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"A COMPLETE AND GENEROUS EDUCATION": OF EDUCATION AND MILTON'S LATER WRITINGS

BY

ABDOLKAZEM MASHKOURNIA

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND
RESEARCH IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENT FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL, 1995

ISBN 0-612-06257-0

Canada

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

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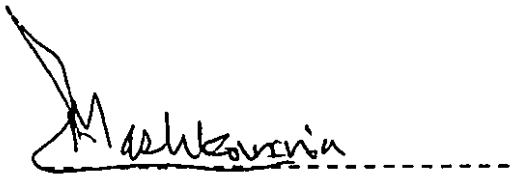
NAME OF AUTHOR: ABDOLKAZEM MASHKOURNIA

TITLE OF THESIS: "A COMPLETE AND GENEROUS EDUCATION": OF EDUCATION AND MILTON'S LATER WRITINGS

DEGREE: DOCTOR OR PHILOSOPHY

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED: FALL 1995



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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled 'A COMPLETE AND GENEROUS EDUCATION': OF EDUCATION AND MILTON'S LATER WRITINGS submitted by Abdolkazem Mashkournia in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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ABSTRACT

Throughout Milton's prose and poetry, there is an underlying concern for the effect of the Fall on man's understanding. Milton believed that Adam and Eve's first disobedience caused man's reason to be obscured, and consequently tyranny became dominant in this world. To regain the lost liberty and "to repair the ruins of" our first parents's sin, man, according to Milton, needs education. A right education helps man to understand his position in the chain of being and regain the government of his soul. Those few individuals who could equip themselves with knowledge and self-knowledge are the "wise and good" people, who love liberty and have the right to rule their country and lead their nation. This study argues that Milton designed his curriculum to train leaders, who not only must be able to resist any temptation, but who could learn how to design a city, write an epic, and cure a disease. Milton believed that if a country has good leaders, who serve their nation according to God's rules, that nation finds comfort and prosperity.

This dissertation examines Milton's educational tract, Of Education, which was written with the purpose of reforming education in England, in the context of the seventeenth century. Because of the humanistic nature of the tract, this study explores the influence of the Renaissance educators and the seventeenth-century educational theorists on Milton, educators like Roger Ascham, Richard Mulcaster, Sir Francis Bacon and John Amos Comenius. This thesis attempts to trace

the educational elements of the tractate in all the poet's major works. In Paradise Lost, Raphael and Michael teach Adam and Eve the same principles which are offered in Of Education (written about twenty five years earlier). In their classrooms, Raphael and Michael contrast good leaders, like the Son, Abdiel, Noah and a few others, with bad leaders like Satan, and his countless progeny, like Nimrod and Pharaoh. This study also argues that the Son, in Paradise Regained, and Samson, in Samson Agonistes, are two leaders and teachers who teach by their examples. Although they use two different teaching methods, the subjects that they cover are the same as those offered in the tractate. Finally, the last chapter of this dissertation discusses Milton's final two tracts. In these prose works, one of which he translated from Latin into English (with a great deal of modification), Milton's continual concern for liberty is still evident. In these pamphlets, Milton contrasts a good leader, like John III of Poland, although Catholic, with a bad leader, like Charles II of England, who was restored thirteen years earlier.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to acknowledge the continual help and guidance which I received from my supervisor, Professor David Gay. I also wish to express my gratitude to professor Ronald Bond, dean of the Faculty of Arts at the University of Calgary, who accepted to be my external examiner. I would like to express my deep appreciation to professor Linda Woodbridge for her invaluable help, guidance, and support during the whole period of my education at the University of Alberta. I also would like to thank professor Demers, chair of the Department of English, who, in spite of her frequent responsibilities, always offered her knowledge and time generously. I also wish to express my gratitude to Professor John Oster, form the Faculty of Education, for his help and guidance.

It is also a delight to acknowledge the assistance which I received from Professor Grant, the chair of the graduate committee (1990-92), and professor Khoshbakht, from Abadan Institute of Technology, Iran, without whose help I would not be able to continue my studies at the university of Alberta.

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to show that Milton's educational goal, which was "to repair the ruins of our first parents," focused primarily on training leaders. Throughout this study, I argue that Milton believed that if a country has leaders who ultimately are able "to love him, to imitate him, [and] to be like him" (631), the nation is guided toward God and is able to appreciate freedom and enjoy prosperity. This goal remained unchanged throughout his entire life and is traceable in all his works. The implication of this goal, however, changed frequently with the course of events of the poet's time, which were many in the seventeenth century.

This study also shows how Milton, by his remarkably progressive and integrative educational curricula, focused on the character development of his students in order to achieve the above mentioned purpose. In his proposed "academy" in Of Education, in Raphael and Michael's classrooms, and especially through Christ's teachings (the Gospel), Milton intends to help his students develop in order to comprehend the "high mystery" of life. Using different techniques of accommodation, like progression from easy to difficult, regular reviews, motivation and reinforcement, which are quite modern in our sense, the poet aims at training people with highly developed character who are able to serve God and their society.

This thesis traces Milton's didactic ideas in different stages. The first is the period of the poet's involvement in

formal education. Of Education is the outline of Milton's involvement in the formal education of his time. This period of his life starts with his return from Italy, and ends with the Restoration. The second stage is the period of informal education, which starts with the Restoration in 1660 and ends in 1673. The Restoration, which William Parker saw as a fortunate event in the poet's life, made the poet embark on his major works and focus on teaching virtue. The poet's instructions in this stage are given in Paradise Lost, Paradise Regained and Samson Agonistes. The third stage of Milton's educational life is confined to the last two years of the poet's life. It was in this stage of his life that Milton returned to pamphlet writing. It is a short period of time in which Milton focused his pen on the same elements which he was always concerned with. The method of teaching, however, is the same as the method which he used at the first stage.

To trace Milton's educational concepts in his works, I studied the reflection of his tractate Of Education in his other works. The works that I discuss are Paradise Lost, Paradise Regained, Samson Agonistes, Of True Religion, and a translation from Latin called A Declaration, which is his last literary work, which the poet published in 1674, a few months before his death. Since Milton's educational thesis is illustrated in his Of Education, which was written in 1644, in my study, I focus on his other works (which were written in different periods of time) through his tract. This enables me

to trace Milton's growth and development from the time of his trip to France and Italy up to his death. Mary Ann Radzinowicz writes:

> To examine any poet's work chronologically makes possible the reading of individual poems in the context of the development of the poet's mind and art. Such a context involves more than the biographical setting of a work within the events of the poet's life. It allows an intellectual and, if I may be forgiven the word, a psychosocial placing. (Radzinowicz xiii)

Milton's effort to educate his countrymen shows his optimism in the ability of man "to repair the ruins of our first parents." His endless struggle to free man from the tyranny of his own passions, and the tyranny of dictator kings and rulers, proves his sincere belief in the ability of man to ascend to a higher level of existence and to have right connection with God. This belief also shows Milton's faith in "eternal providence of God" without which man can get nowhere. John Shawcross writes:

> The 'profit' in Milton's work is always educationally oriented, and in that orientation always moral and corrective. As he says in Of Education "the end of learning is to repair the ruins of our first parents." The History of Britain is a guide to lay bare the workings of providence, Milton's aim as well in Paradise Lost: to "assert Eternal Providence,/ And [thereby] justifie the wayes of God to men. "Adam and Eve leave Paradise to begin human history with "providence thir guide." (Shawcross 118)

In this thesis I locate Milton's educational ideas in the context of the history of the seventeenth century. I examine the different educational stages of a poet who was a humanist, a Christian, a puritan, and a revolutionary figure in his

time. These important characteristics of the poet made his educational thesis a three-sided pillar with Christianity, humanism, and revolution at each side. The poet was the last voice of humanism, which was in decline in the seventeenth century. He, however, was a faithful follower of great humanists like Erasmus and Sir Thomas More. Milton lived in a time which we nowadays consider the threshold of our modern time. In the time of Milton, a great revolution happened in England, and a new class obtained political power in the country. It was in the seventeenth century, and as the result of the revolution, that democracy and constitution were adopted formally. In such a period of upheaval, Milton lived and advocated many modern notions which we enjoy at present time. Doubtless such a time dictates the abandonment of medieval educational traditions, and requires the embracing of the new and modern educational ideas. Milton was, however, a literary figure whose revolutionary educational ideas, which were combined with Christianity and humanism, placed him ahead of his contemporaries.

Milton inherited great legacy of the Renaissance with its enormous educational and literary heritage. He lived during and after the time of thinkers like Ascham, Mulcaster, Bacon and Comenius whose ideas were important in the advancement of education. He, however, became a controversial figure in the history of pedagogy. Students of Milton believe that in whatever literary form Milton tried his hand, he left it

elevated and different from what he had received. He also left a great impact on the educational system of the time, if his ideas were taken seriously. He inherited a great legacy on education from the Renaissance humanists and his other contemporary thinkers, which he could elaborate and advance.

In order to repair the ruins of the Fall, one should develop in character a great deal. Milton's character development is different from the character development of the novel which came much later than the time of Milton. Milton's character development is related to spiritual development and offsetting the result of the Fall. Milton's educational program guides students to understand their own relation to God and their position in the chain of being. In Miltonic character development, we deal with spirituality and ascension toward God. Milton's character development is based on two important issues: liberty and leadership. These two terms are different, although they are closely connected. Liberty is connected to virtue to the extent that in Tenure of Kings and Magistrates, he writes that "Indeed, none can love freedom heartily but good men; the rest love not freedom but license, which never hath more scope or more indulgence than under tyrants" (750). In sonnets XI and XII, he conveys the same perception when he writes whoever loves liberty "must first be wise and good" (144). Man's virtue and consequently his freedom must lead him to the level of leadership. A virtuous man whose character is developed, and who appreciates freedom,

must be able not only to lead himself toward God, but to lead other people also. All this is possible only with education.

Real leaders are those who are good, those who love freedom, and who oppose tyranny. Real leaders are never tyrants because

> All men naturally were born free, being the image and resemblance of God himself, and were, by privilege above all the creatures, born to command, and not to obey. (Tenure of Kings 754)

We learn in Areopagitica that we know good in contrast to evil. Satan, as a false leader and as a character who is in bondage of his passion, opposes Abdiel and Christ whose aims are to imitate God and be like him. Abdiel, Christ, and Samson are leaders who imitate God and serve other human beings. Man's freedom from worldly passion is, therefore, one part of the curriculum in Miltonic education. His students are not medieval monks who neglect the world and its physical contents. Milton believes that man is a social being whose wisdom and virtue help him to serve his society. This service is based on a reciprocal relationship between the individual and his society. The degree of the individual's service is based on individual perfection and also on the safety which his society offers him.

> Sonnets 11 and 12 insist on two prerequisites for an ordered community: the individual centre must seek inner perfection in order to serve the community, and the community must guarantee the centre's freedom to do so.

> As the poet says in Sonnet 11, whoever loves liberty "must first be wise and good"; and Sonnet 12 makes clear by negative example the necessity of attaining that wisdom. (Nardo 70)

In the Miltonic curriculum, therefore, students must learn to serve God and God's creatures. The more an individual develops, the more he can serve his society. The poet, therefore, designed a curriculum which ultimately makes students knowledgeable in most of the sciences of the time. The graduates of Milton's "academy" are able to build bridges, to manage advanced laboratories, and to defend themselves and their country from any evil. They finally become people like Abdiel, the dreadless angel in Paradise Lost, who stood alone against Satan and the fallen angels. By acquiring these qualifications, the student's mind finds paradise within.

Milton's educational objective could be realized even outside of classrooms. Milton believes that there are many educated people who are not learned, and can by no means lead themselves or other people toward God. He shows clearly that there are many people who are without formal education, but they know God well and consequently are able to serve their society in the best way. Milton, however, believes that education by itself is a revolution, and no revolution can succeed without education.

Liberty from passion and obedience to God were the centre of Milton's educational ideas in any phase of his life. He devoted his life to a type of knowledge which could help man

to create the ideal place to live in. He pursued knowledge, by the help of which man could repair the ruin of our first parents. In On the Morning of Christ's Nativity, Milton illustrates clearly that the ultimate objective for man is to find right connection with heaven:

> Yea, Truth and Justice then
> Will down return to men,
> Th' enamel'd Arras of the Rainbow wearing,
> And Mercy set between,
> Thron'd in Celestial sheen,
> With radiant feet the tissued clouds down steering,
> And Heav'n as at some festival,
> Will open wide the Gates of her high Palace Hall.[1]

Milton wanted man always to be in "tune with Heav'n" ("At a Solemn Music"). The right connection with God creates unparalleled characters. In Comus, we learn that the Lady ultimately wins, although she is weaker physically than Comus and all those evil characters who surround him. The reason is that she is closer to God. Abdiel in Paradise Lost, Jesus in Paradise Regained and Samson in Samson Agonistes are characters whose knowledge and wisdom exceed all those who are around them. They love God voluntarily. Even Milton himself was one of those who always pursued a right relation with God, and for this reason he never compromised. All these characters, like the poet himself, teach by example.

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[1]John Milton, "On the Morning of Christ's Nativity," in John Milton: Complete Poems and Major Prose, ed. Merritt Y. Hughes (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1957).11. 141-148. All references to Milton's poems are to this edition.

In Milton's curriculum there are some virtues like patience and temperance which can be traced in most of his works. These two virtues are important means in the Miltonic academy for obtaining the paradise within. Patience is the most prominent subject which is seen in Comus, in his sonnets, in his epics and in his tragedy. The Lady in Comus, the speaker in the sonnet "On His Blindness," Abdiel in Paradise Lost, Christ in Paradise Regained, and Samson in Samson Agonistes, all have one virtue in common: patience. In Sonnet XIX, the figure of patience states: "They also serve who only stand and wait." The lady in Comus also says: "Thou canst not touch the freedom of my mind/ With all thy charms" (663-4). Milton's education centres on patience, which is required when man faces evil temptation. Satan usually focuses on our character when he tempts us. In "A reading of Samson Agonistes" Joan Bennett observes:

> As we have seen in all of Milton's portrayals of temptation, evil's most formidable strength is its ability to be attractive, to assault all of our senses, emotions, and rationality with the powerful claim that it is really not evil but good. God articulates laws for human beings, then, as graspable pieces of reality for them to hold on to in the midst of this assault. (Bennett 230)

Patience in Milton's Paradise Lost is also portrayed in Abdiel's highly developed character:

> Among the faithless, faithful only hee;
> Among innumerable false, unmov'd,

Unshak'n, unseduc'd, unterrifi'd. (V.897-99)

In Paradise Regained, the hero shows how patience and temperance help man to achieve his goal without violence. Jesus illustrates clearly that glory which Job, for example, achieved is brought by patience and temperance not money or war.

> Till Conqueror Death discover them scarce men,
> Rolling in brutish vices, and deform'd,
> Violent or shameful death thir due reward.
> But if there be in glory aught of good,
> It may by means far different be attain'd,
> Without ambition, war, or violence. (III.85-90)

These virtues are important means for students to acquire the goal which is set for them at the beginning of Of Education: and that is, to repair the ruins of the Fall and ultimately to love God and imitate him and be like him.

Chapter One: Renaissance Views of Education

Milton's educational ideas in Of Education, and in his major works, should be considered in relation to the works of other educational thinkers and in the context of the seventeenth century. As a humanist, he was in a line of educators such as Erasmus, Sir Thomas More, and many other humanists who devoted their lives to promoting the position of virtue in this world, and to educating trustworthy citizens. As a Christian and especially as a puritan, as Samuel Johnson indicates, Milton's "moral sentiments...excel those of all other poets" (Thorpe 78). To understand his Christian-humanistic educational ideas, it is necessary to consider the educational concepts and judgements which were current in the Renaissance and in the seventeenth century. In this chapter, I wish to examine the educational ideas of thinkers like Roger Ascham, Richard Mulcaster, Sir Francis Bacon, Comenius, and finally John Locke and compare their ideas with Milton's. Some of these educators were humanists, and some others, like Bacon, opposed humanism. Since Milton's curriculum reflects humanism, examining the idea of humanism and its educational goals and achievements is necessary.

The educational ideals of the Renaissance had a strong connection to humanism. Humanism entered England in the beginning of the sixteenth century, almost with the Reformation. Humanism began in the fourteenth century in Italy and then moved to other European countries, and finally

reaching England in the sixteenth century. Its educational agenda reconciled Christianity with Greek philosophy. This new doctrine rejected the medieval thought that man is a helpless creature. According to the vision of Christian humanism, man is not an incapable creature who needs God's assistance for every action; he is created in the image of God.

Humanism introduced new social and educational ideas to the English aristocrats. One of its most important objectives was education and its use in this world. In Education and Society in Tudor England Joan Simon writes:

> The term 'humanist'...can be used to indicate not merely advocacy of literary studies, which could be introduced in a traditional setting with no great repercussions, but an outlook on learning generally and the relation of learning to life which, in tune with social developments, held the key to the future; which comprised, in a concern for the affairs of this world and the use of learning to influence these affairs, a new interest in individual human beings, their potentialities and aspirations. (Simon 61)

The English humanists brought new ways of dealing with human beings and their education. According to humanists, the human race is the centre of the universe. A human is a creature created in the image of God and should not be dealt with as a helpless being with a depraved nature who needs help for every action. In book V of Paradise Lost, Milton as an inheritor of sixteenth-century humanism writes:

> And from these corporal nutriments perhaps
> Your bodies may at last turn all to spirit,

> Improv'd by tract of time, and wing'd ascend
> Ethereal, as wee, or may at choice
> Here or in Heav'nly Paradises dwell. (V.496-500)

This, of course, corresponds to what St. Paul says: "Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?" (I Cor.iii:16). Man's dignity, therefore, is the theme of the humanist curriculum. The introduction of this new idea caused the old system of scholasticism to be rejected and the Ciceronian ideal to be set as the first priority of education. The medieval model of schools declined and new schools (like St. Paul's School which was established by John Colet in 1508, and the Merchant Taylor's School, which Richard Mulcaster ruled for more than twenty years) with humanistic curricula were created. In the new schools Latin, Greek and Hebrew were a necessity and children usually studied them at an early age. Latin was taught not so that the church could communicate easily with its followers, but to encourage the reading of the writings of ancient Rome and Greece. Seneca's and Cicero's writings became permanent parts of students' readings and translations. Very soon after its establishment, St. Paul's School became famous for its humanistic curriculum (Clark). This has been confirmed even by those who opposed Colet and his friends. Colet himself writes to Erasmus in 1512:

> Now listen to a joke! A certain bishop, who is held, too, to be one of the wiser ones, has been blaspheming our school before a large concourse of people, declaring that

> I have erected what is a useless thing, yea a bad thing--yea more (to give his own words) a temple of idolatry. Which, indeed, I fancy he called it because the poets are to be taught there. At this, Erasmus, I am not angry, but laugh heartily. (Simon 77-8)

After establishing St. Paul's School, Colet and his first schoolmaster, William Lily, started a new era in education which continued into the next century.

Almost all the educators of the sixteenth century were concerned with both man and his society. Erasmus, Colet, Lily, Ascham, Elyot, Mulcaster, and many others are known today because they advocated new methods of teaching and new objectives for education. All of them were concerned with the improvement of the commonwealth. They intended to train people with good style in life as well as in Latin. In The Renaissance and English Humanism, Douglas Bush observes:

> The broad aim of Tudor humanism was training in virtue and good letters; the practical aim was training for the active Christian life, especially public life. For humanism was not only religious, it was also aristocratic and utilitarian. The mere title of Elyot's book The Governour, indicates its object. (78)

The humanist educators planned to educate their students to raise the standard of righteousness in public men and affairs.

> The humanists roundly affirmed that education and learning themselves confer nobility, a nobility of mind ranking higher than any nobility of blood. At the same time they insisted, drawing on examples from the civic life of the ancient world, that the true evidence of nobility in this sense is quality of service to the public good. (Simon 64)

Although humanism was not intended to include the entire nation, it included more people in its educational plan than the educational system of the Middle Ages did. For this reason most humanists in England taught and wrote for a class, not a specific prince or king. Unlike St. Thomas Aquinas, for example, who wrote his book De Regimine Principum for the prince, Elyot, Castiglione, and many other humanists wrote for the noble boys of their time. Elyot's book The Governor, Castiglione's book The Courtier, and many other humanist writings show that the field of education had broadened to include a class rather than a person. Yet this indicates that the humanists' plan for education covered only special citizens.

One of the most devoted educators, who worked and wrote for the purpose of education, was Roger Ascham. Ascham, the author of The Scholemaster and the famous tutor of Queen Elizabeth, was the most important figure in the education of aristocratic boys. His radical humanism put him at the top of the list of those who recommended education only for a special class. His knowledge of Greek and Latin, his method in teaching languages, his tutoring of the Queen, and his ideas about educating noble boys, made him one of the most important figures of education in the sixteenth century. His The Scholemaster offers good ideas in regard to the student-teacher relationship, the psychology of children, development of morals in this world and especially language teaching

methods. Historians of pedagogy usually refer to Ascham and especially to The Scholemaster as the most important reference in Renaissance education. Not only was his method of teaching languages influential, but his techniques of dealing with students as individuals were also significant. In his book Roger Ascham, Lawrence V. Ryan writes:

> Historians of pedagogy almost invariably turn to The Scholemaster for illustrations of the Elizabethan attitude on education: the care to be exercised by parents in rearing their children, incitement to study by praise rather than punishment, adjusting the pedagogical system to the individual child rather than the child to the system, teaching by cogent example and practical exercise rather than rote memorization, the preferability of learning to raw, untutored experience, and the dangerous allurements that lie in wait for the unwary youthful traveller, particularly the impressionable English voyager to Italy. (Ryan 251)

Unlike Elyot, whose plan deals with private education, Ascham's The Scholemaster shows that he was concerned with public education. He speaks about a type of education which is a preparation for university. Like Milton's Of Education, Ascham starts his The Scholemaster with the bad method of teaching Latin. His criticism of the method lies mainly in starting composition before reading good literature, an issue against which Milton also reacts. For this reason he introduced his famous double translation which ruled the schools of England for a long time:

> First, let him teach the childe, cherefullie and plainlie, the cause, and matter of the letter: then, let

> him construe it into Englishe, so oft, as the childe may easilie carie awaie the understanding of it: Lastly, parse it over perfitlie. This done thus, let the childe, by and by, both construe and parse it over againe: so, that it may appeare, that the childe douteth in nothing, that his master taught him before. After this, the childe must take a paper booke, and sitting in some place, where no man shall prompe him, by him self, let him translate into Englishe his former lesson. Then shewing it to his master, let the master take from him his latin booke, and pausing an houre, at the least, than let the childe translate his own Englishe into latin againe, in an other paper booke. When the childe bringeth it, turned into latin, the master must compare it with Tullies booke, and laie them both together: and where the childe doth well, either in chosing, or true placing of Tullies wordes, let the master praise him, and saie here ye do well. For I assure you, there is no such whetstone, to sharpen a good witte and encourage a will to learninge, as is praise. (Ascham 3)

Although Ascham wrote both The Scholemaster and Toxophilus in English, he insisted on the necessity of learning Latin and Greek for English aristocratic boys. Since some people doubted the requirement of learning Greek, because everything had been translated into Latin, he reminded them that no translation was perfect. He suggested that learning is chiefly contained only in Greek and no other language.

Like most other humanists, he wanted parents to have a good tutor for their children. He showed his dissatisfaction with the fact that parents paid more attention to their horses than their children. He also complained that a good rider was more rewarded than a good schoolmaster, who is usually rare. Ascham was sorrowful that parents usually set their deformed children to learning. In The Scholemaster, he writes:

> If a father have foure sonnes, three faire and well formed both mynde and bodie, the fourth, wretched, lame, and deformed, his choice shal be, to put the wrost to learning, as one good enoughe to becum a scholer. (22)

His criticism shows that this matter was a social issue at the time. Not only parents were negligent of their good children, but schoolmasters also neglected these type of students.

> A childe that is still, silent, constant, and somwhat hard of witte, is either never chosen by the father to be made a scholer, or else, when he commeth to the schole, he is smally regarded, little looked unto, he lacketh teaching, he lacketh coraging, he lacketh all thinges....[while] he proveth in the ende, wiser, happier and many tymes honester too, than many of theis quick wittes do, by their learninge. (Ascham 17)

Children who were neglected, at the end, proved to be superior to many other children.

Like most of the humanist educators, Roger Ascham rejected corporal punishment. He advised against frowning at a child when he makes a mistake. He insisted that students must never be afraid to ask questions, because "love is fitter then feare, jentlenes better than beating, to bring up a childe rightlie in learninge" (Ascham 10). As Lawrence Ryan notes, a discussion among Ascham and some of his learned friends on fear of students from punishment, and consequently hatred of learning, inspired Ascham to write The Scholemaster. Cecil, one of the participants in this discussion, read a piece of news which tells that "divers scholars of Eton be run away from the school for fear of beating" (Ryan 252). This

painful news led Ascham to embark on writing his book, in which he asks tutors to avoid corporal punishment.

Ascham was not the only humanist educator who wanted tutors not to use physical punishment. Unlike medieval educators, Renaissance humanists rejected corporal punishment, although there were a few (like Nicholas Udall who became famous for whipping his students) who continued this medieval conduct. In almost all the humanistic writings of the time, the humanists condemned corporal punishment, and they always wanted teachers to deal with kindness to the students. A great model for the humanist educators was Vittorino da Feltre who was the first who initiated a friendly relationship with his students. Vittorino da Feltre was one of the first educators in Italy who employed both respect and discipline in his teaching method and became the first friend-teacher educator in the history of pedagogy. Sir Thomas Elyot wanted schoolmasters to remember to treat the child as a human individual who has understanding. Ascham compared the psyche of a child to wax which is malleable, and punishment has severe impact on it. "The pure cleane witte of a sweete yong babe is like the newest wax" (Ascham 31).

In his teaching, Ascham, as a sincere educator, thinks beyond the limit of Latin and Greek. He also thinks about the body, psyche and even the diet of his students, elements which later, in the last part of the seventeenth century, John Locke wrote about in detail. However, he was mainly concerned about

humanistic standards. Not only did he include ancient learning in his curriculum, but also he repeatedly insisted on training people who could serve God and their society. For this reason, he advised parents to choose tutors for their children who were religious, honest and also good teachers.

Although they belonged to different times, Milton and Ascham both criticized the method of teaching Latin. In his The Scholemaster, Ascham condemns the way of teaching languages to the boys without having any textbook. In this relation he writes:

> Alwayes learning, and litle profiting: learning without booke everything, understanding with in the booke litle or nothing: Their whole knowledge by learning without the booke was tied onely to their tong and lips, and never ascended up to the braine and head, and therfore was sone spitte out of the mouth againe. (Ascham 94)

Ascham and Milton both reacted against the method of Latin teaching because they both believed that students must learn languages through great literature. The double translation method of Roger Ascham (translation from Latin into English, and then from the student's translation back into Latin again without reference to the original Latin text) was exercised not only in the sixteenth century, but also when Milton was a student.

Like other humanist educators, Ascham was concerned initially with the style of his students' writings. He wrote to neglect the writing style of students is to neglect the

importance of the whole language. Castiglione also wrote that the courtier should be so excellent and perfect that he must know both how to write and how to speak. It is this quality of Ascham's teaching which made him the leading Ciceronian of England in the Renaissance. Like Castiglione, Ascham's goal, however, did not stop with a good style in writing: a fruitful social life was his ultimate objective. He believed that the highest purpose lay beyond classrooms and wanted to raise citizens who could serve society well. Like most humanists, he intended to guide students toward a high style in life as well as their writings.

The great issue, which makes Ascham important in this study, is his concern in training people for public service. This is the same objective toward which Milton worked all his life. Critics like Thomas M. Greene and Alvin Vos admire Ascham for his Ciceronian vision which is a combination of matter and words.

> Without ever degenerating into an empty formalism, English Ciceronians enjoin a complicated alliance not merely of rhetoric with philosophy, but of speech and style with religion, politics, and social values. The result is that purity of Ciceronianism serves diagnostically as a gauge of the health of one's soul and prescriptively as the remedy for all intellectual heterodoxy. (Vos 4)

Ascham and Milton both wanted to train citizens with morality and enthusiasm for public service. This enthusiasm for serving society is the most important issue which connects Milton to

these antecedent humanists.

Richard Mulcaster was another important educational figure in the Renaissance. He was one of those few educators of the time who suggested education for lower class people and women in his educational plan. Mulcaster's educational works are more comprehensive than those of any other educator of the sixteenth century. His works are not only inclusive in theory, but also in methods of teaching. He was a skilled teacher and a creative educator. Mulcaster's plan in fact was a challenge to the educational system, because it included women and lower class people, recommended teaching in the vernacular, and supported the training of professional teachers (Demolen).

Mulcaster, the distinguished master of the Merchant Taylor's School, was one of the first educators who recommended teaching English to the child before Latin:

> The same reasons which moved me to have the child read English before Latin do move me also to wish him to write English before Latin, as a thing of more hardness and readier in use to answer all occasions. (Mulcaster 66)

To teach English before Latin would have this effect on society: it would include those who could not read Latin.

> And to begin our first learning there, where we have most helps to learn it best by familiarity of our ordinary language, by understanding all usual arguments, by continual company of our own countrymen, all about us speaking English and none uttering any words but those, which we ourselves are very well acquainted with, both in our learning and living. (Mulcaster 61-2)

As Demolen suggests, Mulcaster, in fact, rejects Ascham's idea that education is only for aristocratic boys. By this plan he intends to include more people in the schools of the Renaissance.

Mulcaster reacted against the method by which many parents kept their children at home with a tutor to learn to read and write before entering grammar school. He believed that education cannot be private.[1] He suggested that if a child had the intention of going to a grammar school, elementary level should also be handled in the grammar school too (Seaborne 22). Mulcaster believed that the elementary level of education is the most important level in different stages of education. It, therefore, must be handled by qualified teachers in grammar schools. One of the difficulties which schoolmasters in the grammar schools faced was the effects of bad teaching by unqualified tutors at home. Therefore, Mulcaster, unlike Elyot, advocated public education from the first stage of a student education, including that of a prince. Although he wants teachers to pay more attention to a prince, he puts him in a public school.

Mulcaster's ideas about the education of the whole nation are significant. Mulcaster's important difference from other humanist educators lies in his attempt to broaden the scope of

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[1]The public education trend became stronger in the seventeenth century. Laurence Stone writes: "of the thirty-two classifiable Fellow-Commoners... who came up to St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1630s, five had been educated at home, seven at private and twenty at public schools" (Stone 45).

education and to include people from different classes, whereas most other educators were concerned with the education of only the aristocratic boys in private schools. He believed that education is a social process which must include every citizen. It is the right of everybody to learn reading and writing. If a person is not able to read and write, it is a defect in the body of the society and should be cured. Mulcaster advocated Juan Luis Vives' suggestion that education should be financed by governments to enable the nation to promote the social position of its children. However, most educators of the Renaissance, including Richard Mulcaster himself, and Sir Francis Bacon, did not want more highly educated people than their society needed. In other words, Mulcaster suggests that the number of the elementary schools should be increased, in order to enable every child to acquire elementary education, but grammar schools must be restricted only to those who can afford to pay the tuition fees.

Mulcaster's revolutionary ideas could not develop in the sixteenth century, but the desire to broaden the scope of education continued in the seventeenth century. Educators wanted a reform in the quality of education and an increase in the number of children who could benefit from it. The Poor Law, which was issued by Queen Elizabeth in 1601, could affect the whole reformation of schools. At the threshold of modern times, this law could change the course of the humanistic education which was practically limited to aristocratic boys.

According to this law education (at least to learn a trade) was meant to be compulsory for all children, boys and girls, from any social class of the country.

> During the reign of Elizabeth, 1558-1603, several preliminary advances were made, culminating in the Poor Laws of 1601, which made compulsory the educating of all children, male and female, at least to the extent of their learning some useful trade. (Forrest 18)

This law was too advanced for that period of time, and for this reason it never worked. It could have been, however, the first step toward eliminating class and gender restrictions. Doubtless this step encouraged many to think about profound reformation in education.

One important component, which Mulcaster included in his curriculum, is physical education. This is, of course, in compliance with the humanistic idea that both the mind and our body need to be developed. The development of character, which is the ultimate goal of a humanistic education, can not be complete, unless both our mind and body are powerful. Strong bodies are more resistant to temptation than weak ones. Mulcaster also included play in his plan as a means of teaching.

