



SELINUS UNIVERSITY
OF SCIENCES AND LITERATURE

**ON THE PERSISTENCE OF REFORM:
JOHN MILTON’S “OF EDUCATION”
AND LESSONS FOR THE 21ST CENTURY**

By
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A DISSERTATION

Presented to the Department of Arts & Humanities
program at Selinus University

Faculty of Arts & Humanities
in fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in
English Language & Literature

2019

On the Persistence of Reform: John Milton's
"Of Education" and Lessons for the 21st Century

DECLARATION

“I do hereby attest that I am the sole author of this thesis and that its contents are only the result of the readings and research I have done. The dissertation titled “On the Persistence of Reform: John Milton’s “Of Education” and Lessons for the 21st Century” submitted for the award of Doctorate in English Language and Literature at Selinus University is my original work. All material from other sources has been appropriately cited.

Date: September 30, 2019

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Danna Vance Raupp is my inspiration, as well as Senior Editor of all my publications, and, most important, she is my beloved wife.

I acknowledge with gratitude the opportunity that Selinus University provides to working adults to continue a lifetime of learning through online access and to offer students the freedom to pursue their own paths.

I further acknowledge the leadership and staff of Gori State Teaching University for allowing me to share my research with our wonderful students, both at the bachelor's and the master's levels.

The photograph of John Milton is from the free library at https://www.google.com/search?q=john+milton&source=lnms&tbn=isch&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjs2Ov10ITkAhVDzaQKHyrBoEQ_AUIESgB&biw=1366&bih=576. The drawing of Milton and Galileo is from <https://fineartamerica.com/featured/milton-and-galileo-1638-39-granger.html>. The photograph of Andrew Carnegie is from <https://standrewsny.org/page/CarnegieCircle>. All images are fair use and covered by Creative Commons, CC-BY-SA. (See <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/legalcode>.)

Finally, I am enormously grateful to the United States Peace Corps for the gift of being able to serve the people of the country of Georgia as a Volunteer at Gori State Teaching University from May of 2003 to October 2006.

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Abstract

Change is inevitable. Change may be caused by the dynamic forces of technology, globalization, or demographics, or in the case of John Milton, as he writes in his tractate “Of Education,” the cause of change is what he judges to be the urgent need to reform a corrupt and ineffectual system of education. Milton argues that the education system of his time and place, 17th century England, is detached from the real world and ill prepares students for the challenges they will face after graduation. It is an argument that drives many in the 21st century, and especially in the United States, to reform education at all levels. In an environment of increasing global competition, the argument for reform—even for “catch-up”—is all the more compelling. In the United States, exceedingly high levels of spending in the education sector compared to other countries do not result in correspondingly high levels of performance in reliable international assessments. This current study looks past the *reform de jour* so often proposed as a remedy to the anomaly. We see in Milton some lessons that might guide today’s would-be reformers, not least of which is to associate academic preparation more closely to the real world outside the classroom.

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On the Persistence of Reform: John Milton's
"Of Education" and Lessons for the 21st Century

Chapter One

Brief I shall endeavour to be; for that which I have to say, assuredly this Nation hath extream need should be done sooner then spoken. [Note: More than 150 years will pass after John Milton's death before Noah Webster will publish his dictionary, so the reader is advised to be patient with the spelling in extracts in this paper from the 17th century.]

1.1 Introduction

It appears to be in our human nature to be restless, to be discontented with our world as it is and to yearn for something different. Joseph Schumpeter called this imperative "creative destruction" (McCraw, 2007; Nightingale, 2015, p. 69). Schumpeter grew up in Vienna in a culture of "intellectual ferment" (McCraw, 2007, p. 24). In a sense, it is perhaps only in times of "intellectual ferment" that major changes are made in a society's institutions. Milton's life might be said to be such a time, from James I, to the calamitous reign of Charles I, to the improbable Puritan Interregnum of Oliver Cromwell, and finally to the Restoration of Charles II. At the same time, there are those of us who oppose change, any change, who prefer to "let sleeping dogs lie."

Today we speak somewhat less of Joseph Schumpeter's "creative destruction" and more of Clayton Christensen's "disrupters" (Bower & Christensen, 1995; Christensen, Raynor, & McDonald, 2015).

One of the most consistent patterns in business is the failure of leading companies to stay at the top of their industries when technologies or markets change. Goodyear and Firestone entered the radial-tire market quite late. Xerox let Canon create the small-copier market. Bucyrus-Erie allowed Caterpillar and Deere to take over the mechanical excavator market. Sears gave way to Wal-Mart. (Bower & Christensen, 1995)

This is no flash-in-the-pan *fad du jour* business jargon. Cotton (2018) makes the point without hyperbole:

According to *The Economist*, the idea of disruptive innovation is the most influential business idea of the 21st century. Coined in 1995 by American academic and business consultant Clayton M Christensen, the idea of disruptive innovation has been applied to a diverse set of industries both in modern society and historically. (A. W., 2019). So when 17th century disrupter John Milton in 1644 writes of the need to reform the system of education under which he was raised, we should not be surprised. We might, however, consider the character of those reforms and how they might inform movements today to change the ways in which we manage the essential function of education in the 21st century. [CORE, others.] While some disrupters are embracing inevitable and undeniable educational, technological, global, or demographic change and disrupting the status quo, others may be acting with a less benign motive, e.g., self-enrichment or power-mongering. Seib (2019) writes, “We are living in an age of technological disruption, so it figures that the most important trend in international politics is the rise of disrupters around the globe. Trump is, of course, the disrupter-in-chief, the most prominent leader to rise to power by proudly taking a wrecking ball to the prevailing political system.”

Other disrupters include Boris Johnson, who rode the Brexit whirlwind to Number 10 Downing Street in the summer of 2019; Narendra Modi, who ran his own tea stall in Gujarat and is committed to turning India into a capitalist country top to bottom; anti-democracy strongman prime minister and de facto supreme leader Viktor Orbán in Hungary; international cricketer and Trump ally Imran Khan in Pakistan; technocrat Emmanuel Macron in France; Secretary-General of the Spanish Socialist Workers’ Party Pedro Sanchez in Spain; and anti-immigrant Matteo Salvini, the deputy prime minister of Italy. “On one hand, the disrupters are breathing new life into ossified

political systems. On the other, some are simply old-school strongmen who are better at busting up the old paradigm than constructing new alternatives” (Seib, 2019).

John Milton is a disrupter, but of what stripe? Is Milton “breathing new life into ossified political system,” disrupting a corrupt system bound to irrelevant curricula and ineffective pedagogy, or is he a disrupter of a sociopolitical system in order, as with Donald J. Trump and others, to enrich himself or to gain power? The likes of Trump are the latter, the grifters, the money-grubbers, and the power mongers, while Milton is the former.

The Greeks have a word for it. *πλεονεξία*—pleonexia—the insatiable greed for more and more, more money, more land, more power. Whatever you have I want. We can distinguish between Joseph Schumpeter’s *creative destruction*, the inevitable march of technological progress, on the one hand, and the kind of *malicious sabotage* based on pecuniary self-interest. In the case of Milton and “Of Education,” there is no pecuniary self-interest at the heart of the critique or of Milton’s prescriptive agenda. Milton’s agenda, we conclude, is well-intentioned reform.

At the outset, however, to be clear, we need to define what we mean, and, more important, what Milton means, by the word “reform.” What is “reform”? It is not just change. It is not just an effort to express the state of nature in a different way. Milton’s reform is a return to Eden, before evil came into the world. Milton makes this definition clear both in his use of the third chapter of the book of Genesis and in Book One of *Paradise Lost*.

1.2 Research Questions

In this study, we examine three questions:

1.2.1 What lessons can be learned from Milton’s “Of Education” that may be applied to 21st century education systems? This question implies, of course, that there are such lessons. The study intends to determine the validity of that implication.

1.2.2 What obstacles might today's reformers face in implementing lessons learned from Milton's "Of Education"? Again, there is the implication that there would be obstacles to the reform of current education systems around the world. The implication, however, is intuitive, as anyone who has paid any attention to the subject knows; there are always such obstacles.

1.2.3 What strategies might today's reformers employ to implement lessons learned from Milton's "Of Education"? This assumes there are lessons to be learned from "Of Education" and that there will be obstacles.

1.3 Justification for the Study

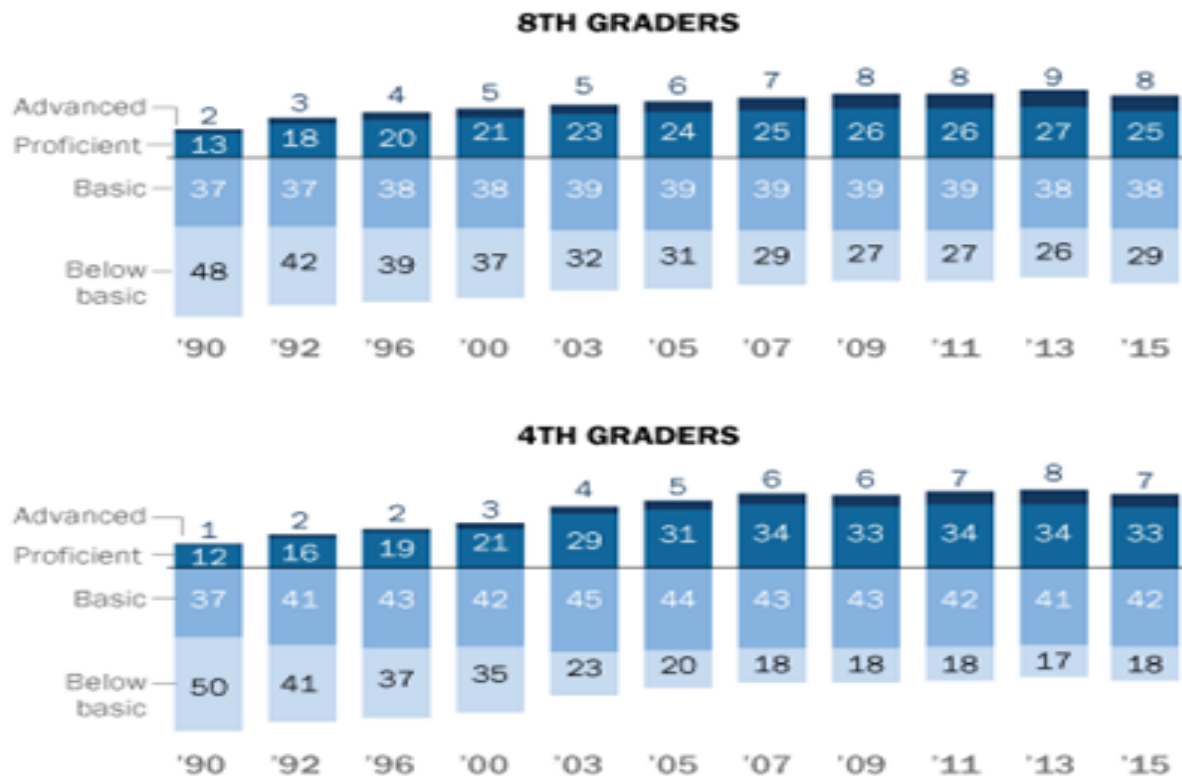
While *Paradise Lost* and others of Milton's works have been extensively researched, Angelica Duran "points to scholarship's relative neglect of Milton's tract on education and its implications for his other works" (Edwards, 2011, p. E250). Beyond that, however, we are concerned about whether and to what extent "Of Education" can teach us about movements to reform the education systems of the 21st century; such analyses are infrequent in the literature.

Persons and authorities engaged in efforts to improve local and national education systems are constantly seeking innovative practices in response to a steady stream of criticisms. (See MacPhail-Fausey, 2015, on Common Core State Standards.) The logic would seem irrefutable: If the outcomes of the education system are below expectations, then the system needs to be changed in some way. The need is expressed in terms of comparisons with other locales or other countries. For example, while expenditures in the education sector of the United States exceed spending for education in other countries, measured outcomes are disappointing. A Pew Research Center report finds that data from authoritative international assessments of mathematics and science attainment rank students in the United States behind many other advanced industrial nations.

One of the biggest cross-national tests is the Programme for International Student Assessment(PISA), which every three years measures reading ability, math and science literacy, and other key skills among 15-year-olds in dozens of developed and developing countries. The most recent PISA results, from 2015, placed the U.S. an unimpressive 38th out of 71 countries in math and 24th in science. Among the 35 members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, which sponsors the PISA initiative, the U.S. ranked 30th in math and 19th in science. (Desilver, 2017)

The graphic below shows mathematics results for 4th graders and 8th graders in the United States. The measure is the percent at each achievement level of the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP).

The average fourth grade NAEP math score in 2015 was 240 (on a scale of 0 to 500), the same level as in 2009, and down from 242 in 2013. The average eighth-grade score was 282 in 2015, compared with 285 in 2013; that score was the lowest since 2007. (The NAEP has only tested 12th-graders in math four times since 2005; their 2015 average score of 152 on a 0-to-300 scale was one point lower than in 2013 and 2009.)



Source: NAEP Data Explorer, National Center for Education Statistics

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Figure 1. Percent at each achievement level of the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) for United States pupils in the 4th and 8th grades.

Looked at another way, the 2015 NAEP rated 40% of fourth-graders, 33% of eighth graders and 25% of 12th-graders as “proficient” or “advanced” in math. While far fewer fourth- and eighth graders now rate at “below basic,” the lowest performance level (18% and 29%, respectively, versus 50% and 48% in 1990), improvement in the top levels appears to have stalled out. (Among 12th-graders, 38% scored at the lowest performance level in math, a point lower than in 2005.) (Desilver, 2017)

Much of the dissatisfaction with the education systems in the United States is based on the perception—indeed, the reality—of a disconnect between spending and results. The United States, lagging in outcomes, as noted above, spends more than nearly every other advanced country on education. The Institute of Education Sciences (IES) is the independent, non-partisan statistics, research, and evaluation arm of the U.S. Department of Education. IES reports:

In 2015, the United States spent \$12,800 per full-time-equivalent (FTE) student on elementary and secondary education, which was 35 percent higher than the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) average of \$9,500 (in constant 2017 U.S. dollars). At the postsecondary level, the United States spent \$31,000 per FTE student, which was 93 percent higher than the average of OECD countries (\$16,100). (IES, 2019).

This current study is justified by the widely acknowledged—and widely lamented—disconnect between spending on education and outcomes. In a close reading of John Milton’s “Of Education,” this study looks for potential remedies, not just based on the most innovative techniques published in journals of teaching and learning, but on asking if Milton’s 17th century ideas may offer systemic alternatives based on more fundamental truths applicable to the 21st century. We will find in “Of Education,” as Brooks (1908) found, that “Milton’s ideas were not on certain mere tricks or knacks; it must forever refresh itself out of the fountain of first principles and inspire itself with the contemplation of even unattainable ideals” (pp. 534-535).

1.4 Scope of the Study

This study focuses on one of Milton's many works. Those works include, *primus inter pares*, the epic poem *Paradise Lost*, as well as other poems, long and short, as well as a number of prose works. While this study draws on some of those works, those references are included in order to provide a deeper and broader understanding of the tractate "Of Education" and such lessons as we may draw from a close reading of that relatively brief work, lessons that may be of some use in our efforts to make improvements in both secondary and higher education in the 21st century, acknowledging the differences in technology and culture. We include in our study some analysis of the religious context within which Milton writes, especially the Reformation movement of the 16th and 17th centuries, and, most notably, the movement of Puritanism.

1.5 Structure of the Dissertation

This study begins with a bit of background in consonance with the view that a piece of writing, in order to be fully understood, requires some knowledge of the writer and those factors that influence the writer. We acknowledge the formalist view that a piece of writing must stand on its own without reference to the person of the writer (Ransom, 1941). It is the perspective of this study, however, that some appreciation for the extraordinary forces that shaped John Milton's writing offers a deeper understanding of the brief—Milton's characterization—"Of Education."

Digging more deeply into the forces that shaped John Milton's writing, we attend to his experiences in his own education as a necessary step toward understanding his harsh criticism of the education system as articulated in "Of Education." Any study of Milton's writing, whether in poetry or prose, must take into account the strongly held religious beliefs that drive him away from the established church and into the camp of the Puritans. With this as background, we move to

Milton's imperative, the reform of the education system, and to his detailed criticism and prescription, which we find in "Of Education."

As to the appendices to this study, it is important to note that this study draws heavily not only on the tractate under review but also on Milton's other writings and on his life and times in order to reach a more thorough understanding of his "Of Education." We seek answers to our research questions in the motives of Milton as he writes "Of Education," motives shaped by his own life experiences, including his private tutoring and his formal schooling at St. Paul's and at Cambridge University. The Appendices are included to shed some light on those motives.

Appendix I is the full text of the tractate under analysis. The reader of this study is invited to refer to the text whenever there is a question involving the assumptions, facts, or conclusions of the study. It is particularly important to refer to the text on the central question of the study, viz., to what extent, if any, can Milton's "Of Education" inform authorities of the 21st century who wish to improve their education systems? A research project should attempt to find out the truth of a matter, not to bolster an *a priori* position on the matter. We refer back to the tractate to test our assumptions, to discern the facts, and validate our conclusions as objectively as possible.

Appendix II is a brief extract from *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, one of the two books of Milton's that Charles II ordered burned by the public executioner. Milton provides here criteria against which to judge a king and to judge a tyrant. The very premise of the work is a refutation of the claim of Charles I of the "divine right of kings." It is not God who appoints the king, but the people. Milton's *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* provocatively claims that 'it is Lawfull ... to call to account a Tyrant, or wicked king ... and put him to death'. This was published in 1649, just after Charles I's execution, and Milton was hired as Latin Secretary in Oliver Cromwell's Commonwealth. As part of this role, he was commissioned to write

Eikonoklastes – meaning ‘image breaker’ – to counteract the flattering view of Charles I in *Eikon Basilike*, meaning ‘the image of the king’. Milton’s *Eikonoklastes* (1649) is one of the three books banned in this proclamation. (British Library, 2019). The public book burning was entirely symbolic, as many copies had already been printed and widely distributed.

Appendix III is a brief portion of Extract from *Eikonoklastes*. *Eikonoklastes* provides a justification for the execution of Charles I and is a response to *Eikon Basilike*, a blatant piece of Royalist propaganda portraying the executed Charles I as a martyr, published immediately after the execution. Milton wrote *Eikonoklastes* to counter the Royalist arguments.

Appendix IV is the sonnet, “When I consider how my light is spent.” It is one of the most frequently quoted works of Milton, especially the last line, “They also serve who only stand and wait.” It is both Milton’s lament and his pledge to continue his quest to know God’s ways.

Appendix V is a chronology of the turbulent 17th century. One of the key premises of this study is that Milton’s body of work is shaped in large part by the events of that time. It is, therefore, useful to have at hand a summary of those events.

Appendix VI offers two visual perspectives of the current study.

Appendices VII-IX are brief summaries of case studies involving current efforts at education reform in the countries of Australia, the United States, and Georgia, respectively.

Finally, this study addresses the connection between Milton’s prescription and its relevance to the system of education in the 21st century and suggests answers to the three research questions posed in Chapter One of this study.

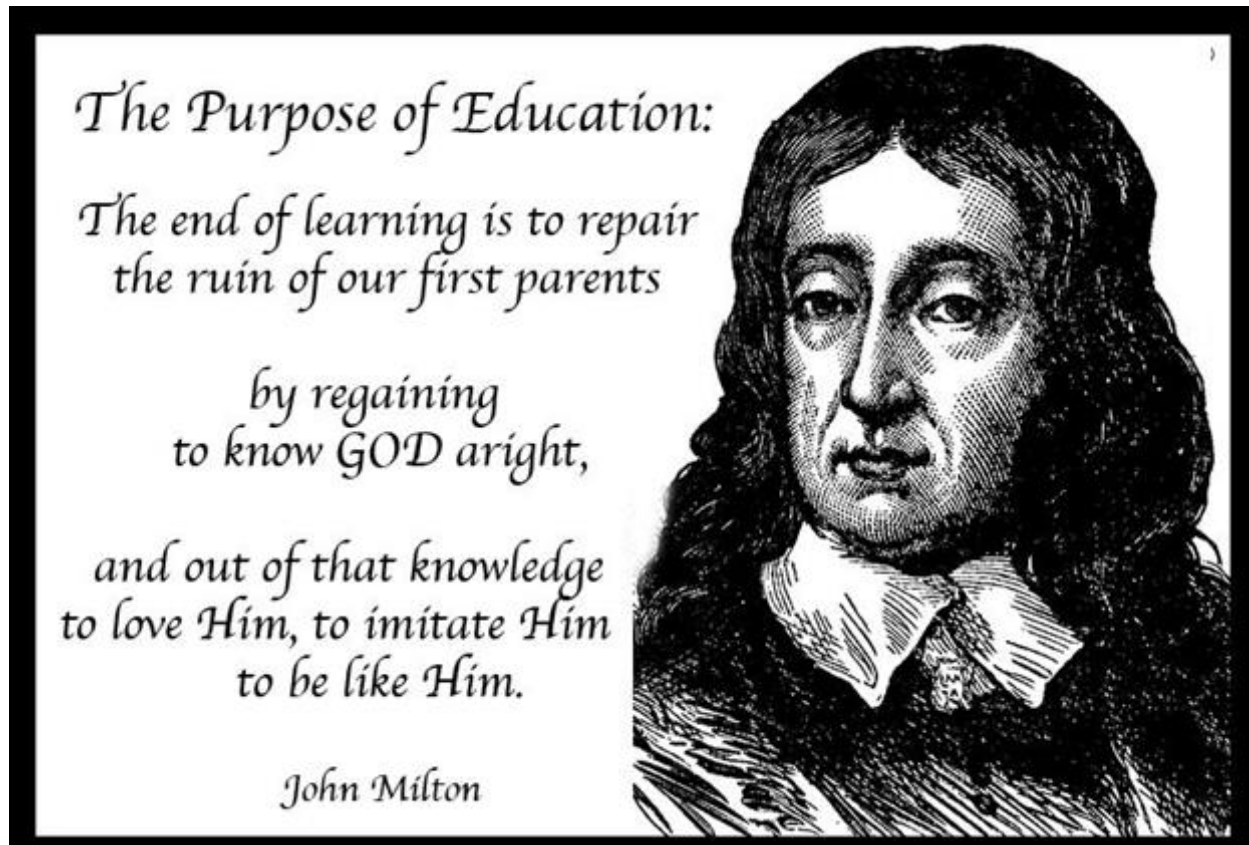


Figure 2. The Purpose of Education, according to Milton

Chapter Two: Milton's Life and Times

The end then of Learning is to repair the ruines 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 neerest by possessing our souls of true vertue, which being united to the heavenly grace of faith makes up the highest perfection.



Figure 3. John Milton at age 10, by Cornelis Janssens van Ceulen (Public domain)

2.1 Introduction

John Milton's career as a writer of prose and poetry spans three distinct eras: (1) Stuart England (1603 to 1714); (2) the Civil War (1642-1648), the Interregnum, including the Commonwealth (1649-1653) and Protectorate (1654-1660); and (3) the Restoration (1660-1688). (Poetry Foundation, 2019). Milton is thoroughly a citizen of his place and times, England in the first three-quarters of the 17th century. He lived through the reign of James I and the implementation of the Union of the English and Scottish crowns and the introduction of the King James Bible, which was meant to be accessible to the public. He witnessed the ascent and fall of Charles I, enthusiastically supporting that fall. He lived through the English Civil War and saw the victory of the Parliament over the Royalists. He not only witnessed but became a key player in Oliver Cromwell's Interregnum. He endured the indignities imposed on him by the Restoration. He

survived the bubonic plague of 1665 and the Great Fire of London the following year. At age 44, after many years of suffering from the effects of glaucoma, he went completely blind, and for some 36 years composed some of the greatest works of English language and literature, most notably, *Paradise Lost*, acclaimed by many as not only the single greatest English poem but the greatest work ever written in the English language. In light of all these events impinging on Milton's life, it is difficult to make the case that they did not influence his writing, both in his poetry and in his prose.

