similar sentiments are expressed at this time by Sir Henry Vane in *The Retired Man's Meditations*, published 1656 but his introduction is dated 20 April 1655. E1670.

Letter from Moses Wall to Samuel Hartlib: 12 June 1655
Sheffield 34/4/15A

1. Sir
2. I much desire the continuance of your intelli-
3. gence, which feeds my Spirit (I hope to some
4. profit) in my solitude & retirement. What
5. the Spanish Plenipotent does, I would gladly know, &
6. what his affairs, so far as is communicable; & what answer
7. is given to the Transylvanian Agent.
8. My service to Mr Claudius, & desire him that when
9. he goes to Clapham, to Mr Colbron, to take my Let
10. ter with him to my cousin Arthor, & deliver it.
11. If Mr Claudius should have no occasion of going
12. thither, by reason of Mr Colbron leaving Clapham, or the
13. like, I pray then let me trouble you to have the enclosed
14. sent to Mr Smith at the golden hors-sho in the midst of
15. the old Bayly by Ludgate, who will convey it. When I
16. was last at London, I procured the book of Chymicall, Medi
17. cinall, & Chyrurgicall Addresses to yourself, therefore send it not.
18. Your humble servant M²
19. Caversham, Jun. 12. 1655.

² Corner of sheet, and remainder of signature missing.

Notes for letter from Wall to Hartlib: 12 June 1655

10 My cousin Skinner

Moses Wall's mother was christened Anne Skinner (see appendix 1).

14. the golden hors-sho

Thomas atte Haye, 1405: '... a brewhouse called The Horseshoe on Ludgate Hill'. No seventeenth century records appear to survive, but in 1799 it is recorded 'in Horseshoe Court North out of Ludgate Hill in Faringdon Ward Without, west of the Old Bailey.' Bryant Lillywhite, Record 9025 in the manuscript edition of *London Signs from Earliest Times* etc., 1973. Seen at the Guildhall Library, London.

16 chymicall, Medicinall, and Chyrurgicall Addresses

Made to Samuel Hartlib Esq. London. Printed by G Dawson for Giles Calvert at the black-spread-Eagle, at the Westend of Pauls 1655. BL 1036 a 37.

Letter from Moses Wall to Samuel Hartlib: 4 January 1658/9

Sheffield 34/4/17A-18B

1. Sir
2. That you have not heard from me of late yeares, is not
3. from want of respect to you; but I shall deal fairly, that
4. since my country life, where I retire to my own thoughts, with
5. out mixing them with the Court, or City vanities, I have had
6. some change in my apprehensions; were the Court turned into a
7. common-wealth, not in the name, but in the thing, I should be better
8. satisfied, and many thousands who are more considerable than my self;
9. for now private interest hath justled out the publique; and he finds
10. best acceptance that can best flatter; and pomp, pride, and
11. vain titles are in as much request (if not more) as ever; when in
12. the meanwhile the case of the nation is neglected; corrupt in-
13. terests (which were going to destruction) are fomented; and an empty
14. form in religion is set up to oppose the spirit of god, & his light
15. which is peeping into the world; yea this light is persecuted where it is
16. found; for in the last Protectors days there were more good men persecuted
17. in his almost five years of government, than were in almost five
18. score years of our late Queen and Kings, beginning with
19. Elizabeth, who came in Nov. 19. 1658. And as for the wars abroad, I am
20. of
21. his mind who sayth, that there was never so much war in the world to
22. so little purpose; the good of mankind being very little, if at all
23. minded. And after all disappointments from men, I come to be of the mind that
24. Rabbi Joannes was of, concerning his own people the Jews (cited by
25. Martilius Ficinus) quod cum Judaei alios ab aliis ducibus ex captivitate fuerint
26. liberati, redemptio ultima à deo sub propria persona est explenda.
27. As a testimony of my old respect to you, I have sent you a bird of
28. my own breeding; the carrier and porter are paid; I pray

28. send away the basket and cloth by the porter that brings it, for
29. Mr Tooby's coach (at the Swan in the Strand) is to return me the
30. basket at his next coming to Reading, which is Friday next.
31. I have no more to say, but to present my respects to you, & remain
32. your affectionate friend & servant Moses Wall.
Causham, Januar 4. 1658.

Notes for letter from Wall to Hartlib: 4 January 1658/9

6 **were the Court...**

Note the use of the subjunctive form here, which helps to define the disputed date of the Wall-Milton letter of March or May 1659.

7 **common-wealth**

On 19 May 1649 by Act of Parliament 'the People of England were constituted ... to be a Commonwealth and Free State and.... henceforth be governed by the representatives of the People... in Parliament ...without any King.' This form of government was discontinued when Cromwell expelled the Rump and took the title of Lord Protector in December 1653. Now, after his death, the Rump was recalled to sit again on 27 January 1659.

9 **justled**

OED 7: Another form of 'jostled', to bring things into collision, eg John Milton.1641: 'The Churches clash & juttle Supremacies with the Civil Magistrate.'

15 **light... peeping into this world**

A possible reference to Comenius' *Lux in Tenebris: divine revelations interpreted from the Gospels*, privately distributed by Samuel Hartlib 1654-7. [35/8/3A] in which angelic revelations of God's millennial purpose were described. The implicit idea of Christian en-light-enment is also present here.

19 Numerical slip: the year should read 1558.

20 War with Spain on Dutch territory, Battle of the Dunes, June 1658.

23 Rabbi Joannes

Rabbi Jochanan or Yohanan ben Zakkai, who died at an advanced age in c80CE. One of the greatest scholars of his people, he ensured the survival of Jewish spiritual studies after the destruction of the Second Temple.