Like Ascham, and some other humanist educators, Mulcaster condemned corporal punishment. He, however, did not reject it, when the purpose was correction. Mulcaster's position on the education of women is also important to know. He wanted women

to go to schools and educate themselves, although his plan for educating women is far from the mind of a twentieth-century person. He wanted women to go to grammar schools (to be taught by female instructors only) for the purpose of being good and virtuous mothers and God-fearing wives. According to Mulcaster, education for women is not for learning a special profession or for being engaged in a specific occupation. His educational plan for women is to make them praiseworthy mothers and ethical wives. This opinion is not limited to Mulcaster and his time. Juan Luis Vives, the Spanish humanist, who also advocated women's education, insisted that a woman should learn for herself and her family and not for anybody else. In her paper "Instruction to a Christian woman," Valerie Wayne examines Vives's ideas about the education of women. Wayne points out that Vives allots thirty six chapters out of the thirty eight chapters of his book to those kinds of materials that women should avoid reading, and only two chapters to the education of women. His main purpose was to teach chastity and honesty. He also prescribed that when writing, women should copy out the moral statements of others, not create their own writings and write their own thoughts to develop their identities. Women must act according to the tradition initiated by St. Augustine that "fewe se her and none at al here her" (19). Mulcaster, like Vives, was more concerned about training women to be good wives and virtuous mothers.

Mulcaster was the first who suggested that teachers should be trained for teaching, as lawyers and doctors are trained for their professions. He recommended founding a faculty of education where those who wanted to be teachers would be trained, as would those who wanted to learn other occupations. Teaching is an important profession which should not be handled carelessly. He believed that teachers at the elementary level are different from teachers of languages, as both differ from the university professors. In his Positions, he discusses the importance of elementary education, and how the whole education of an individual is based on this level.

> For seeing he is compound of a soul and a body, the soul to conceive and comprehend what is best for itself and the body too, the body to wait and attend the commandment and necessities of the soul, he must be so trained, as neither for qualifying of the mind nor for enabling of the body there be any such defect, as just blame therefore may be laid upon them, which in nature be most willing and in reason thought most skillful to prevent such defaults. For there be both in the body and the soul of man certain ingenerate abilities, which the wisdom of parents and reason of teachers, perceiving in their infancy and by good direction advancing them further during those years, cause them prove in their ripeness very good and profitable, both to the parties which have them and to their countries which use them....Wherefore as good parents and masters ought to find out, by those natural principles, whereunto the younglings may best be framed, so ought they follow it until it be complete, and not to stay, without cause beyond stay, before it come to ripeness, which ripeness, while they be in learning, must be measured by their ableness to receive that which must follow their forebuilding. (55-56)

Mulcaster's idea about teachers' salaries is also noteworthy. He insisted that as teachers learn the importance

of their profession and improve their knowledge, their income should also be increased.

Milton and Mulcaster are similar in their proposals for radical reform of the British universities, a matter which neither Elyot nor Ascham talked about. Milton wanted his own academies to replace both universities of his time, while Mulcaster thought a radical reform can treat existing problems. He wanted universities to have seven colleges in order to train people for different professions. They are languages, mathematics, philosophy, law, medicine, theology and education. Every student must learn the basic elements of languages, mathematics and philosophy in the first three colleges. When they learn the primary matters in these three subjects, then they can proceed with their studies in any field they want. What connects Milton and Mulcaster is not their radical criticism of both universities, but their concern to educate good citizens who would be able to serve their societies. The objectives of these two educators are almost the same. Because of the circumstances that Milton lived in, his goal was to train leaders who could lead their society toward freedom, and prosperity. Mulcaster's goal was also to train good and virtuous citizens who live well and do good in their society.

Humanism, like any other new idea, was not accepted by every one in England. Ideological and social changes neither occur spontaneously, nor are accepted by every citizen. There

were many scholars, like Sir Francis Bacon, who opposed medieval education, but did not have faith in humanism either. The development of English society in the seventeenth century and the different goals which were set by different educators caused significant diversity of opinions about education. While humanism was still strong, Sir Francis Bacon's new approach to research and science brought profound changes to formal education. One reason which probably caused humanism to be gradually weakened and ultimately diminished was its strict vision of nature. The humanist of the sixteenth century showed little interest in studying subjects which were not discussed by the ancient philosophers.

> Absorbed in a world of books, as Mr. Quick suggests[2], they overlooked the world of nature. Galileo had in vain tried to persuade them to look through his telescope, but they held that truth could not be discovered by any such contrivances--that it could be arrived at only by the comparison of manuscripts. "No wonder" remarks Mr. Quick, "that they had so little sympathy with children, and did not know how to teach them." (Monroe 9-10)

Humanism received the first blow from Sir Francis Bacon who insisted on experimentation and looking closely to nature. Bacon had a great influence not only on education but on science as well. Bacon's great effort was the reconciliation of religion and science. In his New Atlantis, Bacon illustrates a society which is highly advanced. The reader

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[2] In this part of his book, Will S. Monroe refers to Robert Herbert Quick, the author of Essays on Educational Reformers.

understands that in Bacon's imaginative society research is an important part of the life of citizens. However, although the nation is Christian, new developments in science do not change their belief in God and Christianity. This is an issue which Bacon desperately wanted to prove to his readers. Bacon argued that the Fall was the result of seeking false knowledge as opposed to real knowledge which is obtained by examining nature. In The Map of Time, Achsah Guibbory remarks:

> The Fall is central to Bacon's thought, because it marks the beginning of the long history of false knowledge. Adam turned away from both nature and God when he aspired to "the proud knowledge" of good and evil, intending to provide his own laws rather than depending on God's. Once the human mind was focused inward upon itself, it became a "false mirror," filled with idols distorting our knowledge of nature as well as our relationship to God. (46)

There were many who wrongly opposed knowledge and learning because they saw it as a major reason of the Fall and consequently a threat to their own faith.

In an age when medieval culture was still strong and many people still considered nature as a source of evil, Bacon insisted on studying nature closely. He suggested that nature is the second book of God, which helps man to know God better. For this reason Bacon is the founder of modern science, not because he was a good scientist or a good researcher, but because of his insistence on applying a method in approaching realities. He helped many to understand what was right and what was false. Although Bacon was not directly involved with

the educational systems of the time, his words and thoughts influenced and finally changed the route of education. Bacon condemned the humanistic approach to education because he believed that humanists taught words, not matter, and that their teaching subjects did not help in finding any truth. He wrote:

> As the sciences which we now have do not help us in finding out new works, so neither does the logic which we now have help us in finding out new sciences. (Bacon 333)

Bacon wants his readers to compare his new method with the old one which, he argues, not only does not help in discovering truths, but also alleviates the errors which the human race had already acquired during centuries of false studies:

> The logic now in use serves rather to fix and give stability to the errors which have their foundation in commonly received notions than to help the search after new truth. So it does more harm than good. (Bacon 333)

Bacon's criticism of humanism was specially "designed to discredit a tradition that would impede his own program for the advancement of learning, a program in which words would serve as 'but the images of matter.'" (Vos 4)

Bacon categorized the barriers which hindered his program into four sections. He called each of these sections an idol. The first section of these idols is the idols of the Tribe which exist in our nature. Bacon argues that:

> It is a false assertion that the sense of man is the measure of things. On the contrary, all perceptions as well of the sense as of the mind are according to the measure of the individual and not according to the measure of the universe. And the human understanding is like a false mirror, which, receiving rays irregularly, distorts and discolours the nature of things by mingling its own nature with it. (336)

The second category concerns the idols of the Cave which belong to each individual. Each person, because of his education and experience, has his own perception of the world, which is probably different from that of every other person, and none of which might be in touch with reality. The third section is the idols of the Market Place. The idols of this category are formed by the association that a person has with other people. Because man is a social being this section is the most difficult one to deal with. False knowledge, wrong theology and superstition are put under this category. The final category is the idols of the Theatre. They are formed in our minds "from the various dogmas of philosophies and also from wrong laws of demonstration" (337). All these idols might hinder us from understanding the world and delay our learning if they are not science. Those false perceptions, therefore, must be removed from our minds and substituted with the results of our experiments which are the only means of learning.

It is evident that Bacon rejected the educational system of both universities of the time. He wanted the scholars to research according to a "method" which he thought of as

walking in complete light. He believed that in order to know God better, man has two sources: one is the Scripture and the other is the book of nature. One has to approach nature directly and in his course of studying has to use the method of observation and experimentation. Bacon says:

> But for my part, relying on the evidence and truth of things, I reject all forms of fiction and imposture; nor do I think that it matters any more to the business in hand whether the discoveries that shall now be made were long ago known to the ancients, and have their settings and their risings according to the vicissitude of things and course of ages, than it matters to mankind whether the new world be that island of Atlantis with which the ancients were acquainted, or now discovered for the first time. For new discoveries must be sought from the light of nature, not fetched back out of the darkness of antiquity. (368-9)

Bacon explains that this method does not mean that researchers devalue or dishonour any ancient writer, but it is only a method to discover truths.

> The honour of the ancient authors, and indeed of all, remains untouched, since the comparison I challenge is not of wits or faculties, but of ways and methods, and the part I take upon myself is not that of a judge, but of a guide. (334)

Bacon has one similarity with the humanists and that is the honour which he gives to Latin. He thought that the modern languages would disappear in time, while Latin would be secure. The humanists, although most of them like Elyot and Ascham wrote their works in English, respected Latin highly.

In spite of all his services, Bacon seems to be unable to

free himself from scholastic bondages. Bacon insisted on discovery of truth and the recognition of fact from fable. Yet he himself drew the same false conclusions that he wanted the other researchers not to fall into. He neglected Galileo who discovered the acceleration of the falling bodies many years earlier, and he failed to see many other scientific developments of the time. Moreover, his illusion of creating a paradise on earth by pursuing knowledge was unrealistic. Today we know how wrong he was in considering that embracing science can eliminate the results of the Fall. He believed that man can create a Utopia by the help of science. His direction or method toward truth was accepted in the seventeenth century not because it was unique and complete, but because of Bacon's social and literary influence. The service that Bacon performed, however, was his insistence on studying nature more closely, by which he initiated a method toward scientific approach to different problems. His categorizing sciences also helped many to understand the relation of sciences to each other and paved the way for researchers.

Although Milton was a humanist and followed thinkers like Erasmus, Sir Thomas More and the other humanists of the Renaissance, he never limited himself and his students to studying only the ancient writers. His curriculum, in Of Education, shows how much he was influenced by the idea of experiment which Bacon initiated. Since Milton intended to

train political leaders, he knew well that leaders should be aware of their time and be as knowledgeable as possible. Raphael's teachings in Paradise Lost show how much he was influenced by the new trend of approaching and studying nature.

> So from the root
> Springs lighter the green stalk, from thence the leaves
> More aery, last the bright consummate flow'r. (V.479-81)

Milton's travel to Italy, especially his visit with Galileo, had a great impact on the poet's mind and the new issue of scientific approach to nature.

Another important educator of the time was John Amos Comenius, a Czech educator and thinker, who worked to reform education not only in one country, but on the whole continent. His goal was not limited to one class or gender, but his plan included every human being who lived on earth. Comenius thought universally. His plan to reform education was not limited to one nation. He believed that it is the right of every human being to learn. Comenius argued that education must be provided to the whole human race regardless of sex, class, and nationality. In Great Didatic, he states that in educating people:

> Let us, therefore, imitate the sun in the heavens, which lights, warms, and vivifies the whole earth, so that whatever is able to live, to flourish, and to blossom, may do so.(67)

In spite of Comenius's advanced ideas, he received little

attention in his own time. After his death, he was forgotten very soon, and only in the twentieth century was his fame revived after hundreds of years. Like many of his contemporary countrymen, his personal life was full of suffering and pain. Eva Bock reveals one of the difficulties that he faced in his life:

> In 1618 that most cruel of all religious conflicts, the Thirty Years' War, broke out. The Protestant army suffered a crushing defeat almost at the onset of the war. Protestant political leaders were executed, ministers of the non-Roman churches were jailed and killed. " Heretical" books were burned by the thousands, and Catholicism was forced upon the whole population. In 1621 the Spanish Army, helping to support the Catholic cause in central Europe, invaded the town of Fulnek. Comenius, whose life was in grave danger because of his ministerial status, was forced to flee, leaving behind his pregnant wife and a small son. He never saw them again. Both of them as well as the new born baby, died of the plague brought to town by the soldiers. (Gangel 155)

In spite of this type of negative influence in his life, he was full of enthusiasm for serving people and reforming education.

Comenius's significance can be summarized in a few points: First, his plan included everybody regardless of gender, age, nationality and social class. Second, he provided a curriculum which was suitable for every person in any age. Although he emphasized learning in childhood, he believed that all our life on earth must be considered as a period of education. Third, his teaching methods are different from any other educator. He planned to teach from easy to difficult, and the medium of instruction must be easy to understand. He

emphasized pleasure in learning, although he insisted on discipline. Fourth, he was the first educator who suggested that, in order to make learning easy for students, and to gain the best results from their teachings, teachers must use equipment like pictures, suitable books, suitable environment, and understandable language.

Comenius's philosophy of education is based on his theology. He looked at man as a creature who was created in the image of God. He wanted man to regain this position which was tarnished by the Fall.

Comenius's advanced thought brought him the title of "the Prophet of modern education" in the twentieth century. His profession and his faith in Christ made the highlight of his curriculum holy living and practical Christianity. In science, he was influenced by Sir Francis Bacon. In most of his writings, he emphasized experience and observation. In 1657 he published The World in Pictures (Orbis Pictus). In this revolutionary work, for the first time Comenius suggested that learning is better done by practice. Learning becomes possible if it appeals to the senses. Comenius suggested that teaching facts by showing pictures is more helpful than using the method which was used in schools in his time. He urged teaching reality, a matter which Bacon insisted on earlier.

Comenius believed that to obtain the ideal result (which is to be a real image of God), four different schools for four different ages should exist. The first was on the Mother's

knee (equivalent to our kindergarten), the second the vernacular (resembles what we have in our elementary schools), the third a humanistic school where Latin, Greek, and Hebrew should be taught, and finally, the "school of university and travel." In The Great Didactic, Comenius, like Milton, suggests that "public posts of honour be given to none but the worthy." In this school leaders were trained and ultimately appointed to public posts "not on the decision of one man, but on the unanimous opinion of all"(284). His four-stage educational system was a classical style which also existed in ancient Greece.

Comenius is called "the prophet of modern education" for his plan to reform education. His educational plan is not limited to a specific class or gender. In The Great Didactic, he wrote:

> ...not the children of the rich or of the powerful only, but of all alike, boys and girls, both noble and ignoble, rich and poor, in all cities and towns, villages and hamlets, should be sent to school...All...must be brought on to a point at which, being properly imbued with wisdom, virtue, and piety, they may usefully employ the present life and be worthily prepared for that to come. (Comenius 66)

In regard to Comenius's belief about women, the above statement is not restricted to education. He believed that women are human beings and by no means different from men. Eva Bock points out more in this relation:

> They are also formed in the image of God, and share in his grace and in the kingdom of the world to come. They

> are endowed with equal sharpness of mind and capacity for knowledge (often with more than the opposite sex), and they are able to attain the highest positions, since they have often been called by God Himself to rule over nations, give sound advice to kings and princes, to study medicine and other things that benefit the human race. (Gangel 161)

Another great achievement of Comenius is his new way of teaching Latin. In his book The Gate of Languages Unlocked (Janua Linguarum Reserata), which was published in 1622, he starts with a limited number of words and asks his students to generate an unlimited number of sentences. Comenius' educational book (Janua Linguarum Reserata) suggests a new method of teaching Latin. The method which Comenius uses in Janua Linguarum Reserata is quite modern. All the principal words in Latin were arranged in 1200 sentences. Each word, with the exception of auxiliary verbs and connecting particles, occurred only once, and, by a careful study of the whole, Latin was to be learned in an incredibly short time (Comenius 21). In 1957 Noam Chomsky published his linguistic theory which is called transformational grammar. In fact Comenius three centuries earlier had understood the mechanism of languages and built his teaching method on what today we associate with Chomsky's theory.

Like Mulcaster, Comenius emphasized learning in childhood and early youth. He believed that as our life in our mother's womb is a preparation for this life, our life in this world is a preparation for our next life. We, therefore, should not spend the whole life without serving God and his creatures. We

came to this world to serve God, his creatures, and ourselves. To prepare ourselves for action and to perform the above duties, we should educate ourselves in early youth. In education we should look at nature. As the first hours of the day and as springs, which are the first seasons of the years, are more fruitful than the rest, our minds are more productive in youth. We should, therefore, educate ourselves before our minds are corrupted.

Milton and Comenius share many educational opinions. They both wanted teachers to teach Latin in a short period of time. Both believed that languages are a means to an end and not ends in themselves. Milton and Comenius both insisted on starting teaching with sensible issues and gradually approaching abstract elements. Like Milton, Comenius believed that the end of education is to repair the ruins of the Fall. He believed that "man was by nature made in the image of God but, unfortunately, the image had somehow become defaced and it was the task of education to remedy this state of affairs" (Sadler 19). Milton and Comenius, however, both believed that education by itself cannot help man unless God bestows grace upon man. Both educators advocated vocational education which was a very new and modern idea in education in the seventeenth century. None of these two educators was Calvinistic about the depravity of our nature.

Milton, however, clearly dismisses Comenius's books Janua Linguarum Reserata and The Great Didactic, although both of

Comenius's books were received with great enthusiasm across Europe and even Asia. In Of Education, Milton writes "...to search what many modern Januas and Didactics, more than ever I shall read, have projected, my inclination leads me not" (631). Milton's stand differed from Comenius' in many respects. Unlike Comenius, Milton was not democratic toward classes and women. While Milton talked only about boys and the aristocratic classes for the purpose of leadership, Comenius wanted compulsory education for every child regardless of gender or social position. Teaching in the vernacular is another difference which Milton did not agree with until after the Restoration, when in his "Note to the reader", in Accedence Commenc't Grammar (1669), he wrote:

> It hath been long a general complaint, not without cause, in the bringing up of Youth, and still is, that the tenth part of mans life, ordinarily extended, is taken up in learning, and that very scarcely, the Latin Tongue. Which tardy proficience may be attributed to several causes: In particular, the making two labours of one, by learning first the Accedence, then the Grammar in Latin, ere the Language of those Rules be understood. The only remedy of this, was to joyn both Books into one, and in the English Tongue; whereby the long way is much abbreviated, and the labour of understanding much more easie. (86)

Another difference between Comenius and Milton is their stands toward the heathens. Milton did not have any objection to including any classic writers in his curriculum, while Comenius rejected all except those writers who deal with morality and honesty. Milton's belief in history, and its significance in teaching students which way is right and which

one is wrong, and the poet's strong belief in progression of mankind toward a better social status in obtaining freedom are major differences between the two educators and their curricula. However, their main difference is their methods of teaching. Comenius as a rationalist codifies all knowledge in order to simplify it for memorization, whereas Milton teaches through literature (Ainsworth 20).

After the Restoration the effort to reform education went on, although without significant impact on the quality of the curricula of schools. The diversity of opinions continued to exist without leaving any influence on students. Bacon, Comenius, Hartlib and many other educators died and their educational ideas were soon forgotten. Those who believed in Calvinistic deprivation continued to teach their own curriculum for the children of their sects. Those who wanted to reform education continued their struggle, but they could not change the curriculum of schools in the seventeenth century.

The first man who was able to understand the significance of education in our modern sense was John Locke. Locke was the first who believed that learning cannot be achieved completely unless we consider the student's diet, psychology, physical and mental health and play. For this reason his thoughts had so much influence on education in the next centuries that he is considered a turning point in the history of education. Locke's educational thoughts "laid the foundations of faculty

psychology, child psychology, and modern experimental psychology and dominated educational philosophy until the mid nineteenth century" (Sahakian 86).

Locke believed that the child's mind is malleable. It can be turned to any direction easily. His theory of the "tabula rasa" (the mind is a blank tablet) shows the importance of education and experience in creating one's character. In this theory Locke argues that people are different from each other because of their different experiences and their different education. The modernity of Locke's opinion is based on the following belief:

> A person is good and useful (or evil and shiftless) owing to his education, an education including even those virtually "insensible impressions" of early childhood with their lasting consequences. (Sahakian 62)

In Locke's educational scheme the child's psyche is given value as much as his physical education. In fact, Locke emphasized the importance of physical education and diet, giving those two issues more importance than learning. He believed that without a healthy body, a child may not reach happiness. He gave as much importance to swimming as to reading. For Locke, open-air activity was very important. Locke also insisted on a simple and plain diet. He argued that most of the diseases that the English people suffered from resulted from eating excessive amounts of meat. He suggested that it was better to eat bread more than meat. He wanted

children not to be given meat the first two or three years of their lives.

Locke believed that recreation is as necessary as food. For this reason, in his educational thoughts, play is very important. He thought that learning can be suffering, if it is not accompanied with play. He believed that if you do not want children to play a certain game, you should make it a duty for them, and it will be hated soon. Educatien, therefore, should not be imposed on children. We must help not to make it a task and a burden, otherwise it will be hated. The end of education for Locke is a "sound mind in a sound body" (Sahakian 62).

According to Locke, when the child masters his mother language, English, French and Latin should be taught as second and third languages. The method of teaching languages should not be through grammar and its tedious rules, but by direct method. Since the child learns English without a master and rules of grammar, he should also be able to learn French and Latin if he has somebody to speak with him in the second language.

Locke's educational thoughts are more modern than those of any other thinkers of the seventeenth century. Locke insists that punishment is useless (because one may control the body of the child but not his mind), and urges fathers to create a friendship with their sons. This, of course, should be built on a basis of discipline and self-discipline.

> I am very apt to think, that great Severity of Punishment does but very little Good, nay, great Harm in Education; and I believe it will be found that, ceteris paribus, those Children who have been chastis'd, seldom make the best Men. (Locke 29)

Physical punishment must be used, however, only in case of rebellion. "But yet there is one, and but one Fault, for which, I think Children should be beaten, and that is, Obstinacy or Rebellion" (Locke 56-7). It is done only for the shame which it brings for the child, not for its pain.

Although many people consider Locke the father of modern education, and although he is famous for his hatred against medieval scholastic philosophy, he himself fell into the same error. In his educational plan there is no place for lower class students; and he emphasised the value of breeding and the class position of tutors. He repeatedly emphasized that a teacher should be well-bred and should know the world well. Locke also asks parents to keep their children away from servants. He believed that a child can easily learn tricks and vices from unbred people.

In the seventeenth century many educational thinkers like Comenius and Hartlib, Locke, and many others attempted to reform the formal education of England and the whole continent. Yet informal education in England, although nobody seemed to be concerned about it, progressed on its ordinary route. The nation's political and religious knowledge was always updated. In Areopagitica, Milton admires the awareness of his countrymen and the intelligence of the nation, which

shows the advancement of informal education.

> Consider what nation it is whereof ye are, and whereof ye are the governors; a nation not slow and dull, but of a quick, ingenious, and piercing spirit, acute to invent, subtle and sinewy to discourse, not beneath the reach of any point the highest that human capacity can soar to. (742)

Although many scholars, like R.D. Altick and Lawrence Stone, have suggested that the development of education in the Tudor and Stuart eras was great, the majority of the nation was illiterate. The development of education in the seventeenth century by no means included the lower class (Cressy 302). Although the number of schools increased dramatically, no child from a poor family entered a grammar school in the whole period. Yet the vast number of people, although they never attended schools, were taught religiously and politically. This informal education brought social and religious knowledge which caused many changes in the English way of thinking. The Elizabethan perception that the king is responsible only to God changed completely. The seventeenth-century revolution, therefore, can be judged as the fruit of the formal and informal education to both of which Milton contributed enthusiastically. To understand the educational movements of the time, one should not confine oneself to the curriculum of schools. Examination of all the efforts utilized in England is necessary. It is also essential to observe that the formal "education of the few" did not start with the

seventeenth century and the time of Milton, but it has roots in the history of education in England.

People consider the seventeenth century as a period of change, and appraise it as the threshold of our modern era. What makes the seventeenth century so important is that in this period man tried to observe things and make facts the basis of his thought. He attempted to throw away what belonged to the Middle Ages and work on the basis of what we call experimentation. In the seventeenth century, however, education remained approximately the same as it was in the previous period of the Renaissance. Although in England the world seemed more modern than the world of the previous centuries and the people's mind was different from the minds of people of the previous era, the struggle for reformation of schools got nowhere in practice. This is astonishing when we realize that the spirit of people differed from the Elizabethans. Seventeenth- century English people could modify many thoughts and opinions which came to them from their ancestors. In education, however, this change seemed to be slow, and the seventeenth-century school curricula were left approximately the same as they were in the sixteenth century. The curriculum of the period of Milton was the same humanistic curriculum which existed in the sixteenth century. There was, however, one difference between the seventeenth century and the previous era. This difference was not in the curricula, but in the people who worked hard to reform education, even

though with different and sometimes opposite ideas. The struggle of these educational scholars paved the way for the reformation of schools in the next centuries.

2- CHAPTER TWO: MILTON'S EDUCATION AND TRAVEL

Milton's formal education, which started in 1620 and ended with his return to England from his continental tour, consists of four stages. The first stage starts with his education at St. Paul's school which probably began in 1620 and ended in 1625. In 1625 he was registered at Cambridge where he pursued his education for seven years until 1632. When he got his M.A., he started his self-designed curriculum and retreated to Horton[1]. To gain some experience and to complete his education, he travelled to France and Italy. Milton's education through travel was fulfilled in compliance with the humanistic and traditional curriculum. The examination of travel as a part of the education of every gentleman (according to the curriculum of educators like Ascham, Mulcaster, Bacon, Comenius), and also the influence of Milton's "grand tour" on his life and career are the main emphases of this chapter.

The idea of travel as one part of education is not limited to the seventeenth century; it was always appreciated even in classical times. The Romans considered travel,

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[1]Tracing Milton's notes which were made in a Commonplace Book, William Parker writes that the poet's self-designed curriculum starts with history, especially the history of the Christian Church. The Poet's notes, according to Parker, consist of three broad divisions "ethical: moral, evil, avarice, gluttony, suicide, and knowledge of literature, curiosity, music, sloth, lying; economic: food, conduct, matrimony, the education of children, poverty, alms, usury; and political: the state, kings (two pages), subjects, nobility, property and taxes, plague, athletic games, public shows" (Parker 146).

especially to Greece, a social necessity, a notion greatly valued in the Renaissance. The Romans looked at Greece as the main source of human civilization. In Rome all the schools in the second century B.C. were of the Hellenistic type. "The Conscript Fathers... wished these schools to teach after the Greek manner everything known to the most learned Greeks" (Carcopino 108). Even the language of instruction was Greek, until the time of the orator Plotius Gallus, who was the first teacher who had the courage to teach his pupils in Latin. Under such conditions, every free Roman had to visit Greece if he wanted a social promotion. In the Roman empire social grace, by which a young man won his way to a higher position, required education. One part of this education was travel to Greece.

In all ages, a wide range of reasons for travel existed, as well as a variety of travellers. People travelled as pilgrims, churchmen, diplomats, businessmen, soldiers, and scholars. Chaucer, for example, in the fourteenth century, travelled to Italy for political reasons. His characters in Canterbury Tales are pilgrims some of whom are educated and have seen other countries. Doubtless their travels abroad made them more accomplished and experienced and also higher in moral values. The best example among these characters is the Knight who travelled to different Christian and heathen countries for military purposes. Before the Renaissance, the idea of education through travel was not as strong as it

became later at the time of humanism.

In the Renaissance, many humanists considered travel, especially to Italy, as a source of honour and dignity, whether for educational purposes or merely for visiting reasons. Sir Philip Sidney made such a trip in 1572. In this relation he wrote to his brother, "A great number of us never thought in ourselves why we went, but a certain tickling humour to do as other men had done" (Trease 2). In Sidney's time, scholars considered travel an important step which changed a young aristocratic boy into a gentleman. To see France, Italy, and Greece was a requirement. Intellectuals liked to imitate the ancient people of Greece and Rome by making the same travels both on land and on sea. In the seventeenth century Richard Lassel, who coined the term "grand tour," wrote in his An Italian Voyage, or a Compleat Journey through Italy that "no man understands Livy and Caesar like him who hath made exactly the Grand Tour of France and the Giro of Italy" (Trease 1).

Classical scholarship and foreign educational travel were emphasized as ways of learning in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

> Amongst those many advantages, which conduce to enrich the mind with... Knowledge, to rectify... the Judgement, and [to] compose outward manners... Forraine Travell is non of the least. (Howell 11)

Most of the humanists travelled and recommended this type of

education to their students. Italy, in particular, was always a magnet for every person who wanted to have a humanistic education. Travel in Greece and Italy appeared to be a sign of nobility and decency. Even in the eighteenth century Samuel Johnson wrote that "A man who has not been in Italy is always conscious of an inferiority" (Trease 5).

The "grand tour" was important for every one who wanted to finish his education and be a complete gentleman. Travel changed a young school boy not only into a gentleman, but into a man, whose patience against the hardship of war, for example, was strengthened. This part of education was an important stage for the aristocratic boys of the Renaissance because it made the student try his ability in hard situations like wars. A boy at a certain age must leave the comfort of his family and face the difficulty of life in a different environment to enable himself to serve his country in war and peace. In the sixteenth century, the idea of gaining experience and learning through travel became more meaningful and significant when we remember that travel was much more dangerous and wearisome than in our time. It is for this reason that the humanists looked at travel as the ultimate stage of education. Erasmus, for example, was a traveller all his life. Sir Thomas More, although he never travelled to Italy, saw many countries and attended conferences with different people from different nations. His Utopia starts in Antwerp and is based on the experiences of a traveller who has

seen most of the world.

Some educators recommended travel only for getting experience, not to learn cultural and religious principles. (By principle, I mean cultural and religious issues which a young man can learn only in his own country.) Milton, as well as many other Renaissance educators, never wanted foreigners and especially "monsieurs of Paris to take [the English] hopeful youth into their slight and prodigal custodies and send them over back again transformed into mimics, apes and kickshaws" (Of Education 639). Many educators, including Milton, believed that a great number of the boys who were sent abroad to expand their knowledge returned unable to serve their country. In some cases, they became highly disgusting and repulsive to the English people. In English Travellers of the Renaissance, Clare Howard speaks about these types of educated people whom Milton, in his Of Education, calls apes:

> The traveller newly returned from foreign lands was a great butt for the satirists. In Elizabethan times his bows and tremendous politeness, his close-fitting black clothes from Venice, his French accent, his finicky refinements, such as perfumes and pick-tooths, were highly offensive to the plain Englishman. One was always sure of an appreciative audience if he railed at the "disguised garments and desperate hats" of the "affectate traveller" how; his attire spoke French or Italian, and his gait cried "behold me!" how he spoke his own language with shame and loathing. (50)

There were many who merely wanted to visit different countries to expand their knowledge by seeing different places, and to confer with different people. Italy, however,

was the main place which occupied the mind of those who wanted to pursue learning. Among the humanists Erasmus found Italy to be a paradise of scholars. Erasmus was tempted to remain in Rome forever because of its power and its libraries. Colet, Elyot, and many other scholars travelled to Italy and appreciated the feeling of visiting and walking on the soil of Cicero's state.

There were some other humanists who did not believe the same about Italy. Roger Ascham, for example, although a humanist, believed differently. His ideas about travel, and especially travel to Italy, were different from humanists like Erasmus, Colet, and Elyot. In The Scholemaster, he writes about Italy and the Italians negatively. Ascham believed that the Italians had faith in nothing except their own pleasure and private profit. He believed that travelling to Italy was a grave mistake for a student especially when he was young.

> I was once in Italie my selfe: but I thanke God, my abode there was but ix dayes: And yet I sawe in that litle tyme, in one Citie, more libertie to sinne, than ever I hard tell of in our noble Citie of London in ix yeare. I sawe, it was there as free to sinne, not onelie without all punishment, but also without any mans marking, as it is free in the Citie of London to chose without all blame, whether a man lust to weare Shoo or pantocle. (Ascham 87)

Ascham's devaluation of travel to Italy, after his nine-day trip, is not common in the Renaissance. Another person who followed Ascham in this respect and feared Italy was Bishop Hall, who lived one century later. Bishop Hall believed Italy

could be a trap for young English students. He feared that the young people, who went for education and stayed for a long time, could be convinced to convert to Catholicism, a crime with harsh consequences in seventeenth-century England (Howard 98).

There were many educators who believed in the importance of travel, but not at an early age, and for the purpose of education. Unlike Ascham, who rejected education in Italy from a religious point of view (because of "libertie to sinne"), Richard Mulcaster warned parents against education in other countries from a social and cultural standpoint. He believed that sending children for education at an early age might cause them to be alienated from the culture of their country and disobedient to the laws of the native land:

> Every country sets down her own due by her own laws and ordinances, appropriate to herself and her private circumstances, upon information given by continuers at home and careful countrymen. (Mulcaster 179)

Sending children for education to another country, therefore, makes them unable to serve their own country. Mulcaster wanted the child to complete all studies at home and then, for gaining experience, to travel abroad.