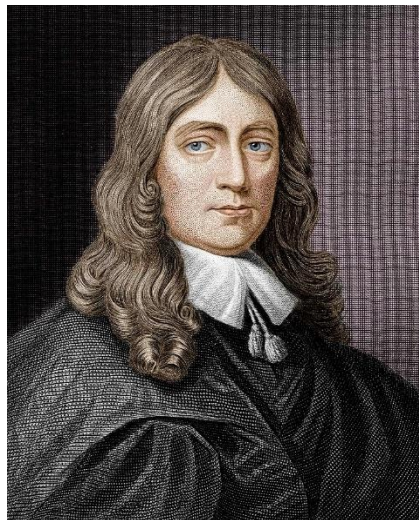


Figure 4. Young John Milton. (Science Photo Library, Public Domain)

2.2 The English Civil Wars

On June 15, 1215, at Runnymede, near Windsor, the English barons forced King John to sign the *Magna Carta Libertatum* (Medieval Latin for “the Great Charter of the Liberties”), a charter of rights that not only codified those rights but began the process of eroding the notion of the “Divine Right of Kings” (British Library, 2019; Parker, 1993). For some four centuries, the contest for power continued. By 1642, that contest had erupted into full-scale armed conflicts between the monarchy and the people's house, between the Royalists (“Cavaliers”) on the one side and the Parliamentarians (“Roundheads”) on the other side.



*Illustration of Charles I
Jim Godfrey*

Figure 5. Charles I at Christ Church, Oxford

The 1645 victory of the Parliamentary New Model Army over the Royalist Army at the Battle of Naseby on June 14 marked the decisive turning point in the English Civil War (Carlton, 1992). The results of the English Civil Wars were momentous: King Charles I was deposed and later beheaded; his son, Charles II, was forced into exile in France; and a republican Commonwealth was established under Oliver Cromwell. The costs were steep: 50,000 Royalist soldiers were killed in combat, along with 34,000 Parliamentary soldiers. In addition, there were some 127,000 non-combat deaths (including some 40,000 civilians) (History, 2019).

John Milton supported the Parliamentary cause (Aylmer, 1980). Along with “Of Education,” he published his severely critical *Areopagitica* in 1644, at the height of the English Civil War. In writing *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* and *Eikonoklastes*, he makes clear his antipathy toward the monarchy and his favoring a republican form of government free of control by the Crown and the Church. Milton wrote that people needed to support “the present Parliament & Army” (Milton, 1962, p. 194).

A further, fortuitous (for John Milton), result of the Parliamentary victory in the English Civil Wars was that Milton was appointed to a position in the new government of Oliver Cromwell. In March 1649, he was appointed Secretary for Foreign Tongues by the Council of State. His portfolio was to compose the English Republic's foreign correspondence in Latin, but he also was called upon to produce propaganda for the regime and to serve as a censor (Sullivan, 2013). Barbara Lewalski (2000) characterizes the latter as “distasteful,” along with the “compromises attendant on power” (pp. 236–237).

2.3 Interregnum and Restoration

With the execution of Charles I, and the flight of his son, Charles II, to France (Albuquerque, 1868), the English people found themselves for the first time without a monarch since the Saxon King Egbert in 827-839 CE (Swanton, 1996). The term “Interregnum” would not have been used, as it would have implied that another monarch will one day be sitting on the throne of England. Instead, under the leadership of Civil War hero Oliver Cromwell as “Protector,” the English people would become—at least, for a time—accustomed to the status of a “Commonwealth.”

With the passions of the Puritan reformers, and a substantial number of the population, a king had been deposed and executed. Such an event was not unprecedented, as many British monarchs had been killed in sometimes internecine conflicts. What was new here was that the king was removed by the people, specifically, by the representatives of the people in Parliament. In place of the monarch, it was the Commonwealth, or English Republic, that ruled from 1649 to 1660. The republic's existence was declared and legitimized through “An Act declaring England to be a Commonwealth,” adopted by the Rump Parliament on 19 May 1649 (Firth & Rait, 1911).



Figure 6. Oliver Cromwell, leader of the Parliamentary Army in the English Civil War

The Commonwealth was dissolved in 1660. Then followed the Restoration of the monarchy, with Charles II returning to England from his exile in France. The Restoration of the English monarchy took place in 1660 when King Charles II returned to England after the Interregnum (with periods of Commonwealth and Protectorate rule), which started after the end of the Second English Civil War, with the execution of King Charles I on 30 January 1649 (Firth & Rait, 1911).

There was a reaction to the severity of the Puritan rule of Oliver Cromwell and a general sense that a return to the monarchy would be an improvement:

On 4 April 1660, in response to a secret message sent by [General George] Monck, Charles II issued the Declaration of Breda, which made known the conditions of his acceptance of the crown of England. Monck organised the Convention Parliament, which met for the first time on 25 April. On 8 May it proclaimed that King Charles II had been the lawful monarch since the execution of Charles I in January 1649. (House of Commons Journal) Charles returned from exile on 23 May. He entered London on 29 May, his birthday. To celebrate "his Majesty's Return to his Parliament" 29 May was made a public holiday, popularly known as Oak Apple Day (Harris, 2005). He was crowned at Westminster Abbey on 23 April 1661. (Hutton, 2000)

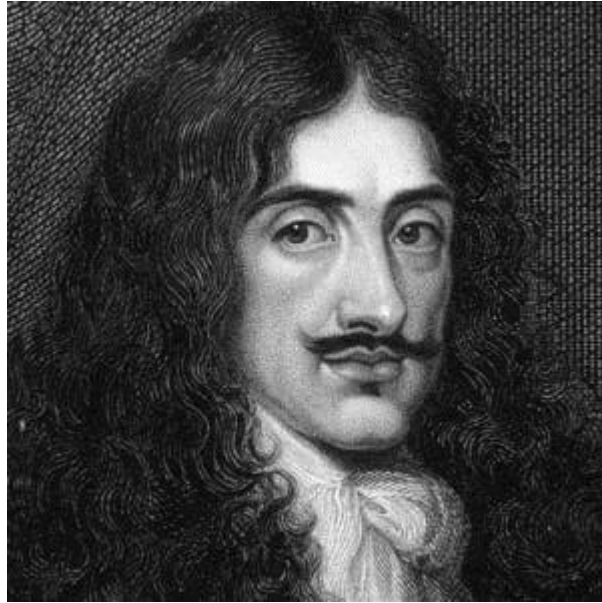


Figure 7. Charles II of England, promised religious toleration in the Declaration of Breda as a condition for his returning to the throne as King.

The English republican government collapsed following Cromwell's death in 1658, and Charles was reinstated to the throne in 1661. In his restoration agreement with Parliament, he was given a standing army and allowed to purge officials responsible for his father's execution. In exchange, Charles II agreed to honor the Petition of Right and accept a limited income. (Biography, 2019)

Having come out strongly against the monarchy of Charles I, even to the point of justifying the execution of the King, Milton found himself on the inside of the new government of Oliver Cromwell, with his appointment as Secretary for Foreign Tongues. However, the same justifications that Milton wrote against the monarchy before and during the years of the Commonwealth placed his life in jeopardy when the Republican government collapsed and the monarchy was restored under Charles II, the son of the man whose execution was extolled by Milton.

The Parliamentary forces under Oliver Cromwell having defeated the Royalists in the Civil War, Milton wrote in support of the republican principles represented by the newly formed Commonwealth. His 1649 *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* defended the right of the people to

hold their rulers to account and implicitly sanctioned the regicide. It was Milton's political reputation that got him appointed Secretary for Foreign Tongues by the Council of State in March 1649. His main job description was to compose the English Republic's foreign correspondence in Latin, but he also was called upon to produce propaganda for the regime and to serve as a censor (Sullivan, 2006)

In October 1649, Milton published *Eikonoklastes*, defending the regicide, in response to the popular book, *Eikon Basilike*. The book was attributed to Charles I, although it is likely that it was written by one or more persons in his court. The book shamelessly portrayed the King as an innocent Christian martyr, the image of innocence, appointed by God to rule His people in England. Milton tried to break this image, thus the *iconoclast*, or image buster. A month later the exiled Charles II and his party published the defense of monarchy *Defensio Regia pro Carolo Primo*, written by the humanist Claudius Salmasius. In January of the following year, Milton was ordered by the Council of State to write a defense of the English people.

On 24 February 1652, Milton published his Latin defense of the English people *Defensio pro Populo Anglicano*, also known as the *First Defence*. Milton's pure Latin prose and evident learning exemplified in the *First Defence* quickly made him a European reputation, and the work ran to numerous editions. He addressed his Sonnet 16 to 'The Lord Generall Cromwell in May 1652' beginning "Cromwell, our chief of men...", although it was not published until 1654. (Pooley, 1993).

Milton held the appointment of Secretary for Foreign Tongues to the Commonwealth Council of State until 1660. After he had become totally blind, most of the work was done by his deputies, Georg Rudolph Wecklein, then Philip Meadows, and from 1657 by the poet Andrew Marvell. (Cavendish, 1999)

Charles I's head had been off his shoulders for six weeks when John Milton accepted the office of Secretary for Foreign Tongues to the Commonwealth Council of State. He had announced his approval of the execution in a pamphlet which came out within a few days of the event and throughout the struggle between Parliament and the King he had been a

vigorous anti-Royalist polemicist. He was now forty years old, a slender man of middling height and delicately fastidious ways, who had earned the sneering nickname 'Lady' at Christ's College, Cambridge. (Cavendish, 1999)

The job Milton held in the new Commonwealth government was anything but trivial.

Latin was still the language of international communication in 1649 and 'foreign tongues' in practice meant Latin. Milton's new job, which carried a salary of £288 a year (at least £60,000 today) with two assistants and quarters in Whitehall, involved him in translating official communications with foreign governments into Latin and translating the replies into English. As few foreign governments wished to have much to do with the regime in England, Milton could spend his time writing propaganda tracts for his employers. (Cavendish, 1999)

The return of the monarchy in the person of Charles II was a spectacularly disappointing moment for Milton, a moment in which the regicide apologist must have feared for his life.

Milton remained Latin Secretary and apologist for the regime until 1660 and the restoration of the Stuarts, which he passionately opposed in print. Under the new regime *Eikonoklastes* was solemnly burned by the public hangman and its author was imprisoned, but [poet Andrew] Marvell's influence may have helped to protect him, and he was soon released. Now in his early fifties, he took a new wife and retired into private life to publish his History of Britain, finish *Paradise Lost* and write *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes*. (Cavendish, 1999)

At the outset of the Restoration, two of Milton's works, *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* and *Eikonoklastes* were ordered by Charles II to be burned (Miller, 1988). While he might have been executed, he was met with greater leniency, serving just a few months in prison for his part in supporting the deposing and executing of Charles I, and having the books burned by the public executioner. "With the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660, Milton's political writings suddenly placed him on dangerous ground. This royal proclamation calls for the suppression and burning of two books by Milton, and one by the radical thinker John Goodwin (c. 1594–1665). On 27 August, Milton's books were duly burned. But on 29 August, the king issued an Act of Free and General Pardon, and Milton surfaced from hiding. He was arrested and imprisoned in the Tower of London that autumn but released on 15 December 1660." (British Library, 2019)

The full title of the proclamation of Charles II that ordered the burning of Milton's books reads as follows:

By the King. A proclamation for calling in, and suppressing of two books written by John Milton; the one intituled ... pro populo Anglicano defensio ... and the other in answer to a book intituled, The pourtraicture of His Sacred Majesty in his solitude and sufferings. And also a third book intituled, The obstructors of justice, written by John Goodwin. (British Library, 2019)

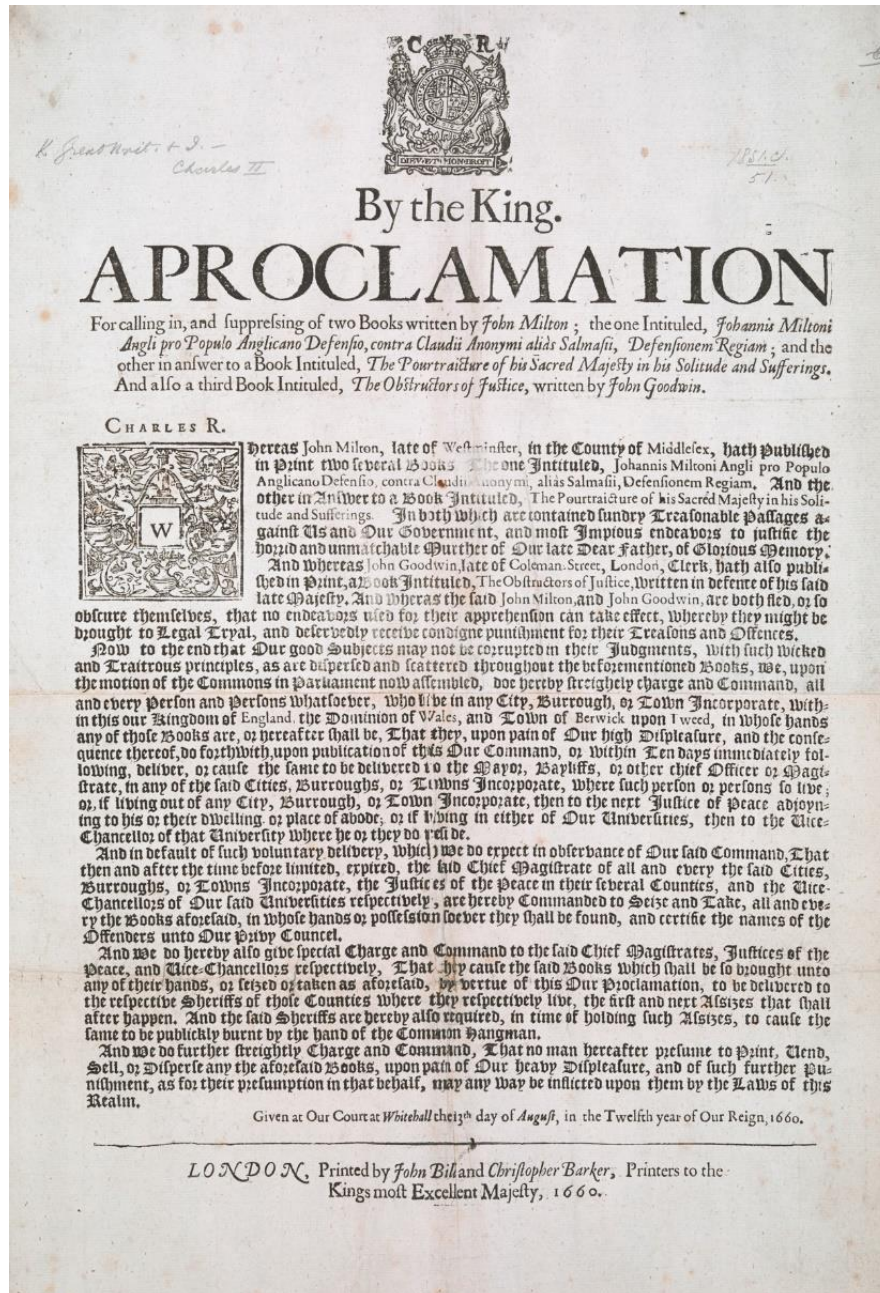


Figure 8. 1660 Proclamation by Charles II

It is of some irony that the King's proclamation would be circumvented by one singular institution and one man of undoubtable integrity, The Bodleian Library and Bodleian's Librarian. During the English Civil War, when London was a dangerous place for Charles I, he hid out at Christ Church, Oxford. While there, he demanded to borrow a book from the Bodleian.

Bodley's Librarian John Rouse proved a most determined guardian of the Bodleian's books. In 1645, he received a note from Charles I asking to borrow a world history by the French poet and chronicler Agrippa d'Aubigné. The King was based in Oxford, and the request came with the backing of the Vice-Chancellor and Dean of Christ Church, Samuel Fell. (Citizen Milton, 2019)

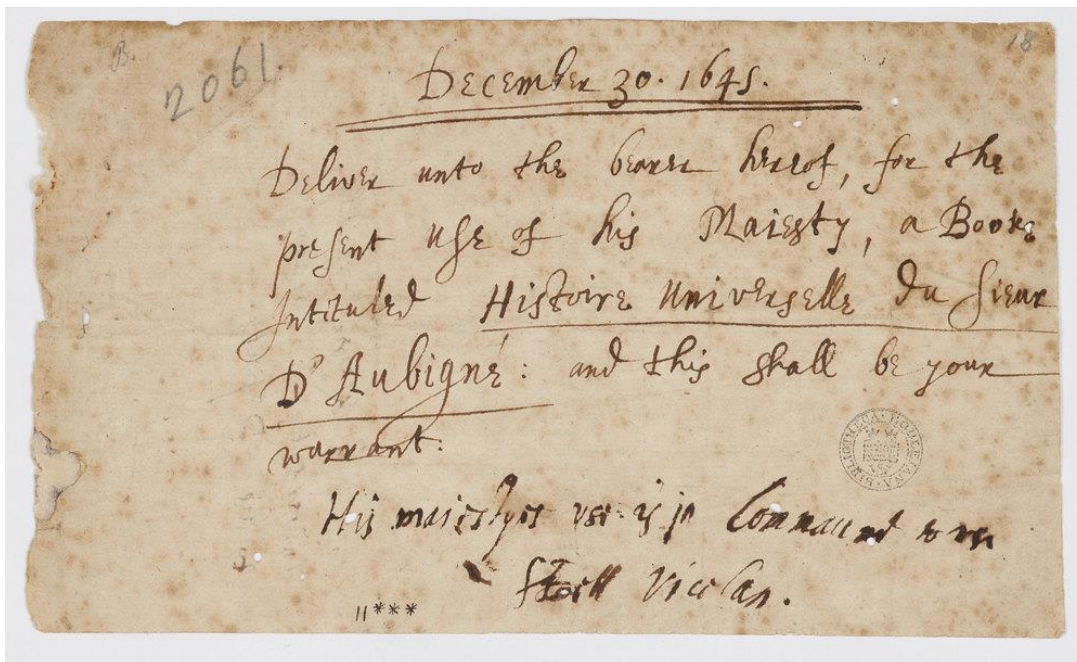


Figure 9. Demand of Charles I to borrow from the Bodleian Library

Transcript of Charles I demand to Rouse, MS. Lat. misc. d. 77
December 30. 1645.

Deliver unto the bearer hereof, for the present use of his Maiesty, a booke intituled Histoire Universelle du Sieur D'Aubigné: and this shall be your warrant:

His maiestyes use: is in commaund to use

S Fell Vice Can.

“Rouse brandished the Library Statutes with their prohibition against lending, and the King’s request was withdrawn” (Citizen Milton, 2019)

Charles I may not have known, but Fell most certainly knew, that all applicant readers to the Bodleian must swear Thomas Bodley’s oath. [The author of this study knows this well, as he was required to take the oath as a student at Christ Church in 1994.] Users were originally forced to take the oath in Latin, but are now able to sign a pledge, which reads: “I hereby undertake not to remove from the Library, nor to mark, deface, or injure in any way, any volume, document or other object belonging to it or in its custody; not to bring into the Library, or kindle therein, any fire or flame, and not to smoke in the Library; and I promise to obey all rules of the Library.”

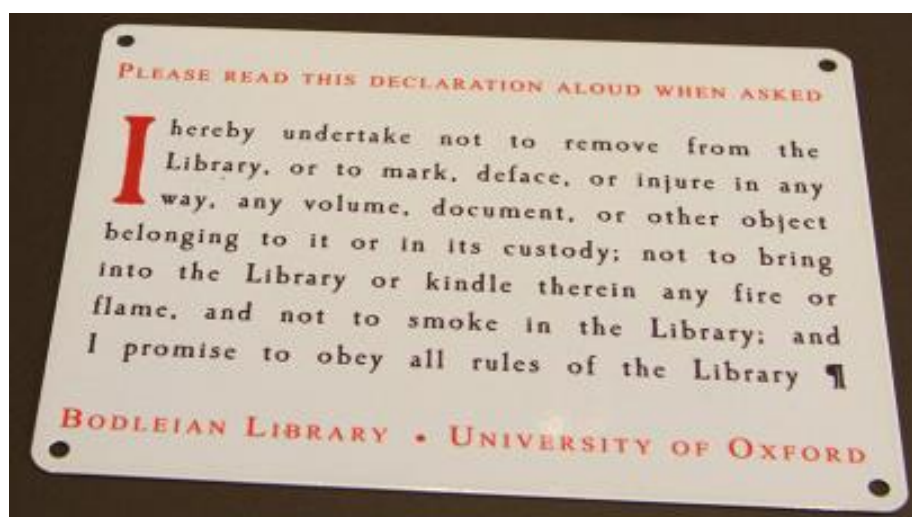


Figure 10. The Bodleian reader’s oath

“Milton was on good terms with...Rouse. When Rouse requested Milton send him a copy to replace his poems that had been lost, Milton composed him an Ode in Latin to accompany the gift” (Citizen Milton, 2019).

The Bodleian Library, too, was a friend to Milton. On two occasions, Bodleian copies of Milton’s books were saved from the bonfires of censorship to which they had been condemned. In 1660, part of a campaign to expunge the recent republican past, Milton’s books were to be sent to the flames by order of the King. Again in 1683, in the climate of fear of a supposed plot against Charles II, the Convocation at Oxford voted to burn Milton’s among a list of subversive books. At both times, Milton’s books nonetheless survived in the Bodleian intact, in defiance of the law. (Citizen Milton, 2019)

We may be forgiven if we wish to speculate how the corpus of English literature might be considerably different had Charles II decided to execute John Milton, as Milton had advocated the execution of the King's father. Would we have *Paradise Lost*? Certainly, we would not have either *Paradise Regained* or *Samson Agonistes*. And if that were the case, would scholars much care about Milton's other writings? Including "Of Education"!

Chapter Three: Milton's Education

And that which casts our proficiency therein so much behind, is our time lost partly in too oft idle vacancies given both to Schools and Universities, partly in a preposterous exaction, forcing the empty wits of Children to compose Theams, Verses and Orations, which are the acts of ripest judgment and the final work of a head by long reading and observing, with elegant maxims, and copious invention.

3.1 Introduction

John Milton's father was able and willing to provide his son with the best possible education. Milton continued a diligent inquiry to further his own learning. It was this education that led to some of the greatest writing in the history of the English language.

3.2 Milton's Early Education

At All Hallows Church, John Milton was influenced by the church's minister, Richard Stock. An anti-Catholic Puritan, Stock emphasized the need to read the Bible. And this Milton did. From a very young age, Milton was privately tutored. From the ages of 5 to 7, he was taught how to read and write in English and Latin, along with arithmetic. He was provided with several tutors between the ages of 7 and 12, but one in particular, Thomas Young, would prove influential. A Scottish Presbyterian, Young was highly educated and respected by his peers. Young's religious views affected Milton, and Milton adopted both Puritan appearances and ideas during his tutoring (Lewalski, 2003, pp. 4-5). Young was not the only major figure in Milton's early education; Milton

acknowledged his father's care in teaching him many languages, including French, Italian, and Hebrew (Lewalski, p. 11).