24 Martilius Ficinus

'...that when finally, after the Jews have been rescued many times, by many different leaders, ultimately their salvation will be brought about by God Himself in His own person.' (It has been pointed out to me that here, as on other occasions, Moses Wall is more enthusiastic than accurate, since grammatically the Latin should read *alii* not *alios*.) Marsilio Ficino, Biblical teacher in sixteenth century Florence, author of *De Religione Christiana*, simplifying Judeo-Christian doctrine. Add. MS. 4292. Ff 264-5.

24-25 Latin translation from Ch 62 of *Netzach Israel*, recording the sayings of Rabbi Yohanan ben Zakkai, compiled by Rabbi Loew, The Maharal of Prague, c1500.

29 the Swan in the Strand

1637: 'where carriers come from Aylesbury, also higglers ... from Great Marlow in Bucks... There cometh a waggon from Winchester, Thursday to the Swan in the Strand....' Recorded 1708 'on the NW side of the Strand near St Martin's Lane end.' Quoted in Bryant Lillywhite's MS. *London Signs from earliest Times*. 1973. S.L.86:1. (entry 14313.) Guildhall Library, London.

Letter from Moses Wall to Samuel Hartlib: 9 January 1659
34/4/19A-B

1. Sir
2. I received yours of the 6th of Jan, with the Packet enclosed, & the bas-
3. ket, all safe; for which I thank you. I condole with you your great loss, which must
4. needs afflict you, & for your sake troubleth me; as also your torment of body;
5. I pray God comfort you, and give you to find a remedy (if it be his will)
6. or at least an ease; care of diet (I believe) is likely to be your best remedy,
7. drinking of ale of a moderate strength, avoiding fat and salt meats, and meals
8. hard of concoction, with convenient stirring, I judge the most probable
9. way for ease of your grief; I pray God direct you to the best course.
10. Your friends letter from Dublin, speaks comfort, and life; God say Amen
11. to it. In my last to you, I wrote to you some of my thoughts; I
12. shall now open myself somewhat farther. That that doth, and hath afflicted
13. my spirit in these late months, and years, is this, to consider the dark & dis-
14. mall world in which we live, the greatest evil of which (and that that is
15. the root of all others) is, Gods withdrawing himself from us; In the time of the
16. wars against the late King, I thought I saw God clearly; god was among us, he
17. showed himself plainly, he roused up himself like a mighty gyant, and was
18. ready to give us more of himself, and to open his bosom to receive us; but upon
19. the unhappy grasping of power into the hands of the late Usurper, god with-
20. drew, and hid himself, and the body of the nation proved apostaticall. It is true
21. that at the beginning I also did concurre with the post-fact, which was my
22. weakness, and my living for a time about White-hall, had that influence upon
23. me as to gain my consent to what was done, though it was against my first
24. apprehensions; but coming into the Country, where I could take a view of things
25. clearly, free from Court blandishments, and hearing of that barbarous acti-
26. on of committing that gallant gentleman Sir H. Vane (whose name will live
27. in honour when the memory of that great Persecutor shall rot) and seeing the
28. unchristian, and cruell usage of many precious people in the land (who only
29. bore witness against the apostacy, vanity, and pride of the rising generation)

30. these laid together, did (through gods goodness) recover me to my first appre
 31. hensions, and to truth; since which time I have been more confirmed in what I now
 32. own; and have truly seen by what spirit our late governors have guided
 33. themselves, and the nation. And the first great hope that I have had of gods
 34. returning to us more sweetly than ever, was from, His seasonable taking a-
 35. way the late great man (who was that that did let, and would let, till he was ta-
 36. ken away) concerning which dispensation of god, though court parasites, and time
 serv-
 37. ers do condole, yet I have observed therein much mercy to the nation, and cause of g
 38. Your paper about the number 666 I have perused; but confess myself
 39. at a loss in apocalypticall prophecies; for many hopes from thence have
 40. been given us, but every vision faileth; we believed that the times of
 41. refreshing therein mentioned, wold have come before now, and still
 42. darkness is upon us. Some will say, What would you have? are not
 43. the Saints exalted in this age? What wold you have? I answer, Saints
 44. so called or that call themselves so, are exalted, but by what arts? again,
 45. what is it to have formal saints, out-side professors to be exalted to
 46. live after the flesh, and to enjoy the great things of a polluted, and
 47. dark world; what is this to the seeing and enjoying god, and to the
 48. performing that great and comfortable promise Jehovah shammah,
 49. the Lord lives among them, and in them. But let us not despond, when gods
 50. time is come, then shall be performed what he hath sayd, I the Lord
 51. will hasten it in its time. The other paper of curing Cattle when
 52. diseased, I shall use as I have occasion.
 53. When I write to you, I shall send by the common Post, which is the most
 54. convenient way for me; when you will please to write to me, I pray
 55. send by Mr Tooby who lodgeth at the Swan in the Strand, and
 56. superscribe your Letters To be left at Mr Robert Pigeons of Rea-
 57. ding for me. I do not desire of you to send me an account of
 58. the forrain wars, which I delight not in, as formerly; especially I
 59. constantly having Needham's Mercurius, to whom I give credit
 60. for beyond-affairs, though for his home-news I believe only the
 61. matters of fact which he relateth, but for the grounds of those actions

62. I reade them with my own gloss, but not with his, knowing how
 63. court-relations and self-interest will wrest the writings of almost
 64. any man, though he hath better principles than Mr Needham hath.
 65. And of this your love, pains, and friendship, I shall testify myself
 66. to be sensible, and ever to remaine
 67. Causham Your unfeigned friend, to love, and
 68. Januar.9.1658/9 serve you M.Wall.