> I do not deny but traveling is good, if it hap to hit right, but I think the same travel, with mind to do good, as it always pretendeth, might help much more, being bestowed well at home. He that roameth abroad hath no such line to lead him as the tarrier at home hath, unless his conceit, years and experience be of better stay than

> theirs is, which be causes of this question, and bring traveling in doubt. For the ground of his voyage being private, though taken to the best, is unfriendly to our common. (Mulcaster 180)

Sir Francis Bacon had a similar opinion about young men's travel to another country. He believed that a child should first know the language of the country to which he is going, and second, accept a supervision of a tutor. In his essay "On Travel" Bacon says:

> Travel in the younger sort is a part of education, in the elder, a part of experience. He that travelleth into a country before he hath some entrance into the language goeth to school, and not to travel. That young men travel under some tutor or grave servant, I allow well, so that he be such a one that hath the language, and hath been in the country before, whereby he may be able to tell them what things are worthy to be seen in the country where they go, what acquaintances they are to seek, what exercises or discipline the place yeildeth. (Bacon 90-91)

In the seventeenth century, the attitude toward education through travel, and also travel for exploration, was similar to that of the previous century. The English aristocrats had not only great learning and pedagogic zeal, but also a desire to see other places and explore things that were not known to them. This quality was the legacy of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries which, taken together, made the Renaissance an age of discovery. In the early Renaissance, kings and princes encouraged their subjects to explore places unknown and investigate their possible profitability. In the

seventeenth century this zeal continued.[2]

John Amos Comenius was one of those educators who spent much of his life as a traveller. His plan for the reformation of schools and education consists of four different schools or stages. The first school is on every mother's knee or in every house for every child. The second one is in every village. The third is the school which Comenius wanted to see built in every city. The fourth is his "College of Light" or "university and school of travel." He believed that

> Care should be taken to admit to the university only those who are diligent and of good moral character. False students, who waste their patrimony and their time in ease and luxury, and thus set a bad example to others, should not be tolerated. Thus, if there is no disease, there can be no infection, and all will be intent upon their work. (Comenius 282)

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[2]This obsession was not limited to travel to the other side of the Atlantic or the other part of the Earth, but man could not stop wondering even about the moon and the stars. In book two of Paradise Lost, Milton portrays the mystery of the universe, which occupied the mind of seventeenth-century man for a long time:

> Who shall tempt with wand'ring feet
> The dark unbottom'd infinite Abyss
> And through the palpable obsure find out
> His uncouth way, or spread his aery flight
> Upborne with indefatigable wings
> Over the vast abrupt, ere he arrive
> The happy Isle. (II:404-410)

In the same book of Paradise Lost the poet shows again how prominent this issue is in his countrymen's mind:

> Before their eyes in sudden view appear
> The secrets of the hoary deep, a dark
> Illimitable ocean without bound,
> Without dimension, where length, breadth, and height,
> And time and place are lost. (II:890-94)

It is evident that Comenius admits only those students to his "College of Light" who are capable of being leaders. Travel is one subject which should be included in the curriculum of the future leaders. In other words, like Mulcaster, Bacon and many others, Comenius believes that travel is possible when the students' "hotheadedness of youth" has passed away, and they are ready to gain experience. In The Great Didactic, Comenius writes:

> There is no need to say anything about travel (to which we assigned a place in this last period of six years, or at its conclusion), except to remark that we are at one with Plato, who forbade the young to travel until the hotheadedness of youth had passed away, and they were sufficiently versed in the ways of the world to do so with advantage. (Comenius 285)

In the second half of the seventeenth century, John Locke also advised that "The last part usually in Education is Travel, which... finish[es] the work, and complete[s] the Gentleman"(Locke 185). The time which Locke suggests for travel is between the age of sixteen and twenty-one for the scholar, while most of the other educators recommend travel at the age of twenty-three and twenty- four. Milton himself completed this last part of his education at the age of thirty-one. This shows the difference in curricula of Milton, the Christian humanist, and Locke, who recommended a moderate and more modern type of education.

When scholars discuss travel as a part of education they

exclude women and lower-class people. This principle, of course, was in practice in the Middle Ages as well as in the Renaissance. Travel was mainly for men and for the upper class. In relation to women's travel in the Middle Ages (which remained legitimate in the Renaissance) Margaret Labarge tells us more:

> The travels of upper-class women were more restricted but they too were mobile. Queens and their attendant ladies generally shared in the many royal progresses and the moves of the royal household from one palace or hunting lodge to another. Wives of important nobles took part in the transport of their households between castles and manors. Social occasions such as weddings, great feasts and especially tournaments, attracted not only the lords and ambitious knights who took part but also their wives and marriageable daughters. Royal wives often accompanied their husbands on crusade to the Holy Land in the thirteenth century and were accompanied by other noble ladies. The widow took advantage of her favoured position in medieval society and its accompanying freedom of action to visit relatives or friends, or to go on pilgrimage where she might well be joined by a highly-born nun looking for a legitimate diversion from the monotonous routine of convent life. (Labarge xiii)

Since no educator involved women in his educational plans, travel was not meant to include them. Moreover, like any other part of education, travel was always expensive, and it was mainly for those who could afford it. In ancient Greece and Rome, also, travel was only for high ranking individuals. In the Middle Ages preparation for travel took many days and the time of many servants. The lower class, therefore, was unable to pay for the expenses of travel. It was included in the curriculum of every educator in the Renaissance since no

educator, of course, intended to include the lower class in his curriculum.

Milton's Continental tour, however, started with only one servant. Milton's travel was primarily educational, and his intention was literary and intellectual. As William Parker says, it was more like a pilgrimage than a vacation. "It was to be, in part, a literary pilgrimage, with Florence and Athens as the major shrines to visit. It was to be, as well, an advancement of learning" (Parker 169). Like any other humanist of the Renaissance, Milton looked at travel as a source of education.

As Michael R. G. Spiller indicates, Milton's travel "began long before he sailed for the Continent in the late spring of 1638" (Spiller 477). His mind was preoccupied with Italy and the Italian literary figures from the years of his studies in Cambridge. In his introduction to Milton in Italy, Mario A. Di Cesare states: "The 'Italian element in Milton's verse' has exercised more than one incisive critic and careful scholar" (Cesare xii). This was probably the main reason he learned Italian with the other necessary languages like Greek, Latin and Hebrew. His sonnets of the earlier stage of his career show how early he was influenced by Petrarch, Dante and Giovanni della Casa. This influence is not limited to form, but the theme of his sonnets shows the preoccupation clearly. Most of his sonnets, especially sonnet I, "O Nightingale!", and Sonnet VII, "How Soon Hath Time," recall sonnets by

Giovanni della Casa.

Milton travelled to France and Italy to pursue his educational plan to become a great poet. At a very early stage of his life, Milton had decided to be a poet with the goal of composing a "song" which would live for generations. Although his desire to be a great poet is evident not only in his personal letters to friends, but in most of his writings, his trip to Italy deepened his wish to write something which would live for ever. His education was designed partly to help him to achieve that objective. He was determined to continue his studies after his Cambridge period with the goal of being a poet. He, therefore, retreated to Horton and studied for another five-year period. In English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century, Douglas Bush writes:

> The Horton period was not a prolonged rural holiday but a voluntary postgraduate course of hard reading and thinking which gave historical background and critical direction to Milton's maturing views on all manner of civil and religious problems. (Bush 360)

In the final stage of his education, he was still burning with the desire to learn. Therefore, he decided to experience the "grand tour" which brought him a lot of learning. The elements which Milton learned in his travel are traceable in his literary works and in his political, social and religious activities. What he acquired in his continental tour helped him to accomplish his goals as a political activist and especially as a great poet and a literary figure.

In each period of his four-stage education, including his travel, Milton worked according to both the humanistic and Christian tradition. In each of these four stages, including his travel to France and Italy, he was introduced to humanism and humanistic education, and his protestant convictions were strengthened. In the first stage of his education he had masters like Alexander Gill (Sr.) whom many scholars admired for his learning and his experience. In The Life of John Milton, Masson writes:

> "Dr. Gill the father," said Aubrey in one of his MSS., "was a very ingeniouse person, as may appear by his writings: notwithstanding, he had his moods and humours, as particularly his whipping fits. Often Dr. G. whipped Duncombe, who was afterwards a Colonel of Dragoons at Edgehill fight." (Masson I: 82)

Alexander Gill (Jr.) who "was by no means so steady a man as his father" (Masson 64), advanced the young Milton's puritanism. Because of his political and religious ideas, Gill was sentenced harshly and was fired from St. Paul's School. If it were not for his father's intervention and the influence of his powerful friends, he would have lost his ears, and would never have returned to his job. In John Milton, Englishman, Hanford indicates that Milton's friendship with the younger Gill was intellectual:

> The only two relationships which Milton seems to have carried over from his school days should have been with persons so completely unlike himself as Gill and Diodati. Evidently he admired their dash and brilliancy, and,

> putting forth his best effort to win attention, accepted their patronage and expanded under their appreciation of his talents. With Gill the relationship is more intellectual, with Diodati more emotional. (Hanford 16)

It was the influence and companionship of Gill (Jr.) which advanced Milton's puritanism. In a letter to Gill in 1628, Milton wrote:

> I consider that each single letter of yours cannot be balanced by less than two of mine--nay, if the account were more strict, not by even a hundred of mine. (Diekhoff 48)

The puritanism which Milton learned first from his tutor, Thomas Young, and then from Alexander Gill, was later strengthened during his visit to Italy.

Milton's education at St. Paul's School had a great effect on the poet. Unlike the Cambridge period, however, he rarely speaks about the period of his education in St. Paul's School, although in his Of Education he speaks generally about long hours of useless and absurd methods of teaching languages. During the interval between St. Paul's School and Cambridge he was able to learn French and Italian, beside Latin, Greek, and Hebrew which he had learned at St. Paul's School. In this relation he wrote to his father:

> When at your expense, he says in a Latin poem addressed to his father in later years, "I had obtained access to the eloquence of the tongue of Romulus, and to the delights of Latium, and the great words, becoming the mouth of Jove uttered by the magniloquent Greeks, you then advised me to add the flowers which are the pride of

> Gaul, and the speech which the new Italian, attesting the barbarian inroads by his diction, pours forth from his degenerate mouth, and the mysteries which are spoken by the prophet of Palestine." (Masson I: 67)

Milton looked at Italy as the main source of western civilization, although he believed that in the recent past, under the tyranny of the Catholic Church and its Inquisition, the glory of Italy had declined. However, western civilization started from that part of Europe and Italy had its own special place. In Paradise Regained, he speaks about Rome as he had seen it in his travel, and also he illustrates his love and respect for that country:

> The city which thou seest no other deem
> Than great and glorious Rome, Queen of the Earth
> So far renown'd, and with the spoils enricht
> Of Nations; there the Capitol thou seest,
> Above the rest lifting his stately head
> On the Tarpeian rock, her Citadel
> Impregnable, and there Mount Palatine
> Th' Imperial Palace, compass huge, and high
> The Structure, skill of noblest Architects,
> With gilded battlements, conspicuous far,
> Turrets and Terraces and glittering Spires.
> Many a fair Edifice besides, more like
> Houses of Gods (so well have I dispos'd
> My Airy Microscope) thou mayst behold
> Outside and inside both, pillars and roofs
> Carv'd work, the hand of fam'd Artificers
> In Cedar, Marble, Ivory or Gold. (IV.44-60)

In Second Defense of the English People, Milton indicates what causes the intellectuals of the seventeenth century, and especially the humanists, to consider Italy as the first place to visit after the completion of their education.

> Why should I rather travel into Italy than into France or Holland?... It was because I well knew, and have since experienced, that Italy, instead of being... the general receptacle of vice, was the seat of civilization and the hospitable domicile of every species of erudition. (827)

In his John Milton, Englishman, James Holly Hanford explains the reasons why Milton was preoccupied with Italy rather than France. He writes:

> In the decision to spend most of his time in Italy, instead of dividing it with France or making a more comprehensive tour, as many others did, Milton shows his predilection for the traditions of an earlier epoch. His classical studies had made "the places trod by the heroes of old" sacred to him. He had learned Italian and made a special study of Italian history. His imagination had fed on the glories of Dante, Petrarch, Ariosto, and Tasso. There was finally, the fact of Diodati's Italian origin and the desire, as a prospective statesman of Protestant reform, to see the land of Catholic reaction, to witness, as Luther had done before him, the magnificence and the corruption of the Roman Church. (Hanford 73)

The poet's travel to France and Italy, as he himself indicates, was for the "cultivation of...mind". In Areopagitica, he places travel as equivalent to reading and writing. In his Of Education he gives more details about this part of his plan to educate boys of his time as the future leaders of England. In his tract, published in 1644, five years after his return from his "grand tour," he again emphasized what he believed about travel. His opinion about travel largely resembles what Mulcaster, Bacon and many other educators had already said:

> If they desire to see other countries at three or four and twenty years of age, not to learn principles but to

> enlarge experience and make wise observation, they will by that time be such as shall deserve the regard and honor of all men where they pass, and the society and friendship of those in all places who are best and most eminent. (639)

In early May, 1638, Milton started his travel. Letters of introduction from "the celebrated Henry Wotton" (Second Defense 828) and a recommendation from "the noble Thomas Scudamore," the British Ambassador in Paris, "to the learned Hugo Grotius, at that time ambassador from the queen of Sweden to the French court" (Second Defense 828), smoothed the way for Milton in France and Italy. Since he was not so attracted to France for many reasons, he did not plan to stay long in that country. He stayed a few days in Paris mainly for the purpose of meeting the international figure, Hugo Grotius, who was "of prime note among learned men" (Parker 170). William Parker also suggests: "Actually engaging him in conversation was an early fulfilment of one of Milton's ideals of travel" (Parker 170). Shortly after this visit, Milton's main quest started and he left for Tuscany.

Unlike that of Milton and many other humanists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the attitude of the English aristocrat changed toward Italy in the seventeenth century. The English gentleman did not look at Italy as a perfect place for learning any more. The reason is the decline of literature in Italy of the seventeenth century. As Dustin Griffin observes:

> The academies in Florence and Rome were mere shadows of

> their fifteenth-century antecedents, little more than clubs of gentlemen amateurs. Their members included some serious scholars, but..."mostly to listen to poems and to hear discourses on religion and morality and decorum." (23)

France, therefore, replaced Italy as the place where one could satisfy one's desire for learning. English aristocrats saw France glittering in prosperity and the court of France was more lively than the Italian court. Learning accomplishments in France seemed to be the ideal for many gentlemen. Although the majority of the French people were Catholic in religion, a large number of them were Protestants. Reading the ancient works in original languages was desirable, but the English aristocrat of the seventeenth century was also satisfied with French translations of the ancient mythology. If the educational objectives of travel had been learning virtues and gallantry in the previous centuries, the latter was enough to make the English aristocrats happy in the seventeenth century. Fencing, riding, and dancing were qualities which could be learned in France more impressively than in Italy. For these reasons:

> Unto no other countrie, so much as unto this, doth swarme and flow yearly from all Christian nations, such a multitude, and concourse of young Gentlemen, Marchants, and other sorts of men: some, drawen from their Parents bosoms by desire of learning; some, rare Science, or new conceites; some by pleasure; and others allured by lucre and gain.... But among all other Nations, there cometh not such a great multitude to Fraunce from any Country, as doth yearely from this Isle (England), both of Gentlemen, Students, Merchants, and others. (Howard 102)

It is important, then, to see why Milton was not interested in France, while many seventeenth-century Englishmen looked at that country as a charming place. Milton did not see "the France of Richelieu and Louis XIII" (Parker 169), as did many others. His humanism was not the only reason for his love for Italy. To Milton, different reasons made France undesirable:

> France...was...the source of an objectionable influence in English society, it had produced little literature which appealed to his imagination, and the language itself was not greatly to his taste. (Hanford 73)

The reason for Milton's departure from France, however, seems more than a matter of taste for language and literature. Besides social, religious, and historical reasons which made France unattractive for Milton, William Parker thinks that the poet's quick departure from France is also related to a few misfortunes which he experienced when he entered France:

> When he set foot upon French soil,...he instantly lost ten days on the calendar; the Gregorian or new-style calendar was in use on the Continent, and May the first in Dover was may the eleventh in Calais. There were other strange sensations: the bother of customs, French money, the oral swiftness of a language chiefly known in books, the awareness of being a foreigner. (Parker 169)

This combination of reasons made Milton leave France as soon as possible and continue his travel toward Italy.

Sir Henry Wotton advised the poet to travel through the whole length of France to Marseilles, and then by sea to

Genoa. Milton, however, headed directly for Nice, and from there to Genoa. Although Pisa, his next stop, was striking, he did not stay for long, because the city of Dante and Petrarch, Florence, was only a few miles away. Milton was attracted to Florence for many reasons, one of which was his appreciation of the dialect of the people of that city. In his Milton: A Biography, William Parker notes:

> Milton had always valued Florence above other Italian cities. It had become for him a symbol of elegance, grace, and refinement. He knew its history, and its association with Dante and Petrarch. He longed to see its proud palaces, its famed churches, its gentle citizens. He was eager to improve his command of the Tuscan dialect, which he greatly admired. In Florence, if anywhere on earth, men were still devoted to the Muses. (Parker 170)

In Florence he spent about two months viewing the antiquities of that famous city, and visiting different academies in which he was received warmly. Different cities of Italy were full of academies, not "finishing schools for young gentlemen but salons of the learned or the pretentious, modelled on the kind of circle that Cosimo de' Medici had once gathered around him" (Trease 88). Twenty such academies were in Florence, which impressed Milton greatly. His knowledge of the Italian language and his high intellectuality, and also the letters of introduction which he carried with him, helped him to gain a friendly reception. His religious differences with his hosts seemed negligible.

After two months in Florence he went to Rome via Siena.

In that city he "spent about two months in viewing the antiquities of that renowned city" (Second Defense 829). His next stop was Naples, where he met Manso who was famous for his poetic and philosophic pursuits. In Naples, when Milton was preparing himself to continue his travel to Sicily and Greece, he heard about the "the civil commotions in England" (829), which made him change his plans. He therefore returned to Rome. It was on his way to Rome that he learned that possibly some English Jesuits had formed a plot against him. But with connections that he found in Italy, and with friends like Cardinal Francesco Barberini, nephew and secretary of Pope Urban VIII, the danger seemed inconsiderable. He returned to Florence where he could meet Galileo. At this time he found an opportunity to travel to Lucca to visit Charles Diodati's ancestral home. Cities like Bologna, Ferrara, and Venice were his next stops. From Venice he sent to England the books that he collected during his trip. Through Verona he went to Milan and then to Geneva, on his way back to England.

Although some biographers, like Hilaire Belloc, deny the impact of Milton's travel to Italy on his career, it is evident that the influence of the tour to Italy on Milton's life and poetry was enormous. Parker observes,

> Beyond doubt the Italian experience brought a turning-point in Milton's development as an artist....Although the Hammersmith and Horton days had seen him confident of poetical ability, the Italian experience confirmed and clarified this confidence, so that "an inward prompting" could grow daily within him. After Italy, Milton knew

> what he had to do. In a sense, travel limited and confined his hitherto vague ambitions. He returned home content to be only the greatest of English poets. (Parker 179-180)

His desire to be a great poet was not the only result of his travel. His patriotism and puritanism were also moved and strengthened for the whole of his life. Even his immediate return to England in 1639, without completing his trip as he had planned, shows how strong his love for his country was. In many of his works the people that he met in different cities, the paintings that he saw, the ancient buildings and cathedrals that he visited are portrayed, and the careful reader can trace them easily. Probably this trip changed the subject of Paradise Lost from English heroism into a Christian or human one. In his John Milton, Englishman, James Holly Hanford states that Milton enriched himself psychologically and culturally through travel:

> [Milton] was perhaps the last Englishman to go abroad in the spirit of the earlier Renaissance--with dignity and purposefulness, courting only the higher type of experience, seeking out distinguished men with whom he might converse, communicating his own culture, observing and appraising theirs. The experience did much to confirm in him the sense of belonging to the intellectual elite of Europe, that republic of letters which maintained its community of interest against the stress of national and religious prejudice.... But he went also and primarily as a poet, susceptible to new impressions of the eye and ear, quick to transmute reality to the stuff of the imagination, and now confronting an exotic world, opulent with colour, such as he had seen only in his dreams. Psychologically as well as culturally Milton returned to England much enriched. (Hanford 72)

The whole impact of this trip on Milton can be outlined as follows. He understood his own literary importance as a European figure. In his Second Defense of the English People, he writes how he was pleasantly established among the Italian scholars, although he was a Protestant and also not known and appreciated in his homeland. Interestingly enough, his first book of poetry, published in 1645, six years after his return from Italy, was sold out completely fifteen years after its publication (Moseley 17). This shows how little he was known and understood at home. There were a few scholars at home who appreciated him as a poet and as a literary figure. Abroad, however, Milton's fame and position as polemicist and poet were much different.

> I contracted an intimacy with many persons of rank and learning, and was a constant attendant at their literary parties; a practice which prevails there, and tends so much to the diffusion of knowledge and the preservation of friendship. No time will ever abolish the agreeable recollections which I cherish of Jacob Gaddi, Carolo Dati, Frescobaldo, Coltellino, Bonmatthei, Clementillo, Francini, and many others....[In Siena] I experienced the most friendly attentions from Lucas Holstein, and other learned and ingenious men.... [In Naples] I was introduced by a certain recluse, with whom I had travelled from Rome, to John Baptista Manso, Marquis of Villa, a nobleman of distinguished rank and authority, to whom Torquato Tasso, the illustrious poet, inscribed his book on friendship. During my stay, he gave me singular proofs of his regard: he himself conducted me round the city, and to the palace of the viceroy; and more than once paid me a visit at my lodgings. (Second Defense 829)

Why, though, did the Italians receive the young Milton so warmly, given that in 1638, Milton was unknown to many of his

countrymen? In his Milton and the English Revolution, Christopher Hill suggests that letters of introduction from different prestigious individuals paved the way for the young poet. Although the possibility of such a point cannot be denied, Milton's intellectual vitality, his vast and up-to-date knowledge of the time, and his mastery and knowledge of both Italian and Latin paved a great part of the route. In his book Milton and the English Mind, Hutchinson quotes Manso saying that:

> If the Englishman's religion had matched his intellect, the beauty of his person and his charming manners, he would be not an Angle but an Angel. (27)

Parker also believes that

> While Milton found his Florentine friends stimulating and delightful, they in turn, found their visitor from the North an extraordinary person....Francini and Young Dati...reveal the qualities in Milton that most impressed them. Both speak of his amazing skill at languages; Francini marvels that this foreigner knows not only Tuscan, but also Spanish, French, Latin, and Greek. Both speak of his erudition and his memory. Both mention his desire for glory as a man of letters. (Parker 171-2)

Milton was accepted and appreciated in any gathering he attended. William Parker also speaks about Milton's attendance at a public musical entertainment which was given by Cardinal Francesco Barberini. "To [Milton's] complete surprise he was met at the door of the theatre by his illustrious host, who, singling him out and seeming to know who he was, had welcomed

him with special honour" (Parker 177).

The warm reception in Italy by different scholars brought self-confidence to Milton, which caused him to be more persistent in his idea of becoming a poet. In Milton and the English Revolution, Christopher Hill suggests that

> In Italy his reception had bolstered his self-confidence as well as directing his thoughts towards politics. He slowly came to realize that he might become a great poet, and to believe that in this role he could serve his church and his country even better than in the pulpit. Finally, in 1641-2 he had the satisfaction of seeing the hated Laudian regime overthrown. (Hill 115)

The first impact of the poet's continental travel, therefore, was on himself. His reception by the Italians, his participation in different academic discussions, and his acquaintance with learned individuals brightened his future. In his The Reason of Church Government he illustrates this clearly:

> In the private academies of Italy, whither I was favoured to resort--perceiving that some trifles which I had in memory, composed at under twenty or thereabout (for the manner is that everyone must give some proof of his wit and reading there) met with acceptance above what was looked for, and other things which I had shifted in scarcity of books and conveniences to patch up amongst them, were received with written encomiums, which the Italian is not forward to bestow on men of this side the Alps-- I began thus far to assent both to them, and divers of my friends here at home, and not less to an inward prompting which now grew daily upon me, that by labor and intent study (which I take to be my portion in this life) joined with the strong propencity of nature, I might perhaps leave something so written to aftertimes, as they should not willingly let it die. (667-8)

This shows how profoundly the Italians had helped him to realize his own ability, and how this trip affected him and his future.

The next effect of his travel is clearly seen in Milton's poetry. He portrays different scenes in Italy in his epics. In Paradise Lost Pandemonium is a portrayal of St. Peter's Cathedral in Italy, which he had seen closely:

> Built like a Temple, where Pilasters round
> Were set, and Doric pillars overlaid
> With Golden Architrave; nor did there want
> Cornice or Frieze, with bossy Sculptures grav'n:
> The Roof was fretted Gold. Not Babylon,
> Nor great Alcairo such magnificence
> Equall'd in all their glories, to inshrine
> Belus or Serapis thir Gods...
> from the arched roof
> Pendent by subtle Magic many a row
> Of Starry Lamps and blazing Cressets fed
> With Naphtha and Asphaltus yielded light
> As from a sky. (I.713-20;726-30)

The number of the fallen angels in his epic is compared to the number of the leaves he had seen in a valley (Vallombrosa) in Italy (I:300-04). In Book I of Paradise Lost, Milton describes the picture of hell as a volcanic region which resembles the place close to the Marquis of Villa's place he visited in Naples. "The Phlegraean Fields, that odd volcanic area dotted with hot springs and half-extinct craters like Solfatara, lay only a mile away" (Trease 90) from Marquis's villa.

> There stood a Hill not far whose grisly top
> Belch'd fire and rolling smoke; the rest entire

> Shone with a glossy scurf, undoubted sign
> That in his womb was hid metallic Ore,
> The work of sulphur. (I.670-74)

In some cases Eve is depicted as in Italian paintings.

> The picture of Eve tending her flowers in Book IX of Paradise Lost is composed with the same sort of spatial patterning as Italian painting. (Moseley 41)

In Paradise Lost, the following picture is strong and colourful:

> The grassy Clods now Calv'd, now half appear'd
> The Tawny Lion, pawing to get free
> His hinder parts, then springs as broke from Bonds,
> And Rampant shakes his Brinded mane; the Ounce,
> The Libbard, and the Tiger, as the Mole
> Rising, the crumbl'd Earth above them threw
> In Hillocks; the swift Stag from under ground
> Bore up his branching head: scarce from his mould
> Behemoth biggest born of Earth upheav'd. (VII.463-472)

This vivid picture is so accurate that it reminds the reader of Coleridge's definition of poetic imagination. Coleridge's definition is in accordance with the Romantic doctrine announced by Wordsworth that tyranny of the eye should be avoided by poets because it limits and harms one's imagination. A poet, according to this doctrine, is different from a painter, and should, therefore, obey his imagination and avoid sight and memory. Milton in these lines portrayed the scene like a painter.

Although Milton was influenced by Plato in philosophy, by Homer, Virgil, Spenser, Della Casa and many other Greek and

Roman poets, the Italians attracted him more than other artists of other nations. His epic is more like Virgil's Aenied, and his sonnets are more Italian than those of any other English poet. Unlike the English poets of the Renaissance who created their own sonnet form, which is different from the Italian, Milton imitated the Italians in form and theme. Moreover, in his poetry, Milton used blank verse because he was highly influenced by the Italians. In The Wall of Paradise, John Steadman argues:

> Because of its freedom from terminal rhyme, blank verse is highly appropriate for all dramatic poems and also suitable for heroic poetry. Like Trissino, Milton was to exploit the literal meaning of versi sciolti to stress that essential quality of blank verse. The play on the word liberty in his defense of blank verse ("an example set, the first in English, of ancient liberty recover'd to Heroic Poem from the troublesom and modern bondage of Rimeing") hinges on the Italian idiom. In the preface to Sofonisba Trissino had already extolled the use of blank verse in tragedy on the grounds of its ability to arouse compassion and its utility in speeches and in narrative passages. Studied rhyme is, he argued, essentially incompatible with the natural and spontaneous expression of grief.... In Muzio's opinion, blank verse was a suitable medium for a wide variety of subjects and literary genres....But primarily he stressed its value in the epic. (Steadman 135-36)

It was during this journey that Milton realized the special place that England had in Europe. This realization strengthened his patriotism and made him work harder to liberate his country from tyranny. In Areopagitica he illustrates clearly that England has a special place in the world:

> When I have sat among their learned men, for that honor I had, and been counted happy to be born in such a place of philosophic freedom as they supposed England was, while themselves did nothing but bemoan the servile condition into which learning amongst them was brought; that this was it which had damped the glory of Italian wits; that nothing had been there written now these many years but flattery and fustian. (737)

In his Of Education also he wants his students to learn different techniques of physical combat to be able to defend England when it is necessary.

The young poet left England less puritan than when he returned from Italy. The poet who was introduced to puritanism by his teachers, Young and Alexander Gill (Jr.), became more faithful and dedicated to his opinion after his continental tour. The trip changed him from the moderate puritan of "Lycidas," for example, into the more radical one of Areopagitica who condemns episcopacy and who speaks about freedom and equality in a very different sense from the people of Rome. In his book Milton and the English Revolution, Christopher Hill argues:

> The Italian visit must have intensified Milton's cultural hatred of popery and absolutism, which had reduced Italian writing to "flattery and fustian", and stiffened his hatred of the Laudian regime, which seemed to him to be dragging England down to the Italian level. (Hill 56)

In Areopagitica, he speaks about censorship and connects its existence to episcopacy. He thinks that it was the "Catholic Inquisition" which initiated censorship.

In this travel, Milton could form cordial friendships

with many important literary and social figures of the Italy of the seventeenth century. Some of these friends praised his Latin poems and indited poems in his honour which he prefixed to his poetry published in 1645. One of these important scientific figures (the only contemporary one mentioned in Paradise Lost) is the "Tuscan Artist" who was seventy-five when Milton visited him: old Galileo, living under the restrictive surveillance of the Inquisition.

Although Milton was received warmly almost everywhere, some found him not "a gay companion. His uncompromising Protestantism annoyed some and bored others" (Trease 92). The reason probably was his virtue, which he talks about in his Second Defence:

> I never once deviated from the paths of integrity and virtue, and perpetually reflected that, though my conduct might escaped the notice of men, it could not elude the inspection of God. (830)

Many of his countrymen, whom he calls "Babylonish merchants of souls" or "apostates," felt the same about him, especially after the Restoration. This, of course, was not only because of his virtue or his religious ideas, but because of his political opinions.

In Book VIII of Paradise Lost Milton portrays Raphael teaching Adam. Milton's position toward the new knowledge and learning of his time is shown by the subject of Raphael's discussion. In the classroom, Raphael answers Adam's questions

about heavenly bodies and their relationship to the Earth. Although the answers might not satisfy any reader of our modern time, Raphael does state the Copernican theory, which was still relatively new in the seventeenth century. This theory, which challenges the old Ptolemaic theory, pictured the Earth as the centre of the universe. Milton's modern position in this relation was the result of his education, one part of which was his travel to Italy and his visit with Galileo.

Milton's travel to France and Italy changed the subject of Paradise Lost. William Parker believes that Milton's visit with Hugo Grotius at Paris gave him the idea of writing about Adam and Eve's fall, because "their talk turned to the great man's youthful tragedy, Adamus Exul" (Parker 170). Later in Italy this notion strengthened and his Arthurian subject changed into a Christian one. Although Milton's European reputation demanded that he write in Latin, he restricted himself to the vernacular. In his travel to Italy, he learned to value his mother tongue. Therefore he chose to write in English and not Latin. In "The Multilingual Milton and the Italian Journey," John K. Hale suggests that Milton's travel to Italy changed the polyglot poet into a monoglot. The reason probably is that "the experience of Italy revealed to him his English identity and an allegiance to English" (Hale 549). Another reason probably is that Milton could see closely what the "Tuscans" had done to their mother tongue (Trease 89).

This experience made him more in favor of the vernacular.

Although he was already a poet and had composed Lycidas and Comus, Milton's education was not sufficient to make him a poet to write the immortal song. Travel to Italy was a necessity for Milton. This trip, and his earlier education as well, were means of making him a poet, not a poet in the sense of a versifier, but a high acting figure who is called to write "things unattempted yet in Prose or Rhyme" (Paradise Lost I:16). In Elegy VI, he shows this belief that a poet is "sacred to the gods and is their priest. His hidden heart and his lips alike breathe out Jove" (52).