In a Latin letter written at college Milton addressed Young as "best of Teachers and as another Father who merits his "unparalleled gratitude"; in a Latin Elegy to Young he recalls that "Under his guidance I first visited the Aonian retreats...I drank the Pierian waters and by the favor of Clio I thrice wet my blessed lips with Castalian wine." This could mean that Young was Milton's first teacher in classics, beginning around 1615 when he was seven, but the terms probably suggest that Young introduced Milton to the reading and writing of Latin (and perhaps Greek) poetry at some later stage (Lewalski, pp. 6-7).

3.3 Milton at Cambridge

Barbara Lewalski (2003) writes, "Milton wrote appreciatively about his childhood and schooldays, with some patina of nostalgia, but he was disappointed by and sharply critical of the education he received at Cambridge University" (p. 15). In "Of Education," Milton hardly mentions the early years of education in his critiques or in his reforms, rather concentrating on the later years and especially the university curricula. His experience at Cambridge no doubt explains this focus.

He completed, while constantly complaining about, the required studies and exercises in disputation for the Baccalaureate and Master of Arts degrees. But he felt alienated from the curriculum and from his fellow students, finding, he lamented, "almost no intellectual companions here." He came to Cambridge intending to prepare for ordination and, as his commitment to poetry intensified, probably hoped to combine poetry and the ministry as had John Donne, George Herbert, Giles and Phineas Fletcher, and others (Lewalski, p. 15).

In any event, it was not any academic inadequacy that caused Milton to be suspended.

Milton had matriculated on 9 April 1625 with William Chappell as his tutor. The two were incompatible, perhaps on matters of religious orientation.

When the plague hit England in August 1625, the University of Cambridge had to be shut down until December. Milton had been there only for a few months before he had an altercation with Chappell and he was rusticated by this time. It is possible that the conflict originated in Chappell's Arminianism conflicting with Milton's Calvinistic views. (Lewalski, p. 21).

Milton was suspended temporarily from the college and returned to London from April to July 1625 (Campbell, 2003, pp. 486–487). During this period, Milton composed many of his earlier poems; his poems on the Gunpowder Plot, his Hobson poems, and his An Epitaph on the Marchioness of Winchester were written while working on various college exercises. Other poems, such as “On the Morning of Christ's Nativity,” “On Time,” “Upon the Circumcision,” and “At a Solemn Music,” were written during Milton's free time (Shawcross, 1993, p. 18).

It may be instructive in this study to note that, while at Cambridge, in 1626, Milton writes in Latin the anti-Catholic poem “In Quintum Novembis” (On the Fifth of November), celebrating the failure of the “Gunpowder Plot” of 1605. That pro-Catholic plot involved Guy Fawkes preparing to detonate explosives at the opening of Parliament, which would be attended by Protestant James I and his family. The event continues today to be celebrated in the United Kingdom on November 5 as Guy Fawkes Day.

Cambridge University, we must remember, unlike the Royalist-leaning Oxford University where Charles I was ensconced during the Civil War, was a stronghold of Puritanism. During Milton's time at Cambridge, in celebration of Guy Fawkes Day, a number of university students would write poems, some serious, some in ridicule, that accused Roman Catholics of their involvement in treachery against the Protestant monarchy of James VI of Scotland cum James I of England. These poems, composed by Cambridge University undergraduate students also directly attacked the papacy and the Catholic nations on the Continent, especially France, Spain, and Portugal. In addition to its anti-Catholic center, Milton's “In Quintum Novembis” includes “two larger themes that would later inform *Paradise Lost*: that the evil perpetrated by sinful humankind may be counteracted by Providence and that God will bring greater goodness out of evil” (Labriola, 2019, p. 4). This position may be seen to be consistent with Milton's theological belief that the

“fall” of Adam and Eve, the “original sin,” described in *Paradise Lost*, has a remedy in no other than in the grace of a merciful God, as later found in *Paradise Regained*:

He who receives
 Light from above, from the Fountain of Light,
 No other doctrine needs, though granted true;
 But these are false, or little else but dreams,
 Conjectures, fancies, built on nothing firm.

—*Paradise Regained*, Book Four

While we can see in Milton’s residency at Cambridge a pattern of anti-Catholicism in his writing, at the same time, there is no doubt that, on a personal level, he was attracted to individual Catholics: “Throughout his career, Milton inveighed against Catholicism, though during his travels in Italy in 1638–39 he developed cordial personal relationships with Catholics, including high-ranking officials who oversaw the library at the Vatican” (Labriola, 2019, p. 4). This is a not uncommon phenomenon, that while one may have developed a prejudice based on a stereotype, that prejudice often softens when one encounters and has a personal relationship with someone of the “other” group.

However brief the visit, Milton called on Galileo while the astronomer was under house arrest, a punishment (short of execution for heresy, imposed by The Inquisition). That brief encounter was momentous and brings yet another dimension to our study of how “Of Education” transcends time.

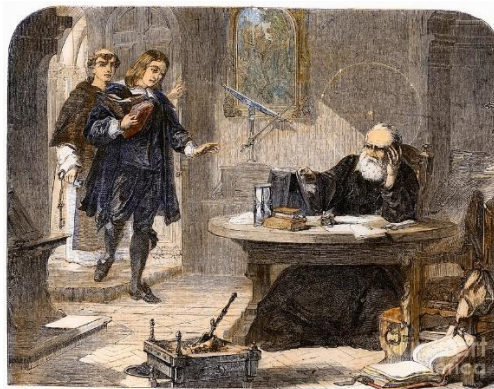


Figure 11. Milton and Galileo, 1638-1639, Drawing by Granger

Galileo the astronomer is the only one of Milton's contemporaries who obtained a place in *Paradise Lost*. This discoverer of new truths about the material universe seemed to the poet the one among the men he knew whose name posterity would most unwillingly let die. Yet he had seen Galileo not as the triumphant herald of new discoveries, but as one of the martyrs of science. (Gilbert, 1922, p. 152)

In *Areopagitica*, Milton writes of his encounter with the astronomer, "There it was that I found and visited the famous Galileo grown old, a prisoner to the Inquisition, for thinking in Astronomy otherwise than the Franciscan and Dominican licencers thought."

This visit represents the poet's love for freedom of thought, which was itself enough to direct his attention to a man suffering under tyranny, especially ecclesiastical tyranny, for truth's sake. Yet his sympathy with Galileo was also the expression of his desire for scientific teaching truer than the decadent Aristotelianism which found a champion in the church that had silenced the great astronomer. (Gilbert, 1922, p. 152)

What insights can we possibly gain from this improbable meeting between John Milton and Galileo Galilei? Milton is a poet and 30 years of age. Galileo is an astronomer and 74 years of age. What could they have in common? Perhaps the most powerful bond that Milton feels is that both are dissatisfied with the current intellectual environment, that which is controlled by an implacable church, and both encounter the resistance that such a powerful institution can present. Some disrupters are rewarded (Bower, 1995; Christensen, Raynor, & McDonald, 2015; A. W., 2019), while others suffer the backlash of heavily invested intransigence (Cotton, 2008; Seib, 2019). In the latter case, the disrupter may be recognized only by posterity. Milton today is widely acknowledged to have created the masterpiece of English literature, *Paradise Lost*, as well as others of the most creative works in verse and prose. Galileo is the pre-eminent astronomer, physicist, and engineer, sometimes called the "father of observational astronomy", the "father of modern physics", the "father of the scientific method," and the "father of modern science." Posterity recognizes what the contemporary authorities, notably the church, did not.

If we look deeply into Milton's early writings, we may see the foundations of his later tractate, "Of Education." Here we find Milton's hostility toward the education system as he experienced it after St. Paul's School, most notably at Cambridge University. Gilbert (1922, p. 152) notes, "The chief evidence of Milton's early rebellion against the school of thought that condemned Galileo is found in his university orations, one of which is entitled "*Contra Philosophiam Scholasticam*" (Contrary to the Philosophy of Scholasticism).

Milton's meeting with Galileo (perhaps conducted in the Latin in which they were both fluent), and his later reflections on that meeting may be at the root of his antipathy to the virtual dictatorship of entrenched educational philosophies and the measures taken to implement such philosophies, a more visceral and more passionate root than simply the intellectual.

In "Of Education," Milton writes, "I call therefore a compleat and generous Education that which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully and magnanimously all the offices both private and publick of Peace and War." His view of "a compleat and generous Education" must embrace not only the current state of knowledge, but the attitude toward new ideas, perhaps in part stimulated by his meeting with Galileo in the Arcetri section of Florence. Both intellectually and viscerally, Milton must have seen the need for that attitude that scientific attitude, of welcoming divergent views rather than instinctively opposing them, sometimes, with deadly effect. His meeting with Galileo may, we can only imagine, also have reinforced his view, that the church is not only an impediment to "a compleat and generous Education," but, more urgently and more importantly, a dangerous threat to such an education. After all, how dangerous can an institution be that condemns to death, or imprisons, even in one's own house, a scholar who offers new facts, new evidence, or new theories, perhaps contradictory to the current orthodoxy? Perhaps in another

paper, a piece of historical fiction, one might imagine the conversation between these two iconoclasts!

Chapter Four: Milton the Puritan: His Quest for the Ways of God

I am long since perswaded, that to say, or do ought worth memory and imitation, no purpose or respect should sooner move us, then simply the love of God, and of mankind.

In this chapter, we examine the role Milton will play in a time of enormous turmoil, both as a devoted Christian committed to the Puritan agenda and as an intellectual seeking to understand the reality of his age and express that understanding in the most creative manner. We ask after his motives in writing “Of Education” in the context of a radical overthrow of the government and a radical view of the institutions of government, old and new.

4.1 Introduction.

It would be a logical question to ask why Milton wrote “Of Education” in the first place. To be a Puritan is to be, by definition, a reformer. To be a Puritan is to be a seeker. To be a Puritan is to be a change agent. Milton is all of these things, and he is, by his own admission, an iconoclast. (Milton’s 1649 book, *Eikonoklastes*, aims to debunk the Royalist propaganda piece, *Eikon Basilike*, which paints a picture of Charles I as a martyr.) Having said that, there remains the question of the intensity of Milton’s Puritanism; i.e., was Milton truly a revolutionary? Hughes raises the question in the context of later analyses: “Since the end of World War I there has been a growing doubt of Milton’s rank among the leaders of the Puritan revolution” (p. 87). For example, there is no evidence that Milton supported the truly revolutionary position of Gerrard Winstanley and the Diggers, who published *The True Levellers Standard Advanced in April 1649* (Winstanley, 1649). Nevertheless, Hughes concludes,

Milton's prime concern was with the perfection of the state and of the individual. That is why, in his first burst of revolutionary writing, in the anti-episcopal tracts, he was more of a reformer than a revolutionist; and that is why, as he explored what Christian liberty meant to him in the divorce tracts, *Areopagitica*, the Tenure and the later political pamphlets, he became more and more of a radical idealist—a revolutionist without a party and with only the faith of the champion of a lost cause in revolution itself. (p. 116)

4.2 Puritanism in the 17th century

The time of Milton is a time of transition from the Middle Ages to the English Renaissance (Cheney, 2007). People questioned their institutions, including the church: “In the later Middle Ages, many people in Europe were concerned about problems in the church including corruption, low educational standards for priests, and religious apathy among the general population” (Parry, 2008b, p. 1). Puritanism was “a blend of the Reformation and the Renaissance” (Khan, p. 348), or even as “a second and greater Renaissance” (de Carvalho, 1999). The rise of Puritanism following the death of Henry VIII, and through the reign of his daughter, Elizabeth, was largely fueled by a feeling that the English Reformation was inadequate, that it had not gone far enough to purge the “impurities” of the Roman Catholic Church. “They wished to ‘purify’ the Church of England of its remaining Catholic elements” (Lambert, 2019, p. 2). It was, then, “the so-called Puritan Revolution (1640-1660) in England that provided an opportunity to Milton to write his famous prose work” (Khan, 2016, p.347).

Puritanism is one of many early branches of the Protestant Reformation, “basically a reform agenda by the Christian zealots to bring certain reforms in the English Church within the spirit of the Renaissance” (Khan, 2016, p. 348). Here we refer back to the previous century and pick up on “Ninety-five Theses, propositions for debate concerned with the question of indulgences, written (in Latin) and possibly posted by Martin Luther on the door of the Schlosskirche (Castle Church), Wittenberg, on October 31, 1517” (Britannica, 2019a).

Christopher (1999) notes that, “The Reformation was an important part of England’s national identity in the seventeenth century and an important part of Milton’s identity” (p. 193). While the Reformation is typically attributed to Martin Luther in 1517, precursors include Peter Waldo (c. 1140-c. 1205), John Wycliffe (1320s-1384), and Jan Huss (1369-1415). We must assume, although more research would be needed to confirm the assumption, that Milton was familiar with these early “reformers” of the church and its practices. He also must have been familiar with the hostility of Geoffrey Chaucer to the church and its practices, as well as its practitioners (viz., Prioress, Friar, Monk, Nun’s Priest, Summoner, and Reeve) (Coghill, 2003).

But as for the Puritans, “Church historian Patrick Collinson has called the Puritans ‘hot Protestants,’ meaning people who were keen to reform the Church of England further to be more extremely Protestant” (Parry, 2008b., p. 2). Some of the characteristics of Puritanism were “emphasis on the importance of preaching and on the importance of spiritual experience” (Parry, 2008b, p.2). As a student at Christ’s College, Cambridge, Milton came under the influence of a decidedly Puritan environment and throughout his life demonstrated an unflinching commitment to the movement.

Throughout the Middle Ages, there were many Christian sects, cults and movements whose teachings foreshadowed later Protestant movements. Broadbent (1937) identifies some of the main groups:

Paulicians, an Armenian group (6th to 9th centuries) who sought a return to the purity of the church at the time of Paul the Apostle;

Tondrakians, an Armenian group (9th to 11th centuries) who advocated the abolition of the Church along with all its traditional rites;

Bogomils, a group arising in the 10th century in Bulgaria, Macedonia, and the Balkans who sought a return to the spirituality of the early Christians and opposed established forms of government and church;

Arnoldists, a 12th-century group from Lombardy who criticized the wealth of the Catholic Church and preached against baptism and the Eucharist;

Petrobrusians were 12th-century followers of Peter of Bruys in southeastern France who rejected the authority of the Church Fathers and of the Catholic Church, opposing clerical celibacy, infant baptism, prayers for the dead and organ music;

Henricans, 12th-century followers of Henry of Lausanne in France who rejected the doctrinal and disciplinary authority of the Church, did not recognize any form of worship or liturgy, and denied the sacraments;

Brethren of the Free Spirit, a term applied in the 13th century to those, primarily in the Low Countries, Germany, France, Bohemia and northern Italy, who believed that the sacraments were unnecessary for salvation, that the soul could be perfected through imitating the life of Christ, and that the perfected soul was free of sin and beyond all ecclesiastical, moral and secular law;

Apostolic Brethren (later known as Dulcinians), a 13th- to 14th-century sect from northern Italy founded by Gerard Segarelli and continued by Fra Dolcino of Novara, who rejected the worldliness of the church and sought a life of perfect sanctity, in complete poverty, with no fixed domicile, no care for the morrow, and no vows; and

Neo-Adamites, a term applied in the 13th to 15th centuries to those, including Taborites, Picards, and some Beghards, who wished to return to the purity of the life of Adam by living communally, practicing social and religious nudity, embracing free love and rejecting marriage, and rejecting individual ownership of property.

As Broadbent (1937) points out, Milton was neither the only reform-minded individual nor the earliest. Broadbent writes in his preface to *The Pilgrim Church*,

There is one history, which, though it contains the darkest tragedy, yet by common consent is called "The Good News," "The Glad Tidings," or by a name which it has captured and made its own: "The Gospel." Its four historians are uniquely known as "The Four Evangelists," or tellers forth of the Good News. This history tells how, by a miraculous birth, God entered into a relationship to man which even creation had not established, and by a sacrificial death and mighty resurrection vanquished death, put away sin its cause, and to His glory as Creator added that of Redeemer. The foundations of this history, the preparation for it, indeed the actual foretelling of it and evidences of its truth precede it in the Scriptures of the Old Testament. Interwoven with these, inseparable from them, is the History of Israel, which is therefore itself one of universal value.

An attempt is made in this book to introduce those who have not much time for reading or research, into some of the experiences of certain churches of God which, at different times and in various places, have endeavored in their meetings, order, and testimony to make the Scriptures their guide and to act upon them as the Word of God, counting them as sufficient for all their needs in all their circumstances. There have always been such churches; the records of most have disappeared, but what remain are of such volume that only a selection can be given.

Some spiritual movements are considered which only partially accepted the principle of taking the Scriptures as sufficient guide, because in their measure these too throw valuable light on the possibility of such a course.



Figure 12. Title page of Martin Luther's translation of the Old Testament from Hebrew into German, 1534
(©Photos.com/Thinkstock)

In 1553, Henry VIII broke with the Catholic Church over a dispute involving his desired divorce (or annulment) from Catherine of Aragon, his brother's widow, after 15 years of marriage. On July 18, 1536, the English Parliament passed the law titled "An Act Extinguishing the authority of the bishop of Rome," and in 1559, Parliament passed the revised Act of Supremacy, still abolishing papal supremacy, and defining Elizabeth as Supreme Governor, rather than Supreme Head, of the Church of England. (Wood, 2017).



Figure 13. Elizabeth I, Queen of England and Ireland, 1558-1603

Later in the century, Puritanism arose in England:

The Puritans were members of a religious reform movement known as Puritanism that arose within the Church of England in the late 16th century. They believed the Church of England was too similar to the Roman Catholic Church and should eliminate ceremonies and practices not rooted in the Bible.

Puritans felt that they had a direct covenant with God to enact these reforms. Under siege from Church and crown, certain groups of Puritans migrated to Northern English colonies in the New World in the 1620s and 1630s, laying the foundation for the religious, intellectual, and social order of New England. Aspects of Puritanism have reverberated throughout American life ever since.

The roots of Puritanism are to be found in the beginnings of the English Reformation. The name “Puritans” (they were sometimes called “precisionists”) was a term of contempt assigned to the movement by its enemies. Although the epithet first emerged in the 1560s, the movement began in the 1530s, when King Henry VIII repudiated papal authority and transformed the Church of Rome into a state Church of England. To Puritans, the Church of England retained too much of the liturgy and ritual of Roman Catholicism. (History, 2009)

4.3 Milton and The Bible and Myth

The Bible was more than a source for Milton, although it was a fruitful source in its multitude of stories. “The Bible is not just relevant to Milton as a ‘literary’ source...In particular, it was often used to back up points of view on controversial matters, since the Bible was accepted by most people as an authoritative source. Milton quotes heavily from the Bible in his pamphlets against bishops governing the Church, his pamphlets in favour of divorce, and his writings defending the execution of the king” (Parry, 2008a). In fact, both Milton’s theology and his views on education—and we may conclude one of the theological underpinnings of Milton’s “Of Education— may have been influenced by the German Protestant reformer Martin Bucer (1491-1551): “It is also possible that Bucer influenced the educational theories of John Milton, who translated into English and published in 1644 a considerable portion of *De Regno Christi* under the title of *The Judgment of Martin Bucer concerning Divorce*” (Gilbert, 1919, p. 340).

A close reading of Milton's "Of Education," or, indeed perhaps every other piece of Milton's writing, requires a study of the frames of reference that may lie outside the work itself. In general, these frames are many and diverse but for the most part may be found in the texts of religion and myth.

Whether explicitly, as when he cites one or another Biblical person or place, or implicitly, as he portrays the characters of Satan and his minions, Milton draws heavily on the text and form of the Holy Bible. In some cases, the language of the source could be Hebrew, as in the Old Testament, a language in which he was thoroughly schooled; Greek, another language with which he was on intimate terms, as in the New Testament; or English as in the King James Version of his day. Barker (1965) notes that Milton finds his character types in the Bible: The King James Version, also known as the King James Bible or simply the Authorized Version, is an English translation of the Christian Bible for the Church of England, begun under the sponsorship of James VI and I in 1604 and published in 1611, when Milton was just three years of age.

He could also insist on the gradual revelation of types and symbols because he believed that the thunder and trumpets' "clang" on Mt. Sinai proclaimed, among other things, a new form of typology and established Moses, who was, in a guarded sense, "the Divine Mediator," and "the type of the Law," as a master topologist. (p. 178)

In his commentary on *Paradise Lost XII*, 230-235, Barker notes that Milton explicitly draws on the text of the Bible, specifically from Exodus 1:8 to Deuteronomy 34:12, to make the case that Law is not made by man but by Jehovah.

Ordaine them Lawes; part such as appertaine
 To civil Justice, part religious Rites
 Of sacrifice, informing them by types
 And shadowes, of the destined Seed to bruise
 The Serpent, by what meanes he shall achieve
 Mankind's deliverance.

4.3.1 The Old Testament. To the extent that students and others are familiar at all with the works of John Milton, we may safely assume they know—or know about—*Paradise Lost*. That epic poem of blank verse in twelve books owes its existence to the third chapter of the book of Genesis (here in the King James Version):

- ¹ Now the serpent was more subtil than any beast of the field which the LORD God had made. And he said unto the woman, Yea, hath God said, Ye shall not eat of every tree of the garden?
- ² And the woman said unto the serpent, We may eat of the fruit of the trees of the garden:
- ³ But of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden, God hath said, Ye shall not eat of it, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die.
- ⁴ And the serpent said unto the woman, Ye shall not surely die:
- ⁵ For God doth know that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil.
- ⁶ And when the woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was pleasant to the eyes, and a tree to be desired to make one wise, she took of the fruit thereof, and did eat, and gave also unto her husband with her; and he did eat.
- ⁷ And the eyes of them both were opened, and they knew that they were naked; and they sewed fig leaves together, and made themselves aprons.
- ⁸ And they heard the voice of the LORD God walking in the garden in the cool of the day: and Adam and his wife hid themselves from the presence of the LORD God amongst the trees of the garden.
- ⁹ And the LORD God called unto Adam, and said unto him, Where art thou?
- ¹⁰ And he said, I heard thy voice in the garden, and I was afraid, because I was naked; and I hid myself.
- ¹¹ And he said, Who told thee that thou wast naked? Hast thou eaten of the tree, whereof I commanded thee that thou shouldest not eat?
- ¹² And the man said, The woman whom thou gavest to be with me, she gave me of the tree, and I did eat.
- ¹³ And the LORD God said unto the woman, What is this that thou hast done? And the woman said, The serpent beguiled me, and I did eat.
- ¹⁴ And the LORD God said unto the serpent, Because thou hast done this, thou art cursed above all cattle, and above every beast of the field; upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life:
- ¹⁵ And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel.
- ¹⁶ Unto the woman he said, I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy conception; in sorrow thou shalt bring forth children; and thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee.
- ¹⁷ And unto Adam he said, Because thou hast hearkened unto the voice of thy wife, and hast eaten of the tree, of which I commanded thee, saying, Thou shalt not eat of it: cursed is the ground for thy sake; in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life;
- ¹⁸ Thorns also and thistles shall it bring forth to thee; and thou shalt eat the herb of the field;

- ¹⁹ In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto the ground; for out of it wast thou taken: for dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return.
- ²⁰ And Adam called his wife's name Eve; because she was the mother of all living.
- ²¹ Unto Adam also and to his wife did the LORD God make coats of skins, and clothed them.
- ²² And the LORD God said, Behold, the man is become as one of us, to know good and evil: and now, lest he put forth his hand, and take also of the tree of life, and eat, and live for ever:
- ²³ Therefore the LORD God sent him forth from the garden of Eden, to till the ground from whence he was taken.
- ²⁴ So he drove out the man; and he placed at the east of the garden of Eden Cherubims, and a flaming sword which turned every way, to keep the way of the tree of life.