Notes for letter from Wall to Hartlib: 9 January 1659

3. Hartlib's wife Mary, *née* Burningham, had died early in November 1658.
4. Since 1642 Hartlib had suffered from kidney stones. [See Turnbull p21.*op cit.*]
10. **Your friend... from Dublin**
Not traced at present.
15. Compare Wall's letter to Hartlib 34/4/9A..
16. **The late King**
That is, Charles I.
17. **like a mighty gyant**
Compare Wall's *Discourses* dated 1650, bound in with the second English Edition of Menasseh ben Israel's *Hope of Israel*. London, 1651, p.47: 'He is risen up like a mighty giant against his enemies...' and Milton's *Areopagitica* 1644.

19. **the late Usurper**

Oliver Cromwell abandoned the Commonwealth and assumed the Protectorate in 1653; he was recognised with full regal pomp in Westminster Hall in 1657, although he declined the title of King..

20. **apostaticall**

OED1: Heretical, retrograde.

21. **post-fact**

OED: [1595] usually in legal usage.....In the time after [a deed etc] was done.

26. On 21 August 1656 Sir Henry Vane, summoned before the Parliamentary Council, was ordered to deposit a bond promising that he would 'do nothing to the prejudice of the present Government... '. He refused to comply and was sent as a prisoner to Carisbroke Castle, Isle of Wight, until 31 December.

27. At his trial Henry Vane declared that Cromwell had 'betrayed the people's trust'. *Proceeds of the Protector against Sir Harry Vane*, Thurloe Papers v 328.

30. **first apprehensions**

as 15 above.

34. **seasonable taking**

Cromwell died on 3 September 1658. 3 September had previously been thought a propitious date. During his championship of the Commonwealth it had been the occasion of victories at Dunbar in 1650 and Worcester in 1651. Now Moses Wall perceived another implication in the significance of the date (which in 1658 coincided with a great storm), as God's anger due to Cromwell's personal aggrandisement.

35. **that did let, and would let**

OED13: caused, and OED12: permitted; that is, by whose leadership corruption was caused and not prevented.

38. the number 666

In Cabbalistic terms 666 signifies the 'name of the Beast'. i.e. the devil, based on Revelation xiii, 17,18. This was clearly a scholarly recognition in Moses Wall's time, viz. *An Interpretation of the Number 666 wherein not only the Manner how this Number ought to be interpreted, is clearly proved... but it is also showed that this Number is an exquisite and perfect Character, truly... describing that State of Government to which all other notes of Anti-Christ do agree. With all known objections answered etc. & Mr Meades judgement of this Treatise.* By Francis Potter B.D., Oxford 1642; E1012 (17).

45 professors

OED3: One who makes open declaration of his allegiance to some principle (sometimes opposed implicitly or explicitly to one who practises). 1625

48 Jehovah Shammah

Transliteration from Hebrew uncertain, but probably a pious exclamation: 'May God hear/listen'. Hebrew-Chaldee Dictionary, N.Y.1975.

53. the common Post

The General Post Office was established by Act of Parliament in 1657 out of the Royal Mails, franchised by Charles I.

55. the Swan in the Strand

See note 28, letter dated 4 January 1659.

58. the forrain wars

In 1658 Cromwell agreed to send 4000 English soldiers to support Charles X of Sweden against another Protestant nation, Holland.

59. Marchamont Needham's *Mercurius Politicus*, published weekly 1650-1659. Champion of the Commonwealth cause.

Letter from Moses Wall to Samuel Hartlib: 22 January 1659
Sheffield 34/4/21A-B, 34/4/22A

1. Sir
2. I received yours of Jan 6 and wrote an answer to it by the Post dated about Jan 10
3. which I hope you have received, I should be loth it should miscarry. And now
4. it is my mind to write to you of many things. I will begin with
5. Husbandry, about which you have been Theoricall, and I have been
6. Practicall; but you will find that Practice doth and will give the law
7. to Theoreticks. I have tried divers of your experiments about Bees,
8. and they signify nothing: like a chip in pottage, doth neither good
9. nor hurt; but contenting myself with the country-mans rules, &
10. observations about them, I find less trouble and more profit.
11. I experimented Clover-grass and will now give you a Narrative
12. thereof. I sowed 14 acres of land (worth at less ten shillings an
13. acre yearly rent) with clover-grass-seed; and in the sowing & prepar-
14. ing the ground, it was done ingeniously, & carefully; I sowed with
15. it Barly, but very thin (least it wold else wrong the clover-grass
16. seed) and answerably had a slight crop of barly that yeare. The
17. next yeare was the best crop of clover grass that I had, and then I
18. mowed it once and it was pretty thick; and about
19. 6 weeks after I mowed it the 2nd time, but then it was so short
20. and so thin, that it did little more than pay for the mowing;
21. but after this 2nd mowing it grew so little that summer, that
22. there was nothing for a 3rd mowing. The next year after I mowed
23. it in June, but the clover-grass was very thin, and the natu-
24. ral grass had half overcome it, so that it was but a small burden
25. mowing. I finding the clover-grass so to decay, this last Spring I
26. ploughed it up, and bestowed much cost about it to break it, and then
27. sowed it with barley; but the clover-grass had so poisoned the ground