Milton's own education furnished him with Christian humanism, a doctrine which his travel to Italy strengthened. Douglas Bush writes:

> Milton may be called the last great exponent of Christian humanism in its historical continuity, the tradition of classical reason and culture fused with Christian faith which had been the main line of European development. His Christian humanism, intensified and somewhat altered by the conditions of his age and country and by his own temperament, becomes as he grows old a noble anachronism in an increasingly modern and mundane world. (Bush 360)

Milton's formal and informal educational ideas, which were announced in different stages of his life, were built on his Christian humanism, to which he remained faithful to the end of his life.

Chapter Three: Training Leaders

Milton's involvement in the education of his countrymen consists of two stages. The first stage is the formal education which he started immediately after he returned from Italy. This stage of Milton's life continued until the Restoration in 1660. The second stage of Milton's involvement in teaching his countrymen is the informal education which he started after the failure of the "old cause."[1] Doubtless in both stages Milton had only one objective, and that was to train virtuous citizens who were able to love and imitate God and serve other human beings. The implication of this life-long belief, however, had changed greatly with changing events. In this chapter the first stage of Milton's career is the primary concern. Since Of Education shows Milton's judgement of education, and clearly demonstrates his objectives of learning, my discussion focuses on this tract. Before I consider the positive and negative criticism of the tractate, I will discuss the tract in the context of the seventeenth century. I will also compare Milton's Of Education to the outstanding and important educational works of the period.

It is necessary to know that in 1644, almost five years after his return form his continental tour, Milton wrote Of Education in a critical social situation. The careful reader

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[1]In his major poetry, Milton focused on virtues which Spenser had also included in his letter to Sir Walter Raleigh.

remembers that Milton returned to England in 1639 because he "thought it base to be travelling for amusement abroad, while [his] fellow-citizens were fighting for liberty" (Second Defense 829). In this defense of "the sanctity of the laws and the rights of conscience," Milton's contribution was his pen not his sword. In his Second Defense, he writes

> It was equally agreeable to his will that there should be others by whom those achievements should be recorded with dignity and elegance, and that the truth, which had been defended by arms, should also be defended by reason (819).

In the summer of 1644, when Hartlib was asking Milton to write down his educational ideas, the country was burning with the fire of the civil war. Of Education was published four weeks before the fateful battle of Marston Moor (Vose 28). If we remember that Areopagitica was published in the same year, and his The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce appeared in the previous two years, we realize that Of Education is a product of its historical moment.

Its historical moment makes Milton's radical ideas and his puritanism evident in the curriculum of the tract. For Milton:

> The end of learning is to repair the ruins of our first parents by regaining to know God aright, and out of that knowledge to love him, to imitate him, to be like him, as we may the nearest by possessing our souls of true virtue, which being united to the heavenly grace of faith makes up the highest perfection. (Of Education 631)

By this, the poet reminds his readers of the situation of man

after the Fall. Our original sin made our understanding and mind lower than Adam and Eve's before the Fall. The Fall is always the main cause for the need for education, and what we do in this field repairs the effects of original sin. The subjects that the students are supposed to study should be suitable for minds which are affected by this event.

In The Return of Eden, Northrop Frye discusses Milton's ideas about the Fall, and how our soul was affected by that event. In prelapsarian man, the soul consisted of many faculties, three of which were reason, will and appetite. The higher, the head of the soul, was reason which was followed by will and then appetite for food and sex. Reason, as head of the three, was obeyed by the other two. After the Fall this order was reversed. According to Frye:

> After the fall, the hierarchy implanted by God in the human soul is not merely upset, but reversed. Appetite now moves into the top place in the human soul, and by doing so it ceases to be appetite and is transformed into passion, the drive toward death. The appetites are a part of the creation, and like every other part of the creation they are an energy which seeks its fulfilment in form. Hunger is specifically satisfied with food, and the sexual desire by sexual intercourse. When appetite is perverted into passion, the drives of sex and hunger are perverted into lust and greed. Passion operates in the mind as though it were an external force, compelling the soul to obey against its own best interests....The Will is now the agent of passion instead of reason, for the will must be the agent of one or the other....This inversion of the human mind, with passion on top and will its agent, reduces reason to the lowest point in the soul, where it is normally a helpless critic of what the passion is doing, able to point out the correct course, but, in the passion-driven mind, powerless to affect its decisions for long. (68-9)

With this opinion about the effects of the Fall and the

original sin, and with this belief that generally passion leads man's soul in this life, Milton's interest in education and its necessity for human beings is understandable.

To provide a larger context for the purpose of education, Frye categorizes existence into four levels. The first or the highest belongs to angels. The second belonged to Adam and Eve before the Fall. After the Fall man fell into the third, which originally belonged to animals. The lowest level is the level of sin and corruption. When Milton says that education without constant reference to its purpose is worthless, he implies that students must remember to what level of hierarchy they originally belonged, and where they are located after the Fall. Through education, man can elevate himself to a higher degree and become closer to God. It is evident, however, that education by itself is not enough. Redemption plays an important part in his elevation. Man is also able to choose the wrong way and fall lower than his present situation, a situation which Frye calls the level of sin and corruption. Milton's main goal in education, which remained unchanged all his life, is to place man in a right relation with God and also to make good citizens in this world. Regarding the effects of the Fall on man's reason, Milton was aware that his important objective could not be achieved without the character development of his students. To achieve this important goal, Milton, as a Christian-humanist educator, and as a revolutionary figure of his time, actively participated

in school reformation.

As a revolutionary figure and as an educator, Milton was aware that in the fallen world the end of education can be achieved by obtaining two goals. The first was to educate the nation and make them aware of the political and social situation, and to understand what God wants them to do. The second goal was to educate leaders who would be able to lead the nation not only to prosperity but to the path of God. In Of Education, one important subject of the curriculum is politics. Knowing that any leader in this world is a fallen individual, Milton includes this subject in order that the future leaders of England

> Know the beginning, end, and reasons of political societies, that they may not in a dangerous fit of the commonwealth be such poor, shaken, uncertain reeds, of such a tottering conscience, as many of our great counsellors have lately shown themselves, but steadfast pillars of the state. (636)

English leaders should be not only persuasive and well-spoken in their writings and composing, but also articulate and eloquent in their speeches. Their ability to write and compose well and to speak forcefully and effectively is another necessity which Milton considers seriously:

> Or whether they be to speak in parliament or council, honor and attention would be waiting on their lips. There would then also appear in pulpits other visages, other gestures, and stuff otherwise wrought than what we now sit under, ofttimes to as great a trial of our patience as any other that they preach to us. (Of Education 637)

For Milton, leadership for a country like England is always an important issue. In his sonnet XV "On The Lord General Fairfax at the Siege of Colchester" he also writes about the same subject. In his paper, "Education: Milton's Ideas and Ours," William Riley Parker writes:

> [Milton] limits himself to outlining a liberal arts program for boys who, hopefully, will become, not only useful citizens, but leaders. Like Plato and Aristotle, like Elyot and Mulcaster and Peacham, he is concerned with education for public service. (4)

Of Education is humanistic because, according to Ainsworth, it offers the three qualifications of humanism: the first is clear consciousness among teachers and students (active life). The second is its insistence upon more extensive reading of ancient writers, both classical and Christians, as the principal means of securing this discipline. The third is an attitude of severe and often hostile criticism toward medieval education and culture. Milton probably had Vittorino da Feltre and Juan Luis Vives in mind when he was writing about his academy. Although Ainsworth argues that he could not trace back any indebtedness to any particular educator (Ainsworth 40), Watson believes that Milton had Vives' academy in mind when he suggests replacing both universities with his own designed academy. The encyclopedic curriculum suggested by Milton also resembles the subjects offered by both humanists Vittorino da Feltra and

Juan Luis Vives.

The tract offers a curriculum which ultimately helps educators to train highly responsible individuals. Aristophanes, who lived in the fourth century B.C., says that the function of a poet is to make good citizens. According to this explanation, Milton's "academies" are supposed to make not only good citizens but also people who are in right relation to God. Milton, like the earlier humanists, wants his students not only to gain happiness in this life but also to acquire spiritual beauty. Erasmus wrote that man can be a "wild beast" if he is not well educated, but he is a "divinity" if he receives proper education (Baker 273). The humanists connected happiness in this life to spiritual elevation and morality:

> They believed that it is man's privilege to seek happiness in this life as a human being, not an angel or a beast; and that worthy human happiness is based on reason, conscience, and good taste, leading men to truth, to right, justice, and goodness, and to permanent, spiritual beauty. (Hogrefe 2)

A humanist's educational plan focuses not only on this world, but also the world to come. A humanist educator wants his students both to act and to contemplate. Milton intended to train his students to understand the value of liberty, which has a close connection to virtue. He wanted his students to defend their freedom with all their might. It is for this reason that Milton designed his Of Education with two

objectives. The curriculum helps students, first, to act, and, second, to contemplate. In order to "repair the ruins of our first parents," students must be "stirred up with high hopes of living"(633). Milton wanted his students to be citizens with wisdom and knowledge of good and evil. A wise and knowledgeable man, according to Milton, is radically free in what he chooses. Such an individual is able to serve God and God's creatures. In his Prolusion, VII, Milton indicates that a man with knowledge of good and evil is a person who rules the world:

> He will seem to have the stars under his control and dominion, land and sea at his command, and the winds and storms submissive to his will. Mother Nature herself has surrendered to him. It is as if some god had abdicated the government of the world and committed its justice, laws, and administration to him as ruler. (625)

In order to repair the ruins of our first parents, Of Education focuses on individual virtue. The tract also advances social virtue by training politically aware and responsible leaders who are able to lead the country toward liberty. The goal of Milton's educational plan is a person like Abdiel whose developed character is an example among all the angels:

> Among the faithless, faithful only hee;
> Among innumerable false, unmov'd,
> Unshak'n, unseduc'd, unterrifi'd
> His Loyalty he kept, his Love, his Zeal. (V. 897-900)

Milton connects the dual purpose of his educational plan repeatedly. In other words, no citizen can be good unless he is in a right relation with God. Milton connects virtue to liberty.

The humanistic characteristic of Of Education is only one part of the fact. Although on the surface Of Education proposes the same humanistic curriculum which was taught in St. Paul's School (except that Milton's is more extensive), what the careful reader finds in Milton's tract is different from a humanistic plan. Of Education shows the influence of Milton's trip to Italy. Italian is the only modern language which is taught to the students, besides Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, while Galileo's influence and generally Milton's belief in new sciences, like astronomy, is apparent in the tract. Milton also includes navigation, agriculture, and many other new sciences which show that the poet was influenced by the new movement initiated by Sir Francis Bacon. Including these subjects is a departure from humanism.

The curriculum of the tract is different from the humanistic curriculum which Milton himself studied at St. Paul's School. The revolution in seventeenth-century England made Milton include subjects which, in one way or another, deal with the social situation in which the poet lived. Physical exercise and diet gain as much importance as learning in this programme. The students of Milton's proposed "academy" start their day with one hour and a half of physical exercise.

This time can be extended "according as their rising in the morning shall be early"(637). This, however, is not the entire physical exercise they have in this programme.

> About two hours before supper...[the students are] called out to their military motions;... first on foot, then, as their age permits, on horseback, to all the art of cavalry. (638)

Milton wanted the future leaders of England to act heroically with a highly moral purpose. He expected his students to possess this quality, especially under the social conditions of the seventeenth century. Every student must know

> The exact use of their weapon, to guard and to strike safely with edge or point; this will keep them healthy, nimble, strong, and well in breath--is also the likeliest means to make them grow large and tall, and to inspire them with a gallant and fearless courage, which, being tempered with seasonable lectures and precepts to them of true fortitude and patience, will turn into a native and heroic valor, and make them hate the cowardice of doing wrong. (637-8)

The students must also learn "all the locks and grips of wrestling, wherein Englishmen were wont to excel, as need many often be in fight to tug or grapple, and to close" (638). These activities make students of Milton's academy "prove and heat their single strength" (638). Milton's curriculum, therefore, includes social issues of the day, matters like war and the ability to defend one's opinions and country.

Diet also has an important place in Milton's Of Education. Doubtless when Milton included diet in his

educational plan, he had the ancient idea in mind that wisdom is found in a healthy body. Later, John Locke puts this idea in a more modern statement which is the end of education for the philosopher: "sound mind in a sound body" (Sahakian 62).

Physical activities, like "the skill of embattling, marching, encamping, fortifying, besieging and battering," show that the poet considers both the bodies and the souls of his students. In arranging this spiritual and physical curriculum, he wants

> A complete and generous education that which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully, and magnanimously all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war. (632)

In The Sinews of Ulysses, Michael Lieb discusses the spiritual and physical aspects of Milton's educational programme. He writes:

> In order to appreciate the full significance of this definition, one must recognize the extent to which Milton correlates exercise as physical enterprise with exercise as spiritual enterprise. For Milton, the transition between the two enterprises has an inevitability born of the conviction that body and soul are inextricably united. It is hardly necessary to invoke Milton's materialism here, although it might be seen as an extension of the outlook implicit in his discussion of exercise. (3)

According to Lieb the focus on physical strength of the students in Of Education is in the same context of moving from known elements to unknown ones. Since our understanding has been affected by the Fall, Milton believes that education

should move from visible to invisible, or rather, from concrete to abstract. Starting the day with physical exercise is in fact starting learning with concrete elements.

In a humanistic curriculum the main emphasis is on the seven arts. Milton increased these subjects into more than twenty courses. Unlike many earlier educators, Milton, in Of Education, gives a special place to the diet of the students. He also insists on teaching various subjects, like mathematics, through play. The students in Milton's academy have time for recreation, which is done either in the form of camping with friends or horseriding with friends and classmates. Until the time of Locke none of these items had been discussed as thoroughly as Milton did in his tractate.

Milton's tract accepts the new trend of experimentation which was initiated by Bacon. In fact gaining knowledge about nature is a necessity of which every prospective leader should be aware. The poet wrote Of Education in a time when Bacon's ideas were influential. In Of Education a good portion of the curriculum was studying nature and experimenting with things which were not common in the sixteenth century.[1] Milton was concerned about teaching modern ideas to his students, and he wanted these ideas to be in agreement with the social and revolutionary time. Milton asserts clearly that his programme, which was for students between twelve and twenty one, "fits a

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[1]As David Weisberg suggests, in Paradise Lost even Uriel approves Satan's desire to see and know(91).

man to perform justly, skilfully, and magnanimously all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war" (632).

In writing the curriculum, Milton was aware of the shortcomings of the current system and was confident about what he wanted to change. He leads his readers to a hillside. In Milton's works, hills often represent heavenly knowledge. In sonnet IX, for example, he shows the meaning of the word "hill" clearly: "That labour up the Hill of Heav'nly Truth" (141). In Of Education, this guidance reminds us of Michael, in Paradise Lost, who directs Adam to a similar hillside and shows our first father the future of mankind. In this ascent Milton says,

> Labourious indeed at the first ascent, but else so smooth, so green, so full of goodly prospect and melodious sounds on every side, that the harp of Orpheus was not more charming. (632)

Milton was aware of the fact that the goals of his program could not be achieved without interested, enthusiastic and knowledgable teachers. Teachers of this curriculum should be virtuous and good examples for their students. They must be "eloquent," and have the ability of "effectual persuasions." For this reason Milton thought that teaching is not an easy job which can be given to every individual:

> This is not a bow for every man to shoot in that counts himself a teacher, but will require sinews almost equal to those which Homer gave Ulysses. (639)

Only with the help of experienced and qualified teachers can an educator like Milton eliminate the pain of the old system and introduce a better program. By speaking about tortures in learning under the system of education which needed reform, Milton shows that he is concerned about learning through delight. He starts his discussion in the tract with a rejection of the language teaching methods of the time. He says,

> We do amiss to spend seven or eight years merely in scraping together so much miserable Latin and Greek as might be learned otherwise easily and delightfully in one year. (631)

This opposition also exists when it comes to teaching of the arts. He writes:

> They present their young unmatriculated novices at first coming with most intellective abstractions of logic and metaphysics. So that they... for the most part grow into hatred of contempt of learning. (632)

Although he indicates that "the intimation of some fear, if need be," can be used, Milton holds the Platonic idea that education means persuasion, which is far better than force. Like Ascham, Mulcaster, Elyot and many humanists of earlier times, he always preferred persuasion to force. As an important goal in education, Milton held this opinion all his life. At the beginning of The Reason of the Church Government which was written in 1641, Milton declares that "Persuasion

certainly is a more winning and more manlike way to keep men in obedience than fear..."(640). Later in his life Milton repeated this statement in his Second Defence. He wrote:

> I had leisure to turn my thoughts to other subjects, to the promotion of real and substantial liberty, which is rather to be sought from within than from without, and whose existence depends not so much on the terror of the sword as on sobriety of conduct and integrity of life. (830)

In his epic also, God admires Abdiel in confrontation with Satan, and the other fallen angels, when he says to Abdiel: "In word mightier than they in Arms" (VI.31).

Milton addressed Of Education to Samuel Hartlib, who was an active figure in the reformation of education, in the form of a letter. Hartlib was the main individual who invited Comenius to England, and sponsored him during his trip to that country, in order to use his help in the process of the reform of education in England. In spite of the fact that Hartlib worked hard to reform education in England, and he himself had translated a few of Comenius' works into English, the improvement of the system of education did not go as he desired. Comenius's trip, which was designed to accelerate the engine of the reformation of education, did not bring any change to the system. The social conditions of the time did not let things go as desired, and Comenius left England without leaving any significant impact on education. Two years after Comenius left England, Hartlib asked Sir William Petty,

Abraham Cowley, and John Milton to give their ideas on the subject. Samuel Hartlib probably was disappointed with Milton's view of Comenius. Perhaps that was the main reason that he did not publish Of Education with the other works that he received from other friends. Perhaps another reason for not publishing the tract was that Hartlib needed Milton's idea on reformation of schools, while Of Education focuses only on training leaders. But Milton's position as a poet and an educator caused Of Education, since its publication, after Areopagitica, to be discussed and written about more than any other of his prose works. There were many writings on education in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, none of which was discussed as Milton's tract.

Milton begins Of Education by distinguishing his view from Comenius'. Although there are many similarities between Milton and Comenius' educational ideas, Milton rejects Comenius from his humanistic viewpoint. In his Milton on Education, Ainsworth writes:

> Milton, though at one with Comenius in making all knowledge the province of his student, chiefly emphasized an educational medium for which Comenius appears to have had less regard. Milton, as a humanist, would instruct through literature--preferably the best literature. Comenius, as a rationalist, would codify all knowledge into systems, for memorization. With implicit faith in the importance attached by Bacon to the natural sciences--perhaps even overemphasizing that importance--Comenius would make the study of external nature the chief part of secular education. (20-21)

At the end of his Great Didactic, Comenius also rejects the pagan writers and clearly wants only the Christian writers to be taught to students, a position which Milton rejects.

Of Education, written in the form of a 4800-word letter, is in fact the theory of education which Milton puts in practice in the classrooms of Raphael, Michael, and The Son in Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained. In Book II of Paradise Lost, the fallen angels are categorized into different types. Some are eager to search their new environment for wealth, some others recommend war and another type want to wait and see what happens.

Like his long epic, Milton's Of Education also starts with the devils who are the fruits of a bad educational system. In this part of the tract, Milton discusses the different types of graduates who, like the fallen angels, either work for the tyrant or work for the sake of pleasure and money:

> Some allured to the trade of law, grounding their purposes not on the prudent and heavenly contemplation of justice and equity which was never taught them, but on the promising and pleasing thoughts of litigious terms, fat contentions, and flowing fees; others betake them to state affairs with souls so unprincipled in virtue and true generous breeding that flattery and court shifts and tyrannous aphorisms appears to them the highest points of wisdom; instilling their barren hearts with a conscientious slavery, if, as I rather think, it be not feigned. Others, lastly, of a more delicious and airy spirit, retire themselves--knowing no better--to the enjoyments of ease and luxury, living out their days in feast and jollity; which indeed is the wisest and the safest course of all these, unless they were with more integrity undertaken. (632)

Milton shows how the system of education was far from desirable. Although the humanistic curriculum was in practice in England for more than a century, the schools were doing the opposite of what the earlier humanists designed and desired.

All the subjects in Milton's curriculum, which are set for a period of nine years of education in his academy, are in order. Every subject is connected to the next and has its own place in the whole programme. All the subjects are from easy to difficult, and the writer states that the instruction must go from known elements to unknown ones. In his paper "Education: Milton's ideas and ours," Parker compares Milton's programme with ours at this time and writes:

> As a teacher of graduate students in English, there is not one single assumption I can make about either knowledge or skill already acquired. I cannot assume a single book read by everyone in my class; I cannot assume knowledge of the simplest technical term or the simplest Bible story or myth or fairy tale or piece of children's literature. I cannot assume anything except that I have a job that is quite needlessly difficult.... When we give a certificate or a degree, we can say of the recipient only that he has taken a certain number of courses and has spent a certain number of hours in classroom. We cannot describe him; we cannot define the <u>product</u> of our system except vaguely and hopefully. We have required study of a few specific fields along the way, but for the most part we have been democratic indeed, holding it self-evident that all courses are created equal, endowed by their creators with the power to educate. (12)

Many students of Milton agree on this issue that <u>Of Education</u> is far from merely piling up subjects aimlessly. B. Rajan writes:

The implication is that each type covers a perfectly

> definite sector of reality, and this in turn suggests that no type can be understood without an understanding of the details it embraces. One proceeds, as always, from the visible to the invisible, from the particular to the abstract. (292)

Parker categorizes all the subjects which Milton listed in his tract chronologically.

In Milton's curriculum the students start with a foreign language, arithmetic, and elements of agriculture. In the first three years the students are introduced to some scientific subjects and foreign languages. Literature and poetry, in particular, are left to the age of eighteen when the students are at university age. At this point, which is the seventh year of the program, they begin with ancient comedies and tragedies. The main literary works like heroic poems and attic tragedies would be studied at the age of twenty. At this stage students use their acquired ability and read literature in the original languages. Great literature is left for the time when the students are in their complete maturity. In Milton's curriculum, logic and rhetoric are offered in the last year of the students' education when they are at the age of twenty-one. These two subjects are offered only for practical purposes.

Milton's way of dealing with literature at the later stage of education was new and unusual for his time. Apuleius of Madaura wrote in the second century:

> At a banquet the first cup is for thirst, the second for joy, the third for sensual delight, and the fourth for folly. At the feasts of the Muses on the other hand, the

> more we are given to drink, the more our soul gains in wisdom and in reason. The first cup is poured for us by the litterator who begins to polish the roughness of our mind. Then comes the grammaticus who adorns us with varied knowledge. Finally it is the rhetor's turn who puts in our hands the weapon of eloquence. (Carcopino 107)

This method, which started during the Middle Ages, was also valid in the Renaissance. This order of offering courses was not an idea which Milton accepted. Milton prescribed literature at the later stage of the study. He postponed studying literature to the time when the students were mature enough to understand literature. In his paper "Simple, Sensuous and Passionate," B. Rajan writes that at the age of eighteen "the faculty of reason has been sufficiently strengthened to permit the contemplation and judgment of good and evil.... The organization behind art can only be revealed to a mind not distracted with the appraisal of components" (Rajan 291-2).

In his teaching of science and nature, Milton, like Comenius, follows the principle of from easy to difficult. As he started with things and ended with words, here he starts with the simplest subject and moves to the most complicated element. As B. Rajan points out, "one, therefore, progresses from the study of matter to that of plants, and from plants to living creatures. Next come anatomy and physics" (Rajan 291). It is through this succession that Milton's method illustrates the hierarchy of existence and the relation between things in the chain of being.

The modernity of Of Education was not limited to its departure from humanism and its inclusion of Baconian doctrine. The programme was evidently high and new from other points of views. Milton was the first who recommended vocational studies,

> This place should be at once both school and university, not needing a remove to any other house of scholarship, except it be some peculiar college of law or physic, where they mean to be practitioners. (633)

The ratio of the academic staff to the students is another advantage which Milton thought about in the seventeenth century. He wants

> A spacious house and ground about it fit for an academy and big enough to lodge a hundred and fifty persons, whereof twenty or thereabout may be attendants, all under the government of one. (633)

This means that each teacher has less than ten students to teach.

Of Education has received much positive and negative criticism. The criticism covers a great variety of opinions. While S.S. Laurie expected much more than he found in Milton's tract, John William Adamson found it an outstanding moral work. He writes:

> Its place in the history of education apart, the great and permanent value of the tractate consists especially in the ardour and moral glow with which it invests its topic, making the little essay a perennial source of

> inspiration to the educator. Many are the books which offer guidance and warning to the teacher; the number of those which bring him fire from off the altar is few. They are books of the first rank; and Milton's memorandum to Hartlib is amongst them. (120-21)

In comparison to Comenius's Great Didactic, however, Adamson found Milton's tractate "a negligible quantity in the history of pedagogy" (127). In "Looking Back without Anger: Milton's Of Education" William Melczer argues that Milton's Of Education does not depart from humanism toward modernism, but rather embraces the old ideas and subjects of the Middle Ages in different fields.

> Milton's turning away from the Renaissance and embracing some of the tenets of the Middle Ages does not occur either unconditionally, or unequivocally. Quite to the contrary, the novel ideological reorientation is fraught with hesitations, at times with double allegiance, and more often than not with a sense of dichotomy whose formal elements gravitate toward the Renaissance, but whose substantive, content-charged elements hark back to the Middle Ages. (100)

In "Milton's Tractate: An Attempt at Reassessment," G. Noel Vose categorizes the different readers, who criticized Of Education, into three types: first are those who think the curriculum of Of Education was hard for the average student of Milton's time; second are those who complained that Milton did not include girls in his academy; and the third group are those who judged Of Education as vague in method. There are many old and modern critics who believe that Of Education was impractical even in the seventeenth century. This type of

criticism argues that Milton's curriculum is too hard to carry on. Critics with this opinion argue that if Milton could educate himself at that level, it does not mean that all the other students are able to do the same thing. S. S. Laurie criticizes Milton not only for the scheme that the students can learn Latin and Greek in one year; in regard to "intellectual instruction." Laurie believes that:

> [Milton] enormously over-estimates the capacity of the average pupil....On the ground of mere practicality, therefore, the scheme of intellectual instruction must be pronounced a wild imagination, even if it were sound educationally. (174)

Curtis and Boultwood write: "He had no real appreciation of the qualities and capabilities of ordinary children." Foster Watson comments: "It is the most obvious of criticism to apply to Milton to say that in his school he entirely over-estimated the power of ordinary boys and youths." Denis Saurat writes:

> The most remarkable thing about it--and that which has been oftenest remarked upon--is that Milton is setting their task to colleges of Miltons. He puts upon youths much too heavy a burden, because he himself had carried it lightly. We find here again, therefore, a striking example of that tendency of Milton's, made up of pride, of naivete, and of a sort of monstrous modesty, to take himself as a normal specimen of human beings, to set down as the rule what fits his case. (66)

E. H. Visiak also writes:

> Milton was so subjective in his outlook on his fellows that he saw them as in his own image, modified and magnified like abstractions in his poems....For the

> English schoolboy he provided a curriculum such as none possessing less than Miltonic capacity could sustain. (30)

The second group of critics attacks Milton for not including the whole nation and especially girls in his educational programme. Most of the critics of this category compare Milton with Comenius, who talked more liberally about both sexes. Quick writes:

> Milton touches only on the bringing up of gentlemen's sons between the ages of 12 and 21, and his suggestions do not, like those of Comenius, deal with the education of the people, or both sexes. This limit of age, sex, and station deprives Milton's plan of much of its interest, as the absence of detail deprives it of much of its value. (213)

The third group of critics argues that Of Education does not give details of the programme. In this regard Laurie writes:

> A serious error of omission in Milton is due to his contemptuous ignoring of the work which the Baconian school of educationalists was doing. Method is not even mentioned by him. His treatise keeps steadily in view a great aim, but in other respects it presents us, not with a method, but only with a ratio studiorum or Luhrplan, and that a bad one. (178)

William Adamson, for example, complains that Milton, unlike Comenius, does not tell us what his method is. He contrasts Comenius's method with Milton's brief one:

> Knowledge is but seldom acquired in the first-hand fashion which Comenius so insists upon. Agriculture is studied by Milton's pupils, not upon a farm, but in the

> books of ancient Latin writers, supplemented by tours of observation which are both casual and occupied with many other things. (126)

The argument that Of Education was hard for the average student is definitely unjustified. Milton's proposed academy includes grammar schools and universities; the two levels are combined in one level of education, which was proposed to be completed in nine years. Moreover, the belief of the age was based on this concept that students should learn every possible thing. In "Education: Milton's ideas and Ours," William Parker refers to Edward Phillip's notes, which were written fifty years after the tract, and suggests that although Milton himself could not practise the whole curriculum with his students, the programme of Milton's academy was practical:

> It is not theory, but a fact, that all these subjects were covered in five years' time. It is not theory, but a fact, that Milton was able to give his pupils a working, functional knowledge of a foreign language in a single year's time. It is also a fact that his nephews were able, not many years later, to earn a living as translators. In other words, visionary as this curriculum may have sounded to you, Milton was writing about what, for the most part, he had actually done--and done with boys who by no stretch of the imagination can be called exceptional or "gifted" children. (6)

William Parker also argues that there are many issues that even now, in the twentieth century, we honour and like to have in our curriculum. In comparing Of Education with the curriculum of American schools Parker asks if world

masterpieces should be read in their original languages. Milton's capability in teaching, and especially in teaching foreign languages, was also admired by I. E. Taylor, who commented on Milton's Commenced Grammar, supplied with Sufficient Rules.[1] I. E. Taylor called it a "masterpiece of simplicity and clarity" the principles of which are in "general use today." Milton's emphasis on pronunciation is still emphasized by ESL teachers who are equipped with different language laboratories. Unlike the students of our days, who specialize in certain areas, in the seventeenth century students were expected to learn everything. In his Great Didactic, Comenius also wrote that teaching everything to everybody must be universal. In comparison to the curricula of the schools of the time, the curriculum of Milton's proposed academy seems to be easier. What Milton says about Cambridge and the time which was spent on useless learning shows that schools were a source of torture for the students. In his Prolusion III he writes:

> Too often, my hearers, when it has been my bad luck to be saddled with assignments of research in their contemptible sophistries, when both my eyes and my mind were dull with long reading--too often, I say, I have stopped for breath, and sought some miserable relief in measuring the task before me. But when--as always--I found more ahead of me than I had yet got through, how often have I wished that I had been set to shovel out the Augean ox-stalls rather than struggle with such absurd

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[1]Commenced Grammar, supplied with Sufficient Rules was written on the principle of grammar of foreign languages and published in 1669, much later than the date of composition.

> assignments. And I have called Hercules happy because Juno was so easy-going as never to give him a job like mine to struggle through. (605)

Although Milton rarely complained about his grammar school days, we know that there were educators, like Hartlib, who showed that the educational system was horrible. Milton rejected the methods of teaching language as a waste of time. To abandon the schools of England, therefore, and substitute for them Milton's academy which was supposed to take a shorter period of time must be a great difference. Milton himself, of course, admits that at the beginning it is hard for the students, but later it becomes easier. Milton states his intention clearly:

> A better education, in extent and comprehension far more large, and yet of time far shorter, and of attainment far more certain, than hath been yet in practice. (630)

In Milton's schools medieval studies are rejected, and both souls and bodies are the subjects of teaching. Play, recreation, sport, and "religious and civil knowledge" are parts of the programme. In this academy the students have the opportunity of choosing vocations which suit their spirits and capabilities. There is no reason therefore to believe that it is hard to carry on.

That Of Education is only for boys is merely a misinterpretation of the tract. Of Education was not intended

to include all the aristocratic boys of England. It was written in a time when the country needed leaders the most. Milton planned to train virtuous and knowledgable leaders. The reason is that in 1644 lack of leadership in the republican camp was quite evident. The civil war was destroying the country. The fate of the country was uncertain. Due to lack of leadership there were many soldiers in the camp of the republicans who did not know whether to fight the king or bow to him, if they happened to face him on the battlefield. Milton connected this indecisiveness to bad leaders or lack of good leaders in the republican camp. He, therefore, planned to train those who had the ability of leading the country to the right path. "For Milton, only men who have the spiritual and intellectual qualifications necessary for a true understanding of freedom deserve to be in positions of social and political authority"(Anonby iii). All these were significant grounds which Milton had in mind when he wrote his curriculum.

Comenius's educational plans also have the same values when it comes to leadership. Comenius's fourth school is merely for those who wanted to be leaders, and were capable of leadership. In his College of Light, Comenius wants the authorities to admit only those who can lead their nations and become leaders. This similarity of treatment makes Of Education equal to Comenius's fourth school.