Milton's claim to an enduring body of scholarship, then, is founded in this text from the Old Testament, certainly in the book of Genesis and the Fall of Adam and Eve, but also in the books of and by Moses, Exodus and Deuteronomy. Milton would have read, either in Hebrew or in the King James Version, the story of Moses receiving the call to accept the law in Exodus 24:12-13:

- ¹² And the Lord said unto Moses, Come up to me into the mount, and be there: and I will give thee tables of stone, and a law, and commandments which I have written; that thou mayest teach them.
- ¹³ And Moses rose up, and his minister Joshua: and Moses went up into the mount of God.

We can understand how Milton might have felt toward Moses:

Moses was a gifted, well-trained person, but his true greatness was probably due to his personal experience of and relationship with Yahweh. This former stammering murderer understood his preservation and destiny as coming from the grace of a merciful Lord who had given him another chance. Moses had an understanding spirit and a forgiving heart because he knew how much Yahweh had forgiven him. He was truly humble because he recognized that his gifts and strength came from Yahweh. (Beegle, 2019)

Milton similarly believed that whatever gifts he had, he received from God, notwithstanding his appeal in *Paradise Lost* to a muse of a somewhat ambiguous nature. But when Jehovah takes Moses to the top of Mount Nebo, that great man who led the people of Israel out of Egypt and out of slavery, must have been terribly disappointed. Milton would have read in his King James Version (or in Hebrew) Deuteronomy 34:1-8,

- ¹ And Moses went up from the plains of Moab unto the mountain of Nebo, to the top of Pisgah, that is over against Jericho. And the Lord shewed him all the land of Gilead, unto Dan,
- ² And all Naphtali, and the land of Ephraim, and Manasseh, and all the land of Judah, unto the utmost sea,
- ³ And the south, and the plain of the valley of Jericho, the city of palm trees, unto Zoar.
- ⁴ And the Lord said unto him, This is the land which I sware unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, saying, I will give it unto thy seed: I have caused thee to see it with thine eyes, but thou shalt not go over thither.
- ⁵ So Moses the servant of the Lord died there in the land of Moab, according to the word of the Lord.
- ⁶ And he buried him in a valley in the land of Moab, over against Bethpeor: but no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day.
- ⁷ And Moses was an hundred and twenty years old when he died: his eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated.⁸ And the children of Israel wept for Moses in the plains of Moab thirty days: so the days of weeping and mourning for Moses were ended.

In “Of Education,” Milton argues for a return to the “ways of God,” so this study must ask, what are those ways? The answer may be found in Deuteronomy 6:1-9, shown below in the King James Version (KJV):

- ¹ Now these are the commandments, the statutes, and the judgments, which the Lord your God commanded to teach you, that ye might do them in the land whither ye go to possess it:
- ² That thou mightest fear the Lord thy God, to keep all his statutes and his commandments, which I command thee, thou, and thy son, and thy son's son, all the days of thy life; and that thy days may be prolonged.
- ³ Hear therefore, O Israel, and observe to do it; that it may be well with thee, and that ye may increase mightily, as the Lord God of thy fathers hath promised thee, in the land that floweth with milk and honey.
- ⁴ Hear, O Israel: The Lord our God is one Lord:
- ⁵ And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might.
- ⁶ And these words, which I command thee this day, shall be in thine heart:
- ⁷ And thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up.
- ⁸ And thou shalt bind them for a sign upon thine hand, and they shall be as frontlets between thine eyes.
- ⁹ And thou shalt write them upon the posts of thy house, and on thy gates.

If these are “the commandments, the statutes, and the judgments” that comprise the “ways of God,” what, then should Milton do to “return” to these ways? He must, as he has done, propose a path of reform, and he does this in “Of Education.” As a foundation for “Of Education,” Milton finds in the Old Testament this text from Proverbs 16:16 (King James Version) to be both dispositive and prescriptive:

How much better is it to get wisdom than gold! and to get understanding rather to be chosen than silver!

A curious John Milton, even with his complete faith in the words of the Bible, could be forgiven for asking, Why? And how much better? And what is the difference between wisdom and understanding? One commentary on this verse offers an explanation, one with which Milton might agree:

The difference between wisdom and understanding. It is like that which exists between the moving and the acting power, between the principle and the practice, between the plan and the process, between the cause and the effect. Wisdom is the knowledge and preference of the best and worthiest end; understanding is the apprehension and the employment of the means which shall be most effectual for attaining it. The well-being of the imperishable part of man throughout eternity is the chief end of his existence, and the knowledge and preference of this is “wisdom.” Then the apprehension and the employment of the means which shall be effectual in obtaining it is “understanding.” The habitual avoidance and resistance of all known sin is a sure test of spiritual “wisdom” and spiritual “understanding.” (StudyLight, 2019)

We can certainly see the appeal to Milton of Proverbs 16:16, speaking, as it does, of the wisdom one might acquire after years of learning both in the classroom—given the kind of progressive curriculum Milton proposes—and in active participation with experienced persons in the community and abroad and the understanding one might gain in the company of “Hunters, Fowlers, Fishermen, Shepherds, Gardeners, Apothecaries; and in the other sciences, Architects, Engineers, Mariners, Anatomists.”

There is certainly no shortage of references to education in the Old Testament. Using the King James Version that was introduced to England about the time of Milton's birth, he would have found the following, among others:

Proverbs 1:7 The fear of the Lord is the beginning of knowledge: but fools despise wisdom and instruction.

Proverbs 4:13 Take fast hold of instruction; let her not go: keep her; for she is thy life.

Proverbs 9:10 The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom: and the knowledge of the holy is understanding.

Proverbs 18:15 The heart of the prudent getteth knowledge; and the ear of the wise seeketh knowledge.

Ecclesiastes 7:12 For wisdom is a defence, and money is a defence: but the excellency of knowledge is, that wisdom giveth life to them that have it.

To take the Bible at its word, and according to Rabbinic tradition (Brown, 2011), the book of Proverbs was written by Solomon: "The proverbs of Solomon son of David, king of Israel." (King James Version, Proverbs 1:1). To continue from the beginning of the book, the second verse is most relevant to our current study and must have been on the mind of Milton as he wrote not only "Of Education," but other works of prose and poetry: "For learning about wisdom and instruction, for understanding words of insight," (Proverbs 1:2). Indeed, the entire first seven verses of the first chapter of Proverbs deal with education. And that is not all that the writer of the book of Proverbs (Solomon?) has to say on the subject in the first chapter. In verse 20, the author writes,

²⁰ Wisdom cries out in the street; in the square she raises her voice.

In all 31 chapters of Proverbs, one may find some kind of reference to education, whether it be to "hear," "wisdom," "word" or "words," 5:1 "My child, be attentive to my wisdom," or learning. "A wise man will hear and will increase learning; and a man of understanding shall attain unto wise counsels." In all of Proverbs, one can find 131 instances of the word "hear," 58 mentions of "wisdom," and 53 instances of "word(s)." Milton would have found a kindred spirit in the author or authors of the book of Proverbs, whether Solomon or someone else.

Ecclesiastes is one of the 24 books of the Tanakh or Hebrew Bible, where it is classified as one of the Ketuvim (or “Writings”). (Ranston, 1925). Originally written c. 450–200 BCE, it is also among the canonical Wisdom Books in the Old Testament of most denominations of Christianity. The title Ecclesiastes is a Latin transliteration of the Greek translation of the Hebrew Kohelet (also written as Koheleth or Qoheleth), the pseudonym used by the author of the book. In traditional Jewish texts and throughout church history (up to the 18th and 19th centuries), King Solomon is named as the author, but modern scholars reject this (Ranston). Milton most certainly was familiar with the admonitions of Ecclesiastes to cherish learning. Similarly, tradition holds that the book of Ecclesiastes was also written by Solomon, but modern scholars have expressed doubt. Nevertheless, the book is revered. American novelist Thomas Wolfe wrote about Ecclesiastes,

[O]f all I have ever seen or learned, that book seems to me the noblest, the wisest, and the most powerful expression of man's life upon this earth—and also the highest flower of poetry, eloquence, and truth. I am not given to dogmatic judgments in the matter of literary creation, but if I had to make one I could say that Ecclesiastes is the greatest single piece of writing I have ever known, and the wisdom expressed in it the most lasting and profound. (Christianson, 2007, p. 70)

A count of words in the book of Ecclesiastes finds 29 instances of “wisdom”:

Chapter 2:

¹³ Then I saw that wisdom excelleth folly, as far as light excelleth darkness.

²⁶ For God giveth to a man that is good in his sight wisdom, and knowledge, and joy

Chapter 7:

¹¹ Wisdom is good with an inheritance: and by it there is profit to them that see the sun.

¹² For wisdom is a defence, and money is a defence: but the excellency of knowledge is, that wisdom giveth life to them that have it.

¹⁹ Wisdom strengtheneth the wise more than ten mighty men which are in the city.

Chapter 8:

¹ Who is as the wise man? and who knoweth the interpretation of a thing? a man's wisdom maketh his face to shine, and the boldness of his face shall be changed.

Chapter 9:

¹⁸ Wisdom is better than weapons of war: but one sinner destroyeth much good.

4.3.2 **The New Testament.** While Milton sees the ways of God in the Old Testament, especially in the books of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, it is in the New Testament that he finds the modern mandate that compels him to the mission of reforming education. He sees in the Gospel according to St. Mark 12:28-34 (King James Version) what has come to be called the *Great Commandment*:

²⁸ And one of the scribes came, and having heard them reasoning together, and perceiving that he had answered them well, asked him, Which is the first commandment of all?

²⁹ And Jesus answered him, The first of all the commandments is, Hear, O Israel; The Lord our God is one Lord:

³⁰ And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength: this is the first commandment.

³¹ And the second is like, namely this, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. There is none other commandment greater than these.

³² And the scribe said unto him, Well, Master, thou hast said the truth: for there is one God; and there is none other but he:

³³ And to love him with all the heart, and with all the understanding, and with all the soul, and with all the strength, and to love his neighbour as himself, is more than all whole burnt offerings and sacrifices.

³⁴ And when Jesus saw that he answered discreetly, he said unto him, Thou art not far from the kingdom of God. And no man after that durst ask him any question.

And in the 13th chapter of the Gospel according to St. John, Jesus says:

³⁴ A new commandment I give unto you, That ye love one another; as I have loved you, that ye also love one another.

This admonition by Jesus might have seemed strange to Milton. We may be entitled to ask, How is this a “new commandment”? Milton already knew it as the same law as he read in the Old Testament:

Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself, was a positive precept of the law, Leviticus 19:18, and it is the very same that Christ repeats here; how then was it new? Our Lord answers this question, Even as I have loved you. Now Christ more than fulfilled the Mosaic precept; he not only loved his neighbor as himself, but he loved him more than himself, for he laid down his life for men. In this he calls upon the disciples to imitate him; to be ready on all occasions to lay down their lives for each other. This was, strictly, a new commandment: no system of morality ever prescribed anything so pure and disinterested as this.
(Clarke, 1832/2019)

But it is in Paul's letter to the Ephesians 4:14 that Milton finds his imperative to purify the education system of his day, and the central premise of his letter to Master Samuel Hartlib, "Of Education," in which he writes,

That we henceforth be no more children, tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the sleight of men, and cunning craftiness, whereby they lie in wait to deceive.

In Paul's letter, 2 Timothy 2:15 (King James Version), Milton finds an admonishment to study:

Study to shew thyself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth.

Gills Exposition of the Bible (2019) provides a commentary on the text:

2 Timothy 2:15

Study to shew thyself approved unto God

The Alexandrian copy reads, "to Christ" (see Romans 16:10). Not unto men, as pleasing them; for such who study to please men, are not the servants of Christ; and sometimes those that are approved to and by men, are disapproved of by God and Christ: but unto God, showing all fidelity and uprightness; speaking out the Gospel openly, and freely, with all sincerity, as in the sight of God; commending themselves to him, and to every man's conscience, by manifestation of the truth; and such will hear, "Well done, good and faithful servant" another day.

A workman that needeth not to be ashamed;

The ministry of the word is a work, and it is a good work; and those that perform it aright are worthy of honour and esteem; and it requires industry, diligence, and application, and for which no man is sufficient without the grace of God.

Milton further sees the imperative to reform both the church and the system of education, as well as to teach what he believes is the true religion, in Titus 2:1: "But speak thou the things which become sound doctrine....The Apostle Paul commissioned Titus to show how the good news of Jesus (i.e., the Gospel) and the power of the Holy Spirit can transform Cretan culture from within.

Paul wrote the book of Titus for his companion. Titus was to visit Crete, infamous for its sin, and restore order to house churches there.” (Bible Project)

Ellicott (1878) explores this single line in the following commentary:

But speak thou the things which become sound doctrine.—To introduce a regular organisation and the principle of a central church government into the numerous but scattered Christian congregations in Crete was Titus’ first work.

The second and equally weighty mission the Apostle Paul charged him to execute was the refutation of a school of professed Christian teachers, who were promulgating doctrines at variance with the teaching of St. Paul and his brother Apostles, and were also, by their example and lives, fatally lowering the tone of Christian life. It was to the latter point—the evil moral influence of these teachers—that the attention of Titus was especially directed.

False doctrinal teaching was bringing forth already its sure fruit, in the form of a life utterly unlike the pattern life of the Master. In contrast to this erroneous and misleading teaching, Titus is directed to exhort the varied ages, the different sexes, the bond and the free, to live lives which will bring no dishonour upon their Christian profession. The strictly practical nature of these charges is remarkable. Before touching upon doctrine, he presses home to these various ages and ranks the necessity of a quiet, useful life.

The “sound doctrine” by which Titus was bidden to regulate his teaching is an expression peculiar to these Pastoral Epistles (see Note on 1 Timothy 1:10), and stands in clear contrast to the sickly, unhealthy teaching, fanciful and false, of the misleading teachers of Crete.

As is the case with the Old Testament, there are many references to teaching and learning, explicit and implicit, that Milton would have encountered in the New Testament.

2 Timothy 3:16 All scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness

Romans 12:2 And be not conformed to this world: but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is that good, and acceptable, and perfect, will of God.

James 1:5 If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, that giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not; and it shall be given him.

Matthew 5:19 Whosoever therefore shall break one of these least commandments, and shall teach men so, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven: but whosoever shall do and teach them, the same shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven.

1 Corinthians 14:6 But now, brethren, if I come to you speaking in tongues, what will I profit you unless I speak to you either by way of revelation or of knowledge or of prophecy or of teaching?

And *The Great Commission*, Matthew 28:19-20 ¹⁹ Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: ²⁰

Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world. Amen.

We should remember, as we try to understand Milton's use of the Bible in general, and of the New Testament in particular, that he understood that Jesus, *Rabbi*, was a **teacher**. Of the 90 times Jesus was addressed directly in the gospels, 60 times he was called Teacher. This was the word the multitudes used. This was how the disciples referred to him. Jesus himself used the term when he said, "You call me **Teacher** and Lord, and rightly so, for that is what I am" (John 13:13). (Pritchard, 2019)

Matthew 4:23. And Jesus went about all Galilee, **teaching** in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing all manner of sickness and all manner of disease among the people.

Matthew 9:35. And Jesus went about all the cities and villages, **teaching** in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing every sickness and every disease among the people.

John 3:1-2. ¹There was a man of the Pharisees, named Nicodemus, a ruler of the Jews: ²The same came to Jesus by night, and said unto him, Rabbi, we know that thou art a **teacher** come from God: for no man can do these miracles that thou doest, except God be with him.

Milton in "Of Education" is commenting on the role of those who teach and the roles of all who may be otherwise involved in the education system. The Bible, as he sees it, is prescriptive; it tells its adherents what to believe and how to act in conformance with that belief. In "Of Education," Milton claims that the Church of England and its institutions are not in conformance with what he sees clearly as the correct doctrine, one based firmly on the teachings of Jesus and of his apostles. Milton claims that the bishops are corrupt and the Church of England itself is corrupt. These are claims, shared by other Puritans detailed in his antiprelatical tracts, including *Of Reformation* (1641), *Of Prelatical Episcopacy* (1641), *Animadversions* (1641), *Reason of Church-*

Government (1642), and *Apology for Smectymnuus* (1642). As to the effect of corruption and incompetence in education, his prescriptions are provided in “Of Education.”

4.3.3 Myth.



Figure 14. Athena (Minerva), Goddess of Wisdom
Pallas Athena. Greco-Roman marble statue c. 2nd century CE. Musée du Louvre, Paris

In addition to the Bible as sources of form and text, Milton uses mythology, especially Greek mythology, to make his case for reform (Osgood, 1901; Butler, 2003; Revard, 2003; Reddick, 2004). Osgood (1900) writes of the vigor of myth and Milton’s use of myth in his poetry, but we might also see it in his prose:

The importance of Greek and Roman mythology is proved by its unfailing vitality. After the visible forms of states and empires had passed away, the myths of the ancients survived with their politics and philosophy and poetry as a part of the heritage which the new peoples received from the old. This power of classical myths to survive is explained principally by two facts: first, they were the embodiment of the moral, religious, and artistic ideals of the Greeks and Romans; secondly, morality, religion, and art were serious and fundamental realities in ancient life.

The poet who was religious, and hence peculiarly and continually sensitive to moral truth, found in existing mythology a partial expression of the truths dear to him, and in his poetic

treatment added to the moral, religious, or imaginative value of the myth which he employed. Reverence as well as imagination characterizes such treatment (p. x).

Lest the reader conclude that Milton's use of classical mythology somehow weakens his commitment to the Bible, his sacred text, or to Christian doctrine, Osgood (1900) writes,

The reverence of this poet-philosopher for mythology was not based upon a literal belief in the old religion. He appreciated the beauty of some of its myths and saw that they were sufficiently plastic to receive his teaching. In his adaptation he has impressed them with the imagination, and with the enthusiasm and reverence for truth which are exhibited in his philosophy. Under the influence of his higher and larger ideals and conceptions, mythology underwent a sort of expansion. It was sublimated, rarefied, and projected into larger space. It received a nobler form than that which it possessed in Homer. At the same time, however, it assumed a new function; it became symbolic and almost allegorical (p. xi).

While Osgood here treats Milton's use of myth in his poetry, we may find references in his prose, as well.

Butler (2003) reminds us that, "John Milton alludes to the classical myth of Pandora several times in his writings" (p. 325). Of note in his use of myth in his prose, Milton mentions "most adorned Pandora" in the 1664 second edition of *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce* (Orgel & Goldberg, 2008, 182-226). In that same work, Milton refers to the myth of Plenty and Poverty, as told by Plato, as learned from Socrates: "Hence it is that Plato, in his festival discourse, brings in Socrates relating what he feigned to have learned from the prophetess Diotima, how Love was the son of Penury, begot of Plenty, in the garden of Jupiter." In Plato's *Symposium*, Poros was the personification of resourcefulness or expediency. He was seduced by Penia (poverty) while drunk on more than his fill of nectar at Aphrodite's birthday. Penia gave birth to Eros (love) from their union. Poros was the son of Metis. According to the character Diotima, Eros is forever in need because of his mother, but forever pursuing because of his father. This figure exists in Roman mythology as well and is known as Pomona, in which Poros is the personification of abundance. He is the brother of Athena (Cobb, 1993).

Barker (1965) writes, "Milton is quite conventional in permitting pagan legend to lend its soft biceps to Christian power" (p. 181), and "When Milton read Orphic poems, he read the one that praises Hercules as a human savior, but the comparison between Christ and Hercules, like the comparison between Christ and Orpheus, had been made before Milton's birth" (p. 183).

Can Milton find in classical Greek mythology a hero in protest of a tyrannical government? He might just find Antigone, perhaps the first female in Western literature to stand up to a corrupt leader. In the tragedy of Sophocles, Antigone, daughter of Oedipus and his mother Jocasta, is one of the earliest of reformers, and, in a sense, she was a puritan. Milton might well have written of Antigone's insistence on the "pure" religion and its rites concerning the proper burial of her brother, when she was contending with the monarch of her day. At the end of a battle for control of Thebes between Antigone's brothers, Eteocles and Polyneices, both brothers lie dead on the battlefield. Creon, the new king of Thebes, has declared that while Eteocles, who fought on Creon's side, should be buried with honors, Polyneices' body should be left unburied. If Creon is King Charles I, and the body of Polyneices is the state of affairs in civil and clerical society, Milton is the modern version of the puritan Antigone, standing up for "true religion" and its forms in the face of a culture of corruption.

So in the Bible and in classical Greek mythology, Milton finds rich material to support his cause, the reform of education, its "purification." He is, of course, best known for *Paradise Lost*, which draws heavily on the Bible and Greek mythology, but even in that epic poem we can find his concern with education:

The student of Milton may welcome the suggestion that in *Paradise Lost* the poet is interested in the problems of education. If we are already accustomed to regard the epic as in part an artistic embodiment of a constructive theology, fulfilling the promise of justifying the ways of God to men, we may also comprehend under that announced purpose an interest in the most universal problems of education (Bundy & Bundy, 1922).

Chapter Five: Milton the Reformer

And these are the fruits of mispending our prime youth at the Schools and Universities as we do, either in learning meer words or such things chiefly, as were better unlearnt.

5.1 Introduction

John Milton was a reformer by definition. He was a puritan (small p) devoted to reform of corrupt institutions, and he was a Puritan (capital P) devoted to the principles of his movement. Cho (2018) notes that Milton turned his back on the humanist approach to education in his letter to Samuel Hartlib.

The Son of God's harsh disavowal of classical learning in *Paradise Regained* appears to echo the pedagogical reformation advanced by an influential seventeenth-century reformist, Samuel Hartlib, and his associates. Hartlib and the thinkers of the so-called Hartlib Circle actively advocated for an educational reform, along the empiricist and utilitarian line in mid-seventeenth-century England.

Their plans included a call for a sharp reduction or even an elimination of humanist curriculum, which they dismissed as “the vanities of the Gentiles, the name of their petty Deities, together with their lying histories, and fables” (Cho, 2018, p. 268)

What is meant, in the context of the Hartlib group, by humanist, and how does Milton fit in this conversation? In the politically right-wing American journal, *First Things*, Oates writes on Milton Scholar Samuel Fish and the misconceptions some, perhaps ill-informed, (read “liberal”) readers hold:

Fish quotes [one] who holds that Milton is not only the apostle of unrestrained freedom but is also, “above all, a Humanist— the greatest representative in England of that movement which had abandoned the dogmatism of the Middle Ages and was seeking for a natural or empirical basis for its beliefs.” Now anyone who has rightly read but two pages of Milton's prose knows that these views are not just wrong but utterly antithetical to everything he stood for. In fact, the *Areopagitica* specifically advocates that the government keep “a vigilant eye how books demean themselves,” and it goes on to urge the authorities “thereafter to confine, imprison, and do sharpest justice on [their authors] as malefactors.” In other words, reader response criticism might be all very well, but if Milton's readers are liberal, one can be sure that for Fish they will likely be misreading Milton's works (Oates, 2001, p.25).