28. that I had not half a crop this last harvest. And as for the nature
29. of that grass, the commendations given it do far exceed the truth, for
30. my cows would eat it well for a month, sc. the last half of May, and
31. first half of June; but after that, they would scarce eat any; so
32. that my cows were almost dry. So that all put together, I clearly
33. lost about twenty pounds in experimenting Clover-grass. [page ends.]
34. Now I will tell you what Husbandry I like. First the enclosing of
35. Commons, allotting a share to all that can justly claim a right; and also
36. to the poor of every parish that want house and land: whereas now
37. our Commons are overlaid with Cattle by the rich; and it is a Nurse of
38. Laziness & Theft to the poor. Next, make it felony to carry
39. unwrought wooll beyond-sea; for now our wooll being carried by forai-
40. ners, the Dutch make cloth, spoil our markets, and the poor want work;
41. it much grieves me that the great staple of England is so greatly
42. neglected. Then wholly take away Tithes, which are Jewish and popish
43. in the original, which maintain an Antichristian, and nationall ministry;
44. and the paying of which, doth greatly discourage the husbandman (which ought
45. not to be), since our land hath spent many years past, a million
46. and an half of treasure upon beyond-sea corn, which wold not
47. need if the husbandman were encouraged by being discharged of
48. Tithes. Then (and a speciall point it is) to take out of the na-
49. tion the scars of the Norman Conquest, sc. the base tenure of
50. lands by Coppy-hold, and holding for life, for this was induced by
51. the conqueror, & ought to be discharged now that Monarchy is (or
52. ought to be) gone, and the nation set at liberty; now these kinds of tenures
53. of land make people who hold, not care to improve the land through-
54. ly, or to have any house, but what will keep them dry, because they
55. know not how soon they or theirs may be turned out. Nextly, to
56. improve the fishery of our seas, which wold be of main concernment.
57. I would add about learning. I wholly dislike the way of
58. our Universities; instead of 2, I would have 5, or 6 in the Nation, and those
59. after the mode of Leyden in Holland, to have no fellowships or stipends to
60. any students, for that invites poor men to send their children, who by

61. those allowances there, live highly, & proudly for a time, and will move
62. every stone to live so afterwards, though to the disservice, & against the
63. interest of the common-wealth; I account London, which is no formall Univer
64. sity, & hath no stipends for students, worth both our Universities ten times over,
65. for the benefitting of mankind by an industrious searching out of truths in
66. all kinds, and by printing many profitable books; the truth is, god
67. is coming forth in an unwonted way; he is discovering himself (which is all that
68. is of worth among us) to poor and dispirited ones, and passeth by the great [page en
69. Rabbies of the world; these latter catch after shadows, and words, and
70. superficial things, when the former goe away with the life, and the
71. power, and make it their design to do good in their generation; what
72. an empty paper is that of Hornius which you sent me, signifying nothing
73. that is reall, but catching after somewhat to make himselfe seem lear-
74. ned; I pray hereafter trouble not yourself nor me to send transcripts
75. of such papers, for I see through the pretended learning of that generation
76. of men: but if you can tell me any thing of gods approaching towards
77. this dark, & miserable world, that would be welcome news. And because
78. I believe that god is about to do great things by this ensuing Parliament
79. which I call the 2d great Parliament, therefore I shall desire you, (for I
80. think you have the opportunity to inform yourself) that when you write to
81. me, you wold inform me of the most remarkable speeches and actions
82. in the Parliament (writing to me without subscribing your name, as also
83. I shall herafter forbeare mine) and the names of the Members who
84. spoke, or acted so; and this I shall account to be an acceptable office of
85. your friendship. I shall now cease to trouble you any further, but remain
86. Your friend and servant
87. M.Wall.
88. Cavsham
89. Januar.22.1658/9

Notes for letter from Wall to Hartlib: 22 January 1659.

8. like a chip in pottage

OED 4: proverbial phrase signifying 'inert', 1655.

11. I experimented

Probably following the advice of *The Legacie of Husbandry*, edited by Samuel Hartlib 1652. B.L.441.b.23.(6)

Clover-grass

Sir Richard Weston's *The Observations of the Husbandry of Clover* in *The Legacie* as above.

12. worth at less

OED4: worth at least....

34. the enclosing of commons

The efficient cultivation of God's gifts. See also letter (H.P.P.51/93A-96B) from John Beale to Samuel Hartlib dated 19 March 1659, discussing 'The True Interest of the Common-wealth of England'.

39. unwrought wooll

Export of raw wool was finally forbidden by the first Restoration Parliament in May 1660. *An Economic History of Britain*, J. Clapham, CUP. 1966. p237.

41. the great staple

OED1: having the chief place among articles of production. 1633. See also regarding wool at this time. *The Economy of England 1450-1750*, D Coleman 1977. p187.

42. Tithes

One tenth of all annual produce, taken by Erastian law for the support of the established Church and clergy, based on the Old Testament teaching in *Genesis* xiv, 20 and *Nehemiah* x,38. Tithes were an issue which had 'overturned' the Rump in 1653. Now, under the Protectorate of Richard Cromwell, the problem returned. The abolition of tithes implied a major challenge to the whole question of Church government and to landowners and the traditional establishment. Wall's adamant posture is one shared by contemporary Quakers, sectarians, anabaptists and idealists for a true 'commonwealth'. M. James. 'The Political Importance of the Tithes Controversy in the English Revolution'. *History*. June 1941. p16 ff.

49. Scars of the Norman Conquest

Such as the intrusive remainder of an alien aristocracy. In 1652 Gerard Winstanley, no longer politically active as a Leveller, wrote in his Epistle to Oliver Cromwell: 'God hath honoured you with the highest honour of any man since Moses's time, to be the head of a people who have cast out an oppressing Pharaoh. For when the Norman power had conquered our forefathers he took the free use of our English ground from them....' *The Law of Freedom*, London 1652, ed. C. Hill 1973, p275.

50. Copsy-hold

Copyhold tenure of property under local Manorial rules. Abolition of such feudal tenures was confirmed by Parliament in 1656, but had to be further confirmed in 1661.

52. the nation set at liberty

that is, without a King; but note preceding parentheses which suggest that Cromwell did not personally fulfil the ideals of Commonwealth but lived as King in all but name from 1653-8. This situation is extensively examined in R. Sherwood's *Oliver Cromwell*. Sutton Publishing, Stroud. 1997.

58. our Universities

Oxford and Cambridge.