Milton's teaching method in languages, as previously mentioned, proved to be superior to the existing method and

also very practical. In arts his method was also new. The method of teaching from simple to difficult was recommended by Milton as by all contemporary educators. Unlike the old scholastic system, he also insisted on moving from visible elements to invisible.

> But because our understanding cannot in this body found itself but on sensible things, nor arrive so clearly to the knowledge of God and things invisible as by orderly conning over the visible and inferior creature, the same method is necessarily to be followed in all discreet teaching. (631)

The content of Of Education, and its difference from the other similar works, puts Milton's tract higher than many educational works of the time. In comparison, the graduates of Milton's proposed academy would be more acceptable in our modern view than the graduates of other schools. If we consider Sir Francis Bacon at one extreme, John Bunyan is at the other. The graduates of Bacon's Solomon's House are one-dimensional people who think complete reliance on science can save humanity and help them build a Utopia in this world. Although they seem to have faith in God and the world to come, they are absolutely dependent on their research and live in an illusion which makes them believe that science is the ultimate solution to every problem. They are as far from reality as the graduates of Bunyan's school. In Pilgrim's Progress, for example, Christian does not read any book except the Bible. Bunyan's students expect the grace of God to save them from

the city of destruction. No book, ancient or modern, can help them in their quest to reach the celestial city.

Samuel Hartlib, whom Milton described as "a person sent hither by some good providence from a far country to be the occasion and the incitement of great good to this island" (630), devoted quite a few years of his life to the reformation of education. His friendship with Milton, William Petty, and especially with Comenius strengthened his educational opinions. He translated some of Comenius's works into English, and wrote a few tracts on different subjects, one of which is A Description of the Kingdom of Macaria, showing its excellent Government, wherein the Inhabitants live in great Prosperity, Health and Happiness: The King obeyed, the Nobles honoured, and all good respected; Vice punished and Virtue rewarded. An Example to Other Nations. In this thin tract he illustrated his notion of a utopia where experimental study of science and its application is remarkably noticeable. Hartlib writes:

> All such as shall be able to demonstrate any experiment for the health or wealth of men, are honourably rewarded at the publike charge, by which their skill in Husbandry, Physick and Surgerie is most excellent. (Adamson 92)

Adamson writes that Hartlib

> Is trying to arouse a general interest in that Solomon's House of which Bacon had dreamed, but whose actualisation was thought to be possible in the Pansophic College conceived by Comenius. (Adamson 92)

Hartlib's College of Experience is, therefore , mainly Baconian and is combined with Comenius's notions on education.

Another figure of the seventeenth century whom Hartlib asked for his ideas on the reformation of schools was Sir William Petty. Petty, who was known as a young doctor and economist, later became famous as the founder of "the modern science of Political Economy." Hartlib's friendship with the young scientist caused him to ask Petty to offer his educational ideas. Sir William Petty did not confine his students to merely concrete experiences and sense-given facts which other educators wrote about. He planned to change the schools to workshops where students of all classes learn a handicraft. Petty's Gymnasium Mechanicum or Workmen's College seems more like the technician training schools of our time. The graduates are mostly, in our sense, plumbers, electricians and other types of technicians.

Cowley's Philosophic College, which is proposed in his A Proposition for The Advancement of Experimental Philosophy, published in 1661, is another Baconian school similar to Petty's and Hartlib's schools. Abraham Cowley gives the details of his proposed college, which he thought could reform education. Cowley allots an important part of his brief tract to the size and location of the building of the college. He even gives a sketch of how the management of the proposed school should be working. Cowley speaks about the approximate number of the staff, and the number of instructors who might

be on sabbatical leave each year. The curriculum of Cowley's college starts with teaching languages but with no specific method of teaching this subject, which takes "six or seven years in the learning of words only"(Cowley 45). Poetry, which is combined with "morals and Rhetoricks of Cicero and the Institutions of Quintilian"(Cowley 47) is the next subject. The writer's great tendency is toward nature and natural sciences. Even the ancient poets, whom he wants to include in the curriculum, are those who "might serve for the advancement of Natural Sciences"(Cowley 47). History of animals, "Figures and Natures of those Creatures which are not common among us" (49), and also all plants, geography, the principles of geometry and astronomy should be taught to the students. Teaching of all these subjects should "be rather led on by familiarity, encouragement, and emulation, then driven by severity, punishment, and terrour"(50). The products of Cowley's College are very similar to Bacon's.

Comenius's College of Light is the most distinguished of all. Comenius is one of the most respected figures in the history of education. He struggled all his life to reform education not only in one country but in the entire continent. But in comparison to Milton's educational opinions, Comenius's ideas, although more celebrated by modern educators, seem pale and without color. In this connection, in "Education: Milton's Ideas and Ours," William Parker writes:

> The famous Comenius wanted to codify all knowledge into systems and factual statements, for ease in memorization.

> To Milton this anticipation of "teaching machines" and programmed learning was simply anathema. (11)

Ainsworth also compares the two educators and writes:

> With Milton's study of human nature through the noblest achievements of the human spirit, as recorded in history and literature, one finds in the system of Comenius nothing worthy of comparison. (21)

Milton believed that since man has always proved to have a tendency toward goodness and has shown to have divine elements in his nature, he is a creature who can be educated. Milton assumed that an educator should lead his students to admire virtue, to acquire willing obedience, to be brave men and worthy patriots. Man, therefore, should not only live happily in this world, but also should act as if this life is a journey to a superior and higher life. One of the main objectives of an educator, like Milton, is to draw his students to reject evil temptations. The students should learn not to fear any thing. If there is any fear for a virtuous man, it is the fear of not being able to resist temptation. To acquire this level of piety is impossible without patience, faith and without seeking for truth: "Heav'n hath timely tri'd their youth,/ Their faith, their patience, and their truth" (Comus.970-1). For Milton, to acquire patience, faith and obedience, man needs knowledge by which he can know God better. Knowledge which culminates in knowing God better cannot be obtained without self-knowledge. Education,

therefore, has different degrees, the last one of which is "to love Him, to imitate him, and to be like him."

The purpose of Milton's tract is by no means different from what the poet wants his students to be in the next stage of his life which started after the Restoration. Milton declares that the end of education is to repair the ruin of our first parents' sin. Doubtless this means that by educating the young boys of England, and helping them to develop their character, he wants to train people like Abdiel, who alone is able to say what he believes: a person who becomes the first warrior in the war in heaven who attacks Satan. His debate with Satan brings him admiration from God:

> Of Truth, in word mightier than they in Arms;
> And for the testimony of Truth hast borne
> Universal reproach, far worse to bear
> Than violence. (VI.32-35)

CHAPTER FOUR:TEACHING FREEDOM

After the Restoration, Milton's educational approach changed from public education to private. Under the new circumstances, in which Monarchy was restored, the poet changed the strategy of his involvement in education. The goal of his instruction, however, remained as it was: to "repair the ruins of our first parents," and to "imitate him, [and] to be like him"(Of Education 631). Training people like Abdiel, who is a real leader in every respect (versus Satan who is a false one), remained his highest objective in education. Due to the new circumstances, Milton's involvement in education changed into informal education. For Milton, Abdiels are the free people who know who they are, and what their relationship to God is, and also what their responsibility to their society is. The poet, therefore, continued the same goal, which was character development.

Since the human being, for Milton, has always proved to have a tendency toward goodness and has shown divine elements in his nature, he is a creature who can be educated. For Milton, the human being is not naturally evil. Although man was expelled from Eden, unlike Satan, who never repented, man was deceived by Satan and always shows signs of remorse. Moreover, since Christ redeemed him from original sin, the poet shows that man can be enlightened.

Formal education by itself was never the highest objective for Milton. Education, if it helps to develop man's

spiritual and intellectual capabilities and to strengthen his freedom, is that valuable goal which Milton pursued. In his Second Defence, he defines the necessity of education as follows:

> Nothing can be more necessary [than education] to principle the minds of men in virtue, the only genuine source of political and individual liberty, the only true safeguard of states, the bulwark of their prosperity and renown. (831)

In Prolusion VII, Milton strongly condemns the educated person who is not virtuous. Learning and being learned, in the Miltonic sense, are related to piety. Milton prefers an uneducated individual who is pious. Such a virtuous man, although without formal education, is truly educated.

> I do not forget, Gentlemen, that the contemplative way which leads to all that is supremely desirable, can give us no taste of true happiness without integrity in our lives and purity in our conduct. I remember the wicked characters of many men famous for their learning, who were quarrelsome, vindictive, and enslaved by base passions: and I also remember that many men of no education have proved to be honorable and upright. (623-24)

As an important step to achieve his objective (which is training people who are able to serve God and their country), Milton continued to teach liberty. According to Milton, man is in bondage and a slave, as long as he obeys his passions. When he is able to control his passion and gives the "government" of his soul to his reason, he is liberated. This liberation

leads man to "willing obedience," which ultimately makes him closer to God, and more suitable to serve the nation. In this phase of his instruction, due to the new political circumstances which appeared after the Restoration, Milton had to turn to the whole nation, and to show the way of freedom to the people who have a tendency toward learning. In the previous chapter, I argued that Milton's educational objective in his Of Education is training political leaders. To examine this aspect of education in Milton's long epic, in this chapter I focus on the reflection of the tract on his Paradise Lost.

In the epic, God sends Raphael and Michael to teach Adam in two different circumstances. The angels, as teachers, perform the same function but in different situations and by different methods. Before discussing and comparing the angels' teaching methods, it is important to quote what the poet expected teachers to be like, and see which teacher acts according to what Milton had illustrated in Of Education. In his tract, Milton desires to see instructors provide students with

> ... such lectures and explanations upon every opportunity as may lead and draw them in willing obedience, inflamed with the study of learning and the admiration of virtue--stirred up with high hopes of living to be brave men and worthy patriots, dear to God and famous to all ages; that they may despise and scorn all their childish and ill-taught qualities to delight in manly and liberal exercises, which he who hath the art and proper eloquence to catch them with, what with mild and effectual persuasions and what with the intimation of some fear, if need be, but chiefly by his own example. (633)

Michael and Raphael have different assignments and different responsibilities. In this connection, in Before and after the Fall, Kathleen M. Swaim writes:

> Etymologically, Raphael is "medicine of God" or "God has healed," and Michael is "godlike" or "strength of God" or "who is as God." Traditionally, Raphael is also the angel of prayer, love, joy, light, and the guardian of the Tree of life in the garden of Eden, and most importantly for our purposes he is the angel of science and knowledge, the preceptor angel. Michael, on the other hand, is the angel of repentance, righteousness, mercy and sanctification; most importantly for our purposes, he is the deliverer of the faithful and the angel of the final reckoning and the weigher of souls, the benevolent angel of death and the mighty warrior of God. (2)

In their teachings, in Paradise Lost, therefore, both angels act as means of God's will toward man.

Raphael descends with glorious appearance and sits down with Adam and starts his class with tenderness. In Paradise Lost, Milton made the angel sit with Adam, eat food and talk about different subjects. This materialistic design, which shows Milton's philosophy in connection to matter and spirit, helps the bard to achieve different goals. The first is the important matter of accommodation, by which it becomes possible for Adam to attend Raphael's instruction. Raphael teaches in a language which is understandable to his student. Milton had already stated in Of Education that man's understanding has been affected largely by the Fall.

> ... because our understanding cannot in this body found itself but on sensible things, nor arrive so clearly to

> the knowledge of God and things invisible as by orderly conning over the visible and inferior creature, the same method is necessarily to be followed in all discreet teaching. (631)

With this principle in mind that man is unable to understand heaven as angels do, Raphael makes things comprehensible to Adam's human senses:

> What surmounts the reach
> Of human sense, I shall delineate so,
> By lik'ning spiritual to corporal forms,
> As may express them best, though what if Earth
> Be but the shadow of Heav'n, and things therein
> Each to other like more than on Earth is thought?
> (V.571-76)

Milton repeatedly stresses this point: only with accommodation man is able to understand God. The physical design of Raphael, which is devised to make him comprehensible to Adam's and Eve's mind, carries another important thought which is the opposite of Satan's. Satan tempts Eve to eat from the forbidden fruit to elevate herself to the level of God, while God lowers an archangel to the level of Adam in order to convey this lesson that the possibility of rising to the level of angels exists for human beings. In "Analogy in the Scientific Imagery of Paradise Lost," Harinder Singh Marjara writes:

> It is evident that Milton lowers the status of angels and brings them closer to human beings in order to render more plausible the possibility of man rising to the status of angels. (96-7)

Raphael, as an eloquent educator, uses humanistic techniques of instruction. One humanistic technique which he employs is drawing Adam into a friendly discussion, or as God puts it, "as friend with friend." In this respect, in Paradise Lost and the Rhetoric of Literary Forms, Barbara Lewalski writes:

> As a skillful teacher will, Raphael allows Adam's questions and initiatives to determine the particular subjects discussed, and as a true poet must, he finds for those subjects fitting literary forms. (39)

In this design, Milton follows another goal, which illustrates the poet's humanistic belief in the beauty of the human body. According to Milton, God created Adam and Eve as His "Master work, the end/ Of all yet done" (VII.505-6).

In Paradise Lost, even before the Fall, ignorance is never considered a virtue, and what causes the Fall is not seeking knowledge but disobedience to God. In Book five of Paradise Lost, Raphael starts teaching Adam and Eve about the important trial which is ahead of them. His main goal is to show them their position in the chain of being and to understand the importance of their obedience to God. God chooses Raphael because he is the angel of knowledge.

> Go therefore, half this day as friend with friend
> Converse with Adam, in what Bow'r or shade
> Thou find'st him from the heat of Noon retir'd,
> To respite his day-labor with repast,
> Or with repose; and such discourse bring on,
> As may advise him of his happy state,

> Happiness in his power left free to will,
> Left to his own free Will, his Will though free,
> Yet mutable. (V.229-37)

Adam and Eve must understand and be knowledgeable of the danger which is close to them.

In his teaching, Raphael shows to which category of existence Adam belongs, and he should not devalue himself with disobedience. In his instruction, the angel discusses Eden as a reflection of heaven, and Adam and Eve as sharing many qualities with the angels. To maintain this situation, Raphael informs Adam, they should be obedient to God. Angels obey God and love Him voluntarily. At this stage of his learning, Adam cannot understand how it is possible to be disobedient. Adam and Eve appreciate their happy state and they know that they ought to do nothing except be obedient to God.

> Can we want obedience then
> To him, or possibly his love desert
> Who form'd us from the dust, and plac'd us here
> Full to the utmost measure of what bliss
> Human desires can seek or apprehend? (V.514-8)

Using different examples, gradually the angel verifies the existence of a danger which might make them disobedient, and threaten their happy state.

Raphael, who is a humanist teacher, and an artist, tries to inform Adam and Eve about their actual position in the hierarchy of existence and the threat which is close to them. With sincerity and eloquence, Raphael teaches our first

parents about their relationship to God, about their situation in paradise, which is closely connected to their obedience, and also about the danger which is quite imminent.

To help the student to maintain his high position, and to show him the possibility of improving, the angel discusses the chain of being. Raphael speaks about the ladder which leads man to God.

> O Adam, one Almighty is, from whom
> All things proceed, and up to him return,
> If not deprav'd from good, created all
> Such to perfection, one first matter all,
> Indu'd with various forms, various degrees
> Of substance, and in things that live, of life;
> But more refin'd, more spiritous, and pure,
> As nearer to him plac't or nearer tending
> Each in thir several active Spheres assign'd,
> Till body up to spirit work, in bounds
> Proportion'd to each kind. (V.469-79)

The teacher informs Adam that human beings may ascend to the point that their "bodies may at last turn all to spirit" (V.497), provided that they are found obedient. He tells Adam that, with disobedience, he may descend to a much lower state than what he is in now. In his classroom, Raphael focuses on the subject of free-will, which is also humanistic. The angel talks about this perception that to improve or to fall is related to our choice. Adam and Eve learn that they are responsible for every action they do. God has given man both reason and free will. God knows what will happen in future, but his preknowledge does not force occurrence. It is man's choice which makes things happen. Man is able to choose good

or evil. The angel emphasizes that happiness that exists is from God, but to maintain it is related to their conduct.

> He left it in thy power, ordain'd thy will
> By nature free, not over-rul'd by Fate. (V.526-7)

The angel assures Adam that this is true even in the case of angels. He again affirms what Milton had already mentioned in Areopagitica:

> Freely we serve,
> Because we freely love, as in our will
> To love or not; in this we stand or fall. (V.538-40)

Adam shows his happiness and satisfaction in Raphael's class, especially when he shows that he understands the chain of being and the possibility of ascending toward God:

> Well hast thou taught the way that might direct
> Our knowledge, and the scale of Nature set
> From centre to circumference, whereon
> In contemplation of created things
> By steps we may ascend to God. (V.508-512)

George Williamson suggests that the above lines illustrate that the end of education in the long epic is the same as "the principle of education set forth in Milton's tract of that name" (289). In Book VIII, Adam conveys his satisfaction with Raphael's teaching, and according to a method given in the tract, the student reviews the main lesson that he learned from his teacher.

> How fully hast thou satisfi'd me, pure
> Intelligence of Heav'n, Angel serene,
> And freed from intricacies, taught to live
> The easiest way, nor with perplexing thoughts
> To interrupt the sweet of Life, from which
> God hath bid dwell far off all anxious cares,
> And not molest us, unless we ourselves
> Seek them with wand'ring thoughts and notions vain.
> (VIII.180-187)

In response to Adam's question about obedience, Raphael refers to Abdiel and Satan, the examples of obedience and disobedience, the best models of true and false leaders, and the best patterns for freedom and being bound. Abdiel is the "dreadless angel" who alone, among the faithless fallen angels, speaks whatever he believes in, regardless of the consequences. He is the highest goal of education in Milton's doctrine, although he appears only in books V and VI of the epic. Abdiel shows that courage is Milton's moral principle. He utters the doctrine of Milton when he opposes Satan: "My sect thou seest, now learn too late/ How few sometimes may know, when thousands err" (VI.147-8). Raphael wants Adam to imitate Abdiel, whose love for God is true, and is shown in his action. Adam learns that to maintain this level of happiness is impossible without loving Him voluntarily. Abdiel is the example of love which causes man to ascend toward God. The ultimate degree of character development which Milton has in mind is illustrated in the character of Abdiel. Abdiel knows who he is and what his position is in the hierarchy of existence. He is an angel who speaks whatever is right. What he did is what he genuinely believes in.

Milton invented Abdiel as a means of education to make his readers compare two opposite characters who contrast with each other in the fields of freedom and leadership. Abdiel is brave and exemplary in his love for God and in his deeds. He tells Satan:

> Reign thou in Hell thy Kingdom, let mee serve
> In Heav'n God ever blest, and his Divine
> Behests obey, worthiest to be obey'd. (VI.183-85)

Abdiel is a model for a person who desires learning and spiritual development. Unlike Satan who is a hypocrite and flatterer, Abdiel cares nothing about what the other people think when it comes to opinions. He is free from any disguise and hypocrisy. On the other hand, Satan is an absolute antithesis of freedom. He is a liar, dictator, and a character who is full of hate. Satan is the antagonist of education; he is a defier of freedom and a true tyrant.

In the epic, the reader gradually understands that Satan loves to make us believe that he has what Abdiel possesses. To achieve that goal he lies frequently. Satan is not as brave as Abdiel. We know that Satan lies when he claims that he shook the throne of God by his rebellion. His objection to the selection of the Son as head of all the angels "Your Head I him appoint" (V.606) comes after the ceremony, and during the night, when everybody is asleep. Because of his fear of God and His sudden wrath, Satan and his followers sneak away in silence. He also claims that God trembled at the angels'

uprising. Raphael tells Adam how God reacted to Satan's disobedience, when he talks about the event jokingly:

> Let us advise, and to this hazard draw
> With speed what force is left, and all imploy
> In our defense, lest unawares we lose
> This our high place, our Sanctuary, our Hill. (V.729-32)

Satan yearns to make us believe that he is a brave lover of freedom. In Book I of the epic we read:

> Here we may reign secure, and in my choice
> To reign is worth ambition though in Hell:
> Better to reign in Hell, than serve in Heav'n.
> (I.261-63)

His false definition of freedom is different form Abdiel's. We know from book I and II, and also from what Raphael tells Adam, that he is opposed to freedom, and is himself a dictator. In the debate which is held in Hell among the fallen angels we read that Satan like a crafty politician directs the discussion to the point that he desires:

> Thus saying rose
> The Monarch, and prevented all reply,
> Prudent, lest from his resolution rais'd
> Others among the chief might offer now
> (Certain to be refus'd) what erst they fear'd;
> And so refus'd might in opinion stand
> His Rivals, winning cheap the high repute
> Which he through hazard huge must earn. (II.466-73)

The meeting in Heaven, in contrast to the debate in Hell, shows how false is the freedom which Satan follows. The

assembly of God with the angels, on the other hand, illustrates how free the angels are in their relation to God. In Book III, the reader of the epic sees that all angels, unlike the followers of Satan, are genuinely free in praising God and the Son:

> No sooner had th' Almighty ceas'd, but all
> The multitude of Angels with a shout
> Loud as from numbers without number, sweet
> As from blest voices, uttering joy, Heav'n rung
> With Jubilee, and loud Hosannas fill'd
> Th' eternal Regions: lowly reverent
> Towards either Throne they bow, and to the ground
> With solemn adoration down they cast
> Thir Crowns. (III.344-352)

Unlike Abdiel who acts according to his conscience and belief, Satan does what other creatures expect him to do. In Book IV, in his soliloquy, Satan admits that repenting is the best solution to choose, but instead of listening to his conscience, like a modern politician who has an election ahead, he thinks about the opinion of those who follow him:

> None left but by submission; and that word
> Disdain forbids me, and my dread of shame
> Among the Spirits beneath, whom I seduc'd
> With other promises and other vaunts
> Than to submit, boasting I could subdue
> Th' Omnipotent. (IV.81-86)

Satan, therefore, shows clearly that he opposes freedom and is by no means a leader. He follows what public opinion expects him to do.

Milton teaches true and false leadership by creating

Satan and Abdiel. Satan, who fails to acknowledge the power of God, proves to be a fool who cannot be a true leader. In spite of the defeat that he received, he does not even acknowledge God as God. He clearly says:

> To bow and sue for grace
> With suppliant knee, and deify his power
> Who from the terror of this Arm so late
> Doubted his Empire, that were low indeed,
> That were an ignominy and shame beneath
> This downfall. (I.111-116)

There are many critics, like Dryden, Blake and Waldock, who argued that Satan is the hero of Milton's epic. I disagree. Satan is the character who opposes all those who are free. If he seems to have some aspects of heroism in the first two books of the epic, it is because, at this stage of his rebellion, Satan still has some angelic characteristics which he gradually loses. Burton O. Kurth, however, rejects the idea of Satan's heroism from a different point of view:

> The very magnitude of evil may be awesome enough in the human realm, but when it is portrayed as Milton portrayed it on a cosmic scale, it may very well seem to possess epic features that could easily be misinterpreted as "heroic" in proportion. Milton was certainly faced with a critical artistic problem in his delineation of evil on this scale, and he had no classical model for a purely evil figure such as Satan. He could not risk making Satan too unequal an antagonist, even though God had foreordained the outcome, for then the heroism of Christ in both the cosmic and the human realms would be diminished, and the conflict would lose much of its epic effect. Milton had to endow Satan with sufficient grandeur for his role in the epic design, yet had to make clear that such grandeur was essentially false. (Kurth 117-118)

Milton, therefore, intends to show his readers the difference between the false and the genuine freedom which Satan and Abdiel struggle for. Abdiel, whom Raphael wants Adam to imitate, serves God through love. Satan's followers, on the other hand, do whatever Satan tells them to do, not because they love him, but because they fear him. The fallen angels are an example of those who do things not for the sake of God, but for the sake of other creatures.

Satan is the supreme example of pride whose negligence causes him to be in Hell and to lose his heavenly situation. He is a character who is full of hate for God, Christ, and the new creatures, Adam and Eve. He is envious of man who lives in a happy state. At the beginning of the epic, Satan regrets his situation but definitely rejects the thought of repenting. The deeper he moves in his evil, the more he isolates himself from God, and so he increasingly becomes deformed. In Paradise Lost, the reason Satan degenerates gradually (from a heroic appearance to a toad, and then to a snake) is that he gradually gets farther from God.

Another humanistic idea which Raphael speaks about is pursuing knowledge which helps man to be free and gives the government of his soul to his reason. In order to live happily, man must obtain knowledge, but the knowledge which leads man "To glorify the Maker"(VII. 116). Raphael tells Adam that man must seek knowledge with temperance:

> But Knowledge is as food, and needs no less
> Her Temperance over Appetite, to know

> In measure what the mind may well contain,
> Oppresses else with Surfeit, and soon turns
> Wisdom to Folly, as Nourishment to Wind. (VII.125-130)

Although Raphael tries to control Adam's curiosity, Adam continues to ask different questions about celestial motions which show his desire to know more. His curiosity about things is beyond temperance. Raphael, therefore, has to review and repeat the previous lesson in a different way:

> To ask or search I blame thee not, for Heav'n
> Is as the Book of God before thee set,
> Wherein to read his wond'rous Works, and learn
> His Seasons, Hours, or Days, or Months, or Years:
> This to attain, whether Heav'n move or Earth,
> Imports not, if thou reck'n right; the rest
> From Man or Angel the great Architect
> Did wisely to conceal, and not divulge
> His secrets to be scann'd by them who ought
> Rather admire. (VIII.66-75)

In Of Education, the poet wants his students "with some judgement" to contemplate what they had already learned. These reviews of their previous lessons help them to relate the new lesson with the ones they had already learned.

> Then will be required a special reinforcement of constant and sound indoctrinating to set them right and firm, instructing them more amply in the knowledge of virtue and the hatred of vice. (635)

Raphael helps Adam understand that he must admire God for the creation of the universe. He admits that the universe has been created to make man humble in front of God, not to evoke his

curiosity.

Raphael teaches Adam that in order to be free, man must know himself. Adam's self-knowledge definitely helps him know his position in the whole hierarchy of being. By knowing himself and his position, he becomes free and consequently gets closer to God. The more one obtains learning, the more one gets nearer to God and becomes like him. Raphael warns Adam to learn a lesson by the example of Satan and his followers:

> Let it profit thee to have heard
> By terrible Example the reward
> Of disobedience; firm they might have stood,
> Yet fell; remember, and fear to transgress. (VI.909-912)

In his instructions, Raphael uses Satan as an example of lust, pride and passion. These are the elements which are the fruit of not knowing oneself. They definitely cause man to descend to lower levels of existence. Adam learns from Raphael that Satan does not know himself. Unlike Abdiel whose self-knowledge is an example, Satan never knows who he was and who he is, although he was Lucifer, Son of Light. Satan believes that he created himself.

> We know no time when we were not as now;
> Know none before us, self-begot, self-rais'd
> By our own quick'ning power, when fatal course
> Had circl'd his full Orb, the birth mature
> Of this our native Heav'n, Ethereal Sons. (V.859-63)

In Book VIII, Raphael lets the student talk about his own

experience and narrates how he came into existence. Adam discusses in detail his awakening and the first thought which strikes him. This episode shows that man is created as a potentially self-knowing creature. This element is an important part in education, especially for Milton whose intention is character development. Self-knowledge is an important step in our development. Adam shows that he was created with some knowledge not only about himself and his position in the chain of being (that he has a creator, and he is lower than his creator), but also about his loneliness and his need for a companion. He illustrates that the animals are unequal to him (VIII.381-84). Adam can communicate with God, with the Angel, and with Eve, so he can speak a language. Adam shows that he is able to name the animals around him. Moreover, to an extent, he is knowledgeable about his body and his soul. (In Book V, after Eve's dream, the reader sees Adam talking about the faculties of our soul). Kristin Pruitt McColgan also suggests that Adam proves able to "defend his position and to answer the challenges of his guide," in an "examination" which "appear[s] to be cat and mouse...divine pedagogical strategy" (31). God's response is:

> Thus far to try thee, Adam, I was pleas'd,
> And find thee knowing not of Beasts alone,
> Which thou hast rightly nam'd, but of thyself,
> Expressing well the spirit within thee free,
> My Image. (VIII.437-41)

But the most important example of his self knowledge is the

episode which God refers to in Book VII:

> There wanted yet the Master work, the end
> Of all yet done; a Creature who not prone
> And Brute as other Creatures, but endu'd
> With Sanctity of Reason, might erect
> His Stature, and upright with Front serene
> Govern the rest, self-knowing, and from thence
> Magnanimous to correspond with Heav'n. (VII.505-511)

Raphael emphasizes the importance of learning generally and especially knowing oneself. Knowledge, which culminates in alliance with God, cannot be obtained without self-knowledge. Education has different degrees; the last one is to "to love him, to imitate him, [and] to be like him." Character development, therefore, is almost impossible without self-knowledge which is polished by trials. Adam learns that Satan, unlike Abdiel, by not knowing himself fails this trial. In Milton and the Sons of God, H. R. MacCallum observes:

> Adam's final aim, like that set out for all of us by Milton in his tract Of Education, is "to know God aright, and out of that knowledge to love him, to imitate him, to be like him".... Knowledge of God, however, requires self-knowledge, and man's development is thus directed towards establishing a true sense of his identity. (111)

Adam now knows that being aware of their position in the scale of existence is an important part of their obedience to God. Self-knowing is important in directing man's love toward God.

In his instruction, Raphael focuses extensively on the issue of love. The angel sees Adam's weakness as uxoriousness. Milton, of course, is not against the love of a husband to his

wife. But love based on passion is something which should be avoided. Adam truly loves God and Eve, the only two characters whom he knows. Adam, however, feels that he cannot live without his wife. He admits that he loves her to the extent that his reason stops temporarily. In his book From Virgil to Milton, C.M. Bowra writes:

> Adam's devotion to God and his devotion to Eve seems to involve no conflict. Yet even before Satan takes advantage of such a possibility, there are signs that Adam may find himself torn between his two loyalties and make a wrong choice between them. In his love for Eve he is in danger of losing his reasonable control of himself. He tells Raphael of his deep admiration for her, and especially he hints that she disarms his judgement.... Raphael listens to this eager confession with "contracted brow" and discourages Adam from allowing his love for Eve to rule his reason. He admits that she is beautiful, but he denies that beauty is everything and tells Adam that he should not submit to her. (204)

This weakness of Adam causes him to fall. Adam's next problem is that he blames Nature for this weakness. Raphael corrects him, and wants Adam to direct his love only to God and not substitute any other creature for Him. Although, at the end of this discussion, Adam seems to understand what his instructor means, he later proves that he does not learn Raphael's lesson. Adam learns this lesson only at end of the epic when he tells Michael:

> Henceforth I learn, that to obey is best,
> And love with fear the only God, to walk
> As in his presence, ever to observe
> His providence, and on him sole depend,
> Merciful over all his works, with good

> Still overcoming evil, and by small
> Accomplishing great things, by things deem'd weak
> Subverting worldly strong, and worldly wise
> By simply meek. (XII.561-569)

Unlike Raphael whose appearance is miraculous and impressive, and who is "sociably mild" in behaviour, Michael is a high ranking soldier who looks like a warrior who is coming from a battlefield. Seeing him, Adam says:

> Yet not terrible,
> That I should fear, nor sociably mild,
> As Raphael, that I should much confide,
> But solemn and sublime, whom not to offend,
> With reverence I must meet, and thou retire. (XI.233-237)

Doubtless the reason God chooses Michael, who is "solemn and sublime," is that Adam and Eve have committed the original sin, and the angel is sent to inform them of the sentence for their disobedience. Michael comes with a group of warriors ready for any of Satan's mischief, and also as a teacher ready to use the "intimation of fear" mentioned in Of Education.

In the last two books of the epic, Michael teaches Adam and his progeny the elements of freedom in a fallen world with the intention of repairing the ruins of our first parents. Michael is sent to teach a sinful student whose crime changes his position in the chain of existence, and inverts the faculties of his soul. The ruins which Adam and Eve received must be repaired by means of education. What Michael teaches Adam in the last two books of the epic corresponds with the curriculum of the tract.

Before the main teaching starts, the teacher tells the student to learn:

> True patience, and to temper joy with fear
> And pious sorrow, equally inur'd
> By moderation either state to bear,
> Prosperous or adverse: so shalt thou lead
> Safest thy life, and best prepar'd endure
> Thy mortal passage when it comes. (XI.361-366)

This corresponds to the passage in Of Education where the poet tells Mr. Hartlib to:

> Temper them such lectures and explanations upon every opportunity as may lead and draw them in willing obedience, inflamed with the study of learning and the admiration of virtue. (633)

The angel then takes Adam to the top of a hill in order to show him the future of mankind. Michael is aware that Adam's body and soul have been affected by the Fall. Although the angel knows well that after the Fall the efficiency of teaching is more through the ears than through vision, Michael clears Adam's eyes with three drops from the well of life in order to eliminate the effects of the Fall on the student's vision temporarily. The teacher also knows well that the Fall has changed the student's ability to understand.