5.2 Milton's Complaints

If we are to understand Milton's compulsion to reform, we must know what it was that drove him to that compulsion. He had grown up in some of the finest education systems the nation had to offer. The family's financial prosperity afforded him the opportunity to be taught classical languages, first by private tutors at home, followed by entrance to St. Paul's School at age twelve, in 1620. In 1625, he was admitted to Christ's College, Cambridge University (Jokinen, 2006). He had the opportunity to master Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Italian languages to the extent that he could not only read and write in those languages but also compose the highest level of poetry, as well. He studied Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, as well as the other Greek philosophers. He came to know the Greek dramatists, Sophocles, Euripides, and even Aristophanes. He learned of Homer and Hesiod. He mastered mathematics and the sciences of his day. So what are his complaints?

We look no later than the very first sentence of Milton's letter to the reformer Samuel Hartlib to find the fundamental purpose of the tractate: "I am long since perswaded, that to say, or do ought worth memory and imitation, no purpose or respect should sooner move us, then simply the love of God, and of mankind." We may infer, then, that what follows will be an indictment of the education system that it is not fully consistent with those aims. Whatever the specifics might come later in the piece, Milton offers a sense of urgency about the matter: "Brief I shall endeavor to be; for that which I have to say, assuredly this Nation hath extream need should be done sooner then spoken." That urgency is compelled by what Milton sees as the purpose of the reform of education, and that is, "The end then of Learning is to repair the ruines of our first Parents." Those "first Parents," to be clear, are Adam and Eve, about whom Milton will have much, much more to say in *Paradise Lost*. And the "ruines" for which Adam and Eve are to blame are Sin and Death.

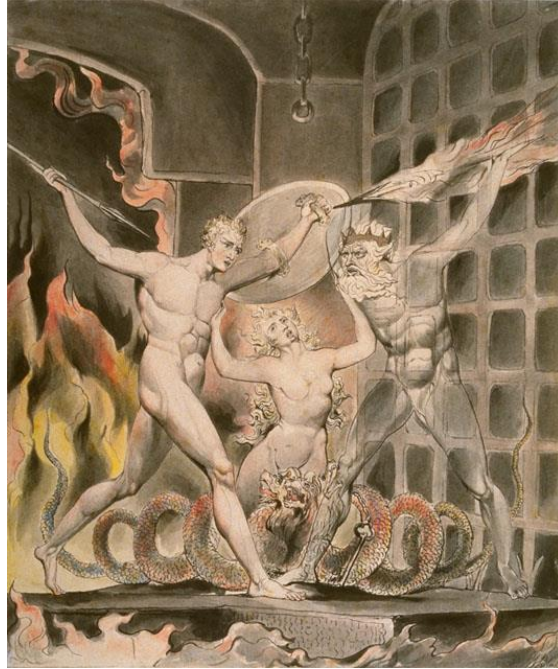


Figure 15. William Blake's Satan, Sin, and Death

Sin is the shape-shifting daughter of Satan and Satan alone, for she has no mother. In Book II of *Paradise Lost*, she holds the key to Hell's gate and opens the gate so that Satan can pass through on his way up to heaven. Sin is 'woman to the waist' (II.650) and has the tail of a fish. She shifts shape and is constantly re-forming and breeding, giving birth to dog-like young.

Death also appears in Book II of *Paradise Lost*. Death is malicious and armed, an aggressive character, carrying arrows and darts. Death takes pleasure in human pain and also in inflicting this pain. The only thing he fears is God's Son, who is fated to destroy him.

Milton complains that the existing education system devotes too little time and attention to the mastery of languages, and when it does include languages, it does so in the wrong sequence in the curriculum. This point is critical, for he writes, "And seeing every Nation affords not experience and tradition enough for all kind of Learning, therefore we are chiefly taught the Languages of those people who have at any time been most industrious after Wisdom; so that Language is but the Instrument conveying to us things usefull to be known." [Emphasis added.]

While knowledge of the various languages is necessary for the kind of education that Milton proposes, it is insufficient: “And though a Linguist should pride himself to have all the Tongues that *Babel* cleft the world into, yet, if he have not studied the solid things in them as well as the Words & Lexicons, he were nothing so much to be esteem’d a learned man, as any Yeoman or Tradesman competently wise in his Mother Dialect only.” Milton then complains of the shallow learning of languages that the current education system provides:

Hence appear the many mistakes which have made Learning generally so unpleasing and so unsuccessful; first, we do amiss to spend seven or eight years meerly in scraping together so much miserable Latine and Greek, as might be learnt otherwise easily and delightfully in one year.

Milton is severely critical of the curriculum that forces the unprepared pupils to do what only those with many years of experience can properly produce, “forcing the empty wits of Children to compose Theams, Verses and Orations, which are the acts of ripest judgment and the final work of a head fill’d by long reading and observing, with elegant maxims, and *copious invention*.” Only by reading the classical authors over the course of some years can the pupils be led to the kind of outcome to which Milton would aspire for graduates: “This I take to be the most rational and most profitable way of learning Languages, and whereby we may best hope to give account to God of our youth spent herein.”

Milton writes to Mr. Samuel Hartlib that the reforms he proposes will not at first be easy. “I shall detain you no longer in the demonstration of what we should not do, but strait conduct ye to a hill side, where I will point ye out the right path of a vertuous and noble Education; laborious 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.”

Milton complains that the classroom is disconnected from the real world into which graduates will in due course enter. In order to achieve the outcomes desired by Milton, pupils and students must get out of the classroom, first domestically and then abroad in later years.

To set forward all these proceedings in Nature and *Mathematicks*, what hinders, but that they may procure, as oft as shal be needful, the helpful experiences of Hunters, Fowlers, Fishermen, Shepherds, Gardeners, Apothecaries; and in the other sciences, Architects, Engineers, Mariners, Anatomists; who doubtless would be ready some for reward, and some to favour such a hopeful Seminary. And this will give them such a real tincture of natural knowledge, as they shall never forget, but daily augment with delight.

But 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 honour of all men where they pass, and the society and friendship of those in all places who are best and most eminent. And perhaps then other Nations will be glad to visit us for their Breeding, or else to imitate us in their own Country.

The curriculum proposed by Milton envisions cognitive, physical, and spiritual training. Most of the tractate deals with the cognitive, and mostly with the mastery of languages. The spiritual would be largely in the context of a moral life founded in the teachings of Jesus and his apostles, notably Paul in his letters to the early church fathers. As to the physical, “Therefore about an hour and a half ere they eat at Noon should be allow’d them for exercise and due rest afterwards.”

Milton’s “Of Education” is not the only expression of Milton’s complaints about the education system of his day. In the *Second Defence of the English People* in 1653, he writes, “...the principles of education are for Milton so vital that there can be nothing more necessary 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” (Bundy & Bundy, 1922, pp. 127-128). And how might these aims be attained? Milton’s prescription is contained in his “Of Education.”

To summarize, Milton complains that the cognitive, physical, and spiritual development in the education system of his day ill prepare graduates to live lives of fulfillment in service to God and in accordance with the original intent of God to create perfect beings. By adopting his curriculum, the people might “repair the ruines of our first Parents.” But this objective is just one of two for Milton. The other objective is enabling “a man to perform justly, skillfully, and magnanimously all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war.”

A summary of Milton’s complaints, then, fall into these two categories, what might be called the theological and the practical. It is the theological that is the principal concern of the Puritan movement. The second category, the practical “is not necessarily Puritanical at all. It states simply that it is the business of education to fit the individual...to make good citizens” (Bundy & Bundy, 1922, p. 129).

A sound education system must have the attainment of both objectives at the core of its curriculum and of its pedagogy.

Chapter Six: “Of Education”

Thus Mr. Hartlib, you have a general view in writing, as your desire was, of that which at several times I had discourst with you concerning the best and Noblest way of Education; not beginning, as some have done from the Cradle, which yet might be worth many considerations, if brevity had not been my scope, many other circumstances also I could have mention’d, but this to such as have the worth in them to make trial, for light and direction may be enough.

It was in 1644, Milton wrote the brief tractate in the form of a letter, “Of Education,” hoping to change the way future leaders would be prepared for public life. He proposed to broaden the education system used by academies throughout the country. He also proposed to abolish universities. His curriculum would include “languages, literature, law, rhetoric, history, ethics, economics, and physical education, in order to give students ‘fair opportunities’ to reveal their special talents, so they might “mightily redound to the good of this nation” (Citizen Milton, 2019).

6.1 Structure

“Of Education” is, as noted, in the form of a letter. The text of the letter tells us that a Mr. Samuel Hartlib has asked Milton for his views on the current English system of education of which they both disapproved.

6.2 Main Ideas

“Of Education” is a relatively short document, consisting originally of just eight pages. The list of its main ideas is similarly short. First is its *raison d’être*, its reason for having been written. On the surface, this is a straightforward matter, as Milton writes to Mr. Samuel Hartlib, to provide his comments “of education,” the purpose of which Milton says, “The end then of Learning is to repair the ruines 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.”

The second main idea is to change the curriculum such that there is a rational sequence. Young students of languages, such as Latin, Hebrew, and Greek, should learn from the classic writers and not be required to compose poetry and other higher forms prematurely.

The third main idea is that classroom learning must be connected to the real world and one way to make that connection is to meet with and interact with “Hunters, Fowlers, Fishermen, Shepherds, Gardeners, Apothecaries; and in the other sciences, Architects, Engineers, Mariners, Anatomists.”

The fourth main idea is that, at the university level, students in their early twenties might “see other Countries at three or four and twenty years of age, not to learn Principles but to enlarge Experience, and make wise observation.”

One idea that may be classified as “main” is that these reforms are not for everyone. Referring to the classic story of the return of Odysseus from Troy to his home and wife Penelope in

Ithaca, Milton writes, “Only I believe that 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.”

6.3 Reception

There is such a wide range of critical responses to Milton and to his work that a brief treatment can only offer a bit of a roadmap to understanding the man, his poetry, or his prose. For example, T. S. Eliot (1966) opines, “As a man, he is antipathetic. Either from the moralist’s point of view, or from the theologian’s point of view, or from the psychologist’s point of view, or from that of the political philosopher, or judging by the ordinary standards of likeableness in human beings, Milton is unsatisfactory” (p. 12). Without getting into a dispute with the great writer, we should note that Eliot was neither a professional moralist nor a theologian. We should also note that, writing in 1966, Eliot could not have known Milton, who died in 1674, but for what remains of his writing, some of which was destroyed in the Restoration and is, therefore, lost to us and to Eliot. Whether scholars will be as interested in Eliot’s work 345 years after his death (which was in 1965) as they are in Milton’s work today, is an arguable—and highly speculative—enterprise.

What we are certain of is that “Of Education” has received, and continues to receive, much less attention than Milton’s other works. Our approach to understanding the extent to which “Of Education” is at least the subject of inquiry is to do a Google search. This is admittedly a crude technique, but it should yield some measurable result. A Google search of “Milton’s ‘Of Education’” returns about 4,000 results, whereas *Paradise Regained* returns nearly 12 million results. Milton’s *Samson Agonistes* returns about 265,000 results. Another, more popular, work of Milton’s prose, *Areopagitica*, returns about 348,000 results. The table below summarizes these and other results.

Table 1

Google Search Results: Selected Major Works by John Milton

<u>Milton Major Work</u>	<u>Number of Hits</u>
<i>Paradise Lost</i> '	11,700,000
<i>Paradise Regained</i>	588,000
On His Blindness ^a	388,600
<i>Areopagitica</i>	348,000
<i>Samson Agonistes</i>	265,000
The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates	125,000
<i>Milton's Comus</i> ^b	66,900
The Reason of Church Government	56,300
On the Morning of Christ's Nativity	42,200
<i>Milton's Il Penseroso</i>	37,200
<i>Milton's Lycidas</i>	37,200
The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce	30,200
<i>Milton's L'Allegro</i>	20,200
Of Education	5,360
Second Defence of the English People.....	4,670
An Apology for Smectymnuus.....	4,390

^a Includes "When I Consider How My Light is Spent"

^b Includes "Milton's Masque"

Note. Results will vary by date of access and precise search term. Numbers in this table reflect the work as quoted in the query. Of all of Milton's works surveyed above, "Of Education" is one of the least popular in a Google search on September 15, 2019.

Chapter Seven: Lessons from "Of Education" for the 21st Century

To set forward all these proceedings in Nature and Mathematicks, what hinders, but that they may procure, as oft as shal be needful, the helpful experiences of Hunters, Fowlers, Fishermen, Shepherds, Gardeners, Apothecaries; and in the other sciences, Architects, Engineers, Mariners, Anatomists; who doubtless would be ready some for reward, and some to favour such a hopeful Seminary. And this will give them such a real tincture of natural knowledge, as they shall never forget, but daily augment with delight.

7.1 Education in schools for the real world.

In "Of Education," Milton aims his criticism and reforms at the levels of students from high school to university: "And how all this may be done between twelve, and one and twenty." Are there examples today of Milton's vision of an education that connects the classroom to the real world? We show here several such examples and reason that there are many more.

Philadelphia, in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, has long been in the forefront of connecting academic preparation to the real world. Girard College (2019) provides some of the history of that precedent-setting institution.



Figure 16. Girard College, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Stephen Girard, a French immigrant and merchant and resident of the city of Philadelphia, established Girard College with an endowment disclosed at his death in 1831. The institution was originally for the benefit of “poor, white, male, orphans,” but each of these criteria has been discarded. The endowment for Girard College was, at that time, the largest private charitable donation in American history.

In the middle of the 19th century, the city of Philadelphia was at the forefront of creating innovative institutions designed to solve specific societal challenges: Eastern State Penitentiary was built to tackle criminal justice reform, the Pennsylvania Hospital was established to care for patients with mental illnesses, and the Franklin Institute was designed to expand upon scientific knowledge. Inspired by the institutions around him, Stephen Girard sought to address the challenge of educating young Americans for the future. He directed the city of Philadelphia to use his money to build a boarding school for poor, orphaned or fatherless white boys so that they might be prepared for the trades and professions of their era.

Girard College opened on January 1, 1848. The school's unique mission guaranteed that it would become a lightning rod for controversy surrounding the important social issues of each era including religious freedom, and racial and gender diversity. Desegregation occurred at Girard when male students of color were enrolled beginning in 1968, and female students were enrolled beginning in the 1980s (Girard College, 2019).

We are not aware of any direct link of Stephen Girard's thinking to the proposals in Milton's "Of Education." Certainly, there is nothing in Milton's writings about anything related to the education of "poor, white, male, orphans," except for the "male" part. The link, however, is clear from Milton's proposal to make connections outside the classroom and Girard's combination of academic preparation and employment skills.

Another school founded on the principle of combining academic study with practical experience is the Milton Hershey School, a private philanthropic boarding school in Hershey, Pennsylvania. Originally named the Hershey Industrial School in 1909, the institution was founded and funded by chocolate industrialist Milton Snavely Hershey and his wife, Catherine Sweeney Hershey. The Milton Hershey School is one of the wealthiest schools in the world. In 2015, the school had an endowment of nearly 14 billion dollars. In 1968, the school was racially integrated, although it wasn't until 1970 that the organizational papers allowed that. Another modification in 1976 allowed female students, who started arriving in 1977. In 1989, the school stopped requiring students to milk cows twice daily, reflecting a changed focus from vocational to college preparatory education, but students were still required to perform chores. Today, the school has an enrollment of some 2,000 pupils.



Figure 17. Milton Hershey School, Hershey, Pennsylvania

In addition to the private schools endowed by wealthy philanthropists, such as Girard College and the Milton Hershey School, there are examples of public schools that combine academic and vocational preparation. For example, the Philadelphia public school system had at one time three vocational-technical high schools: Murrell Dobbins Technical High School, Edward W. Bok Technical High School, and Jules E. Mastbaum Area Vocational/Technical School.

These public schools provided both academic and specialty education in more than 25 specializations, from architectural drafting and automotive maintenance to welding and woodworking (carpentry and cabinetmaking). The schools were co-educational, with equal opportunities for girls as well as boys in the trades. These schools continue, albeit with fewer specializations and less capital investment. Students at these schools had shorter summer vacations and longer school days. One-half of the day was spent in academic studies, while the other half was spent in the shop. In effect, graduates of these schools were serving three-year apprenticeships while earning their high school diplomas.

Some students (including the author of this study, a graduate of Murrell Dobbins Technical High School) went on to university while others went directly into the full-time job market. Even those who were fortunate enough to go on to university were able to earn money using their specialty skills. The aphorism of Benjamin Franklin below captures the philosophy of the Philadelphia Vocational Technical High School System:

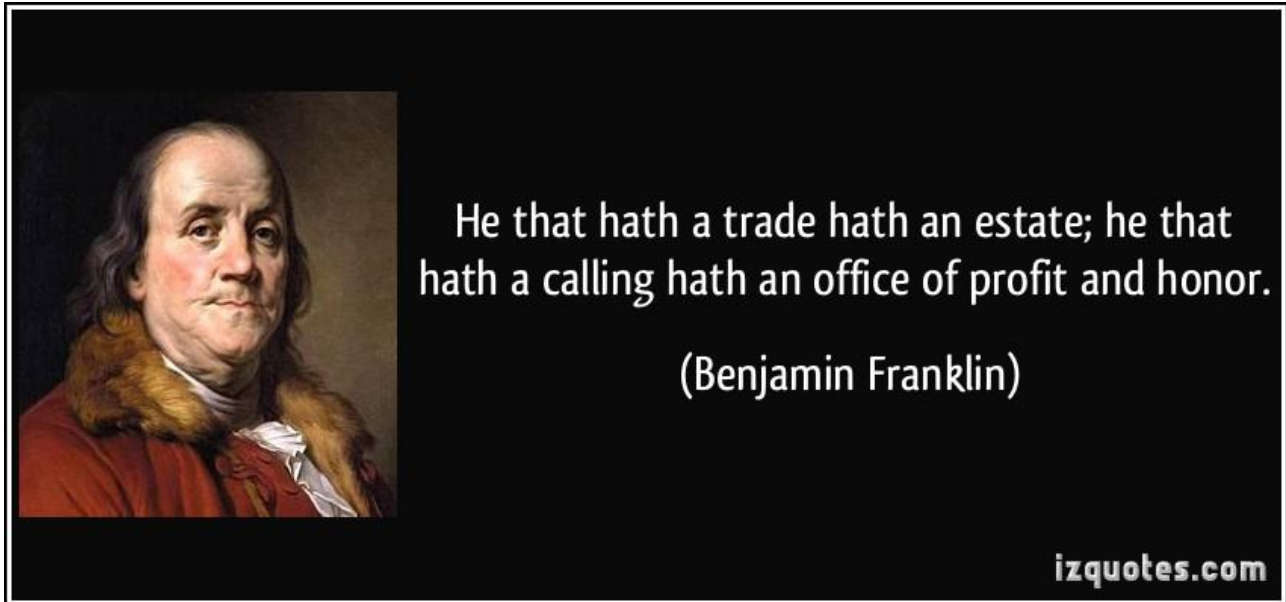


Figure 18. He that hath a trade hath an estate: Sign over the entrance to the Printing Department at Murrell Dobbins Technical High School in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

7.2 Education in universities for the real world.

There is no shortage of institutes of technology at the university level around the world. In France, for example, there is the world famous *École Polytechnique*,

...a French public institution of higher education and research in Palaiseau, a suburb located south from Paris. It is one of the leading prestigious French *Grandes Écoles* in engineering, especially known for its *polytechnicien* engineering program.

The school was established in 1794 by the mathematician Gaspard Monge during the French Revolution and was previously a military academy under Napoleon I in 1804. However, Polytechnique is no longer a military academy, although the institution is still supervised by the French Ministry of Defence. Initially located in the Latin Quarter of central Paris, the establishment main building was moved in 1976 to Palaiseau on the Saclay Plateau, southwest of Paris (*École Polytechnique*, 2019).

In Montreal, there is the Polytechnique Montréal, “founded in 1873 in order to teach technical drawing and other useful arts” (Polytechnique Montréal, 2019). In Mexico, there is Technological Institute of Ciudad Juárez, among others. In the former Soviet country of Georgia, there is the Georgian Technical University in Tbilisi. In short, just about every country has such institutes. In the United States, nearly every state has one or more institutes of technology; e.g., Arkansas Tech, Georgia Tech, and Texas Tech, to name but a few. The Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) is a private research university in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Founded in 1861, the Institute has an urban campus that extends more than a mile alongside the Charles River. (MIT, 2019). MIT is a world-class university that engages in teaching and research, primarily in the areas of science and engineering.

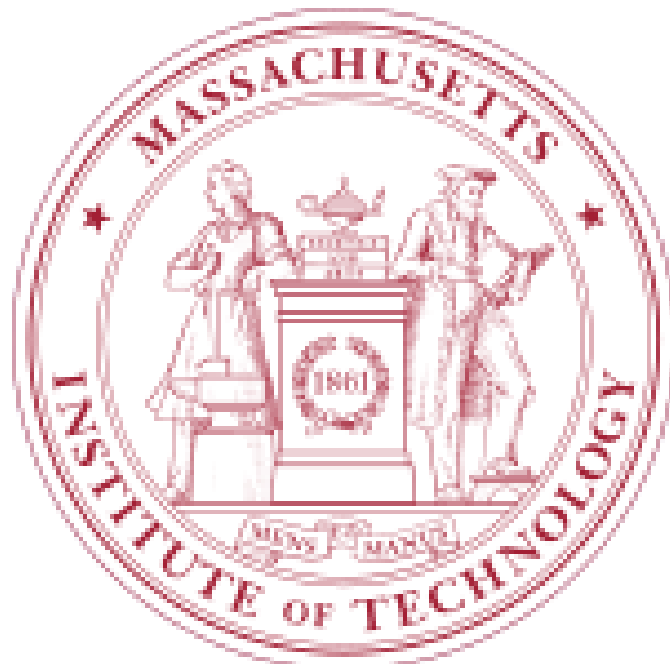


Figure 19. MIT Seal
Motto: *Mens et Manus* Mind and Hand

Both the seal and the motto of MIT reflect the origin of the Institute as a place where students would learn the arts and sciences and, at the same time, gain the kind of practical experiences that would be useful in a skilled trade.

In 1903, Andrew Carnegie famously said, in the founding of what would become Carnegie Institute of Technology, and later the world-famous research university now called Carnegie Mellon University, “My heart is in the work.” The “work” was the establishment of an institute that would prepare the coming generations to meet the challenges of advancing technologies. Undergraduate students (including the author of this study) were taught both the specialties of their chosen career path but also the academic principles that would prepare them to meet the changing environments they would face after receiving their degrees.



Figure 20. Andrew Carnegie
Born: November 25, 1835, Dunfermline, Scotland.
Died: August 11, 1919, Lenox, MA. Founder of Carnegie Institute of Technology

In his 1889 essay, *Gospel of Wealth*, Andrew Carnegie writes, in a sense, in support of Milton’s imperative to educational reform,

The problem of our age is the proper administration of wealth, so that the ties of brotherhood may still bind together the rich and poor in harmonious relationship. The conditions of human life have not only been changed, but revolutionized, within the past few hundred years. In former days there was little difference between the dwelling, dress, food, and environment of the chief and those of his retainers. The Indians are today where civilized man then was. When visiting the Sioux, I was led to the wigwam of the chief. It was just like the others in external appearance, and even within the difference was trifling between it and those of the poorest of his braves. The contrast between the palace of the millionaire and the cottage of the laborer with us today measures the change which has come with civilization (Carnegie Corporation, 1889/1997).