66. printing many profitable books

David Norbrook in *Writing the English Republic* (C.U.P. 1999) p.13. suggests that censorship collapsed between 1640 and 1660, resulting in a huge increase in publications. Christopher Hill, in *Some Intellectual Consequences of the English Revolution*, had a similar perception. London 1980. p. 49.

67. **unwonted**

OED3: Beyond ordinary limits,, 1642.

discovering

OED4: Revealing, 1662.

69. **Rabbies**

OED2: One whose learning is comparable with that of a Jewish Rabbi, or teacher. 1647.

72. **an empty paper**

Earnest Breathings of Foreign Protestants, Divines and Others, etc., 1658.

Hornius

Thomas Horne 1610-54. Master of Eton and author of *Janua Lingarum, or the Gate of Languages Unlocked*. London 1634. This is a manual based on the methods of Comenius and significantly just at this time 'Corrected and republished by W.D.' in London. 1659.

78. **this ensuing Parliament**

called for 26 January 1659, and where Vane is to be a member once more.

80. **opportunity to inform**

Hartlib was living with his son, who acted as secretary on a government committee, and was therefore privy to unpublished information.

Letter from Moses Wall to Samuel Hartlib: 6 February 1658/9

34/4/25A-25B

1. Sir
2. I received yours of Jan.26. and also that of Feb.2. with the enclosed papers
3. but for a 3rd which you mention, in which you mention The appearances and appoa-
4. ches of god to the world (which is of all things the unum desiderabile, and almost
5. to which alone I could be content to live) that is miscarried, though I have
6. made enquiry for it. For the particulars in these 2, I shall speak somewhat
7. to some of them, as I meet with them. Concerning St foin, I have not
8. tried, nor am in a disposition to it; concerning clover-grass I shall
9. say but this, and not hereafter trouble myself to write about it, and al-
10. so desire that you would not put yourself to the trouble; that what suc-
11. cess I had about it I have already sent you word in a former letter, for
12. my loss by it was considerable, and fully as much as I asserted to you; and
13. also an understanding experienced farmer (who is my neighbour) who
14. holds a farm of good land, for which he pays rent yearly 300£, this man
15. experimented Clover-grass, and hath ingenuity enough to improve it
16. was ill husbanding of land to sow it, and (his words to me were these)
17. That it is a great cheate to the Nation. A 3^d man in our parish did
18. try it, but had worse success than I had. This is all I will say of it,
19. & hereafter let us have no more discourse about it. Your medicine for
20. the Red-water, I am not concerned in, for it is peculiar for sheep, & I
21. am no sheep-master; but for that, and things of the like nature, I must freely
22. say, that the Country affords, (by long experience) cures for all mala-
23. dies for cattle, & I had rather use those which are approved among us, than
24. what comes from persons unknown, & of other parts of the nation, for
25. what is available for one part of the land is not so proper for another.

26. You discourse of your telescopes, and Mr Wren's observations about
 Saturn, Venus
 27. etc., which is an ingenious exercise; & if Mr Wren doth publish anything of
 this
 28. kind, let me know of it that I may send for one of them; for I like reall
 truths,
 29. and such as may give us farther insight into greater mysteries. you tell me
 you
 30. have a telescope; perhaps I may trouble you in this kind. I have a
 Telescope
 31. by me, but before all parts of it were fully putt together for use, I left
 32. London, so it remains by me to this day useless; my telescope when drawn
 33. out is about 18 foot long, and I have choice of glasses for it, and shifters,
 and
 34. wyers, but my little skill cannot put them together to make them
 serviceable; now
 35. if you have a means to relieve me in this point, it will be a kindness, [page
 break]
 36. I desire to hear from you about it, for I would gladly have my Tube
 37. to be made serviceable, for it hath cost me a great deale of money; and I
 38. wold willingly be at some farther trouble and charge to gett it perfected.
 39. Sir Edmund Staffords Questions are only in manuscript; and for my
 40. part I shold readily let you have the transcribing of them, but I cannot be
 41. free to it, upon this ground, because I promised not to communicate them;
 42. I transcribed mine out of Sir H. Vane's cobby, and it was his injunction
 43. and my promise that they shold not be transcribed: so that only his leave
 44. be asked, I cannot be free to it.
 45. I am grieved at your maladies of body, the whole world is crazy, & no
 marvell
 46. if our bodies [which are almost but atoms thereof] sympathize with the
 whole; I hope
 47. god is hastening the times when we shall have new heavens, & a new
 earth, & then new

48. hearts, & new bodies too; and the belief of this appearance of God shortly
to
49. be to do these things, & to give us himself, & who is the All, is the life of
50. our soules. A strong impress dwells upon me that God is about a great
Cata-
51. strophe, which looms like a great abyss, dreadfull to behold, but glorious in
the
52. issue; god will undo all that fine cob-web of the devices of the late Oliver
53. to set up himself, & family, to the debusing the Nation, the best men & the
54. truth itself; but let us not be dismaid, the work is gods, and in the close
55. will be found better than our hearts can think.
56. When I am able to be serviceable to you, I shall freely do it,
57. & remain
58. Yours to love, and serve you
59. Feb.6.1658/9

Notes for letter from Moses Wall : 6 February 1658/9

2 That is three letters from Hartlib in ten days, 25 January-6 February.
enclosed papers

Untraced.

4 **unum desiderabile**

the one thing desirable... for which we long. Wall has here made up an adverb
from the noun *desidero*, to long for some thing or person that is absent...

Cassell's Dictionary (1). 1968.

5 **miscarried**

See fears in previous letter, lines 3-5.

7 **St foin'**

Literally *sanctum foenum*, sanfoin, holy hay, a species of meadow grass.

8 **clover-grass**

Hartlib included Sir Richard Weston's essay on clover in his *Legacy of Husbandry*. 2nd edition 1652. B.L.234.e.32(3).