In "'To repair the ruins of our first parents': Of Education and Fallen Adam," Ann Baynes Coiro suggests that Michael's teaching moves from easy to difficult as Milton had already suggested in his tract. She argues that the first part of the archangel's instruction covers the visible materials

(like agriculture, geography, and anatomy), as in the tract. In the epic, Michael starts with the most sensible issues:

> To remove thee I am come,
> And send thee from the Garden forth to till
> The ground whence thou wast tak'n fitter Soil. (XI.260-62)

This is one of the subjects of agriculture, which the students of the academy learn in the first few years of their education. Geography and the use of maps is another subject which the students of Milton's "academy" learns as an initiative subject. Adam learns "the use of the globes and all the maps, first with the old names and then with the new" (Of Education 634):

> City of old or modern Fame, the Seat
> Of mightiest Empire, from the destin'd Walls
> Of Cambalu, seat of Cathaian Can,
> And Samarchand by Oxus, Temir's Throne,
> To Paquin of Sinaean Kings, and thence
> To Agra and Lahor of great Mogul
> Down to the golden Chersonese, or where
> The Persian in Ecbatan sat, or since
> In Hispahan, or where the Russian Ksar
> In Mosco, or the Sultan in Bizance,
> Turchestan-born. (XI.386-396)

The next subject which Michael covers is the "practical sciences, culminating in anatomy and medicine" (Coiro 137). Michael shows Adam how Cain kills Abel and then the Lazer-house of Death.

> Immediately a place
> Before his eyes appear'd, sad, noisome, dark,
> A Lazer-house it seem'd, wherein were laid

> Numbers of all diseas'd, all maladies
> Of ghastly Spasm, or racking torture, qualms
> Of heart-sick Agony, all feverous kinds,
> Convulsions, Epilepsies, fierce Catarrhs,
> Intestine Stone and Ulcer, Colic pangs,
> Daemoniac Frenzy, moping Melancholy. (XI.477-494)

As in Milton's "academy," Michael's teaching moves from easy to difficult. In fact, when he starts "the study of politics," and wants his students "to know the beginning, end, and reasons of political societies," (636) the angel teaches an abstract element (Coiro 140). In Book XII, we see also that the teacher changes his technique of instruction from vision to narration which corresponds to the method of teaching which Milton suggests in Of Education. The careful reader remembers that Milton's policy in teaching is from easy to difficult, from visible to invisible, or from concrete to abstract. Michael's teaching moves in the same direction. At the beginning he starts with easy materials and visible things. But in Book XII, his instruction gets to a different degree of difficulty; he, therefore, has to change his technique. In this respect, Ann Coiro writes:

> Even the sharp and disturbing shift from vision to narration between Books XI and XII can be seen as a reflection of the bipartite structure of Milton's ideal education between the practical education of the senses and the more difficult education of the intellect and the conscience. (133)

In teaching politics, Michael shows Adam how good leaders lead their followers toward God, and how the followers of evil

leaders lose their liberty and give the government of their soul to their passions. Michael's instruction clarifies this point: in human history the descendants of Satan, as false leaders, on one hand and the few good individuals, who are heroes like Abdiel and are true leaders, on the other hand, continue their confrontation. Michael continues this section of his instruction with the lesson of Enoch, "daring single to be just." Then he relates the story of Noah, who, like Enoch and Abdiel, was alone among faithless people.

> One man except, the only Son of light
> In a dark Age, against example good,
> Against allurement, custom and a World
> Offended; fearless of reproach and scorn,
> Or violence, hee of thir wicked ways
> Shall them admonish, and before them set
> The paths of righteousness. (XI.808-814)

Nimrod is an example of those leaders who lead their followers to hell as Satan did.

> Till one shall rise
> Of proud ambitious heart, who not content
> With fair equality, fraternal state,
> Will arrogate Dominion undeserv'd
> Over his brethren, and quite dispossess
> Concord and law of Nature from the Earth. (XII.24-29)

Throughout his instruction Michael asserts that although virtuous people like Abdiel (and saints like Enoch, Noah, Abraham, David and Moses) are not many in this world, and the descendants of Satan (evils like Nimrod, Pharaoh and all the

other corrupted sinful dictators of the human history) are abundant, in this confrontation, good will finally prevail over evil. The reason for the victory of good is Milton's main lesson not only in Paradise Lost, but in all his other works.

> But Man over men
> He made not Lord; such title to himself
> Reserving, human left from human free. (XII.69-71)

The Fall of Adam and Eve caused human history to be dominated by the evil trinity: Satan, Sin and Death. Adam admits that, due to his sin, man starts acting brutally because "Their Maker's Image.../Forsook them"(XI.515-16). Adam, who is so frightened by so much horror, "could not, but wept" (XI.495). Adam understands that the Fall caused man's reason to be overshadowed and his passion to overcome.

> High Passions, Anger, Hate,
> Mistrust, Suspicion, Discord, and shook sore
> Thir inward State of Mind. (IX.1123-1125)

This "State of Mind" and the corrupted nature of man create war and violence in human social life, and cause man to fall into dangerous joys, lust, luxury, tyranny, and idolatry. Michael tells his student that man lives in this situation because he lost his liberty:

> Reason in man obscur'd, or not obey'd,
> Immediately inordinate desires
> And upstart Passions catch the Government

From Reason, and to servitude reduce
Man till then free. (XII.86-90)

To regain the lost liberty, Michael informs Adam that man must choose the path of virtue, in order to be protected by the "eternal Providence" which is bestowed by God. Michael talks about different virtues which help man to recover from the Fall and develop his character by controlling his passions and returning the government of his soul to reason. Adam learns that the result of pride and disobedience is nothing but misery, an outcome which Satan received as an eternal punishment for his deed. Michael shows that the Fall has its effect on man in war and peace. Adam sees that people of different periods of history are obedient only to their passions. Humans live in a state of perdition, and all people, except a few, are alien to God. Death, disease, age, war, corruption and all the other consequences of the disobedience to God show the helplessness of man in this world. When Adam sees the result of lust and sloth, he is dismayed to the extent that he does not want to see more:

O Visions ill foreseen! better had I
Liv'd ignorant of future, so had borne
My part of evil only, each day's lot
Anough to bear; those now, that were dispens't
The burd'n of many Ages, on me light
At once, by my foreknowledge gaining Birth
Abortive, to torment me ere thir being,
With thought that they must be. (XI.763-770)

In his instruction, Michael portrays the blackness of

human history with less emphasis on grace, which the reader of the epic expects. This teaching method, which again emphasizes the "intimation of some fear," caused many critics of the epic to be unsatisfied with the last two books of Paradise Lost. In Book XI, Milton does not show his readers the struggle between sin and grace, as he does in portraying the recovery of Adam and Eve in Book X. In The Paradise Within, in this connection, Louis L. Martz writes:

> The effects of sin are presented at length with vivid and relentless horror, while the effects of "supernal Grace" are for the most part given in the form of brief and abstract statement. It is noteworthy here that Michael's brief consolation has no effect whatsoever on Adam's terror. (150)

Ann Coiro does not believe in such a method and argues that:

> It would indeed be comforting if Michael's lessons ended in a splendid burst of glory and optimism as Christ saved us all from ourselves. But it would not be the truth. Such a soft and happy ending would have been suitable for a young boy at the early stage of Milton's educational process. (142)

In the process of showing Adam the dark side of human history, however, Michael controls Adam's reactions. He tries to outline a proper and a complete lesson in order to show how man is able to repair the ruins of the student's disobedience. Michael shows Adam a way to build a life based on faith, love and obedience to God. Either by the scenes shown in Book XI,

or by the narrative given in Book XII, Michael provides all the necessary knowledge which is needed for salvation. The teacher tells the student that in spite of the crime, there is a way to improve toward perfection, and ultimately be free, if man prevails over his passions. In the last episode of Book XI, however, Adam sees the rainbow which is a sign of covenant. Michael tells Adam that God promised not to destroy the earth until its unification with Heaven at the judgement.

In Book XII, Michael pauses to see if the student has any questions. The ruins, which are caused by Adam's sin, are so profound that the student's understanding is obscured, particularly when the discussion is about an abstract element.

The first few lines of Book XII, as well as the last lines of the previous book, start with the emergence of a new world, "Betwixt the world destroy'd and world restor'd" (XII.3), which implicitly emphasizes a promise to Adam's progeny. Michael informs Adam that although paradise is lost, there is a way to regain it:

> That to obey is best,
> And love with fear the only God, to walk
> As in his presence, ever to observe
> His providence, and on him sole depend,
> Merciful over all his works, with good
> Still overcoming evil, and by small
> Accomplishing great things, by things deem'd weak
> Subverting worldly strong, and worldly wise
> By simply meek; that suffering for Truth's sake
> Is fortitude to highest victory,
> And to the faithful death the Gate to Life. (XII.561-71)

Paradise Lost, then, is not a tragedy which ends with a sad event. In discussing the last two books of the epic, William Riley Parker writes:

> Is there no hope? Is paradise for ever lost? Milton gives, not one, but two answers to these questions. First, "so shall the world go on, to good malignant, to bad men benign", until the Second Coming of Christ, when there will at last be "respiration to the just, and vengeance to the wicked". Then, the poet assures us (with the timeless comfort of orthodoxy), "the earth shall all be paradise, far happier place than this of Eden"; and we can meanwhile take comfort in contemplation of the goodness infinite "that all this good of evil shall produce, and evil turn to good". But we can do more--and this is Milton's second, more personal answer. Although "true liberty is lost", the individual, here and now, can "possess a paradise within". In order to do so he must learn what Adam learned, what the epic teaches. (592)

Milton shows that there is a way of compensation which is action. The poet shows that if man is armed with contemplative virtue, and has an active life with complete obedience to his reason, it is possible to reconcile with God. However, since in this world every thing is corrupted, any action is anti-action. To act means not to use the corrupted instruments of this world. Adam and Eve, Michael teaches, are also able to perform obedience through action. Man should reject every evil thing in order to ascend the ladder of existence and get closer to God.

One important aspect of humanism, which differentiates the Renaissance from the Middle Ages, is action versus contemplation. In the Middle Ages contemplation was the main element which occupied people's mind. In the Renaissance,

action found priority. Even contemplation itself became an action. In their teaching to Adam both Raphael and Michael insist on action which is obedience to God. In Return of Eden, Northrop Frye suggests that a hero is somebody who can act, and Christian heroism is closely connected to action. He writes:

> Being an epic, Paradise Lost has to deal with the traditional theme of the epic, which is the theme of heroic action. In order to understand what heroic action was to Milton we have to think what a Christian poet would mean by the conception of heroic action: that is, we have to ask ourselves what for Milton a hero was, and, even more important, what an act was.... An act is the expression of the energy of a free and conscious being. Consequently all acts are good. There is no such thing, strictly speaking, as an evil act; evil or sin implies deficiency, and implies also the loss or lack of the power to act.... What happens when Adam eats the forbidden fruit, then, is not an act, but the surrendering of the power to act. (21)

Michael teaches Adam that with action man is able to regain paradise. Adam learns that because of his disobedience man lost paradise, but he can obtain paradise within, if he obeys God. Michael says that if Adam, who now gains wisdom, would add patience, faith, and temperance, he has a paradise within. Milton talks about the possibility of having a hell or a paradise within throughout the entire epic. In the last book of the epic Michael proves that Satan was right, when he says that he carries Hell within himself. Satan admits this in Book I:

> The mind is its own place, and in itself
> Can make a Heav'n of Hell, a Hell of Heav'n. (I.254-5)

After the Fall, Paradise offers nothing more than any other place for the fallen Adam and Eve. If man's mind is empty of obedience to God, he lives in hell wherever he goes. Indeed Eve pronounces the same thought when she says:

> With thee to go,
> Is to stay here; without thee here to stay
> Is to go hence unwilling. (XII.615-17)

Milton's hope for a Christian society has vanished with the Restoration. The poet, therefore, has retreated into himself. He came to believe that the main change will happen at the day of judgement, but one should be able to control oneself and rule his own soul.

Although Raphael and Michael deal with Adam in two different situations, we expect them to perform according to Milton's scheme given in Of Education. Raphael teaches in a prelapsarian atmosphere, where Sin and Death are still bound. He teaches students who are innocent and faithful to God. The main theme of his instruction, therefore, is the chain of being and man's position in the universe. As Swaim suggests, at this stage, since faith is given, Raphael teaches experience. By giving examples from the past, the teacher emphasizes obedience and voluntary love for God. In Book V, after Eve's dream, the couple are fearful and without self-esteem. Since they feel threatened, they, therefore, pray and ask for help. Raphael comes to help them understand their situation in the scale of existence and appreciate their

relation with God. As a humanist teacher his main concern is character development to the extent of self-knowing and knowing God. He embarks on the issues of love, obedience, and God's creation which should draw man to humbleness. These are matters which are related to his objective which is character development. Although the teacher leaves Adam unconvinced on some points, Adam's development is significant. If we compare Adam of Book V with Adam of Book VIII, at the end of Raphael's instruction, we find the student more knowledgeable and learned than before. On this matter, in Milton and the Sons of God, Hugh MacCallum writes:

> The Adam of book 8 is, in the best sense of the words, a more sophisticated being than the musing figure we met early in book 4. His progress is indicated during his account to Raphael of the "rigid interdiction, which resounds/ Yet dreadful in mine eare," by the ease with which he adds the qualification "though in my choice/ Not to incur"(8. 334-6). The last of the Edenic books shows Adam now participating in the educational process, first setting the terms in which the astronomy lesson is to be conducted, then offering his own account of Eve for the consideration of his angelic mentor. (144-5)

Unlike Raphael, Michael teaches the fallen Adam under circumstances where man's reason is obscured and Sin and Death hover above his head. At this stage, as Swaim indicates, the student has experience, but his faith is weak. Michael's teaching, therefore, covers all of the deadly sins because the objective is strengthening the student's faith. Michael teaches in temporal sequence and the subjects are mainly from

the Scripture rather than from nature as it was in Raphael's class. The main lesson for the student, therefore, is to be patient, faithful and virtuous.

Comparing Raphael and Michael's teaching methods, in his paper "Divine Instruction: Of Education and the Pedagogy of Raphael, Michael and the Father," Michael Allen argues convincingly that neither Raphael nor Michael is an ideal instructor according to what Milton had drawn in his tract:

> Raphael explains things eloquently, draws Adam willingly into discussion, and inflames his love of learning, but Adam is left only mildly persuaded of the danger which awaits him. Michael's persuasions are more effectual: Adam learns his lessons obediently and is led to the admiration of virtue, but only with the "intimation of some fear." (114)

God, according to Allen, is a teacher of better teaching methods. In Paradise Lost God is the schoolmaster whose teaching finally leads to developing the student's character. Neither of the other two instructors performs instruction as effectively as God. In this relation Allen writes:

> The only truly "ideal schoolmaster" in Paradise Lost is the Father, whose teaching is so deft that it seems effortless. Indeed, it hardly seems to be teaching at all, which may be the reason it has not been recognized as such. The Father's greatest teaching is seen during his curious exchange with Adam, just before the presentation of Eve (VIII. 357-451). Although this passage is often referred to as the "trial" of Adam, it is better understood as a Socratic dialogue--a teaching model that underlies Milton's method and to which he occasionally refers in Of Education. The Father's manner is shrewdly kind and lightly firm, so that Adam is subtly but inevitably "led and drawn" into "willing obedience"

just as Milton advocates in Of Education. (115)

In Raphael's classroom, Adam finds sincerity to the extent that he asks questions which embarrass the angel. With Michael, however, we see the student at the other extreme. He is so apprehensive and shameful that he can not feel any sincerity with his teacher. This formal and unfriendly relationship seems partly because of certain circumstances which are caused by the Fall, and partly because of Michael's deficiency as a teacher. We remember when God tells Michael to be gentle in informing Adam and Eve about their sentence:

> Yet lest they faint
> At the sad Sentence rigorously urg'd,
> For I behold them soft'nd and with tears
> Bewailing thir excess, all terror hide.
> If patiently thy bidding they obey,
> Dismiss them not disconsolate; reveal
> To Adam what shall come in future days,
> As I shall thee enlighten, intermix
> My Cov'nant in the woman's seed renew'd;
> So send them forth, though sorrowing, yet in peace.
> (XI.108-117)

Michael, however, like a soldier, tells them the result of their sin in a much unkinder way than he was instructed:

> He added not, for Adam at the news
> Heart-strook with chilling gripe of sorrow stood,
> That all his senses bound; Eve, who unseen
> Yet all had heard, with audible lament
> Discover'd soon the place of her retire. (XI.263-267)

What God does in teaching Adam is different from both angels.

In Paradise Lost Milton, through Raphael and Michael's instructions, follows the same objective as in Of Education. His main concern is to train brave and virtuous people who are free themselves from any obstacles in the way of obeying God. In the epic, Milton's teaching is universal, and it is not limited to only one sex or one nation. Raphael's emphasis on self-knowledge and Michael's hope-giving lesson about paradise within both work in the same direction which is helping to reconcile man with God. The poet's objective therefore is the same as it was to repair the ruin of the first sin and to train people like Abdiel.

Chapter Five
Christ and Samson: Two Leaders who Teach with two teaching Methods

> The next remove must be to the study of politics; to know the beginning, end, and reasons of political societies, that they may not in a dangerous fit of the commonwealth be such poor, shaken, uncertain reeds, of such a tottering conscience, as many of our great counsellors have lately shown themselves, but steadfast pillars of the state. (Of Education 636)

In Paradise Regained and Samson Agonistes (published jointly in 1671), Milton portrays two characters who excel any example in their love for God. Both heroes have the intention of defeating their foes, and also teaching their followers the elements of freedom. Jesus teaches his followers not to follow their passion and Satan's worldly temptations, and Samson teaches people to struggle for liberty and never compromise when freedom is the objective. Both leaders are favoured by God, the Father, and have divine missions to bring changes in this world. Each, however, uses a particular teaching method which is unique and different from the other's. Both teachers' curricula implicitly deal with warfare in this world and teach man how to fight evil, which is always present in different forms. Both heroes intend to develop the characters of their followers in order to achieve the final goal of education which is "to repair the ruins of our first parents," and to regain knowledge out of which "to love him [God], to imitate him, [and] to be like him." Their main subject in teaching is obedience to God. Jesus is an ideal character who, by temperance, self-restraint, and rational reactions, defeats his enemy. Samson, on the other hand, finds no alternative but

to go into a defensive war against those whose hearts are hardened and eyes are blinded from seeing any truth. Samson fights those whom God in Paradise Lost promises to exclude from any mercy.

The heroes of Paradise Regained and Samson Agonistes show great amounts of growth and character development in the process of their warfares. Both heroes find themselves in struggles which need clarity of vision to proceed. In Reviving Liberty, Joan Bennett talks about the confusion which both heroes face at their first stages:

> Milton shows us the protagonists of Paradise Regained and Samson Agonistes at their moments of greatest ambiguity. For Christ, as for Samson, the question is: Now, in fallen and mutable time, in the flux of events, in the midst of history, what am I to do? What now, in this particular configuration of circumstances, is my mission? A paramount issue for the reader of both poems is: How can anyone find out, in any moment of time, what particular form one's mission should take? Given faith, how does one learn to undertake works? (162)

With their ties to heaven, and the grace which God bestows upon them, both heroes learn and develop in the process of their teachings. In Book I of the brief epic, Jesus investigates his identity. His primary concern is learning about himself in order to advance his development and consequently his mission. In his first meditation (I.196-293), he explores his desire to act for the public good, and this action must be heroic. He realizes:

This having heard, straight I again revolv'd

> The Law and Prophets, searching what was writ
> Concerning the Messiah, to our Scribes
> Known partly, and soon found of whom they spake
> I am; this chiefly, that my way must lie
> Through many a hard assay even to the death,
> Ere I the promis'd Kingdom can attain,
> Or work Redemption for mankind, Whose sins'
> Full weight must be transferr'd upon my head. (I.259-67)

Man's redemption, therefore, needs Jesus' efforts and sacrifice, which he is ready to offer. One lesson that he teaches is that one should not be afraid of death, when an important cause is the objective. In this meditation, in Book I, Jesus learns from his mother that his father is the "matchless Sire." He also learns from God, the father, that the time in which he should act has arrived.

> The time prefixt I waited, when behold
> The Baptist (of whose birth I oft had heard,
> Not knew by sight) now come, who was to come
> Before Messiah and his way prepare. (I.269-272)

At the last part of his meditation, Christ shows that he is in need of divine knowledge to understand the nature of his mission.

> And now by strong motion I am led
> Into this Wilderness, to what intent
> I learn not yet; perhaps I need not know;
> For what concerns my knowledge God reveals. (I.290-93)

Samson, who is blind and lives in captivity, also develops and learns gradually. Samson's growth during the poem shows Milton's attitude toward humans' ability to learn and

the possibility of humans' changing in this world. Samson's development, from the first scene of the play to the last event, has been the subject of debates since Samuel Johnson, who denied any connection between the beginning and the final part of the poem. In The Rambler, Dr. Johnson writes:

> The Poem, therefore, has a beginning and an end which Aristotle himself could not have disapproved; but it must be allowed to want a middle, since nothing passes between the first act and the last, that either hastens or delays the death of Samson. The whole drama, if its superfluities were cut off, would scarcely fill a single act. (376)

In Milton's Debt to Greek Tragedy in Samson Agonistes, William Riley Parker responds to Johnson's criticism by arguing that Samson Agonistes is a psychological play. Because of God's grace, and due to different discussions that the hero has with his visitors, Parker argues that Samson learns and recovers from the agony which keeps him down. All his visitors, who are designed to bring the hero awareness and knowledge, contribute to his preparation. In each act of the play, the audience understands that the hero's regeneration reaches a new height:

> At the outset Samson is almost unconscious of his returning strength; his mind and spirit are not yet reconciled to God. But from his conversation with the Chorus he learns to put the divine will before his own. Manoa's visit shows us the true depths from which the hero must rise. The episode with Dalila, coming at a crucial time, teaches him that he is at last master of himself. And the quarrel with Harapha, by reconciling him to God and providing the urge to act, completes the preparation. He can destroy the Philistines because he has first conquered himself. (53-4)

Although this idea has been challenged by critics like Joseph Wittreich, Stanley Fish, and many others, it is still strong and plausible. The idea of regeneration is still solid because it means "to repair the ruins of our first parents" which is the ultimate goal in education. In this chapter, I first focus on Christ's teachings and his method, and then discuss Samson's controversial teaching method and finally compare the different classrooms of these leaders.

In Paradise Regained, Christ is a superb teacher, although Milton, using the doctrine of "kenosis", depicts him in the role of a man. The poet portrays Jesus as a man to be imitated by his followers. For the puritan Milton, the warfare that is portrayed in the brief epic is a reality which exists in every human's life. He wants his readers to apply Jesus' teachings in their daily encounter with Satan, who appears in different disguises. To make the epic more effective and Jesus' victory over Satan more heroic, besides the Bible which is the poet's main source, Milton uses many classical allusions to enrich the hero's teachings.

In the epic there are different intimations by the narrator, God, and the hero's mother that Jesus is the Son of God. Milton, however, shows him as a person who is unaware of his divine character. In his book Milton and the Sons of God, MacCallum suggests:

> The son's divinity is present spasmodically, appearing, vanishing, and reappearing in a providential pattern. (231)

In Return of Eden, Northrop Frye also indicates that the hero's divine nature in Paradise Regained does not appear until the last part of the epic, where Satan leaves the hero of the epic on the pinnacle. In his paper "The Theology of Representation: The Meta-Argument of Paradise Regained," James M. Pearce discusses lines 130-67 from Book I of the epic and writes:

> The pendulum of the argument swings form Christ's humanity, "this man born" (140) to the next line in which "his birth divine" is emphasized; thus one aspect, then the other aspect of Christ's nature is brought into relief; he is alternately "a man of female Seed" (150-51) and the conqueror designate of sin, death, and the devil. This passage indicates that Christ has a dual nature, but ends on a note which places him in a heavenly context and underscores his divinity. (289)

Milton portrays Jesus as a character who empties himself of his divine quality for the purpose of accommodation and with the intent of being understood by his followers who are fallen humans. In Paradise Regained, Milton has to use the doctrine of "kenosis" as a means of teaching to make the teacher and his students understand each other. In Of Education, the poet writes:

> But because our understanding cannot in this body found itself but on sensible things, nor arrive so clearly to the knowledge of God and things invisible as by orderly conning over the visible and inferior creature, the same method is necessarily to be followed in all discreet teaching. (631)

Christ is depicted as a hero who must learn and develop

before starting his mission. He has many questions, which he cannot answer easily. He wonders why he is led to the wilderness.

> And now by some strong motion I am led
> Into this wilderness, to what intent
> I learn not yet; perhaps I need not know;
> For what concerns my knowledge God reveals. (I.290-93)

In their paper "The Son's Presumed Contempt for Learning in Paradise Regained: a Biblical and Patristic Resolution," Donald Swanson and John Mulryan write:

> Milton's Christ is hardly omniscient; he even needs to be "educated" (educari) at Nazareth. The Christ child studies and reads the law of Moses (PR I,202-3,207), feels a need to expand his knowledge (I, 213), and yet needs divinely imparted knowledge to clear up his own confusion about his mission (I, 292-93). (246)

The identification of Christ with man becomes stronger when the reader sees him, like any other man, hungry:

> But now I feel I hunger, which declares
> Nature hath need of what she asks. (II.252-53)

The reader of the epic also finds Jesus tired like any other ordinary man:

> Where will this end?
> Four times ten days I have pass'd,
> Wand'ring this woody maze. (II.245-56)

In the beginning of the epic, God assigns the Son a

quest, the goal of which is to regain the lost paradise and save Adam's progeny. In the first book of Paradise Regained, God outlines his Son's mission to the angels as follows:

> This man born and now upgrown,
> To show him worthy of his birth divine
> And high prediction, henceforth I expose
> To Satan; let him tempt and now assay
> His utmost subtlety, because he boasts
> And vaunts of his great cunning to the throng
> Of his Apostasy; he might have learnt
> Less overweening, since he fail'd in Job,
> Whose constant perseverance overcame
> Whate'er his cruel malice could invent. (I.140-149)

To accomplish this important mission of warfare, Jesus rejects the use of physical force. But he intends to bring changes by teaching and persuasion. God indicates clearly that Satan is defeatable by human beings, as Job had already proven. Man needs only education and self-knowledge.

Jesus is a hero whose heroism is different from the violent heroism of the ancient epics. His war is not for fame (an important issue in the time of Milton), gold, land, or other materialistic things, which are so significant in all old epics. His struggle is a spiritual one which deals with obedience to God, and rejecting evil in this world. Christ knows well that to perform this responsibility is not easy, but full of pain and even death (I:263-7).

In Paradise Regained, Jesus' teaching has two purposes. First, he wants to defeat Satan and regain the lost paradise, and second, he is asking his followers to imitate him as an

example in rejecting temptations. Milton, in Of Education, indicates clearly that teachers should teach by their own example.

> He who hath the art and proper eloquence to catch them with, what with mild and effectual persuasions and what with the intimation of some fear, if need be, but chiefly by his own example, might in a short space gain them to an incredible diligence and courage, infusing into their young breasts such an ingenuous and noble ardor as would not fail to make many of them renowned and matchless men. (633-34)

Milton portrays the Son in such a way that the careful reader sees a parallel between Christ and Adam. The reader remembers that in the closing lines of Paradise Lost, Michael leads Adam and Eve out of Eden, and leaves them in a wilderness. In Paradise Regained, the second Adam starts his mission from the same place, the wilderness, which shows not only that Milton continues the same lesson in both epics, but also implicitly indicates a parallel between the first Adam and the second one. The reader cannot help comparing Adam, who was tempted by Satan and fell, with Jesus who resists any temptation which is offered by Satan. In the opening lines of Paradise Lost, the poet indicates that the epic is about one man's disobedience. But the central theme in the brief epic is "one man's firm obedience". In Paradise Lost, Adam and Eve, in different episodes, fear Satan and doubt their own ability to deal with the devil and resist his allurements, so they ask for help from God. But the second Adam does not show any fear

or doubt in his confrontation with the fiend. Although Jesus asks questions like "when will this end," which shows his human character during his mission, this does not indicate any weakness in the hero. He, therefore, shows that he is unparalleled in example.

Jesus is a teacher who chooses to teach in a method which is based on question and answer. Many of his answers to Satan are not given in detail and directly. They mostly mean humiliation for the foe. When Satan asks, for example, "what ill chance hath brought thee to this place," Jesus responds "Who brought me hither/ Will bring me hence, no other Guide I seek" (I.321; 335-36). Or in response to this question "if Food were now before thee set/ Would'st thou not eat?" the Son answers "as I like /The giver" (II.320-323). In this relation, in his paper "Jesus as Teacher in Paradise Regained," MacCallum writes:

> Brevity is a device employed frequently by the hero of Paradise Regained. Like the Jesus of the Gospels, he answers curtly but suggestively. These economical, pointed responses are often largely monosyllabic in diction and expressed in "short, and vehement, and compact sentences" (YP,II,301), as is well illustrated by his first response to Satan:"who brought me hither/Will bring me hence, no other guide I seek" (I.335-36). (139)

In Jesus' instructions not only are the contents of the responses instructive, but the method of responding is also educational. In Paradise Lost, Abdiel talks with Satan in the same vehement way. Milton focuses on this element extensively. In Jesus' responses, Milton uses modifiers like "patiently,"

"temperately," "calmly," and "fervently." Satan's questions or reactions, on the other hand, show the difference of strength and confidence in both combatants. Words like "inly Rackt," or "with fear abasht" show how vulnerable Satan is, and how possible it is for man to defeat him. Christ's teaching technique, however, as MacCallum suggests, needs the follower's efforts to gather the scattered points of the lessons. The followers know the point of the lesson, and follow it easily. In the same paper, MacCallum writes:

> Jesus does not try to teach everything at once, but scatters the heavenly grain of his doctrine like pearl here and there. These grains must be gathered with skill and careful labour, much like the dismembered body of truth in the great image in Areopagitica. (138)

Jesus rejects all Satan's temptations so quickly that it seems that the hero does not consider the value of each temptation. The reason for this method is educational. Satan's intention of any suggestion is based on evil and worldly benefit. He wants to lure the hero out of his divine way which leads him toward God. Jesus is aware of his foe's nature, and is knowledgable of his temptations. The Son does not reject all temptations without listening to them. In his paper "Of Paradise Regained: The Interpretation of Career," Ashraf H. A. Rushdy writes:

> The idea that Jesus rejects each temptation without considering it is based on a shallow reading of the poem; and it is one upon which is based the condemnation of the characterization of the hero of this poem. The suggestion is that the temptations are paradigmatic, requiring

> established and ready answers. Take one temptation, take another, they are interchangeable, as any paradigm is. (254)

The Son's heroism lies in the fact that he is able to rule his own soul in any condition. Milton depicted him as a human, who does not allow his soul to be ruled by his passions. The hero of the brief epic defeats Satan not by physical superiority, but by his reason. He is a character who vanquishes "by wisdom hellish wiles" (I:175). He teaches his students that resistance to Satan's worldly temptations is not related to physical power. Christ teaches that physical strength is not the only weapon with which humans can defend themselves. The reader remembers the Lady in Comus who by her wisdom, virtue, and faith defeats the devil, although she is not stronger than the evil Comus. Awareness and developed character are the main arms which every believer should possess. Spiritual growth is what Christ emphasizes. His teaching is based on spiritual development. As Robert L. Entzminger, in his Divine Word, suggests, any of Satan's temptations by themselves are not evil. But the circumstances in which Jesus and Satan confront each other make them evil. Entzminger writes:

> In the second temptation Satan will appeal to Christ's patriotism, claiming that "Zeal and Duty"(III,172) require him to take the readiest way to David's throne; and to his political idealism, urging him to purify Rome of its corruption. While these motives are in themselves praiseworthy, Satan taints them not only with his own covert purposes but with the fringe benefits of worldly fame and power. Similarly in the first temptation Satan invites Christ to work a miracle that will serve apparently good ends but that in the present context is

> inseparable from motives of self-interest which Christ must abjure. Urging him to turn stones to bread, Satan offers a practical justification: "So shalt thou save thyself and us relieve/With Food, whereof we wretched seldom taste"(I.344-345). Christ in his ministry will violate the law in the name of self-preservation (Mt.12:1-9), and he everywhere enjoins service to one's neighbor. In this instance, however, he refuses because he perceives the challenge implicit in Satan's suggestion. To perform a miracle here would be to indulge the natural desire to establish his identity in the face of Satan's feigned skepticism:"if thou be the Son of God"(I.342). But more important, by acting to provide food for himself, Christ would be distrusting God's providence, relying on his own powers rather than on God's to deliver him. (106)

Christ's developed character enables him to understand Satan's temptations and to reject them. According to Milton, possession of this quality--"to love him, to imitate him, [and] to be like him"-- is the end of education. These characteristics cause Satan to be frustrated (in seeking help from other fallen angels) and finally to fall. Milton assures his readers that spiritual strength, although not always accompanied by physical strength, is enough to secure us from any harm. In Paradise Regained, Satan's three attempts do not affect the Son because Jesus's knowledge and self-knowledge make him aware of himself and his foe. Neither hunger nor glory, money and power nor horror can persuade the hero to forget God. Milton teaches his reader that "While Virtue, Valour, Wisdom sit in want" (II.431), evil does not prevail. Hunger does not work and terror does not defeat the loyal and the faithful.