7.3 Internships and apprenticeships.

Increasingly, colleges and universities are either offering or requiring internships, typically, but not exclusively, for upper division (junior and senior years) students. Seen broadly, and invoking Milton's "Of Education," as noted below, there are two general objectives of such programs: (1) exposure to the real world of work, and (2) networking with persons in the students proposed career field.

7.4 Study abroad.

Milton writes, at the close of the tractate, "Of Education,"

But 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 honour of all men where they pass, and the society and friendship of those in all places who are best and most eminent. And perhaps then other Nations will be glad to visit us for their Breeding, or else to imitate us in their own Country.

Many colleges and universities offer students the opportunity to travel to another country, again with two objectives: (1) improve foreign language skills, and (2) gain some familiarity with another culture. International Student (2019) suggests ten benefits to students who participate in study abroad programs:

1. See the world.
2. Different styles of education.
3. New culture.
4. Language skills.
5. Career opportunities.
6. New interests.
7. Lifelong friends.
8. Personal development.
9. Graduate school admissions.
10. Life experience.

In 2005, Waldorf College (now Waldorf University) in Forest City, Iowa, established a study abroad and internship program in Oxford. In their seventh semester, students could travel to Oxford, take two courses from Oxford University professors, work as interns in British organizations, and live with an English family. In most cases, those Iowa students had never traveled abroad and had to apply for their first passports. On returning to Iowa for their final semester, those students unanimously praised the program and were able to share an abundance of anecdotes.

7.5 Education in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM)

It is well documented that females are under-represented in the fields of science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (Hill, 2019). This disparity can be shown to exist in schools, when boys choose subjects leading to those professions and girls do not. This division then extends to higher education, in which young men significantly outnumber young women. British award-winning science journalist Alice Lipscombe-Southwell (2019) writes, “Many girls are not choosing to study science, technology, engineering and mathematics at A-level and university....At A-level, just 19 per cent of girls choose two STEM subjects, compared to 33 per cent of boys. Maths and physics fare particularly poorly: last year 59,270 boys took A-level maths, compared to 38,357 girls; and 29,422 boys took physics, compared to 8,384 girls.” She writes, “We wanted to find out why STEM subjects get a thumbs-down.” Further, she notes, “Around 40,000 jobs in STEM—that’s science, technology, engineering and maths—are left vacant in the UK each year. To make matters worse, women in science-based jobs are leaving, frustrated with sexism, bias, and the lack of opportunities for progression.” Since 2001, “STEM-focused curriculum has been extended to many countries beyond the United States, with programs developed in places such as Australia, China, France, South Korea, Taiwan, and the United Kingdom.” (Hallinen,2019).

In Milton's day, all of the major colleges and universities' students were male. Milton's tractate "Of Education" was addressed exclusively to the education of young men. That situation continued for another three centuries but changed with the admission of females to Oxford (1921), Cambridge (1947), and other universities in the 20th century. The first women's colleges at Oxford University were founded in the nineteenth century, and women became full members of the University in 1920 (Oxford University, 2019). Lady Margaret Hall and Somerville opened in 1879, followed by St Hugh's in 1886 and St Hilda's in 1893. St Anne's, which in 1952 was the last of the women's colleges to be incorporated by Royal Charter, originated as the Society of Oxford Home Students, catering to women students who lived with private families in Oxford while attending courses organised by the Association for Promoting the Higher Education of Women (AEW). The five women's societies at Oxford were granted full collegiate status in 1959. At Cambridge University, Girton College, founded by Emily Davies in 1869, was the first college to admit women. Newnham College followed in 1872.

In 1871, Henry Sidgwick - differing from Miss Davies on many specifics, but convinced of the importance of educating women - opened a residence for women in Cambridge, which in 1875 relocated to Newnham Hall as Newnham College. Although women entered Cambridge lecture halls slightly earlier than those at Oxford, Oxford was the first of the two to admit women to degrees and full status in 1921, 26 years before Cambridge followed suit in 1947. (Trehub, 2019).

By the year 2000, women were being admitted generally without discrimination to colleges and universities around the world, and disciplines formerly unavailable to women, including business, medicine, and law, were increasingly open to women in increasing numbers. In the sciences, however, even today, females are significantly under-represented. In her Foreword to the 2017 UNESCO book, *Cracking the code: Girls and women's education in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM)*, Irina Bokova, UNESCO Director General, summarizes the imbalance:

Only 17 women have won a Nobel Prize in physics, chemistry or medicine since Marie Curie in 1903, compared to 572 men.

Today, only 28% of all the world's researchers are women.

Such huge disparities, such deep inequality, do not happen by chance.

Too many girls are held back by discrimination, biases, social norms and expectations that influence the quality of education they receive and the subjects they study.

Girls' Under-Representation in Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM) education is deep rooted and puts a detrimental brake on progress towards sustainable development.

We need to understand the drivers behind this situation. *Cracking the code: Girls' and women's education in science, technology, engineering and mathematics* provides a global snapshot of this under-representation, the factors behind it, and examples of how to improve the interest, commitment and achievement of girls in these fields.

Both education and gender equality are an integral part of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 2015, as distinct Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) but also as catalysts for the achievement of all other SDGs.

Science, technology and innovation are also key to the SDGs: in how we address the impact of climate change, in how we increase food security, improve healthcare, manage limited freshwater resources and protect our biodiversity.

Girls and women are key players in crafting solutions to improve lives and generate growth. They are the greatest untapped population of STEM professionals—we must invest in their talent.

This matters for human rights, for inclusion, for sustainable development.

We need to understand the obstacles that keep female students away from STEM. We need to stimulate interest in the earliest years, to fight stereotypes, to train teachers to encourage girls to pursue STEM careers, to develop curricula that are gender-sensitive, to mentor girls and young women and change mindsets.

In 2016, Member States adopted a decision on the role of UNESCO in encouraging girls and women to be leaders in STEM, including arts and design. This report directly responds to this request. It is also a contribution to UNESCO's Global Partnership for Girls and Women's Education which promotes gender equality in and through education.

By providing evidence and examples from research and practice, this report is a solid reference for policy makers, practitioners and other stakeholders to engage more girls in STEM education.

Most of all, this report has been written for girls and women around the world. It champions their right to a quality education, and a better life and better future.

Irina Bokova, UNESCO Director-General

In the United States, electronics giant Raytheon has teamed up with the Girl Scouts of America to encourage girls' participation in STEM. The company reports,

At a time when women account for half of the college-educated workforce but constitute only 29 percent of the workforce in science and engineering occupations, Raytheon and Girl Scouts of the USA are collaborating to fuel the pipeline of female leaders in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM).

Through a multiyear commitment from Raytheon, Girl Scouts will launch its first national computer science program and Cyber Challenge for middle and high school girls. The program aims to prepare girls in grades 6–12 to pursue computer science careers, including cybersecurity, robotics, data science and artificial intelligence, among others.

Raytheon is the inaugural sponsor of the Girl Scouts Computational Thinking program for middle and high school girls, which offers age-appropriate content and foundational STEM experiences through the “Think Like a Programmer” Journey. The six-week series includes hands-on curriculum, and — like all Girl Scout programming — it is girl-led. Girls will have the opportunity to apply what they learn at Girl Scouts' first-ever Cyber Challenge in 2019.

This comprehensive program has the potential to reach nearly half a million girls in grades 6–12, with a specific focus on girls from military families. (Raytheon, 2019)

For its part, the Girl Scouts have added a number of Journeys and badges, including

Engineering: Think Like an Engineer. Girls discover how to think like an engineer by participating in hands-on design challenges and completing a Take Action project.

Computer Science: Think Like a Programmer. Girls learn how programmers solve problems by participating in interactive computational-thinking activities and complete a Take Action project.

Outdoor STEM: Think Like a Citizen Scientist. Girls participate in interactive activities to learn how scientists solve problems using the scientific method. Girls practice observation, collect data, and complete a citizen science project. Then they create their Take Action project.

Space Science Journey: Just like real space scientists, girls will explore, observe, and investigate the Sun, Moon, and stars and discover that space is bigger and even more exciting than they may have imagined.

Cybersecurity: Girls can become cyber sleuths, learn how to spot threats online, and discover how to identify "real" and "fake" messages.

Space Science Badge: Girls learn about the Universe and their place in it—and how real-life scientists and engineers make amazing discoveries about outer space.

(Girl Scouts, 2019)

We cannot know how Milton would react to such news if he were alive today, nor can we know with any certainty how he would have reacted if such a program for girls and women might have been proposed in response to his “Of Education.” What we do know is that when asked the question “Is John Milton a misogynist?” Google returns about 103,000 results. One comment, by English teacher Katherine Sanger (2019), provides one view:

Even after three hundred years, arguments abound as to Milton’s true proclivities towards the female gender. Is he, as Sara Gilbert argues in “Patriarchal Poetry and Women Readers: Reflections on Milton’s *Bogey*,” a misogynist, bent on proving that women are evil? Or is he, as per Edward S. Le Comte in “Milton’s Attitude Towards Women in the History of Britain,” merely a product of his time, a sexist but nothing worse? Maybe he is, as can be seen in Anne Ferry’s “Milton’s Creation of Eve,” a closet feminist, trying to elevate women through Eve?

The question will remain unanswered, although some, like Sanger, have made up their minds. What cannot be drawn from Milton’s writings or his life is how he would respond to movements such as the STEM initiative of Raytheon and the Girls Scouts of America. If we think about familiarity with the real world and “the helpful experiences of Hunters, Fowlers, Fishermen, Shepherds, Gardeners, Apothecaries; and in the other sciences, Architects, Engineers, Mariners, Anatomists,” we may conclude that, whatever “Milton’s true proclivities towards the female gender” may be, he would understand the motivation and effect of such experiences on those young women who have those opportunities.



Figure 21. The Girl Scouts are initiating innovative STEM programs.

Chapter Eight: Conclusions and Recommendations

Only I believe that 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, yet I am withall perswaded that it may prove much more easie in the assay, then it now seems at distance, and much more illustrious: howbeit not more difficult then I imagine, and that imagination presents me with nothing but very happy and very possible according to best wishes; if God have so decreed, and this age have spirit and capacity enough to apprehend.

In this chapter, we revisit our research questions and offer evidence-based conclusions. We offer recommendations based on those conclusions.

8.1 What lessons can be learned from Milton’s “Of Education” that may be applied to 21st century education systems?

Milton in “Of Education” speaks of “the helpful experiences of Hunters, Fowlers, Fishermen, Shepherds, Gardeners, Apothecaries; and in the other sciences, Architects, Engineers, Mariners, Anatomists.” We have seen examples of this idea in technical schools and universities around the world. Following the common sense of Milton’s prescription, we should invest in more such programs in the schools. Graduates of such programs would have the option of continuing in further education, or entering the skilled work force, or both. Expanded use of apprenticeship programs would also better prepare students for the real world of work following their graduation.

Milton also speaks of foreign travel, of visiting “other Countries at three or four and twenty years of age, not to learn Principles but to enlarge Experience, and make wise observation.” While many colleges and universities offer study abroad programs, this type of experience should be made more available, especially to students of limited financial means. To some extent, study abroad programs are available to high school students, and this could be expanded, especially as part of a foreign language course.

8.2 What obstacles might today's reformers face in implementing lessons learned from Milton's "Of Education"?

Any reformer, indeed, anyone proposing any change in the status quo, will encounter opposition. "If it ain't broke, don't fix it" is an expression of such opposition to change. But the education system is broken, and this is especially true in the United States, where high expenditures for education fail to produce outcomes consistent with those high budgets. Introducing, or expanding, vocational-technical education in the schools will require capital investment for the most modern equipment currently in use in today's economy. There will always be a segment of the population who will resist making any such investment, particularly when that investment might occasion an increase, however small, in taxes.

8.3 What strategies might today's reformers employ to implement lessons learned from Milton's "Of Education"?

When the Soviet Union claimed victory in the "Space Race" by launching its Earth-orbiting artificial satellite Sputnik in 1957, officials in the United States government responded with the National Defense Education Act (NDEA). President Dwight D. Eisenhower signed the bill on September 2, 1958, providing increased levels of spending to improve American schools and to promote postsecondary education. A strategy of tying education to national defense may persuade some skeptics to take education reform seriously. A strategy of reform that only increases spending is unlikely to succeed. Rather, what may be a better strategy would be a thorough overhaul of the system from pre-school to post-doctorate. The United States might benefit by adopting such systemic changes as have been successful in the top-performing countries such as Singapore, Japan, Estonia, Taiwan, and Finland (BBC, 2019).

8.4 Recommendations for Further Research

A Google search for “John Milton poet” on August 18, 2019, returned about 7.8 million results. A search for “John Milton prose” returned fewer than half that number, about 3.9 million results. And a search for “John Milton Puritan” returned about 2 million results. From this rough approximation, we might hypothesize that Milton’s prose is less analyzed than his poetry, and his Puritanism even less. We, therefore, recommend those areas for further research: Milton’s prose and his Puritanism.

8.4.1 John Milton’s prose

In this study, we deal with one of Milton’s prose pieces, and we look for relevance in our day, markers we may be able to use as we attempt to improve our education system. Are there other such prose works that might inform 21st century situations? Several such works of Milton’s prose suggest themselves. For example, *The Reason of Church Government, The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce, Areopagitica*, and *The Ready and Easy Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth*. Because much of Milton’s prose works deal with liberty, e.g., freedom of speech and an unfettered press, it might be useful to connect his works with those of other writers on the subjects, such as John Stuart Mill (*On Liberty*), Thomas Jefferson (*Declaration of Independence*), Fyodor Dostoyevsky (*Notes from a Dead House*), or Aldous Huxley (*Brave New World*).

8.4.2 John Milton’s Puritanism

This study only briefly deals with Milton’s Puritanism. Much more can be asked. How closely does Milton adhere to the principles of Puritanism in his writings? What were the problems with Cromwell’s Puritan government? Why is “puritanical” now a pejorative? To what extent was the Church of England changed as a result of the Puritan movement?

8.5 A Final Note

In her “Epilogue,” Barbara Lewalski writes,

Milton has probably had a greater influence on major poets and writers over a longer period of time than any other English literary figure except Shakespeare. Later readers and writers looked to him for a powerful formulation of the great biblical myths of Western civilization: the garden state of innocence, Satan or the embodiment of evil, the Fall of humankind, and, assimilated to them, the classical myths of the Golden Age, Pandora, Flora, Prosperine, Scylla and Charybdis, Prometheus, and Creation out of Chaos. Indeed, many readers virtually conflated Milton’s portrayal of Eden and the Fall with the Genesis account. Also Milton was seen to have established literary norms and styles: Harold Bloom claims that English poets from Dryden to T. S. Eliot looked upon Milton as a daunting father figure, who set them a standard of imaginative force and eloquent expression which they felt compelled to imitate or adapt or rebel against. (Lewalski, 2003, p. 539)

For the purposes of this study, while we acknowledge the profound influence John Milton has had on the literary artistic community for three centuries, it is his quest for the reform of education that holds our interest. Still, the two cannot be disassociated from one another. A chain of events might be as follows: Milton was privileged in his early years to have an extraordinary education with such tutors as Thomas Young. After those most rewarding and pleasant early years, he had a disappointing stay at Cambridge, which led to his life-long condemnation of the English education system affecting boys and young men. His disaffection with the education system was a close cousin to his disgust with the established church. This led him along a Puritan path, which saw him ally with the Puritan Parliament and leaders, especially Oliver Cromwell, and support of the insurrection and execution of his king. All this, in the middle years of his life, while he was losing his sight and ultimately going completely blind. While there is no disagreement with Lewalski’s assessment, or with those notables she names, it is his prose works as much as his poetry that will continue to survive the centuries. Finally, if anyone believes that there will be an Edenic state of education, they had better be prepared for yet another reform movement.

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Appendix I: "Of Education," Full Text**Of Education
To Master Samuel Hartlib**

Written above twenty Years since.

Mr. *Hartlib*,

I am long since perswaded, that to say, or do ought worth memory and imitation, no purpose or respect should sooner move us, then simply the love of God, and of mankind. Nevertheless to write now the reforming of Education, though it be one of the greatest and noblest designs that can be thought on, and for the want whereof this Nation perishes, I had not yet at this time been induc't, but by your earnest entreaties, and serious conjurements; as having my mind for the present half diverted in the pursuance of some other assertions, the knowledge and the use of which, cannot but be a great furtherance both to the enlargement of truth, and honest living, with much more peace. Nor should the laws of any private friendship have prevail'd with me to divide thus, or transpose my former thoughts, but that I see those aims, those actions which have won you with me the esteem of 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. And, as I hear, you have obtain'd the same repute with men of most approved wisdom, and som of the highest authority among us. Not to mention the learned correspondence which you hold in forreign parts, and the extraordinary pains and diligence which you have us'd in this matter both here, and beyond the Seas; either by the definite will of God so ruling, or the peculiar sway of nature, which also is Gods working. Neither can I think that so reputed, and so valu'd as you are, you would to the forfeit of your own discerning ability, impose upon me an unfit and over-ponderous argument, but that the satisfaction which you profess to have receiv'd from those incidental Discourses which we have wander'd into, hath prest and almost constrain'd you into a perswasion, that what you require from me in this point, I neither ought nor can in conscience deferre beyond this time both of so much need at once, and so much opportunity to try what God hath determin'd. I will not resist therefore, whatever it is either of divine, or humane obligement that you lay upon me; but will forthwith set down in writing, as you request me, that voluntary *Idea*, which hath long in silence presented it self to me, of a better Education, in extent and comprehension far more large, and yet of time far shorter, and of attainment far more certain, then hath been yet in practice. Brief I shall endeavour to be; for that which I have to say,

assuredly this Nation hath extream need should be done sooner then spoken. To tell you therefore what I have benefited herein among old renowned Authors, I shall spare; and to search what many modern *Janua's* and *Didactics* more then ever I shall read, have projected, my inclination leads me not. But if you can accept of these few observations which have flowr'doff, and are, as it were, the burnishing of many studious and contemplative years altogether spent in the search of religious and civil knowledge, and such as pleas'd you so well in the relating, I here give you them to dispose of.

The end then of Learning is to repair the ruines 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 neerest by possessing our souls of true vertue, which being united to the heavenly grace of faith makes up the highest perfection. But because our understanding cannot in this body found it self 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 follow'd in all discreet teaching. And seeing every Nation affords not experience and tradition enough for all kind of Learning, therefore we are chiefly taught the Languages of those people who have at any time been most industrious after Wisdom; so that Language is but the Instrument conveying to us things usefull to be known. And though a Linguist should pride himself to have all the Tongues that *Babel* cleft the world into, yet, if he have not studied the solid things in them as well as the Words & Lexicons, he were nothing so much to be esteem'd a learned man, as any Yeoman or Tradesman competently wise in his Mother Dialect only. Hence appear the many mistakes which have made Learning generally so unpleasing and so unsuccessful; first, we do amiss to spend seven or eight years meerly in scraping together so much miserable Latine and Greek, as might be learnt otherwise easily and delightfully in one year. And that which casts our proficiency therein so much behind, is our time lost partly in too oft idle vacancies given both to Schools and Universities, partly in a preposterous exaction, forcing the empty wits of Children to compose Theams, Verses and Orations, which are the acts of ripest judgment and the final work of a head fill'd by long reading and observing, with elegant maxims, and *copious invention*. These are not matters to be wrung from poor striplings, like blood out of the Nose, or the plucking of untimely fruit: besides the ill habit which they get of wretched barbarizing against the Latin and Greek *idiom*, with their untutor'd *Anglicisms*, odious to be read, yet not to be avoided without a well continu'd and judicious conversing among pure Authors digested, which they scarce taste, whereas, if after some

preparatory grounds of speech by their certain forms got into memory, they were led to the praxis thereof in some chosen short book lesson'd throughly to them, they might then forthwith proceed to learn the substance of good things, and Arts in due order, which would bring the whole language quickly into their power. This I take to be the most rational and most profitable way of learning Languages, and whereby we may best hope to give account to God of our youth spent herein: And for the usual method of teaching Arts, I deem it to be an old error of Universities not yet well recover'd from the Scholastick grossness of barbarous ages, that in stead of beginning with Arts most easie, and those be such as are most obvious to the sence, they present their young unmatriculated Novices at first comming with the most intellective abstractions of Logick and Metapsicks: So that they having but newly left those Grammatick flats and shallows where they stuck unreasonably to learn a few words with lamentable construction, and now on the sudden transported under another climate to be tost and turmoil'd with their unballasted wits in fathomless and unquiet deeps of controversie, do for the most part grow into hatred and contempt of Learning, mockt and deluded all this while with ragged Notions and Babblements, while they expected worthy and delightful knowledge; till poverty or youthful years call them importunately their several wayes and hasten them with the sway of friends either to an ambitious and mercenary, or ignorantly zealous Divinity; Some allur'd 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 unprincip'l'd in vertue, and true generous breeding, that flattery, and Court shifts and tyrannous Aphorisms appear to them the highest points of wisdom; instilling their barren hearts with a conscientious slavery, if, as I rather think, it be not fain'd. Others lastly of a more delicious and airie spirit, retire themselves knowing no better, to the enjoyments of ease and luxury, living out their daies in feast and jollity; which indeed is the wisest and the safest course of all these, unless they were with more integrity undertaken. And these are the fruits of mispending our prime youth at the Schools and Universities as we do, either in learning meer words or such things chiefly, as were better unlearnt.

I shall detain you no longer in the demonstration of what we should not do, but strait conduct ye to a hill side, where I will point ye out the right path of a vertuous and noble Education; laborious 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. I doubt not but ye shall have more adoe to drive our dullest and laziest youth, our stocks and stubbs from the infinite desire of such a happy nurture, then we have now to hale and drag our choisest and hopefullest Wits to that asinine feast of sowthistles and brambles which is commonly set before them, as all the food and entertainment of their tenderest and most docible age. I call therefore a compleat and generous Education that which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully and magnanimously all the offices both private and publick of Peace and War. And how all this may be done between twelve, and one and twenty, less time then is now bestow'd in pure trifling at Grammar and *Sophistry*, is to be thus order'd.

First, to find out 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, who shall be thought of desert sufficient, and ability either to do all, or wisely to direct, and oversee it done. This place should be at once both School and University, not needing a remove to any other house of Schollership, except it be some peculiar Colledge of Law, or Physick, where they mean to be practitioners; but as for those general studies which take up all our time from *Lilly* to the commencing, as they term it, Master of Art, it should be absolute. After this pattern, as many Edifices may be converted to this use, as shall be needful in every City throughout this Land, which would tend much to the encrease of Learning and Civility every where. This number, less or more thus collected, to the convenience of a foot Company, or interchangeably two Troops of Cavalry, should divide their daies work into three parts, as it lies orderly. Their Studies, their Exercise, and their Diet.