11 in a former letter

That of 22 January 1658/9, see above.

20 the Red-water

O.E.D.1.A disease of cattle and sheep with malarial affinties. 1644.

27 Mr. Wren's observations

See note 21 for previous letter, 34/4/23A.

28 if Mr Wren doth publish

De Corpore Saturni, 1657.

31 I have a Telescope

It may well have been similar to Huygens' Aerial Refracting Telescope, (20ft long tube, 1641), which can be seen at the Science Museum, London.

32 shifters

Devices usually composed of metal rods or wires for moving the lenses axially relative to each other.

33/34 my telescope

Compare the letter (Appendix E) from Johan Weissel or Wiessel to J. Morian dated 17 December 1649. HPP. 8/34/A-B.

40 Sir Edmund Stafford's Questions

See previous letter, 25 January 1658/9, note34.

43 Sir H. Vane's copy

Untraced. Vane's papers are kept in a private archive and are not available for study.

46 crazy

OED 2: Infirm, ailing... crazed, cracked, damaged.

46 atoms

OED5: 1606, the ultimate particle of matter.

'The microscope demonstrates the divisibility of all matter and atoms are the first universal matter.' 'The combinations of numerous atoms produce all known bodies.' Walter Charleton. ' *A Fabric of Science natural upon the Hypothesis of Atoms*. London 1654. pp.99 & 117.

48 new heavens...

In the preceding letter of 25 January 1658, (line14) Wall writes of Burroughs. His 'writings' are still on Wall's mind two weeks later. In *To the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England*, 1659, p. 3 William Burroughs writes: 'We look for a new earth as well as a new heaven' which is itself reminiscent of the apocalyptic vision in *Rev.xxi,1*. 'And I saw a new heaven and a new earth, for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away.'

51 a great Catastrophe

Apocalyptically, Armageddon; politically, Wall was possibly privy to secret plans Vane was hatching with the army. See also January 1658/9 letters above.

53 devices

OED8: inventions, something artificial, 1665.

54 debusing

OED3: to deceive, 1649.

55 the work is gods

This attitude of unwavering faith runs through the whole correspondence. Compare letter 18 June 1652, above.

57 **serviceable**

OED1b: Involving or expressing real readiness to serve, 1629.

60 This letter is unsigned in accordance with the plan suggested in the concluding paragraph of the previous letter.

Letter from Moses Wall to Samuel Hartlib : 30 December 1660

34/4/27A

1. Sir
2. By this messenger I send you A Turkey; the Carrier, & Por-
3. ter are paid; I pray return the Baskett, & the Cloth , by this porter,
4. who will conveigh it to the Carrier for me. If you write to me,
5. you may send by the coach, or by the common Post, and direct it to
6. be left at Mr Pigeons of Reading for me, and it is like to come
7. safely to me. I desire to hear from you, how you are in your
8. body; for you were crazy, the last time I saw you. And also how you
9. are in your spirit, in these gloomy & mysterious times; and what
10. apprehensions you have, and what you believe god is doing: so far as
11. you think it safe for you to write; and whether
12. any changes are like to fall out in Holland, upon the death of the
13. princess of Orange, who is here reported to be dead.
14. Two months since Peter Cornelisson of Zealand was with me, who
15. seems a serious good christian, & of a publique spirit, & told me
16. that he was your acquaintant.
17. I desire you to speake to your son, to put my Lord Craven in
18. mind of me; I was forced out of an house that had been his, on
19. Sept.29. and payd down 40 pounds of mony as for rent, for that
20. yeare; the purchase of that house & some land, cost me above
21. 800£ of money; I laid out upon the house & land about 200£;
22. I built a new barn, & have left it; and as yet I
23. have had not one penny of satisfaction, or recompence; though
24. his servants have told me that his Lordshipp will consider me; &
25. Mr Harding (one of my Lord [*sic*] gentlemen) wrote word that
26. his Lordshipp hath a particular kindness for me. Perhaps my Lord
27. doth but forgett it, & wants a remembrancer; which if your son wold do
28. for me, he would put an obligation upon me towards him.

29. I pray god direct us in this dark and distracted world.
30. Cavsham, Decemb. 30. 1660. Your friend, & servant Moses Wall.

Notes for Letter from Moses Wall : 30 December 1660.

2 A Turkey

OED 1643: 'A diverse thing newly brought to England'

5 Wall appears no longer to fear that his letters will be intercepted.

8 crazy

O.E.D.2. indisposed, ailing. 1611.

10 apprehensions

OED11: 1603, recognition of what is to happen in the future.

12 death of the Princess

Mary, Princess of Orange and Princess Royal of England 1631-1660, the eldest daughter of Charles I, had died on 24 December 1660 of smallpox in London at Whitehall Palace.

14 Peter Cornelisson

Probably Peter Cornelius of Zurichsea, mentioned in a letter from Hartlib to

Worthington dated 15 October 1660. Worthington, Diary etc. p. 211.

17 your son

'Young' Samuel Hartlib, his actual son. Hartlib's son-in law Frederick Clodius was unlikely to be of any help around this time, as Henry Oldenburg wrote from Amsterdam commenting on 'your son Clodius misdemeanours'.

H.P.P. 4/4/30A.

17 Lord Craven

William Earl of Craven. 1606-97. Declared 'an offender against the Commons' 16 March 1651. Act for the sale of his estates 3 August 1652. Thurloe. *State Papers*.i.513.

Petition for their return, 11 August 1659. Order to 'stay the felling the woods in the Lord Craven's estates', 15 March 1660. Whitelocke. *Memorials*.1853.iv. p. 404.

18 forced out of an house that had been his

In 1647 Charles I was taken as a prisoner to Lord Craven's house at Caversham. S Gardiner, *History of the Civil War*, Vol iii, p307. This is the only property associated with Lord Craven at Caversham and was probably Caversham Park, the most considerable house in the area. No information about the property as it was in C.17 has survived.