The nature of the contest of Christ and Satan is

important to know. Christ, as a teacher and a leader, should not escape Satan and his temptations. On the contrary he must confront them.

> Thy coming hither, though I know thy scope,
> I bid not or forbid; do as thou find'st
> Permission from above; thou canst not more. (I.494-96)

In Paradise Regained, the lesson is the awareness and the education which the followers must learn. Jesus' teachings implicitly show that evil is everywhere and in different disguises. The followers, therefore, should not fall into any trap. Man must be able to respond to any temptation as Christ does in his quest. Milton had already argued this in his Areopagitica:

> As therefore the state of man now is, what wisdom can there be to choose, what continence to forbear without the knowledge of evil? He that can apprehend and consider vice with all her baits and seeming pleasures, and yet abstain, and yet distinguish, and yet prefer that which is truly better, he is the true warfaring Christian. I cannot praise a fugitive and cloistered virtue, unexercised and unbreathed, that never sallies out and sees her adversary, but slinks out of the race where that immortal garland is to be run for, not without dust and heat. (728)

Avoiding evils and escaping temptation does not, therefore, show the actual virtue. To encounter evils and to defeat them is the genuine action. Action is the main lesson Christ teaches to his followers.

The similarity of the curricula of Milton's tract and the

brief epic, particularly the second temptation is quite evident. In order to attain the right knowledge of God, Milton offers a curriculum which is similar to the curriculum which he had already offered in Of Education. The first subject which the hero covers by his own example is the humanistic topic of magnanimity. Magnanimity, according to Castiglione, is that heroic virtue which earns man "glory and favour among men and God" and enables him to rise "above human limitations, and be capable of being regarded as a demigod rather than a mortal man" (299). In his introduction to Paradise Regained, Merritt Y. Hughes quotes Milton's definition of this quality from the poet's Christian Doctrine as something which motivates us: "when in seeking or avoiding riches, advantages, or honors, we are actuated by our own dignity, rightly understood." (476)

The hero of the epic is a character whom Milton wants his students to imitate. He is an educated character who performs "justly, skillfuly, and magnanimously all the offices, both private and public" (632). Satan illustrates the hero's qualities in the following lines:

> And thou thyself seem'st otherwise inclin'd
> Than to a worldly Crown, addicted more
> To contemplation and profound dispute,
> As by that early action may be judg'd,
> When slipping from thy Mother's eye thou went'st
> Alone into the Temple. (IV.212-17)

In teaching the heroic virtue of magnanimity the poet makes

Satan outline the characteristics of Jesus:

> If he be Man by Mother's side at least
> With more than human gifts from Heav'n adorn'd,
> Perfections absolute, Graces divine,
> And amplitude of mind to greatest Deeds. (II.136-39)

In rejecting the temptation of wealth and power, Jesus teaches this quality in order to know God aright. This is the lesson which ultimately leads man to repair the ruins of our first parents:

> Yet he who reigns within himself, and rules
> Passion, Desires, and Fears, is more a King;
> Which every wise and virtuous man attains. (II.466-68)

The hero shows that the true dignity is not money or worldly power. To illustrate true dignity, Christ gives Job as an example:

> Famous he was in Heaven, on Earth less known;
> Where glory is false glory, attributed
> To things not glorious, men not worthy of fame.
> (III.68-70)

In the second temptation, Milton again emphasizes the subject of history. As in the last two books of Paradise Lost, the dominant subject in this part of the epic is the history of the human race. Human history is full of folly from the beginning of mankind to the present time. Jesus shows the uselessness of wars for wealth and power, while everything belongs to God. Aggression and war are evil, and destroying

people's freedom is an error which is the result of the Fall.

> Or that cumbersome
> Luggage of war there shown me, argument
> Of human weakness rather than of strength. (III.400-402)

Christ tells his followers that man must look for the real glory which Job obtained.

In this part of the epic, Satan invites the hero to gain the knowledge and wisdom of the ancient Greeks. Jesus rejects this not because Milton rejected humanism at this stage of his life, but because Satan's offer is set forth as a trap to interfere with the hero's mission. In parody, Satan lists many of the courses which are listed in Milton's tract. The devil offers literature, philosophy, rhetoric, and politics with this logic: in order to converse with people one should know their opinions.

> And with the Gentiles much thou must converse,
> Ruling them by persuasion as thou mean'st,
> Without thir learning how wilt thou with them,
> Or they with thee hold conversation meet?
> How will thou reason with them, how refute
> Thir Idolism, Traditions, Paradoxes?
> Error by his own arms is best evinc't. (IV.229-35)

Jesus rejects this temptation because of the circumstances he is in. The hero offers another list of courses in which literature, law and music are included, but from Hebrew origins which excel, according to Milton, pagan learning.

> All our Law and Story strew'd
> With Hymns, our Psalm with artful terms inscrib'd
> Our Hebrew Songs and Harps in Babylon,
> That pleas'd so well our Victors' ear, declare
> That rather Greece from us these Arts deriv'd.
> (IV.334-338)

In this part of the epic, the debate between Jesus and Satan on Hellenism and Hebraism shows the conflict which existed between the reformers of education in the seventeenth century. There were many educators who advocated teaching Christian and non-Christian writings (Milton was among this group), while many others (like Comenius) insisted on including only books written by Christian authors.

Milton portrays Jesus as an example in his teaching. He teaches those who want to be guided, and do wrong unwillingly. But those who cannot be taught should be treated differently. In Paradise Regained, Christ speaks about a group of people who are wicked and should be subdued. In the fallen world the number of the descendants of Nimrod is not limited. They do not get any lessons from any teacher. One part of Christ's mission is subduing those who are stubborn. In the following lines of the epic Jesus speaks like a confident warrior:

> Victorious deeds
> Flam'd in my heart, heroic acts: one while
> To rescue Israel from the Roman yoke,
> Then to subdue and quell o'er all the earth
> Brute violence and proud Tyrannic pow'r,
> Till truth were freed, and equity restor'd:
> Yet held it more humane, more heavenly, first
> By winning words to conquer willing hearts,
> And make persuasion do the work of fear;
> At least to try, and teach the erring Soul

> Not wilfully misdoing, but unware
> Misled: the stubborn only to subdue. (I.215-226)

The last line of the above quotation deserves examination. By characterizing his followers Jesus tells us that he does not always teach by persuasion. The Son categorizes people into those who are doing wrong unwillingly and those who are stubborn. He intends to teach the first group, but he is well aware of the fact that the other group is not taking lessons from any teacher. He shows that with the descendants of Satan he should deal differently. The stubborn should be punished and defeated. Under the circumstances that exist in Paradise Regained, the Son's attempt to subdue the stubborn is by word only, which conquers and creates. Milton illustrates this opinion in his other writings. The poet writes that "the divine excellence of his spiritual kingdom, able without worldly force to subdue all the powers and kingdoms of this world, which are upheld by outward force only" (Wood 88). Christ's weapon in Paradise Regained is, therefore, persuasion for those who unwillingly sin, and hell for those whose hearts are hardened and eyes are blinded:

> Hee all unarm'd
> Shall chase thee with the terror of his voice
> From thy Demoniac holds, possession foul,
> Thee and thy Legions; yelling they shall fly,
> And beg to hide them in a herd of Swine,
> Lest he command them down into the deep,
> Bound, and to torment sent before thir time. (IV.626-32)

Jesus's anger against those who should be "subdued" shows that

He and his Father do not always deal with the corrupted people by one method. God, the father, employs a different technique against those who cannot be guided. In Book III of Paradise Lost, God foresees the Fall of Adam and Eve and pictures the future of mankind to his Son. In His dialogue with the Son, God categorizes Adam's progeny into those who are elected and get "peculiar grace," and those who live in sinful state. Among the second group, there are people who learn no lesson from any teacher, and show no repentance and obedience to God. Their share will be wrath and they get no mercy from God:

> They who neglect and scorn, shall never taste:
> But hard be hard'n'd, blind be blinded more,
> That they may stumble on, and deeper fall;
> And none but such from mercy I exclude. (III.199-202)[1]

In Paradise Lost, we learn from Michael that the flood is sent by God to subdue all those who cannot be taught. They leave no way for Noah except destruction. In Experience of Defeat, Christopher Hill points out that Adam, in the long epic, does not lament for those who die in the flood, as much as he rejoices for Noah. War

and destruction are not always evil. In her paper "Samson and

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[1]We must remember that in these lines God merely gives the Son his preknowledge of human's future. This preknowledge does not impose any fate on any individual. Milton strongly rejects predestination in many of his writings. Paradise Lost is based on free will. If man has the right of choice, education has value and meaning. Under circumstances where man is predestined, like Bunyan's Mr. Badman, for example, education is useless.

the 'new Acquist of True [Political] Experience'," Barbara Lewalski also indicates:

> In Milton's works, some heroes are called to do battle in God's cause. Christ on earth was not; he had another office. But in Paradise Lost the Son of God, the archangel Michael, and the angelic host were so called in the battle in heaven. So were Samson and the Old Testament Judges. (247)

This is the main reason that Samson uses a different method from the method of Christ in Paradise Regained. He was in a different situation from what the Son was in the brief epic. In Samson Agonistes, Samson struggles to obtain the liberty of his nation. The foes are people whose hearts are hardened and whose eyes are blinded. They are "stubborn" and must be subdued. In The Experience of Defeat, Christopher Hill asks "If Milton did believe it a Christian duty to hate God's enemies, who could be more clearly God's enemies than the Philistine aristocracy and priests?" (Hill 317). We learned in Paradise Lost that God tolerates evil, if the possibility of changing it into good exists. If evil is beyond the limit, then God's wrath is certain:

> O goodness infinite, goodness immense!
> That all this good of evil shall produce,
> And evil turn to good; more wonderful
> Then that which by creation first brought forth
> Light out of darkness! full of doubt I stand,
> Whether I should repent me now of sin
> By mee done and occasion'd, or rejoice
> Much more, that much more good therof shall spring,
> To God more glory, more good will to Men

> From God, and over wrath grace shall abound.
> (XII.469-478)

In Samson Agonistes, like his other poems, Milton offers a curriculum which reminds us of his tract. While history is given an important position in this curriculum, in the fifth act of this play, the poet teaches two new subjects to his students. The new subjects are "marriage" and "political treaties" and their worthlessness under particular circumstances. In their debate, Samson and Harapha talk about these issues extensively. According to Samson, marriage is broken when one party betrays the other for the sake of gold and worldly benefit. He believes that his marriage was valid "Till they had hir'd a woman with thir gold,/ Breaking her Marriage Faith to circumvent me" (1114-15). The next subject is political treaties which are signed between nations. Harapha claims that Samson "committed/ Notorious murder on those thirty men/ At Askalon, who never did" him harm (1185-87). This happened while there was a treaty which makes the Israelites subjects to Philistines. Samson responds, as well as Milton does, that these type of treaties are valueless when a nation imposes them by force on another one. Samson strongly tells Harapha that "Force with force/ Is well ejected when the Conquer'd can" (1206-7). They can be broken whenever the conquered can break them. In The Experience of Defeat, Christopher Hill in this respect states:

> We would find it difficult to justify hating, conquering and crushing God's enemies quite as cold-bloodedly as Milton and Bunyan did because we have not been through what they went through. (317)

Samson Agonistes is the demonstration of faith and grace together. Milton combined these two to make an elected man act. Unlike Christ in Paradise Regained, Samson is a fallen man who does not have any education. He is an ordinary person whose mistakes put him in bondage and captivity. His only difference from other people is that he is a strong man who is elected by God to save his nation. His being a fallen man in an ordinary environment is emphasized by the poet throughout the play. In this connection, in "A Reading of Samson Agonistes," Joan S. Bennett writes:

> In Samson Agonistes, we are not shown heaven or hell or paradise or even the wilderness, but rather a world that we can recognize. It is the world of family (parent, lover, wife); of friendship (colleagues, countrymen); of conventional beliefs and values (religious, societal, political); and of glimpses of our intersection with the divine. It is the world of personal discovery and of commitment to an individual life's meaning; of exhilaration in the achievement of goals against the odds; of betrayal and abandonment; of personal failure and despair; of deep guilt; of the struggle for religious faith; of profound liberation; of the purest individual freedom within the confines of the flow of history. (227)

However, when we face the hero in the first scene, we do not feel any similarity with him. He is a blind man in captivity and lives in despair. Very soon we find out that he is inclined to violence. Robert Fallon writes:

> Samson is anything but patient; and his inner life, like his outer, is a mess. The great, flawed "Nazarite of God" longs to act and is close to violence throughout the play. (239)

We realize that the hero of the play struggles and suffers, because he is different from all who surround him. He is faithful to his cause and determined to do something to liberate his people from tyranny. He is an elected individual whose "birth from Heaven [was] foretold/ Twice by an Angel" (23-4). He claims:

> I was no private but a person rais'd
> With strength sufficient and command from Heav'n
> To free my country....
> I was to do my part from Heav'n assign'd. (1211-17)

His faith and God's grace help him to revive from the depth of his agony and to regenerate.

In the first scene of the play the audience sees the hero of the play in pain. He blames himself for the mistakes that he did in the past. He, however, changes and gradually develops. In the first few lines of the play, he shows that he does not have clarity of vision.

> Promise was that I
> Should Israel from Philistian yoke deliver;
> Ask for this great Deliverer now, and find him
> Eyeless in Gaza at the Mill with slaves. (38-41)

His step-by-step development causes him to regain his physical and psychological strength. Like Jesus in Paradise Regained, Samson gains awareness and realizes himself and his situation.

Samson learns from within himself, from the Chorus, and from the visitors who seek to persuade him to surrender. When we meet him at the beginning of the play, he is hopeless.

> See How he lies at random, carelessly diffus'd,
> With languish't head unpropt,
> As one past hope, abandon'd. (118-120)

He asks why God has assigned him to save the Israelites. His mind is restless and seems to be struggling to find an answer for his situation. But even at this stage of his agony he is faithful. During this struggle, he redeems himself from another error when he says: "But peace, I must not quarrel with the will/ Of highest dispensation" (60-61). Samson's development is mainly provided by those who visit him. Those who come to him and want him to join the unjust system help him to find who he is and what he is supposed to do. This development ultimately makes him able to act according to God's will.

In Samson Agonistes, the hero is a leader who is elected to lead a nation to liberty. Although we learn that he is a better military man than a leader, his faith, knowledge of his mission, and especially his self-knowledge compensate for all his weaknesses. Samson is a good military man, but he fails to convince his nation to follow him on the way to liberty. Samson makes mistakes in the process of struggling for liberty, and failed to persuade his nation to unite against tyranny. He clearly denies any responsibility for that. We

know today that a leader can accelerate or delay a movement but is never able to change a nation completely. He announces that:

> That fault I take not on me, but transfer
> On Israel's Governors, and Heads of Tribes,
> Who seeing those great acts which God had done
> Singly by me against their Conquerors
> Acknowledg'd not, or not at all consider'd
> Deliverance offer'd: I on th' other side
> Us'd no ambition to commend my deeds,
> The deeds themselves, though mute, spoke loud the doer;
> But they persisted deaf, and would not seem
> To count them things worth notice. (241-250)

The reader knows, however, that Samson, unlike Christ, is a fallen man. As any other fallen human does, he errs but, unlike many people, never blames God for his fate. He knows well that he pays a high price for his own mistakes. Unlike Christ whose mission is persuasion, Samson acts by force against "the stubborn." He is sent

> Order'd and prescrib'd
> As of a person separate to God,
> Design'd for great exploits. (30-2)

Like Abdiel in Paradise Lost, Samson is a hero "who stood aloof...insupportably" (135-36). He fights the evil alone as "single combatant" (344). There are other saints in the history of humanity who sacrificed their lives for one objective which was liberty. Many critics deny the fact that Samson is a tragic hero. Critics like Irene Samuel, Keith N Hull, and many others wrongly try to prove that Milton does

not intend to portray Samson as a hero. Their main argument is that Samson's final action is ambiguous. Irene Samuel collects different documents to show that Milton was always against violence, and what Samson does in Samson Agonistes is not what Milton is for. In his paper "Rhyme and Discourse in Samson Agonistes," Keith N. Hull supports Samuel's argument that Samson is not a hero and writes: "Samuel's skepticism is reasonable; for most of the poem--maybe never--Samson has no conscious plan for himself" (167).

I argue that in Milton's work, Samson goes to the temple to kill and die, not for the sake of death and violence, but for the sake of his people, and according to God's will. It is true that Milton was against external warfare, and had already written in Sonnet XV: "For what can Warr, but endless warr still breed?" But when the issue of freedom and safety of the community is involved, Milton does not reject warfare. Doubtless Samson hears God's call when he says to himself:

> Be of good courage, I begin to feel
> Some rousing motions in me which dispose
> To something extraordinary my thoughts.
> I with this Messenger will go along,
> Nothing to do, be sure, that may dishonor
> Our Law, or stain my vow of Nazarite.
> If there be aught of presage in the mind,
> This day will be remarkable in my life
> By some great act, or of my days the last. (1381-1389)

What Samson does in the last part of the play, therefore, is to teach the element of martyrdom to those who seek liberty. Milton's Samson acts according to the Scripture where God

clearly says: "He that findeth his life shall lose it: and he that loseth his life for my sake shall find it" (Matthew 10: 39). Samson does not seek death because of despair. He does not appeal to die because he is in captivity. Despair is something which is associated with sin and is related to those who do not expect any grace from God. Samson's death is not of that type. Don Cameron Allen writes:

> Despair, sprouting from sin and from a sense of unworthiness or from an unknowningness of mercy, is for corporeal man's supreme disobedience to the will of God. If he continues in this state of spiritual sloth, the mind of man will turn to the death-hunger which may propel him, as Saul was propelled, into damnation as complete and eternal as that of the demons. The soul cure is simple. Patiently and obediently man must await the revelation of God's will supported by an extraordinary confidence in divine love and mercy. Adam comes eventually to this conclusion and he is rewarded with a prophetic vision that makes patience easier and obedience more sure. (51)

Samson indicates that he does not want to do something "that may dishonor/ Our Law." He is aware of the fact that he is a Nazarite, and he is elected to liberate his nation. In the entire play, Samson shows that he believes in God and has trust in Him. He knows his position in the chain of being, and knows his relationship with God whose position is unique. His self-knowledge makes him different from all the other characters of the play, who either help the unjust system or live as neutrals.

Samson's first visitor is his father Manoa. It is the first time that Manoa sees his son after his captivity. He is

astonished by the change Samson has undergone during his captivity. For this reason he intends to blame God for what happened to his son, a responsibility which Samson has already accepted. This is a difference between Samson, as a leader, and all those who are around him. Manoa wants Samson to compromise with the enemy, but Samson refuses strongly. In his paper Samson Agonistes: The Deliverer as Judge, MacCallum reminds us that, according to the fifth commandment, Samson must obey his parents. But Samson rejects the idea of reconciliation with the enemy. He is aware that compromising with Philistines means rejecting God and accepting Dagon. Although Samson violates the law in not obeying his father, he does that for the sake of his mission, which has been assigned by God, and for the sake of his faith. Samson violates the law and rejects his father's suggestion, because he does not want to do wrong.

During his visit with his father, Samson's development appears. He shows that his character is different from what it was a few minutes earlier, when he was only with the Chorus, lying down and feeling nothing but despair and defeat. The thought of suicide appears at this stage:

> This one prayer yet remains, might I heard,
> No long petition, speedy death,
> The close of all my miseries, and the balm. (649- 651)

By referring to John Donne's argument on Samson's death and Christ's crucifixion, Gregory E. Goekjian suggests that

Milton portrays Samson with this idea in mind that Samson dies voluntarily as Christ did in his death. In Biathanatos, John Donne argues that suicide might not be a sin. "Certaynly, S: Paul had some allowable reasons to desire to be dissolved, and to be with Christ" (90). According to Donne to wish death for the sake of death is sin. But "it may become lawfull to wish our owne death" (90), when we are dealing with issues related to our faith. Under such circumstances, according to Donne, it is martyrdom. Samson, according to the Bible, prays:

> O Lord God, remember me, I pray thee, and strengthen me, I pray thee, only this once, O God, that I may be at once avenged of the Philistines for my two eyes...
> Let me die with the Philistines. (Judges 16: 28-30)

Allen Franciscus Collius also argues that Samson of the Bible was a martyr. "Franciscus Collius gathers together the contrary testimony to show that Samson died a martyred avenger of Israel's Jehovah" (Allen 53).

Milton's Samson also devotes his life to the important matter of liberty. Although the people of his country cannot understand the importance of freedom, he does not retreat from his divine goal which is set for him before his birth. Although there is no help for him in confrontation with the enemy from any other character in the play, he never thinks about compromise. He shows that he is not a disappointed character who does not expect God's grace. In talking to Harapha he says:

> All these indignities, for such they are
> From thine, these evils I deserve and more,
> Acknowledge them from God inflicted on me
> Justly, yet despair not of his final pardon
> Whose ear is ever open; and his eye
> Gracious to readmit the suppliant. (1168-1173)

His devotion to his cause shows how highly developed his character is, and how much trust he has in God.

Milton wrote Samson Agonistes in the form of a Greek tragedy with the intention of teaching. The poet used Aristotle's principles to evoke fear and pity in the audience. As it is in Paradise Regained, resistance is the main lesson in this tragedy. Watching Samson developing and rejecting any suggestion to compromise causes the audience to feel pity, fear and horror about their ability to support an important cause like liberty of a nation. The pity and fear that the audience feels is not for the hero's death. The death that he chooses has a significant motive which ultimately brings victory for his people. Samson's death, like Christ's crucifixion, is a source of joy. Samson chooses death because he loves God and tries to be like Him. We, therefore, feel pity and fear for our possible inability to deal with problems like his.

In the play, we see how Samson answers those who approach him and try to tempt him to surrender to the dominant evil forces. His resistance is the only way left for him up to the last scene. As Christ does in Paradise Regained, Samson's action is the continuation of resisting temptations. The

audience sees him in a position where he defends God and resists any suggestion which is against his belief.

Like Christ in Paradise Regained, Samson's teaching is by his own example. The reader sees the qualities of the hero and admires him. We honour Samson's highly developed character, as we do in the case of Abdiel in Paradise Lost. We wish to be as strong and as faithful as he is. Like Abdiel, Samson is portrayed alone among the enemies, but he neither doubts the importance of his cause nor fears. He acts in such a way that the audience does not see a sign of compromise in his behaviour. He is kind with his own people, but stern and courageous with the enemies. We see him strong and aggressive, when Harapha visits him. He asks Harapha to give his hand in order to show him that "The way to know were not to see but taste" (1091). Like Abdiel and Christ, Samson is patient. He accepts his punishment and repeatedly declares that he deserves what happened to him: "servile mind/ Rewarded well with servile punishment!" (411-12). Like Christ and Abdiel, he has trust in God and loves him. Samson is religious and obedient to the laws of his people (1408). He is self-knowing and knowledgeable of his situation in the hierarchy of existence. He is aware of his relationship with God and with his enemies. He is not a man to be deluded with any type of temptation either by his wife, or by any other person. When Dalila visits him, he proves that he is determined in his cause, and he has learned a lesson from his mistakes.

> At distance I forgive thee, go with that;
> Bewail thy falsehood, and the pious works
> It hath brought forth to make thee memorable
> Among illustrious women, faithful wives:
> Cherish thy hast'n'd widowhood with the gold
> Of Matrimonial treason: so farewell. (954-959)

He shows that his only desire is to accomplish his mission, which is the liberty of his nation, although he knows that it is not easy to attain. Samson loves liberty and hates bondage, not because he is in the captivity of the Philistines, but because he knows that bondage is against human nature. Servitude exists in this world because of our vice and corruption:

> But what more oft in Nations grown corrupt,
> And by thir vices brought to servitude,
> Than to love Bondage more than Liberty,
> Bondage with ease than strenuous liberty. (268-271)

Samson is different from all his visitors, even his father, who wants him to compromise with the enemies in order to obtain a false freedom. Samson is different from his wife, whom he calls traitor because she prefers evil to her husband. The hero is considerably different from his people, because they are less aware of their situation. Consequently, they do not act. In Samson Agonistes, the people around the hero are neutral; they conform with the occupiers and do not help the deliverer actively. In Milton's world there is no credit for this type of people, and they are rejected completely. One is either positive or negative. We see Samson's self-knowledge reach to the extent of sacrificing everything for the sake of

his objective. On the other hand, all the other characters, including his father and especially the Chorus, lack that degree of self-knowledge necessary to act. Evil should be rejected, but the Chorus takes an unacceptable position toward evil. The sympathy which the Chorus shows is not sufficient. All the characters around Samson are servants in bondage. This servitude prevents them from acting. Samson knows that action needs grace and knowledge without which one fails to obey God. Samson's wisdom combined with God's grace clears the hero's vision at the last act of the play and makes him ready to act. Samson chooses religious nonconformity and resistance to tyranny, regardless of the passiveness of his nation, because of his knowledge and the grace which God bestows on him. Samson's character reminds us of Abdiel who acts in the same way, when he finds himself among the fallen angels.

At the end of his tragedy Samson rejects the whole anti-freedom world, and what exists in it. According to Milton, every elected and knowledgable individual must act accordingly. Should one reach such a degree, he obtains "paradise within." Samson's teaching method is self-sacrifice for the sake of the public. Although he knows that his action ends his life, he acts according to God's will.

Samson is an example who shows that man remains in bondage as long as he is corrupted. God's providence is eternal, but man must first educate himself, in order to regain the lost liberty which is paradise within. As long as

this situation continues to exist, the few good ones suffer. The reader remembers what Michael says in Paradise Lost in this connection: "So shall the world go on,/ To good malignant, to bad men benign" (XII.537-8). Samson's death happens in compliance with what Michael told Adam.

When we compare Christ and Samson, we realize that the hero of Paradise Regained and the hero of Samson Agonistes both conduct their heroism for one purpose, which is liberty. Although one teaches through persuasion and the other by force, both are the means of God's will. Their teaching methods are different not because they teach different subjects, but because they confront evil in two different situations. In "Milton's Samson and the 'New Acquist of True [Political] Experience'," Barbara Lewalski suggests:

> In Milton's works, some heroes are called to do battle in God's cause. Christ on earth was not; he had another office. But in Paradise Lost the Son of God, the archangel Michael, and the angelic host were so called in the battle in heaven. So were Samson and the Old Testament judges. (247)

Christ and Samson are both heroes and leaders whose intents are deliverance from evil and tyranny. On their way to their goals, there are many obstacles and difficulties which they do not fear.

> The hero of Paradise Regained does not fear death at all, and the hero of Samson Agonistes is, or thinks he is, looking for death. (Stein 106)

Neither Christ nor Samson fears evil or doubts the righteousness of his cause. Both have commitments toward their

goals and their followers. Both accept death for the purpose of their goals.

Christ's and Samson's teachings are based on their own examples. Christ is a leader who is educated. He is a character who spends much of his life in learning, while Samson is an ordinary individual who is not educated, and who makes many mistakes in his life. We remember, however, that Milton did not promote formal education for the sake of education itself. One leader learns from studying and the other learns from experience and his own mistakes. Samson is portrayed as a character with many weaknesses, but redeems himself with the help of his own experience, and God's grace. Samson's entire teaching is based on his past mistakes. Christ does not have weaknesses or make mistakes. He is portrayed as a leader whose knowledge exceeds any other person's. He is a character who, even in his childhood, always studied and never played. Christ, unlike Samson, focuses on trial as a crystallizer of self-knowledge, while Samson's teaching centres on subduing those who are stubborn.

Chapter Six
Teaching Freedom and Leadership: Milton's Last Two Tracts

In the last two years of his life, Milton continued his efforts to teach the elements of freedom and leadership. At this stage of his life the objectives of his curriculum of instructions stayed the same as in the past, although the method of instruction changed. The objective of his educational programme remains "to repair the ruins of our first parents by regaining to know God aright, and out of that knowledge to love him, to imitate him, [and] to be like him" (Of Education 631). In his last two tracts, Milton connects freedom and leadership very closely. It is evident that, since freedom cannot be achieved without good and virtuous leaders, Milton's final prose works are on freedom and leadership. In one tract, he discusses true and false freedom and in the other, which is a translation from Latin discussing John III of Poland as the new king of his country, Milton lists the essential qualifications which a good leader must have.

Milton's return to the political arena of the time shows how much he was interested in the subject, and how much he wanted to continue teaching his countrymen and leading them to freedom. In this regard Masson writes:

> But what shall we say to Milton's reappearance once more about the same time in his old and hazardous character of political pamphleteer? Nothing can show more strongly the inveteracy of his interest in public affairs, his passion for inserting his hand into any current controversy, than the publication in 1673 of his tract Of True Religion, Heresy, Schism, Toleration, and the Growth of Popery.

> Were not Poetry, Latin Grammar, British History, and Logic sufficient to occupy the blind old political offender, that he must venture once more on ground so perilous to him heretofore? (Masson VI: 690)

The failure of the "old cause" in 1660 showed the poet that his society needed more efforts to understand the value of freedom and the eternal providence of God. Therefore, as soon as the possibility of working reappeared, and a new situation materialized, which I will ponder in the next few pages (a situation in which the whole nation reacted strongly against the King's Royal Act), he started to write pamphlets again and resumed educating his nation. The method of his instruction, in this period of his life, became similar to his method of instruction in the 1640s. Milton's concern, as it had always been, is liberty and condemnation of tyranny in any form. In this chapter, I will examine the circumstances that made Milton write pamphlets out of his belief that the situation which had existed in 1640s had returned again. For this purpose, I will discuss his last tract, Of True Religion, Heresy, Schism, Toleration, and What Best Means May Be Used against the Growth of Popery, which was published in 1673, and his translation from Latin under the title of A Declaration, or Letters Patents of the Election of This Present King of Poland John the Third, which was published in 1674.

Although Milton wrote in Paradise Lost that the Mount of Paradise is swept away by the Flood and left: "an island salt and bare" (XI.834), he never lost hope. In his last tract

before the Restoration, he told his readers "we may be forced perhaps to fight over again all that we have fought, and spend over again all that we have spent" (Ready and Easy Way 884). Certainly in the thirteen years of silence, the poet watched the new king almost as closely as the old king before. Milton's silence continued until 1673 when he returned once more to pamphlet writing. Milton's return to public activity shows that the poet "has struck a careful balance between the active and contemplative life" (Fallon 236).

The political circumstances that caused Milton to return to pamphlet writing are important to know. In 1672, King Charles II for the second time (the first was an act which he issued in 1662) announced his Royal Act in favour of the non-conformists including the Roman Catholics. In this regard, in Milton: A Biography, William Parker writes:

> Charles II for the second time asserted his alleged royal prerogative in a Declaration of Indulgence which suspended the penal statutes against dissenters and recusants, and granted freedom of worship in meeting-houses licensed for the purpose. In a more trusting time such a gesture of royal tolerance would have been cheered by all nonconformists; but the irregularity of the act and a deep suspicion of the King's motive caused both nonconformists and Anglicans, who feared Catholicism more than they feared each other, to combine in denouncing indiscriminate toleration. (623)

The whole nation, therefore, including the benefactors, received the new act with suspicion, although it would likely relieve many of the non-conformists from the brutal persecution which went on all the time after the Restoration.

The religious minorities knew that since the new act was not passed by the Parliament, it was not a law which could be relied on. Moreover, the non-conformists understood that the king had not issued his act for the sake of national unity, but he had done it because he wanted to do a favour for the Roman Catholics. The king issued his Royal Act because of his agreement with his brother-in-law, Louise XIV of France, to support the Roman Catholics. The non-conformist sects were perplexed in the new situation. Should one decide to take advantage of this opportunity or to unite with the universal opposition against "Popery"? The non-conformists compromised their own benefits for the sake of the whole nation. So they rejected the Royal Act and joined the parliamentarians in their condemnation of the Royal Act. Parliament rejected it in a short session and the king had ultimately to apologize and to cancel it. For their efforts with the whole nation, the non-conformists received a promise from some members of the parliament that in the near future they would pass a law to lessen the pressure applied on them.