For their Studies, First they should begin with the chief and necessary rules of some good Grammar, either that now us'd, or any better: and while this is doing, their speech is to be fashion'd to a distinct and clear pronuntiation, as near as may be to the *Italian*, especially in the Vowels. For we *Englishmen* being far Northerly, do not open our mouths in the cold air, wide enough to grace a Southern Tongue; but are observ'd by all other Nations to speak exceeding close and inward: So that to smatter Latine with an English mouth, is as ill a hearing as Law-French. Next to make them expert in the usefullest points of Grammar, and withall to season them, and win them early to the love of vertue and true labour, ere any flattering seducement, or vain principle seise them

wandering, some easie and delightful Book of Education would be read to them; whereof the Greeks have store, as *Cebes*, *Plutarch*, and other Socratic discourses. But in Latin we have none of classic authority extant, except the two or three first Books of *Quintilian*, and some select pieces elsewhere. But here the main skill and groundwork will be, to temper them such Lectures and Explanations upon every opportunity, as may lead and draw them in willing obedience, enflam'd with the study of Learning, and the admiration of Vertue; stirr'd 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 liberall Exercises: which he who hath the Art, and proper Eloquence to catch them with, what with mild and effectual perswasions, 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. At the same time, some other hour of the day, might be taught them the rules of Arithmetick, and soon after the Elements of Geometry even playing, as the old manner was. After evening repast, till bed-time their thoughts will be best taken up in the easie grounds of Religion, and the story of Scripture. The next step would be to the Authors of *Agriculture*, *Cato*, *Varro*, and *Columella*, for the matter is most easie, and if the language be difficult, so much the better, it is not a difficulty above their years. And here will be an occasion of inciting and inabling them hereafter to improve the tillage of their Country, to recover the bad Soil, and to remedy the waste that is made of good: for this was one of *Hercules* praises. Ere half these Authors be read (which will soon be with plying hard, and daily) they cannot chuse but be masters of any ordinary prose. So that it will be then seasonable for them to learn in any modern Author, the use of the Globes, and all the Maps; first with the old names, and then with the new: or they might be then capable to read any compendious method of natural Philosophy. And at the same time might be entring into the Greek tongue, after the same manner as was before prescrib'd in the Latin; whereby the difficulties of Grammar being soon overcome, all the Historical Physiology of *Aristotle* and *Theophrastus* are open before them, and as I may say, under contribution. The like access will be to *Vitruvius*, to *Senecas* naturall questions, to *Mela*, *Celsus*, *Pliny*, or *Solinus*. And having thus past the principles of *Arithmetick*, *Geometry*, *Astronomy*, and *Geography* with a general compact of Physicks, they may descend in *Mathematicks* to the instrumental science of *Trigonometry*, and from thence to Fortification, Architecture, Enginry, or Navigation. And in natural Philosophy they may proceed

leisurely from the History of Meteors, Minerals, plants and living Creatures as far as Anatomy. Then also in course might be read to them out of some not tedious Writer the Institution of Physick; that they may know the tempers, the humours, the seasons, and how to manage a crudity: which he who can wisely and timely do, is not only a great Physitian to himself, and to his friends, but also may at some time or other, save an Army by this frugal and expenseless means only; and not let the healthy and stout bodies of young men rot away under him for want of this discipline; which is a great pity, and no less a shame to the Commander. To set forward all these proceedings in Nature and *Mathematicks*, what hinders, but that they may procure, as oft as shall be needful, the helpful experiences of Hunters, Fowlers, Fishermen, Shepherds, Gardeners, Apothecaries; and in the other sciences, Architects, Engineers, Mariners, Anatomists; who doubtless would be ready some for reward, and some to favour such a hopeful Seminary. And this will give them such a real tincture of natural knowledge, as they shall never forget, but daily augment with delight. Then also those Poets which are now counted most hard, will be both facil and pleasant, *Orpheus, Hesiod, Theocritus, Aratus, Nicander, Oppian, Dionysius*, and in Latin *Lucretius, Manilius*, and the rural part of *Virgil*.

By this time, years and good general precepts will have furnisht them more distinctly with that act of reason which in *Ethics* is call'd *Proairesis*: that they may with some judgement contemplate upon moral good and evil. Then will be requir'd a special reinforcement of constant and sound endoctrinating to set them right and firm, instructing them more amply in the knowledge of Vertue and the hatred of Vice: while their young and pliant affections are led through all the moral works of *Plato, Xenophon, Cicero, Plutarch, Laertius*, and those *Locrian* remnants; but still to be reduc't in their nightward studies wherewith they close the dayes work, under the determinate sentence of *David* or *Salomon*, or the Evanges and Apostolic Scriptures. Being perfect in the knowledge of personal duty, they may then begin the study of Economics. And either now, or before this, they may have easily learnt at any odd hour the *Italian* Tongue. And soon after, but with wariness and good antidote, it would be wholesome enough to let them taste some choice Comedies, Greek, Latin, or *Italian*: Those Tragedies also that treat of Houshold matters, as *Trachiniæ, Alcestis*, and the like. The next remove must be to the study of *Politicks*; to know the beginning, end, and reasons of Political Societies; that they may not in a dangerous fit of the Common-wealth be such poor, shaken, uncertain Reeds, of such a tottering Conscience, as many of our great Counsellors have lately shewn themselves, but stedfast pillars of the State. After this they are to dive into the grounds

of Law, and legal Justice; deliver'd first, and with best warrant by *Moses*; and as far as humane prudence can be trusted, in those extoll'd remains of Grecian Law-givers, *Licurgus*, *Solon*, *Zaleucus*, *Charondas*, and thence to all the Roman *Edicts* and Tables with their *Justinian*; and so down to the *Saxon* and common Laws of *England*, and the Statutes. Sundayes also and every evening may be now understandingly spent in the highest matters of *Theology*, and Church History ancient and modern: and ere this time the Hebrew Tongue at a set hour might have been gain'd, that the Scriptures may be now read in their own original; whereto it would be no impossibility to add the *Chaldey*, and the *Syrian* Dialect. When all these employments are well conquer'd, then will the choise Histories, *Heroic Poems*, and *Attic* Tragedies of stateliest and most regal argument, with all the famous Political Orations offer themselves; which if they were not only read; but some of them got by memory, and solemnly pronounc't with right accent, and grace, as might be taught, would endue them even with the spirit and vigor of *Demosthenes* or *Cicero*, *Euripides*, or *Sophocles*. And now lastly will be the time to read with them those organic arts which inable men to discourse and write perspicuously, elegantly, and according to the fitted stile of lofty, mean, or lowly. Logic therefore so much as is useful, is to be referr'd to this due place withall her well coucht Heads and Topics, untill it be time to open her contracted palm into a gracefull and ornate Rhetorick taught out of the rule of *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Phalereus*, *Cicero*, *Hermogenes*, *Longinus*. To which Poetry would be made subsequent, or indeed rather precedent, as being less suttle and fine, but more simple, sensuous and passionate. I mean not here the prosody of a verse, which they could not but have hit on before among the rudiments of Grammar; but that sublime Art which in *Aristotles Poetics*, in *Horace*, and the *Italian* Commentaries of *Castelvetro*, *Tasso*, *Mazzoni*, and others, teaches what the laws are of a true *Epic* Poem, what of a *Dramatic*, what of a *Lyric*, what Decorum is, which is the grand master-piece to observe. This would make them soon perceive what despicable creatures our comm Rimers and Play-writers be, and shew them, what religious, what glorious and magnificent use might be made of Poetry both in divine and humane things. From hence and not till now will be the right season of forming them to be able Writers and Composers in every excellent matter, when they shall be thus fraught with an universal insight into things. Or whether they be to speak in Parliament or Counsel, honour and attention would be waiting on their lips. There would then also appear in Pulpits other Visages, other gestures, and stuff otherwise wrought then what we now sit under, oft times to as great a trial of our patience as any other that they preach to us. These are the Studies wherein our noble and our gentle Youth ought to bestow their time in a disciplinary way

from twelve to one and twenty; unless they rely more upon their ancestors dead, then upon themselves living. In which methodical course it is so suppos'd they must proceed by the stedly pace of learning onward, as at convenient times for memories sake to retire back into the middle ward, and sometimes into the rear of what they have been taught, untill they have confirm'd, and solidly united the whole body of their perfeted knowledge, like the last embattelling of a Roman Legion. Now will be worth the seeing what Exercises and Recreations may best agree, and become these Studies.

Their Exercise.

The course of Study hitherto briefly describ'd, is, what I can guess by reading, likest to those ancient and famous Schools of *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, *Isocrates*, *Aristotle* and such others, out of which were bred up such a number of renowned Philosophers, Orators, Historians, Poets and Princes all over *Greece*, *Italy*, and *Asia*, besides the flourishing Studies of *Cyrene* and *Alexandria*. But herein it shall exceed them, and supply a defect as great as that which *Plato* noted in the Common-wealth of *Sparta*; whereas that City train'd up their Youth most for War, and these in their Academies and *Lycæum*, all for the Gown, this institution of breeding which I here delineate, shall be equally good both for Peace and War. Therefore about an hour and a half ere they eat at Noon should be allow'd them for exercise and due rest afterwards: But the time for this may be enlarg'd at pleasure, according as their rising in the morning shall be early. The Exercise which I commend first, is 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 temper'd with seasonable Lectures and Precepts to them of true Fortitude and Patience, will turn into a native and heroick valour, and make them hate the cowardise of doing wrong. They must be also practiz'd in all the Locks and Gripes of Wrastling, wherein English men were wont to excell, as need may often be in fight to tugg or grapple, and to close. And this perhaps will be enough, wherein to prove and heat their single strength. The interim of unsweating themselves regularly, and convenient rest before meat may both with profit and delight be taken up in recreating and composing their travail'd spirits with the solemn and divine harmonies of Musick heard or learnt; either while the skilful *Organist* plies his grave and fancied descant, in lofty fugues, or the whole Symphony with artful and unimaginaire touches adorn and grace the well studied chords of some choice Composer;

sometimes the Lute, or soft Organ stop waiting on elegant Voices either to Religious, martial, or civil Ditties; which if wise men and Prophets be not extreamly out, have a great power over dispositions and manners, to smooth and make them gentle from rustick harshness and distemper'd passions. The like also would not be unexpedient after Meat to assist and cherish Nature in her first concoction, and send their minds back to study in good tune and satisfaction. Where having follow'd it close under vigilant eyes till about two hours before supper, they are by a sudden alarumor watch word, to be call'd out to their military motions, under skie or covert, according to the season, as was the Roman wont; first on foot, then as their age permits, on Horseback, to all the Art of Cavalry; That having in sport, but with much exactness, and daily muster, serv'd out the rudiments of their Souldiership in all the skill of Embattelling, Marching, Encamping, Fortifying, Besieging and Battering, with all the helps of ancient and modern stratagems, *Tacticks* and warlike maxims, they may as it were out of a long War come forth renowned and perfect Commanders in the service of their Country. They would not then, if they were trusted with fair and hopeful armies, suffer them for want of just and wise discipline to shed away from about them like sick feathers, though they be never so oft suppli'd: they would not suffer their empty and unrecrutable Colonels of twenty men in a Company to quaff out, or convey into secret hoards, the wages of a delusive list, and a miserable remnant: yet in the mean while to be over-master'd with a score or two of drunkards, the only souldery left about them, or else to comply with all rapines and violences. No certainly, if they knew ought of that knowledge that belongs to good men or good Governours, they would not suffer these things. But to return to our own institute, besides these constant exercises at home, there is another opportunity of gaining experience to be won from pleasure it self abroad; In those vernal seasons of the year, when the air is calm and pleasant, it were an injury and sullenness against nature not to go out, and see her riches, and partake in her rejoycing with Heaven and Earth. I should not therefore be a perswader to them of studying much then, after two or three year that they have well laid their grounds, but to ride out in Companies with prudent and staid Guides, to all the quarters of the Land: learning and observing all places of strength, all commodities of building and of soil, for Towns and Tillage, Harbours and Ports for Trade. Sometimes taking Sea as far as to our Navy, to learn there also what they can in the practical knowledge of sailing and of Sea-fight. These ways would try all their peculiar gifts of Nature, and if there were any secret excellence among them, would fetch it out, and give it fair opportunities to advance it self by, which could not but mightily redound to the good of this Nation, and bring into fashion again those old admired

Vertues and Excellencies, with far more advantage now in this purity of Christian knowledge. Nor shall we then need the *Monsieurs of Paris* to take our hopefull Youth into their slight and prodigal custodies and send them over back again transform'd into Mimicks, Apes, and Kicshoes. But 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 honour of all men where they pass, and the society and friendship of those in all places who are best and most eminent. And perhaps then other Nations will be glad to visit us for their Breeding, or else to imitate us in their own Country.

Now lastly for their Diet there cannot be much to say, save only that it would be best in the same House; for much time else would be lost abroad, and many ill habits got; and that it should be plain, healthful, and moderate I suppose is out of controversie. Thus Mr. *Hartlib*, you have a general view in writing, as your desire was, of that which at several times I had discourst with you concerning the best and Noblest way of Education; not beginning, as some have done from the Cradle, which yet might be worth many considerations, if brevity had not been my scope, many other circumstances also I could have mention'd, but this to such as have the worth in them to make trial, for light and direction may be enough. Only I believe that 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*, yet I am withall perswaded that it may prove much more easie in the assay, then it now seems at distance, and much more illustrious: howbeit not more difficult then I imagine, and that imagination presents me with nothing but very happy and very possible according to best wishes; if God have so decreed, and this age have spirit and capacity enough to apprehend.

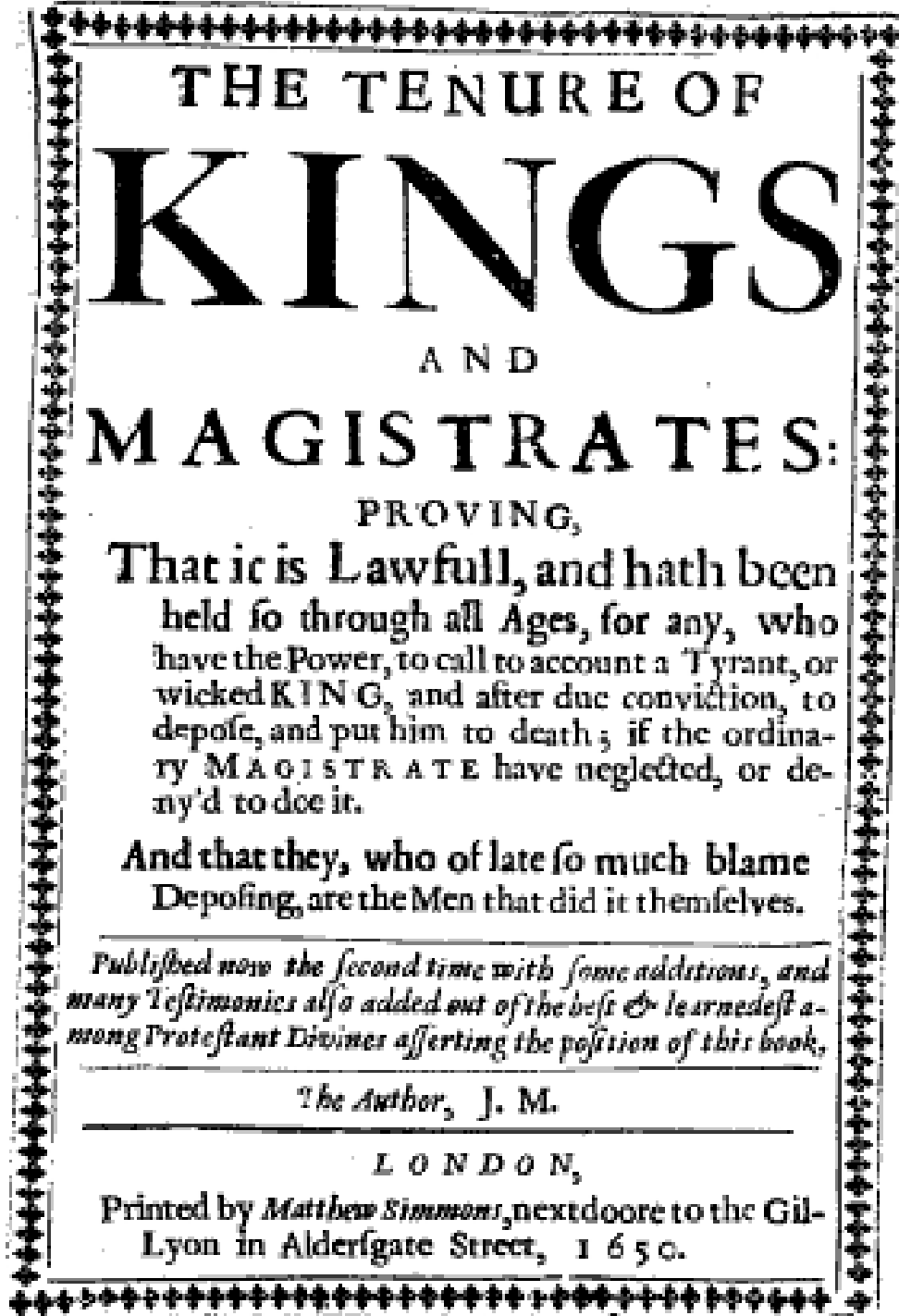
The End

Retrieved from https://www.dartmouth.edu/~milton/reading_room/of_education/text.shtml

Appendix II

Extract from *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, 1649

Title Page and First Paragraph (Dartmouth, 2019b)



The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates

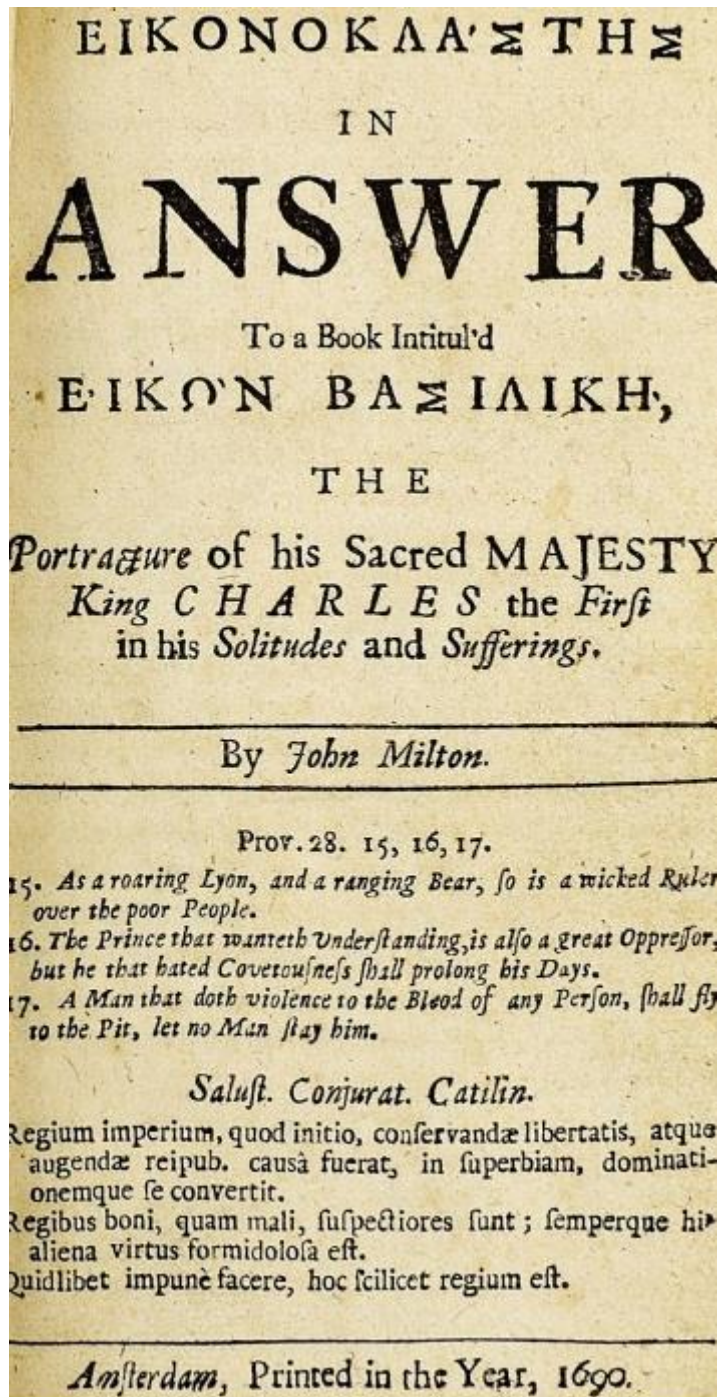
(1650)

If men within themselves would be govern'd by reason, and not generally give up thir understanding to a double tyrannie, of Custom from without, and blind affections within, they would discern better, what it is to favour and uphold the Tyrant of a Nation. But being slaves within doors, no wonder that they strive so much to have the public State conformably govern'd to the inward vitious rule, by which they govern themselves. For indeed none can love freedom heartilie, but good men; the rest love not freedom, but licence; which never hath more scope or more indulgence then under Tyrants. Hence is it that Tyrants are not oft offended, nor stand much in doubt of bad men, as being all naturally servile; but in whom vertue and true worth most is eminent, them they feare in earnest, as by right thir Maisters, against them lies all thir hatred and suspicion. Consequentlie neither doe bad men hate Tyrants, but have been alwayes readiest with the falsifi'd names of Loyalty, and Obedience, to colour over thir base compliances. And although somtimes for shame, and when it comes to thir owne grievances, of purse especially, they would seeme good Patriots, and side with the better cause, yet when others for the deliverance of thir Countrie, endu'd with fortitude and Heroick vertue to feare nothing but the curse writt'n against those That doe the worke of the Lord negligently, would goe on to remove, not only the calamities and thraldoms of a People, but the roots and causes whence they spring, streight these men, and sure helpers at need, as if they hated only the miseries but not the mischiefs, after they have juggl'd and palter'd with the world, banded and born armes against thir King, devested him, disannointed him, nay curs'd him all over in thir Pulpits and thir Pamphlets, to the ingaging of sincere and real men, beyond what is possible or honest to retreat from, not only turne revoltors from those principles, which only could at first move them, but lay the staine of disloyaltie, and worse, on those proceedings, which are the necessary consequences of thir own former actions; nor dislik'd by themselves, were they manag'd to the intire advantages of thir own Faction; not considering the while that he toward whom they boasted thir new fidelitie, counted them accessory; and by those Statutes and Lawes which they so impotently brandish against others, would have doom'd them to a Traytors death, for what they have don alreadye. 'Tis true, that most men are apt enough to civill Wars and commotions as a noveltie, and for a flash hot and active; but through sloth or inconstancie, and weakness of spirit either fainting, ere thir own pretences, though never so just, be half attain'd, or through an inbred falshood and wickednes, betray oft times to destruction with themselves, men of noblest temper joyn'd with them for causes, whereof they in their rash undertakings were not capable.

Appendix III

Extract from *Eikonoklastes*, 1649

Title Page and Extract from The Preface (Dartmouth, 2019a)



Eikonoklastes

The PREFACE.

TO descant on the misfortunes of a person fall'n from so high a dignity, who hath also payd his final debt both to Nature and his Faults, is neither of it self a thing commendable, nor the intention of this discours. Neither was it fond ambition, or the vanity to get a Name, present, or with Posterity, by writing against a King: I never was so thirsty after Fame, nor so destitute of other hopes and means, better and more certaine to attaine it. For Kings have gain'd glorious Titles from thir Favourers by writing against privat men, as Henry the 8th did against Luther; but no man ever gain'd much honour by writing against a King, as not usually meeting with that force of Argument in such Courtly Antagonists, which to convince might add to his reputation. Kings most commonly, though strong in Legions, are but weak at Arguments; as they who ever have accustom'd from the Cradle to use thir will onely as thir right hand, thir reason alwayes as thir left. Whence unexpectedly constrain'd to that kind of combat, they prove but weak and puny Adversaries. Nevertheless for their sakes who through custom, simplicitie, or want of better teaching, have not more seriously considerd Kings, then in the gaudy name of Majesty, and admire them and thir doings, as if they breath'd not the same breath with other mortal men, I shall make no scruple to take up (for it seems to be the challenge both of him and all his party) to take up this Gauntlet, though a Kings, in the behalf of Libertie, and the Common-wealth.