19-21 40 pounds of mony as for rent... the purchase... 800£ of money

This indicates that the house was purchased by Wall only as a leaseholder, so that annu: rent still had to be to be paid. **For that yeare** suggests that he had actually paid rent in advance.

APPENDIX D

LETTER FROM MOSES WALL TO JOHN MILTON

Transcribed line by line
from Josiah Owen's copy
in the British Library

Letter from Moses Wall to John Milton: 26 May 1659¹

1 Sr
2 I RECEIVED Yours the Day after you wrote and do humbly thank you
3 that you are pleased to honour me, with your Letters. I confess I
4 have (even in my Privacy in the Country) oft had thoughts of
5 you, and that with much Respect, for your Friendliness to Truth in
6 your early Years and in bad Times. But I was uncerten whether your
7 Relation to the Court, (though I think a Commonwealth was more
8 friendly to you than a Court) had not clouded your former Light, but
9 your last Book resolved that Doubt. You complaine of the Non-
10 progresency of the nation, and of its retrograde Motion of late, in
11 Liberty and Spritual Truths. it is much to be bewailed; but yet let
12 us pity humane Frailty when those who had made deep Protestations
13 of their Zeal for our Liberty both spiritual and civill, and made the
14 fairest offers to be asserters thereof, and whom we thereupon
15 trusted; when those being instated in power, shall betray this good
16 Thing committed to them, and lead us back to egypt, and by that
17 Force which we gave them, to win us Liberty, hold us fast in Chains;
18 what can poor people do You know who they were that watched
19 our Saviours Sepulchre to keep him from rising. Besides whilst People
20 are not free but straitened in Accommodations for Life, their Spirits
21 will be dejected and servile; and conducing to that end there should
22 be an improving of our native Commodities, as our manufactures, of
23 Fisherie, or Fens Forests and Commons, & our Trade at Sea &c which
24 wold give the body of the nation a comfortable Subsistence, and the
25 breaking that cursed yোক of Tythes wold much help thereto. Also an-
26 other Thing I cannot but mention, which is that the Norman Con-
27 quest and Tyranny is continued upon the nation without any
28 Thought of removing it; I mean the Tenure of Lands by Coppy-

29 hold, and holding for Life under a Lord (or rather Tyrant) of a
30 Mannour; Whereby People care not to improve their Land by Cost
31 upon it, not knowing how soon themselves or theirs may be outed it,
32 nor what the House is in which they live for the same Reason; and
33 they are far more enslaved to the Lord: of the Manor, than the rest
34 of the nation is to a King or supreme Magistrate! We have waited
35 for Liberty, but it must be Gods work and not mans, Who thinks it
36 sweet to maintain his Pride and worldly Interest to the gratifying
37 of the Flesh whatever becomes of the pretious Liberty of Mankind.
38 but let us not despond but do our Duty; god will carry on that
39 blessed work in despite of all opposites, and to their ruine if they
40 persist therein.

41 Sir, my humble Request is, That you wold proceed and give us
42 that other member of the Distribution mentioned in your Book; Sc.
43 that Hire doth greatly impede Truth and Liberty; it is like if you
44 you shall find Opposers; but remember that Saying *Beatius est pati*
45 *quam frui* or in the Apostles Words *καταριζομεντα υπομενοντα*^ξ
46 I have sometimes thought (concurring with your Assertion of that
47 storied voice that shold speak from heaven) when Ecclesiasticks
48 were indowed with worldly preferments, *Hodie venenum infunditur*
49 *in Ecclesiam*, for to use the speech of Gen.4 ult. according to the
50 Sense which it hath in the Hebrew – Then began men to corrupt the
51 worship of God. I shall tell you a Supposal of mine which is this, Mr
52 Dury has bestowed about 30 years time in travell conference and
53 writing to reconcile Calvinists and Lutherans, and that with little
54 or no Success. But the Shortest way were, take away ecclesiastical
55 Dignities Preferments and Honor on both Sides and all wold soon
56 be hushed; the Ecclesiasticks wold be quiet, and then the People
57 wold come forth into Truth and Liberty. But I will not engage in
58 this Quarrel yet I shall lay this Enlargement upon myself to remaine
59 Your faithful Friend and Servant

¹ B.L. Add. MS.4292. ff264v-265v.

60 M. Wall

61 Causham May 26, 1659.

Notes on letter from Moses Wall to John Milton

4. my Privacy in the Country

Wall's letters to Hartlib after 19 March 1655 are sent from Caversham, Berks.

7. the Court

Cromwell abandoned the idea of a Commonwealth for a Protectorate in Dec 1653. Richard Cromwell inherited the title and position of Protector. Milton remained Secretary for Foreign Tongues, effectively justifying the regime from 1649-1659.

9. your last Book

A Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes, registered with the Stationers' Company 16 February 1659. Advertised in *Mecurius Politicus* Feb. 10-17.

10. The Non-progresency of the nation

Since 1654, when Milton had written *To the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England in A second Defence of the Realm* 'till they who govern distinguish between civil and religious... till then, nothing but troubles, persecutions, commotions can be expected."

10. retrograde Motion

The right of a Christian and evangelic liberty 'which these men in their arrogance pretend': *A Treatise of Civil Power*. Yale ed. CPW. Vol. vii. p270.

15/17. Cromwell and the Army seized power from Parliament by military force in December 1653.

25. Tythes

A live issue throughout the Commonwealth and Protectorate years. Thoroughly discussed in 'The Tithes Controversy and the English Revolution' by M James (History.June 1941.pp2-17) and explored in Milton's next work, *Considerations Touching the Likeliest Means to Remove Hirelings out of the Church*,(CPW. vii.p274-321) first published in August 1659.