After thirteen years, Milton returned to public life and became active politically. This return shows the poet's profound belief in education and its necessity for obtaining liberty. In 1673 he seemed to hold his old belief, which he had written in Lycidas, that there were still "fresh Woods, and Pastures new" (193). This proves that he sincerely believes in the "eternal providence of God," and for this

reason he was always hopeful. In rejecting the idea that Milton retreated into himself and found the inner life true and the outer world false, Robert Fallon writes:

> Though certainly disappointed by the return of the monarchy, he [Milton] was by all accounts a cheerful man who received visitors graciously, enjoyed a song, entertained at table, and, until afflicted with gout, kept his health and figure with frequent walks. Blindness was a limitation, of course, and it compelled him to seek solace in the life of the mind, which one of his studious bent would have found not uncongenial anyway. But it was ever his conviction that men had a moral obligation to act in the world; thus in the final years he published widely and even returned to the pamphlet wars with Of True Religion. (236)

Supporters considered Milton's return to his old activities as an effort to unite the nation once more. Hanford believes that the poet had the intention of bringing all sects of religion together. In A Milton Handbook, he writes:

> [The tract] is an attempt to bring the Protestant sects together in mutual charity and to induce them to take a tolerant attitude toward differences in the nonessential points of doctrine. Any creed based on the word of God, however variously interpreted, is true religion. Heresy is a religion taken up and believed from the traditions of men. Catholicism, therefore, is the essential heresy, and it alone, though rather because of its political pretensions than of its doctrinal errors, is not to be allowed. Milton deprecates the exercise of violence even toward the Romanists, but is firm in advocating the suppression of their public worship. (128)

Mary Ann Radzinowicz also has the same opinion as Hanford. In Toward Samson Agonistes, she writes:

> [Of True Religion] is carefully framed to bring together

> the free individuals of the nation into a new unity, and it opens with the confident assertion of the consensus and community it wishes to create. The occasion of the work was Milton's discovery that popular support existed for his own profoundest convictions, although that support arose not from pure confidence in toleration but rather was triggered by the public fears of popery. Milton therefore spoke as carefully as he could to strengthen and broaden the possible common ground between himself and Parliament. (165)

As a politician he wanted to unite all sects. As a teacher, however, he uses the same curriculum which he had taught in most of his works. As in his previous works, liberty is the main focus in this tract. As soon as the new social circumstances allowed him to speak, he wrote his last tract and translated another one. Both of these documents deal with liberty and leadership.

In Of True Religion, as in Of Education, and his long epic, he starts his accommodation with this fact in mind: man's understanding is obscure because of the Fall: "But I shall insist now on what is plainer to Common apprehension, and what I have to say, without longer introduction" (419). Milton, in this tract, discusses tolerance and ability to bear other people's opinions, which is another concept of the paradise within. He first defines the meaning of genuine religion[1]: "True religion is the true Worship and Service of God, learnt and believed from the Word of God only" (419). The opposite of this is false religion, which is "a Religion taken

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[1]In The Ready and Easy Way, Milton explains that "the best part of our liberty" is "our religion" (883).

up and believ'd from the traditions of men and additions to the word of God" (421). The careful reader remembers that the end of education is to imitate God and to be like him. The ascension toward God is the objective in Of Education as well as Of True Religion. He writes that true religion is the pure word of God alone, not the defiled combination of the word of God and the tradition of fallen men. Milton condemns Roman Catholics and categorizes their religion as "the only or the greatest Heresie" (421), which should not be tolerated, because he believes that it is not based on the Scripture (430). In Milton and the Drama of History, David Loewenstein connects this idea of the poet to Milton's deep belief in the process of history and the forces which might hinder this progress, if it is combined with man's tradition:

> Here Milton intensifies the notion that scriptural truth tainted "With superstitions and traditions" leads to a degenerative pattern of history-a notion recalling his fear in Areopagitica that, unless the waters of truth flow "in a perpetuall progression" like "a streaming fountain" (itself a metaphor for the dynamic movement of history), they may "sick'n into a muddy pool of conformity and tradition." (117)

The role of leaders in a society is emphasized again in this tract. As we learned in Paradise Lost, there are true leaders like Abdiel and false leaders like Satan. It is man's responsibility to differentiate between the false and the true ones. According to Milton there are certain things we should do in order to avoid following false leaders and consequently

false religion. Milton emphasizes two points in his last tract as the main principles for every Protestant:

> The Rule of true Religion is the Word of God only: and that their Faith ought not to be an implicit faith, that is, to believe, though as the Church believes, against or without express authority of Scripture. (420)

Milton had already discussed the element of implicit faith in his Areopagitica :

> There be, who knows not that there be, of protestants and professors who live and die in as arrant an implicit faith, as any lay Papist of Loretto. (739)

The character development that Milton has in mind is to that extent that every body should be able to refer to the Scripture directly and understand it correctly. In other words, to find the truth, people should educate themselves to the level of leadership. In this way we can understand which leader is true and which is false. "Every member of the Church... so well ought to be grounded in spiritual knowledge... to examine their Teachers themselves" (435). Here Milton explicitly connects the issue of freedom and leadership. False leaders, like Satan, can mislead us into false freedom. Genuine leaders, like Abdiel and Christ, who imitate God and love Him, are the leaders who guide us to genuine freedom and ultimately toward God. Milton warns us of our situation in this world and reminds us that our leaders,

like Samson, are fallen men, and may commit mistakes.

> Sects may be in a true Church as well as in a false, when men follow the Doctrin too much for the Teachers sake, whom they think almost infallible; and this becomes, through infirmity, implicit Faith. (422)

If the mistakes of leaders are unintentional, God very likely forgives them. Milton informs us that we live in a fallen world, and because of our nature, we make mistakes. God, however, has preknowledge and, therefore, knows our intention, so he forgives us.

> Heresie is in the Will and choice profestly against Scripture; error is against the Will, in misunderstanding the Scripture after all sincere endeavours to understand it rightly....It is a humane frailty to err, and no man is infallible here on earth. But so long as all these profess to set the Word of God only before them as the Rule of faith and obedience; and use all diligence and sincerity of heart, by reading, by learning, by study, by prayer for Illumination of the holy Spirit, to understand the Rule and obey it, they have done what man can do: God will assuredly pardon them, as he did the friends of Job, good and pious men, though much mistaken, as there it appears, in some Points of Doctrin. (423-4)

One important element of teaching in this tract is the humanistic element of magnanimity. Man, although fallen and different in nature from what God originally created, is capable of improving and has the ability to ascend toward God. Milton sincerely believes that man is created in the image of God. He has reason, which if he obeys, not only is he able to follow the Scripture and to understand it properly, but he

also has the ability to ascend high in the level of existence. The magnanimous man, however, needs education to achieve this goal. But Milton reminds us that education cannot be acquired, unless we value freedom.

> That is on all occasions to give account of their faith, either by Arguing, Preaching in their several Assemblies, Publick writing, and the freedom of Printing. (426)

Milton emphasizes the equality of all people. He believes that people in this world are equal and no one can impose his ideas on others for any reason.

Milton sought to live according to the ideas he taught. He always tried to live as a free man and to behave according to the values of a magnanimous man. He published some of his works freely, although he was supposed to obtain a license, and tried to teach his readers the right way which leads toward freedom and reconciliation with God. Having this in mind, he never ignored the value of liberty and always behaved accordingly. In John Milton: A Bibliography, William Parker writes:

> We may doubt the specific detail (by Richardson, through Henry Bendish) that "the king offered to employ this pardoned man as his Latin Secretary"; but we can hardly doubt that some high official came to Milton with the suggestion that he write on some subject in defence of the new government's position. The blind republican refused, of course. Such behaviour, he declared, would be very inconsistent with his former conduct.(Power, privilege, wealth--these did not make for a paradise within. There must be no compromising with the forces of evil.) (596)

Milton proved that he was unwilling to compromise when the concern is human magnanimity. In his tract, he quotes the Bible:

> For the Commandment forbids to adore, not only any Graven Image, but the likeness of anything in Heaven above, or in the Earth beneath, or in the Water under the Earth, thou shalt not bow down to them nor worship them, for I the Lord thy God am a Jealous God. (432)

We are familiar with this attitude not only before and during the revolution, but even after the Restoration. In Paradise Lost, when Raphael descends to teach Adam and Eve about their situation and the close danger which threatens them, the way Adam receives and greets the angel is worth noticing:

> Without more train
> Accompanied than with his own complete
> Perfections; in himself was all his state,
> More solemn than the tedious pomp that waits
> On Princes, when thir rich Retinue long
> Of Horses led, and Grooms besmear'd with Gold
> Dazzles the crowd, and sets them all agape.
> Nearer his presence Adam though not aw'd,
> Yet with submiss approach and reverence meek,
> As to a superior Nature, bowing low. (V.351-360)

Milton's belief in human dignity is quite evident. The poet's strong faith in liberty is also obvious here.

In Of True Religion, he rejects Catholicism because he associates it with tyranny. Milton draws a line between the Roman Catholic Church and all the Protestant churches. The poet considers all Protestant sects as those who defend

liberty, and Catholicism as the main source of heresy which leads man to tyranny. Milton argues that in the activities of no Protestant sect can one find elements of tyranny and dictatorship, although there might be unintentional mistakes. All sects, he argues, deal with humans as equals, and they all intend to lead man toward salvation. Milton rejects Catholicism because he thinks it is interwoven with tyranny. The poet argues that the Pope

> Interdicts to whole Nations the Publick worship of God, shutting up their churches: and was wont to dreign away greatest part of the wealth of this then miserable Land, as part of his Patrimony, to maintain the Pride and Luxury of his court and Prelates. (429)

It is the right of all people, Milton declares, to read the Scripture and understand it. According to Milton, Catholicism denied the right of Christians to read the Bible because they had not permitted it to be translated into vernacular languages.

Milton returns to the issue of freedom which he had already discussed in Areopagitica. Freedom of writing and printing and freedom of speech are things which everybody should possess. In this tract, he again emphasizes the importance of debates, conferences, freedom of writing and speaking, and of exchanging ideas for all people:

> There is no Learned man but will confess he hath much profited by reading Controversies, his Senses awakt, his Judgement sharpn'd, and the truth which he holds more

> firmly establish't, if then it be profitable for him to read; why should it not at least be tolerable and free for his Adversary to write? In Logic they teach, that contraries laid together more evidently appear: it follows then that all controversies being permitted, falshood will appear more false, and truth the more true. (437-8)

In this regard, in Reviving Liberty, Joan Bennett writes:

> Milton always believed, despite their frustrating inconvenience, in the value of these controversies. With Walwyn and other radical humanists, he shared the view that truth is best approached not by sermons or speeches, "which are apt to deceive" a passive or anxious hearer, "but by conferences, and mutual debates, one with another, (the best way for attaining a right understanding)." He waged his last pamphlet battle in 1673, the year before his death, to argue as he had in Areopagitica (1644) for the right of debates to exist. (164)

Mary Ann Radzinowicz also traces this idea in Milton's writings and suggests that:

> It was Milton's view, from the beginning to the end of his writing life, that opinions differing from received doctrines were not to be considered forbidden and so stamped with the invidious name of heresy. (274)

In the conclusion of his tract the poet, like a prophet and a sympathetic teacher, warns his students to amend their lives because the "Nation of late years is grown more numerously and excessively vitious then heretofore" (438). In this part of his tract, Milton uses the element of "intimation of fear," which he includes in his tract, Of Education. He advises his

readers that "God, when men sin outragiously, and will not be admonisht, gives over chastizing them, perhaps by Pestilence, Fire, Sword, or Famin" (439). As Mary Ann Radzinowicz suggests, Milton reminds his nation of the punishments which they received a few years earlier, through disasters like: "the plague in 1665, the fire of London in 1666, the Dutch destruction of the English fleet in the Medway in 1667, and the state bankruptcy (the stop of the Exchequer) in 1672" (166).

In this part of his tract, the poet again states his belief that God very likely creates good out of evil in this world, a subject which Michael talks about extensively in Paradise Lost. The poet shifts from the element of "intimation of fear" to the important element of good and evil in this world. Milton comforts his countrymen that the above punishments "may all turn to their good, and takes up his severest punishments, hardness, besottedness of heart, and Idolatry, to their final perdition" (439).

In Of True Religion, Milton's language is clearly softer than his earlier prose works, but definitely sounds like the same revolutionary writer of the 1640s who hated tyranny. Mary Ann Radzinowicz suggests that Milton's soft language is for political purposes: "Milton therefore spoke as carefully as he could to strengthen and broaden the possible common ground between himself and Parliament" (165). Steven Zwicker believes that the political situation of the time obliged people to

write in disguise:

> The fact of change itself and the extremes to which political change had run impelled men to seek the stance and language of centrist politics. To what degree men intended to deceive one another by doing so and to what degree they deceived themselves as they justified radical or absolutist solutions to political problems under the pretense of constitutional legalism, it is difficult to say. What is certain, however, is that the number of accusations of such deceit and hence the level of suspicion of politics was very high; we may safely assume that actual examples of concealment were also widespread. (5)

in his paper "'The Worst Superstitions': Milton's Of True Religion and the Issue of Religious Tolerance," Reuben Marquez Sanchez, Jr. believes that Milton's language in this tract becomes "devious."

> But lest I be taken to claim that Milton was a member of the devil's party without knowing it, let me add that by devious I mean that Milton has a particular rhetorical strategy in mind. His persona must be very careful about what he speaks and how he speaks; he must carefully use language "to establish a common ground" between himself and various Protestant groups often quite hostile toward one another. (26)

The reason for softening his language, I believe, is psychological as well as political. His readers are those who failed in their first trial. He must repeat every lesson again, and the technique of instruction must be according to the new situation of the students. Moreover, his readers must follow the poet as example. In his major works, Milton creates characters as teachers who teach by their own examples. But in

this tract, Milton implicitly puts himself as an example for his readers. In Of True Religion, the poet himself becomes Abdiel. He is the character who advises, warns, and threatens those who would fail in amending their lives. The subject in this tract is toleration. Milton, as an example, proves to be a character who sympathizes with all Protestant sects, and tolerates other people's opinions without any prejudice. We know well that Milton was different from many other puritans in his belief. His readers know that he has a strong belief in freedom. He thinks that all those people who are sincere in their belief and trust in God are trustworthy, regardless of their sects. Lois Potter writes that in this respect Milton was different from many of his contemporaries:

> At the beginning of his literary career, Milton was a fairly orthodox Anglican: St. Peter in Lycidas actually wears a bishop's mitre. By the end of his life, he attended no church at all and did not even hold family prayers in his home. This movement from centre to extreme left was paralleled by his political development and is typical of what happened to a good many people during 1640s and 50s. For example, there were those who called themselves Seekers because, in search of true religion, they went from church to church and found none to satisfy them. Milton did not make this kind of search. Having decided early on that the Christian owed his spiritual allegiance to God alone, he wasted no time exploring the claims of rival sects, though he advocated tolerance for all except Roman Catholics. He was too much of an individualist to find a home in any organized religious group. (65)

One method of teaching, which Milton employs in this tract, is that he lets his students determine what the result of the lesson is. Milton does not say clearly why "Popery"

should be opposed. He leaves that part to the students to realize. He only helps them to understand the Gospel, and leaves the rest to them, to discover the reasons against Catholicism. At the beginning of his tract, Milton defines "true religion" and "heresy," and illustrates clearly that true religion is the real freedom, the way which leads us directly to God. There is no intermediary between God and ourselves. He tells his students that heresy is the combination of man's tradition and the word of God. He declares that all sects are equal and no one is higher than the other. No one is definitely closer to God than his brother.

Milton talks about people who are deceived by those who are false teachers:

> Sects may be in a true Church as well as in a false, when men follow the Doctrin too much for the Teachers sake, whom they think almost infallible; and this becomes, through Infirmity, implicit Faith. (422)

False leaders like Satan and his progeny always intend to mislead people from the way of God and his true freedom. The above quotation reminds us of the fallen angels who followed Satan, probably with the perception that he was infallible. Milton teaches his readers that the ways of worshipping God are not understandable to man and the angels, unless God reveals them. By this antecedent, Milton insists that the Gospel must be understood correctly. False leaders, like Satan

and his offspring in this world, are those who, under different disguises, mislead us. In this tract Milton introduces them as church preachers who do not follow God but people's opinion.

Masson found Milton's Of True Religion different from his previous writings in dealing with toleration. In fact Masson shows clearly that he is confused with the tone and the logic which Milton used in dealing with small religious minorities. He writes:

> For the quintessence of Milton's views on the religious and ecclesiastical question, we must go to his pre-Restoration pamphlets; the Miltonism of this one is very diluted indeed. There is no thunder whatever and very little lightning, nothing of that disestablishment notion which we know to have been his cardinal one, nor anything insulting or even appreciably disrespectful to the Church or the Monarchy of the Restoration. From all expression of that kind he was precluded, and he adjusted himself to the necessity. (Masson VI: 693)

After contrasting Of True Religion with the poet's previous tracts, specifically Of Civil Power, Masson concludes that Milton changed into a rigid thinker. Masson asks: "How had he shrunk into this rigidity, this narrowness?" (697) This narrowness against Catholicism, Masson states, goes to the point that the poet even included the word "Catholicism" in the title of the tract. Masson believes that before the Restoration Milton was more open-minded toward minorities, while he is strict and intolerant in his last tract. In his paper "Milton's last Pamphlet" Nathaniel H. Henry answers

Masson's question by associating Milton with the time, which lacked any tolerance. He suggests that Milton "shrunk into this rigidity, this narrowness," because:

> He lived in narrowness. He was a man of his time dealing with what all men considered the problem of the day--uniformity in religion, and that religion a single one for all. (202)

In "'The Worst Superstition': Milton's Of True Religion and the Issue of Religious Tolerance", Reuben Marquez Sanchez connects this change of attitude to the poet's politics.

There is no doubt that Milton in all his works wants people to return to the pure Christianity which existed only for a short period of time in the history of Christianity. He always defends liberty in general and ecclesiastical liberty in particular. This was always his main concern before and after the Restoration. As Ashraf Rushdy writes:

> In his final piece of political prose Of True Religion (1673), he did not so much return again to defend what seemed to be uppermost in his mind, but he resumed what had always been his persistent concern--ecclesiastical liberty. (74)

In his teaching, Milton always emphasizes returning to God and the pure and simple teachings of Christ (the Gospel). Georgia Christopher also writes:

> In his prose tracts, however, he repeatedly writes of "reformation," by which he means the work of returning

> the English Church--and the English nation--to the purity and simplicity of the Gospel.... Milton... argues that the prelates-especially the bishops and archbishops-are rich, greedy, and corrupt, interested in anything but the care of souls. (197)

Milton's readers remember how in Lycidas the poet portrays the false shepherd who leaves his followers without attention. In this tract, he associates true liberty with true religion which is the word of God. Following man's tradition and neglecting God's word does not take man to liberty. This is what Milton always wants to show in his works.

Mary Ann Radzinowicz suggests that Milton's beliefs at this stage of his life were based on Scripture:

> What is absolutely crucial and is likewise unmistakable is that Milton in his youth held a view he considered orthodox and in his maturity held a view he considered Scripture-based and unorthodox, and that he defended the latter with particular vigor and attention precisely as an independent and heterodox view. (316)

Milton's technique of teaching, his language and his "narrowness," as Masson puts it, show his maturity. He speaks with a calm mind and shows that he lives in the "paradise within" about which he speaks in most of his writings. He shows that he is no more that young emotional man whose language did not leave any anti-revolutionary individual safe. What we see in this tract is that Milton shows more politics and more maturity in dealing with the new circumstances. Definitely his concerns are the old ones, but his way of

dealing with things became more mixed with politics. His language, his attitude toward minorities, and his ways of teaching are shown with more maturity.

Milton's last attack on Catholicism is followed by a translation which introduces a Catholic King as hero who equals Abdiel in his deeds and virtue. Milton's last attempt, in the last phase of his life, illustrates the qualifications which a leader should have, in order to rule his country. Milton's translation which shows his maturity in politics, came out in 1674 under the title of A Declaration or Letters Patents of the Election of this present King of Poland, John III. Many critics do not know what caused Milton to translate this declaration. As Maurice Kelly asks:

> Was Milton merely translating the Latin document for a translator fee, or had Milton been following contemporary events in Poland and wished that nation's election of a strong king be made known to the English people? (442)

John Shawcross also wonders if Milton translated the tract for money:

> Was this done for money? Was it because the commoner-made-king appealed to the translator's sense of political justice? Was it because his publisher, Brabazon Aylmer, a couple of months before was trying to, in a way, exploit the blind man who had attempted things not done before in prose or rhyme? (278)

With the knowledge that we have about Milton's spirit and his opinions, Shawcross's second question seems to offer a more

probable explanation. In this translation, Milton modifies some parts of the declaration and omits some other parts of it. Maurice Kelley writes:

> In translating the Diploma, Milton has introduced paragraphs into the body of the document, which in its original form is set solid in italic type. A more important change is his omission of the long lists of names and titles of the Poles attending the election. He thus reduces the eleven-page Diploma by some four and one half pages and rids it of data that are historically important but of little, if any, interest to his prospective English reader. (443)

Masson also admits that the translation is not merely a translation, but a document which is more related to England and the English readers of Milton's time. Milton, who was supposed to translate the declaration from Latin into English, doubtlessly omitted some irrelevant parts, modified and added some important issues to the document, although the title and the history of the tract suggests that it was a translation. Masson argues:

> The document is by no means a dry and formal affair but full of fervour, and with sentiments about popular rights and the nature of true sovereignty which it must have pleased Milton to present again, in any form, to his countrymen. (Masson VI: 726)

I argue that Milton's final work is another attempt to teach the issue of leadership. Milton's document clearly praises the Polish king as a truly Christian leader, who

defended his country against the Turks, Tartars and Cossacks. The students of Milton remember how in Second Defense of the English People the poet praises the leaders of the English revolution, Cromwell and Fairfax, as leaders whose goals are not fame and material benefit in this world, but their religion:

> Nor would it be right to pass over the name of Fairfax, who united the utmost fortitude with the utmost courage; and the spotless innocence of whose life seemed to point him out as the peculiar favorite of Heaven. Justly, indeed, may you be excited to receive this wreath of praise, though you have retired as much as possible from the world and seek those shades of privacy which were the delight of Scipio. Nor was it only the enemy whom you subdued, but you have triumphed over that flame of ambition and that lust of glory which are wont to make the best and the greatest of men their slaves. (833)

And in praising Cromwell, Milton writes:

> A profound peace ensued; when we found, though indeed not then for the first time, that you were as wise in the cabinet as valiant in the field. It was your constant endeavor in the senate either to induce them to adhere to those treaties which they had entered into with the enemy or speedily to adjust others which promised to be beneficial to the country. But when you saw that the business was artfully procrastinated, that every one was more intent on his own selfish interest than on the public good, that the people complained of the disappointments which they had experienced and the fallacious promises by which they had been gulled, that they were the dupes of a few overbearing individuals, you put an end to their domination. (834)

In this translation, the poet explicitly talks about the qualities of a good leader whose character is developed to the extent of a divine elected hero.

Milton clearly defines the expectations his readers should have of their own leaders. In this tract, the poet does not talk about an angel like Abdiel or a divine character like Christ. The subject of the document is a fallen man like any other man on Earth. The careful reader of the seventeenth century, therefore, understood easily how far Charles II, as a false leader, was from the position which John III held. In fact, Milton implicitly asks his readers to contrast John III of Poland with Charles II of England. In this prose work, the poet uses his method of contrasting two opposite characters. In Of True Religion, he says that "in logic they teach, that contraries laid together more evidently" show which is false and which is true. In Paradise Lost, we remember that he portrays Abdiel and Satan with the same intention. Evil and good characters are put in contrast to each other, in order to show the extent of the good leader's development. In depicting John III, Milton's intention is a type of contrast which creates doubt in the English readers' mind about their present king. James Hanford believes that this contrast is "too sharp to be mistaken":

> Milton wrote and published a translation from the Latin of a Polish manifesto entitled A Declaration of the Election of This Present King of Poland, John the III, i.e., the national hero Sobieski, who had manfully defended his country against the Turks. Milton's interest in the event was because of the instance it afforded of the true ideal of monarchy, when a man universally acknowledged the strongest and most virtuous is elected king by the sovereign people. The implied contrast between the courageous patriot Sobieski and the

> traitorous idler Charles II was too sharp to be mistaken. (A Milton Handbook 129)

The readers of A Declaration read the qualities of John III as a king who saved his country from different enemies not once but many times before he was elected as a king. This did not happen only at the time of Jan Sobieski (John III) himself, but his father and grandfather also did everything in their means to save their country from the invaders.

> The commonwealth recalled the grateful, and never to be forgotten memory of his Renowned Father, the most Illustrious and Excellent James Sobietski, Castellion of Cracovia, a Man to be written of with sedulous care, who by his Golden Eloquence in the publick Counsels, and by his Hand in the Scene of War, had so often amplified the State of the Commonwealth, and defended it with the Arms of his Family....The rest of his Grandsires and Great-Grandsires, and innumerable Names of Famous Senators and great Officers have as it were brought forth light to the serene Elect by the emulous Greatness and Glory of his Mothers descent. (450)

Milton's readers would likely recall Charles I and his father James I. It was their king's father who led England into a civil war. The character and appearance of the extravagant James I were also remote from the character and the appearance of a leader. In Stuart England, J.P. Kenyon shows James I as an alien to his countrymen, rather than an English nobleman. He describes the character of James I as follows:

> James was not the king men were looking for in the early seventeenth century. He was lazy, never realizing the

> wealthier the kingdom the more complex it was, and the more time was required to govern it. He spent far too much time reading and talking instead of doing; he had no time for the day-to-day chores of government--he even retreated to Royston or Newmarket at the height of the parliamentary session. He remained a foreigner--being Scots, he just might as well have been a German, or a Portuguese--and a foreign king polarized the already existing tension between "Court" and "Country." (59-60)

This extravagant king of England ruled the country for more than fifteen years mostly without a parliament. His rule was, of course, supported by the Church of England and the army of England.

In this translation, Milton represents the ideal figure of a king who is a perfect Christian. Ironically Poland was always a Roman Catholic country. Milton's admiration for John III, who is a Catholic, goes beyond a literal admiration of Jan Sobieski as a new king of his country. What Milton is interested in is the portrayal of an ideal leader, whose virtues and heroism exceed any other contemporary individual in his own country. In fact the poet changes the document into a piece of literature which illustrates the ideal leader whom Milton always admires. In this document Milton uses Jan Sobieski as a character who highlights the significant qualifications of a good leader.

One of the qualities which Jan Sobieski (John III) possesses is that he has not done his services to Poland in order to be elected as the king of his country. The declaration indicates that he "was elected without his own Ambition" (447). Indeed, he struggled for the sake of his

nation and his country, not for the sake of getting power and a position. His patriotism is the main concern for the translator. His virtue and faith in Christianity is unequalled.

Another important issue which Milton shows interest in is the election of Jan Sobieski by the elite of the country among many eligible volunteers. The freedom which is necessary for this election, and the possibility of moving from the lowest state of the country to the highest rank, is very important for Milton. He writes: "it is easie that Kingdoms be transferred from Nation to Nation, and Kings from the lowest state to Thrones" (446). The only reason that Jan Sobieski was elected is that his virtue "appeared above his equals, therefore the eyes and minds of all men were willingly and by a certain divine instinct turned upon the High Marshal of the Kingdom" (447).

What the poet said in Of Education about leaders is evidently traceable in this translation. The new leader of Poland resembles all the desired leaders whom Milton had portrayed in his other works. John III possesses all the qualities that good leaders, like Abdiel, have. His virtue is unequalled, and his physical strength is Herculean. Like his forefathers, the new king of Poland devoted his life to his country. As Masson writes, Milton did not have the opportunity to see how right he was about this hero who ruled Poland for another twenty years (727). The new king of Poland is the

ideal leader who can lead his nation toward freedom and ultimately toward God.

Milton advocates liberty and struggles to obtain it for his countrymen. In this translation, he shows the connection between freedom and leadership. He does not want merely to translate a document for the sake of translation or any other reason. His intention is to make the English people look for freedom which they had lost. In this document, Milton teaches leadership as he does in Of Education. The subject of this tract attracts Milton because it contains that educational message for the English readers, which he tried to teach all his life. In this work, which he modified, he tries to make his readers compare a good leader with a bad one, and understand how a good leader can lead a nation toward liberty.

In the last two years of his life, Milton continued to educate his countrymen, as he did before. In 1673-4, Milton became as active as he could to teach the elements of freedom and leadership. In this period he changed his method again and returned to the old method of 1644, with this difference: he became much more mature in the last two years in comparison to the time of the revolution. He showed that education was his main concern and he had to do his duty to make people believe in liberty and the importance of leadership. He asserted his belief clearly that if education is accompanied by God's grace, it leads man to a point of development which ultimately repairs the ruins of our first parents.

Conclusion

> Nothing in the world is more pleasing to God, more agreeable to reason, more politically just, or more generally useful than that the supreme power should be vested in the best and the wisest of men. (Second Defense 834)

Humanist educators followed two objectives in their educational programmes. The first was to place man in right relation with God, and the second was to train people who are good citizens and are able to serve their country. Milton's educational programme defines the second objective of the humanists differently. He wants his students to develop their knowledge to the extent that they become able to lead their nation. The meanings of leading and serving, however, are the same. This is evident in the following lines where Abdiel answers Satan:

> Unjustly thou deprav'st it with the name
> Of servitude to serve whom God ordains,
> Or Nature; God and Nature bid the same,
> When he who rules is worthiest, and exels
> Them whom he governs. This is servitude,
> To serve th' unwise, or him who hath rebell'd
> Against his worthier. (VI. 174-80)

To achieve the goal of training the wisest possible people, Milton's primary goal is to repair the ruins of the Fall. One of the ruins of the Fall is death, which cannot be repaired by any means. Man, however, is able to repair some other ruins which our first parents brought by their first disobedience. Man can elevate himself in the levels of existence. If man achieves this important objective, Milton's ultimate goal is reached. His design, therefore, is intended

to put man on the same level with angels.

To achieve his goal, Milton intended to train students who are knowledgeable in history, in literature (preferably poetry), and in all branches of knowledge of their time. Students must follow Bacon's doctrine of science and approach nature with the weapon of experimentation. Milton's graduates must know church history, and be expert in theology. Milton wanted to train noble young people to the level of encyclopaedic knowledge, with the ability of criticism in both social and literary matters. For Milton, knowledge, which for Plato brought happiness, brings closeness and reconciliation with God. Milton's programme also emphasizes the students' physical strength in order to be able to defend themselves and their country. Milton's graduates, therefore, with that level of knowledge, are freemen, who, like Abdiel, speak and act according to their consciences. They are revolutionary individuals who do anything they can to serve God and their society. With these characteristics, they become wise people, who can distinguish genuine leaders from the evil ones, and lead their nation toward God and happiness.

Such wise, educated and experienced people can imitate Christ, whose authority and service are unparalleled. Christ's way of leadership was in Milton's mind, when he designed his curriculum. (No man practised Christ's way of leadership in any part of our human history. We are more familiar with the government of Satan in Pandemonium in this world). This belief

that authority is by merit not by birth is the basis of Milton's educational programme. Milton's programme, therefore, intends to train people whose wisdom and learning in all the fields exceed any of those who live in their time. The graduates of Milton's academy are eligible to rule, not because they love power, but because they want to serve other people. Stephen M. Buhler writes:

> Throughout his works, Milton argues that meritocracy is the form of government most in accord with divine precept and with natural law. One of Milton's earliest applications of this belief can be found in Tetrachordon, where he considers the possibility that a wife might "exceed her husband in prudence and dexterity"; in such cases, Milton argues, the husband should "contentedly yeeld" to her decisions, since "a superior and more naturall law" dictates "that the wiser should govern the lesse wise." (49)

It is this high goal which makes education the central theme of most of Milton's works. In Paradise Lost, for example, he gives more than six books of the epic to schoolmasters. The purpose is to train people like Abdiel and Samson, whose objectives are serving God and leading people toward freedom. In all cases, Milton presents education as revolution, and suggests that no revolution can be obtained without education. It is for this reason that we see free will as the centre of his works. Milton believes that since man has reason, he is responsible for every thing he does.

Milton's high goal was never reached. As a poet, however, he felt responsibility to train, guide and warn people. Up to the last moment, he never gave up hope.

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