35. Liberty

In the Christian sense as identified by Vane in *A Brief Answer*, 1637: 'There is no liberty to be taken in, neither in Church nor commonwealth, but that which Christ gives.'

43. Hire doth greatly impede...

'Two things there be which have ever been found working much mischief..force ...and hire'. First line of Milton's *Of Civil Power*; see above, note 9.

44. Beatius est....

It is better to suffer than to enjoy....(*James*, v,11).

45. $\epsilon\alpha\kappa\alpha\rho\iota\zeta\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\tau\alpha\ \upsilon\pi\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\ \xi$

Here once more Wall has his own interpretation or he is careless. While the past tense is indicated in the printed Biblical text, he alters this to the present.

47. storied voice

The voice in the story. Conflation of two references by Milton quoting from *The Tale of Constantine & Sylvester* in Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, where a voice descends from heaven deploring riches in the Church; first in *An Apology*, 1642,(CPW.i. pp.946-7) and again in *A Second Defence* (CPW. iv.p651).

48/9. Hodie venenum ...

'This day is poison poured into the Church....' This is Moses Wall's own adaptation of the quotation mentioned above.

49. *Genesis* 4, 26.

.....then began men to call on the name of the Lord.

50. **which it hath in the Hebrew**

According to the commentary of Rashi (Rabbi Solomon ben Isaac) 'Then men began to call the names of men and the names of idols by the name of the Lord' *i.e.* transgressing the First Commandment. Wall makes this point clear by showing his actual knowledge of the Hebrew, since the work was not translated until 1710. *Jewish Encyclopaedia* 1906, and E. Rosenthal, 'Rashi and the English Bible', *Bulletin of John Rylands Library*, Vol.xxiv.1940. p. 130.

52. **Mr. Dury.**

John Dury/Durie, 1596-1680, devoted most of his life to the cause of Pan-Protestantism. He was a long-time asociate of Wall and Hartlib mentioned in various letters above.

61. **May 26 1659**

J.M. French in *Life Records of John Milton* Vol. iv 267. prints Moses Wall's letter dated as it is in the Owen copy, *i.e.* 26 May 1659. Austin Woolrych (CWP, p. 513, note 10) and Gordon Campbell (*A Milton Chronology*, Macmillan 1997. p. 183.) query the May date as a possible misreading for March, considering immediate political events such as the hopeful restoration of the Rump on 7 May 1659.

APPENDIX E

**LETTER FROM JOHAN WEISSEL TO MORIAN
ON THE SUBJECT OF TELESCOPES**

HPP 8/34 A-B

COPY LETTER IN UNKNOWN HAND
JOHAN WEISSEL [SIGNED WIESSEL] TO MORIAN,
17 DECEMBER 1649
8/34A-B; 34B BLANK

[8/34a]

Copie of a letter from Iohan Weissel opticus 17 December 1649 from Augsburg, directed to D. Iohan Morian.

Honoured Sir my last was that I would deliuer your starrie telescopium to Hern Von Stetten & of him receiue 100 rixdollers by your ordre, which was this day effected thoug with last tubo a large direction how to fitt the same were sent that following that said direction one could scarce [erre?] yet requires also this Nightlie starrie tubo another direction which followes first there bee eleuen pipes or drawers & euery one of these pipes marked with 2 letters as A and B there be fower glasses as before in the small pipe one screwed in the great objectium In the great leather pipe there is a shorter tubus with two conuex glases screwed in in the black wood with a strong screw, whereof the one glass is part of a circle the other of a section as yet unknowne this small pipe is screwed in at the ende of the great & are these two glases as the white of ones ey and also both ofthem with theyr flatt sides against or towards the ey well fitted & fashned with theyr screwes so that herin cannot be [ered?] thirdly there is also a great ocular glass in the great pipe which followes the leather one, there screwed in this is alwayes layd in so that the flatt side therof bee towards te eye Now when all these glases by long usage grow dustie may the same bee taken <out> & very well cleansed with the whitest linning & without spott euery one layd in againe in due place & screwed up Sir you may bee assured that this is the first starrie tubus which I haue made of this manner & so good that it goes farre beyond all others wherof my selfe <also> doe not little rejoyce When I looked at first throug the same the moone seemed to my eyes exceeding bigg & not aboue the lenght of a foote of from my eyes & have found out others

things besides what euer obserued & brought to sight also I have obserued last night being 16 december 1649 in the evening about 7 a clocke Saturnus in such figur as herover [diagram in left margin] While by triall obserued that by day (though when the sonne shineth) the nerer objects therewith more increased then with my other former perspectiues, so could not obmitt the use therof in that particuler by night to the starrs must alle the pipes be drawn out to the letter A and for the nerer objects by day when the sonne shines must they bee drawn out all to the letter B there may bee a perspectiue picture of the bignes of a sheet of papper hanged up or fastned upside downe to a white WALL in a shining sonne & that the distance from the pipe or tubus to the picture be of $32\frac{1}{2}$ ells Augsburger mesure, there all will appeare to the bigness of liuing persons in said pictures delightfull to behold I haue now also a great tubus in hand which I use by day for the land this also is made & fitted with this new manner of glasses with this doe I trust to worke wonderfull things & all objects lost out of sight because of the great distance to encrease & bring into sight againe by my next will I write of som what [rares?] how that with a small instrument & help of a particular object all the inward defects of the eye may bee seene as if the same were painted upon a papper which is a worke neuer yet in being before much less knowne & described & is of great & benefitiall use thus sir you haue it briefly with my respects &c. Augsburg the 17 december 1649 Your humble seruant Iohan Wiessel opticus.

it were good that a light Canal holed out halfe, were made for the telescopium there to rest & to keepe the same from bowing throug the length therof.

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