And furder, since it appears manifestly the cunning drift of a factious and defeated Party, to make the same advantage of his Book, which they did before of his Regal Name and Authority, and intend it not so much the defence of his former actions, as the promoting of thir own future designs, making thereby the Book thir own rather then the Kings, as the benefit now must be thir own more then his, now the third time to corrupt and disorder the mindes of weaker men, by new suggestions and narrations, either falsly or fallaciously representing the State of things to the dishonour of this present Government, and the retarding of a generall peace, so needfull to this afflicted Nation, and so nigh obtain'd, I suppose it no injurie to the dead, but a good deed rather to the living, if by better information giv'n them, or, which is anough, by onely remembring them the truth of what they themselves know to be heer misaffirm'd, they may be kept from entring the third time unadvisedly into Warr and bloodshed. For as to any moment of solidity in the Book it self, save only that a King is said to be the Author, a name, then which there needs no more among the blockish vulgar, to make it wise, and excellent, and admir'd, nay to set it next the Bible, though otherwise containing little els but the common grounds of Tyranny and popery, drest up, the better to deceiv, in a new Protestant guise, and trimmly garnish'd over, or as to any need of answering, in respect of staid and well-principl'd men, I take it on me as a work assign'd rather, then by me chos'n or affected. Which was the cause both of beginning it so late, and finishing it so leasurely, in the midst of other imployments and diversions. And though well it might have seem'd in vaine to write at all; considering the envy and almost infinite prejudice likely to be stirr'd up among the Common sort, against what ever can be writt'n or gainsaid to the Kings book, so advantageous to a book it is, only to be a Kings, and though it be an irksom labour to write with industrie and judicious paines that which neither waigh'd, nor well read, shall be judg'd without industry or the paines of well judging, by Faction and the easy literature of custom and opinion, it shall be ventur'd yet, and the truth not smother'd, but sent abroad, in the native confidence of her single self, to earn, how she can, her entertainment in the world, and to finde out her own readers; few perhaps, but those few, of such value and substantial worth, as

truth and wisdom, not respecting numbers and bigg names, have bin ever wont in all ages to be contented with.

And if the late King had thought sufficient those Answers and Defences made for him in his life time, they who on the other side accus'd his evil Government, judging that on their behalf enough also hath been reply'd, the heat of this controversie was in all likelyhood drawing to an end; and the furdur mention of his deeds, not so much unfortunat as faulty, had in tenderness to his late sufferings bin willingly forborn; and perhaps for the present age might have slept with him unrepeated; while his adversaries, calm'd and asswag'd with the success of thir cause, had bin the less unfavourable to his memory. But since he himself, making new appeale to Truth and the World, hath left behind him this Book as the best advocat and interpreter of his own actions, and that his Friends by publishing, dispersing, commending, and almost adoring it, seem to place therein the chiefe strength and nerves of thir cause, it would argue doubtless in the other party great deficiencie and distrust of themselves, not to meet the force of his reason in any field whatsoever, the force and equipage of whose Armes they have so oft'n met victoriously. And he who at the Barr stood excepting against the form and manner of his Judicature, and complain'd that he was not heard; neither he nor his Friends shall have that cause now to find fault; being mett and debated with in this op'n and monumental Court of his own erecting; and not onely heard uttering his whole mind at large, but answer'd. Which to doe effectually, if it be necessary that to his Book nothing the more respect be had for being his, they of his own Party can have no just reason to exclaime. For it were too unreasonable that he, because dead, should have the liberty in his Book to speak all evil of the Parlament; and they, because living, should be expected to have less freedom, or any for them, to speak home the plain truth of a full and pertinent reply. As he, to acquitt himself, hath not spar'd his Adversaries, to load them with all sorts of blame and accusation, so to him, as in his Book alive, there will be us'd no more Courtship then he uses; but what is properly his own guilt, not imputed any more to his evil Counsellors, (a Ceremony us'd longer by the Parlament then he himself desir'd) shall be laid heer without circumlocutions at his own dore. That they who from the first beginning, or but now of late, by what unhappines I know not, are so much affatuated, not with his person onely, but with his palpable faults, and dote upon his deformities, may have none to blame but thir own folly, if they live and dye in such a strook'n blindness, as next to that of Sodom hath not happ'nd to any sort of men more gross, or more misleading. Yet neither let his enemies expect to finde recorded heer all that hath been whisper'd in the Court, or alleg'd op'nly of the Kings bad actions; it being the proper scope of this work in hand, not to ripp up and relate the misdoings of his whole life, but to answer only and refute the missayings of his book.

But it is evident that the chief of his adherents never lov'd him, never honour'd either him or his cause, but as they took him to set a face upon thir own malignant designes; nor bemoan his loss at all, but the loss of thir own aspiring hopes: Like those captive women whom the poet notes in his Iliad, to have bewailed the death of Patroclus in outward show, but indeed thir own condition.

Appendix IV

When I consider how my light is spent
1673

When I consider how my light is spent	a
Ere half my days in this dark world and wide,	b
And that one talent which is death to hide	b
Lodg'd with me useless, though my soul more bent	a
To serve therewith my Maker, and present	a
My true account, lest he returning chide;	b
“Doth God exact day-labour, light denied?”	b
I fondly ask. But Patience to prevent	a
That murmur, soon replies: "God doth not need	c
Either man's work or his own gifts; who best	d
Bear his mild yoke, they serve him best. His state	e
Is kingly. Thousands at his bidding speed	c
And post o'er land and ocean without rest:	d
They also serve who only stand and wait.	e

This 14-line sonnet is written in the Petrarchan form, rhyming abba, abba, cde, cde. It was originally titled Sonnet 18 or Sonnet 19, but is commonly known by the first line. In a 1761 edition of Milton's poetry, Thomas Newton titled the sonnet, “On His Blindness.” (Kelley, 1956). It remains one of Milton's most popular works. (See Table 1 on page 65.)

Urban (2004) notes that when Milton writes “that one talent which is death to hide” in line 3, he is specifically alluding to the parable of the talents in the Gospel of Matthew 25:14-30.

The last line of the sonnet, “They also serve who only stand and wait,” may well be one of the most famous lines in all English poetry. It is, however, often quoted out of context (or even misquoted). Milton probably implies that bearing his blindness sets an example for others with disabilities.

Appendix V

A 17th Century Chronology

(Items in bold refer directly to the life of John Milton)

The age of Milton is an era of extreme religious and political polarization, revolving around reforms in the English Church commonly known as Puritanism. It is a disturbing epoch questioning Christianity as a moral order, having serious political implications. In the midst of a turbulent and highly contested religious debate, Milton appeared to be standing alone, mostly because of his distinct and individual stand of seeing the turmoil as a devout Christian as well as a rational being. (Khan, 2016, p. 346)

- 1600 The East India Company is founded.
- 1601 The Poor Law is passed. People are made to pay a rate to support the poor.
- 1603 March, Queen Elizabeth dies.
James VI of Scotland becomes James I of England. Begins the Stuart dynasty.
- 1605 The gunpowder plot, a Catholic conspiracy to blow up Parliament, is discovered on November 5. Date becomes traditional Guy Fawkes Day.
- 1607 Jamestown is founded, the first successful British colony in North America.
- 1608 John Milton is born at The Spreddeagle in Cheapside, London, December 9, to parents John and Sara Jeffrey Milton. His father is a scrivener by trade, a person whose job is to be able to read and write, who also dabbles as a composer of church music. Baptized in All Hallows Church December 20.**
- 1611 King James Version of The Bible is published.
- 1620 Twelve-year-old Milton enters St. Paul's School in London.**
- 1625 King James dies at age 58. Charles I is crowned king, marries Catholic Henrietta Maria. Charles loses battle at Cadiz. Parliament refuses to raise taxes to pay for war. Charles dissolves Parliament.
Milton admitted to Christ's College, Cambridge, age seventeen.
- 1626 **Milton gets suspended from college after an argument with his tutor William Chappell. Returns to his family in London and begins to write his first poetry. Eventually goes back to Cambridge but is assigned a new tutor.**
- 1627 Charles loses war in La Rochelle, France.
- 1628 Charles recalls Parliament to pay for his wars. Parliament refuses. Parliament presents The Petition of Right to the King
Milton prints first poem, probably *De Idea Platonica*.
- 1629 William Laud becomes Bishop of London. Opposes Puritans. Backed by Charles. The Eleven Years Tyranny begins; Charles rules without Parliament. Lasts until 1640.
Milton composes the poem "On the Morning of Christ's Nativity" on Christmas morning at Cambridge. Awarded Bachelor of Arts degree.
- 1632 Milton graduates in July from Cambridge with a Master of Arts degree *cum laude*. Because of his family's comfortable financial status, he does not have to seek immediate employment but settles into family homes in Hammersmith, London, and Buckinghamshire to study and write poetry. His poem "On Shakespeare" is published soon after.**

- 1633 Laud becomes Archbishop of Canterbury, determined to suppress Puritans.
- 1634 **Comus, Milton's play in praise of chastity, performed for the first time at Ludlow Castle, September 29.**
- 1637 Laud and Charles try to introduce a new prayer book in Scotland.
Milton's mother, Sara Jeffrey Milton dies, and is buried in the town of Horton. Milton writes the poem Lycidas as an elegy for his friend Edward King, who drowned three months earlier.
- 1638 Scottish nobles and ministers sign the National Covenant.
In May, Milton sets out to tour France, Switzerland, and Italy. Forced to return home in July 1639, as rumors swell of civil war in England. Publishes *Lycidas*. Best childhood friend Charles Diodati dies.
- 1639 Charles loses Bishops War to Scots. Signs Peace of Berwick.
In July, Milton returns from travels. Composes the poem *Epitaphium Damonis* as an elegy for Charles Diodati, who died during Milton's European tour.
- 1640 April to May 5: The Short Parliament.
Charles loses Second Bishops War to Scots.
November: Long Parliament passes Triennial Act: Parliament must be called every three years.
***Epitaphium Damonis* is published; it will be his final work of poetry in Latin. Milton moves to his own house in Aldersgate. Begins teaching two students, John and Edward Phillips.**
- 1641 May: King's hated advisor, Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, executed for treason.
In July, Parliament abolishes the hated Court of the Star Chamber.
Charles abandons all efforts to impose religious changes on Scotland. Scots leave England.
In November, Parliament passes *Grand Remonstrances*, list of grievances.
As the civil war between England's Parliamentarians and Royalists heats up, the pro-Parliamentarian Milton publishes the political tracts *Of Reformation, Animadversions, Of Prelatical Episcopacy, and The Reason of Church Government*.
- 1642 January: King enters Parliament to arrest five members for treason. Precipitates Civil War. Parliament begins raising its own army.
April: Charles tries to seize arms in Hull; town refuses him to enter.
The English Civil War between king and parliament begins. Indecisive battle of Edgehill.
Navy supports Parliament.
Thirty-four-year-old Milton marries seventeen-year-old Mary Powell. The match is not a good one, and Mary returns to her family's home after one month. Despite the acrimonious start to their ten-year marriage, the couple eventually reunite and Mary conceives three daughters and a son.
- 1643 Parliament enlists Scots in opposition to Charles I.
Unhappy in his marriage, Milton writes a pamphlet condemning England's divorce laws entitled *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, followed by *The Judgment of Martin Bucer Concerning Divorce*. The so-called "Divorce Tracts" earn Milton the derisive nickname "Milton the Divorcer."
- 1644 January, Scottish army enters England. Parliament wins the battle of Marston Moor.
After the Stationers' Company attempts to censor Milton's *Judgment of Martin Bucer*, he publishes the impassioned *Areopagitica* in support of a free press. Milton publishes "Of Education."

- 1645 Parliament wins the battle of Naseby. William Laud is executed.
Parliamentary forces reorganized into the New Model Army under Sir Thomas Fairfax.
Milton publishes *Tetrachordon* and *Colasterion* in March. Mary Powell returns to her husband.
- 1646 Charles I surrenders to the Scots, and the first civil war comes to an end.
John Liburne, a Leveller, publishes *London's Liberty in Chains*.
After a rapprochement in their relationship, Mary Powell Milton gives birth in July to Milton's first child, daughter Anne.
- 1647 Oliver Cromwell defeats army of Royalist army of English and Scots at Preston.
Pride's Purge removes Parliament members too lenient to Charles.
About 60 members remain in "Rump Parliament."
Milton's father, John, dies in March.
- 1648 Charles starts another civil war with allies in Scotland.
Battle of Preston ends hopes of restoring Charles to power.
The Miltons' second child, a daughter named Mary, is born in October.
- 1649 Parliament passes act abolishing monarchy and House of Lords.
Charles I is tried, convicted, and, on January 30, beheaded, ushering in a republican government led by Oliver Cromwell.
Gerrard Winstanley and the Diggers publish *The True Levellers Standard Advanced*.
**Milton supports the removal of the king, publishes *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* in February, *Articles of Peace* in May, *Eikonoklastes* in October.
In March, Milton is appointed Secretary for the Foreign Tongues, an official position in the English government handling diplomatic correspondence. He receives a salary and lodgings at Scotland Yard.**
- 1650 Cromwell enters Scotland and crushes royalist Scots army at Dunbar.
Instrument of Government is drawn up. Cromwell is proposed as Lord Protector.
- 1651 A Scottish army invades England in an attempt to put Charles II on the throne.
The Scots are defeated at Worcester and Charles II flees abroad.
**Milton publishes *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio Secunda* in May.
In March, Mary Powell Milton gives birth to the couple's son, John.**
- 1652 The Act of Uniformity is passed.
**After years of diminishing eyesight likely caused by glaucoma, Milton becomes totally blind.
In May, Milton's wife, Mary, dies three days after giving birth to the couple's fourth child, daughter Deborah.
In June, Milton's young son, John, dies.**
- 1653 December: Oliver Cromwell confirmed as Lord Protector of England
- 1655 Cromwell dissolves Parliament in January. Divides country into 11 districts.
- 1656 In November, Milton marries his second wife, Katherine Woodcock.**
- 1657 Daughter Katherine is born in October.**
- 1658 Oliver Cromwell dies. His son Richard is installed as successor in September.
Milton's second wife, Katherine Woodcock, dies four months after giving birth to the couple's only child, daughter Katherine. Soon after, the baby girl dies, as well.
- 1659 May: Richard Cromwell resigns. His fall from power is so swift he becomes known as 'Tumbledown Dick.'

- Milton publishes *A Treatise of Civil Power* in February and *Considerations Touching the Likeliest Means to Remove Hirelings* in August.**
- 1660 Charles II returns from France, lands at Dover. Becomes king. May: Restoration begins. **Following the restoration of Charles II to the English throne, Milton is arrested and imprisoned for about two months and fined.**
- 1662 Charles II marries Portuguese Catholic Princess Catherine of Braganza.
- 1663 Over the objections of his daughters, Milton marries his third wife, Elizabeth Minshull in February.**
- 1665 The Great Plague, lasting from 1665 to 1666, the last major epidemic of bubonic plague to occur in England
- 1666 The Great Fire of London. Much of the city is destroyed but it is soon rebuilt.
- 1667 Milton's masterpiece *Paradise Lost* is published to immediate acclaim. The poet and critic John Dryden is said to have remarked, "This man cuts us all out, and the ancients, too."**
- 1670 Charles II makes secret treaty with French Louis XIV, promising he will announce he is a Catholic. Louis promises 6,000 men if people rebelled. Milton publishes *The History of Britain* in November.**
- 1671 Milton publishes in one volume the poems *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes*.**
- 1672 Charles II issues Royal Declaration of Indulgence suspending laws against nonconformists.
- 1673 The Test Act is passed. Catholics and Protestant dissenters (who do not belong to the Church of England) are prevented from holding public office. **Milton publishes the sonnet, "When I Consider How My Light is Spent." (Titled "On His Blindness" a century later by Thomas Newton in his 1761 edition of Milton's poetry.)**
- 1674 November 8 or 9, John Milton dies at age 65 of gout and is buried in St. Giles Church in the Cripplegate neighborhood of London. A memorial to Milton is placed in the Poet's Corner of Westminster Abbey.**
- 1679 Parliament passes Act of Habeas Corpus; forbids imprisonment without trial.
- 1685 Charles II dies. James II becomes King.
- 1687 James II issues Declaration of Indulgence suspending all anti-Catholic laws.
- 1688 June: Son born to wife of James II. Parliament declares throne is vacant. The Glorious Revolution. William of Orange takes the English throne from James II. The event brings a permanent realignment of power within the English constitution. James II flees abroad, and William and Mary become the new monarchs.
- 1689 Parliament passes Toleration Act. Eases some restrictions on non-conformists.

A 17th Century Timeline

1608	1625	1644	1649	1652	1660	1667	1674
Milton is born	Enters Cambridge	Of Education	Charles I Executed	Completely Blind	Charles II Restoration	<i>Paradise Lost</i>	Milton dies

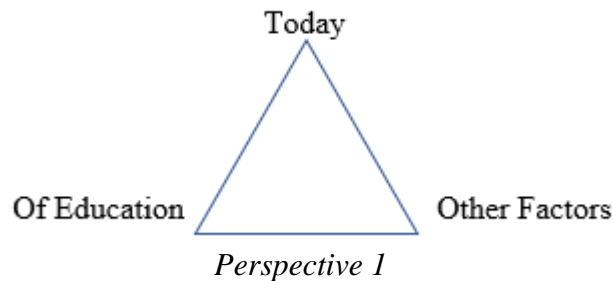
*Sources for this chronology include, among others, Beer (2008), Danielson (1999, pp. xiv-xvi); Lambert (2019); (Martz (1966, pp. 207-208); McDowell & Smith (2009, pp. xviii-xxii); Orgel & Goldberg (2008, pp. xxix-xxx); Shmoop (2019); and Britannica (2019b).

Appendix VI

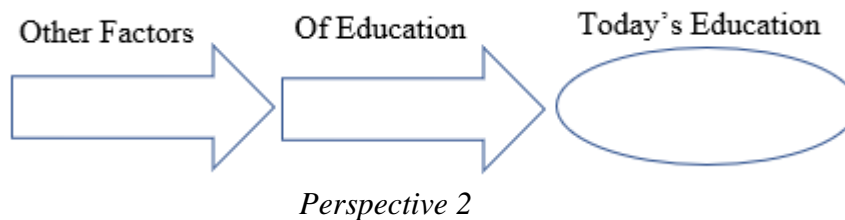
Graphical Representations of the Study

For those readers who ask about the relevance of Milton's life, the times in which he lived, and his other writings prior to his letter, "Of Education," we offer a pair of visual perspectives. Some readers may find these graphs useful, while others may ignore them. These two perspectives differ in that *Perspective 1* is a non-linear set of relationships, and *Perspective 2* is a linear progression.

Perspective 1. The study envisions connections between the tractate "Of Education" and the factors that influenced Milton in his writing of that tractate and how that interaction influences the decisions authorities make today regarding education policies.



Perspective 2. Another visual representation is that of a flow chart. This more linear perspective considers that other factors, including Milton's time and life and the evidence of his other works, came to a point as he was writing "Of Education." The sum of all these factors, having influenced Milton's thinking, ultimately produce the work, which then comes to those today who are responsible for education policies.



Appendix VII.

Case Study 1: Education Reform in Australia

Australia's National Assessment Program – Literacy and Numeracy (NAPLAN) is an annual assessment for students in Years 3, 5, 7 and 9. It has been an everyday part of the school calendar since 2008, when authorities initiated an effort to prepare young people for the more intensive demands of an increasingly globalized economy. "NAPLAN tests the sorts of skills that are essential for every child to progress through school and life, such as reading, writing, spelling and numeracy." (NAP, 2019). (But see Karp, 2018, and Kelly, 2019, for opposing views.)

A Google search of "NAPLAN" returns about 1,720,000 websites, whereas "Opposition to NAPLAN" returns almost 50,000 websites. So, while the Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority (ACARA) believes these standardized tests are an important reform, many Australians are outspoken in their opposition (Mueller, 2019). Much of the opposition stems from explicit objectives associated with "teaching to the test." This is hardly a trivial matter, as the stakes are high; pupils who fail to meet specific levels of achievement after grade 3 are not permitted to advance to grade 4. "The down side of NAPLAN can be seen when teachers are teaching to the test rather than teaching to the curriculum as can be seen in Victoria where teachers have been told to teach explicitly for the national tests that are the cornerstone of the Federal Government's controversial My School website. The directive has led to accusations that education authorities in the state of Victoria are pressuring schools to 'teach to the test' to lift their performance on the new website *at the expense of a broader curriculum.*" (Perkins, 2010). [Emphasis added.]

Mueller (2019) reports, "The Education Council of the Council of Australian Governments this year commissioned a review of NAPLAN." Many Australians eagerly await the review.

Appendix VIII.

Case Study 2: Education Reform in the United States

As in the case of Australia, a nation-wide effort to reform education has been underway in the United States of America:

...Common Core State Standards [CCSS] implemented in 2010 are an attempt to change the traditional education system of the United States. Through changing the method by which American schools teach Reading, Language, and Mathematics, the CCSS hope to improve the curriculum to match international standards and better prepare students for university. (MacPhail-Fausey, p. 1)

There is, however, an important difference between the two countries. Whereas the Australian national government may set standards for schools in its states and territories, in the United States, some 15,000 school districts will tolerate no interference from the Federal government and little from the state governments, either. Not only will school districts react against any sort of outside control, but many will voice vehement, sometimes violent, opposition to even the hint of some kind of attempt to establish any standards.

A Google search for “Common Core State Standards” returns about 201 million websites, and “Opposition to Common Core State Standards” returns nearly 25 million. Typical of the latter is the extreme right-wing anti-union FreedomWorks’ “Top 10 Reasons to Oppose Common Core,” first of which is the paranoid trope that the Federal government is coming to take away your schools (Borowski, 2013). A more reasoned treatment is found at Common Core (2019), where myths about content, quality, process, and implementation are debunked. Nevertheless, the opposition to reform noted in this study are present, even virulent. As this study notes, and as we see in the cases of Australia and the United States, and as we see in Milton’s experience, reform does not come easy, even when the evidence indicates the need for systemic change.

Appendix IX.

Case Study 2: Education Reform in Georgia

With all its perceived faults, the Soviet Union achieved in its tenure of 70 years, in addition to its part in defeating Adolf Hitler's expanding terroristic dictatorship, some remarkable accomplishments (Clemens, 1987). Sputnik in 1957 was the first artificial earth-orbiting satellite. (Dickson, 2007) George Eliava Institute of Bacteriophages, Microbiology and Virology (IBMV) was the first scientific institution, in 1923, to develop an alternative to traditional anti-bacterial medications that spawn "super bugs" (Eliava Institute, 2019). A pupil completing secondary school had a job or went on to higher education. University graduates had jobs. There was no unemployment. These and many other accomplishments were made possible through reforms by the Soviet governments in education.

Education in the Soviet Union was organized in a highly centralized government-run system. Its advantages were total access for all citizens and post-education employment. The Soviet Union recognized that the foundation of their system depended upon an educated population and development in the broad fields of engineering, the natural sciences, the life sciences and social sciences, along with basic education. (Spearman, 1983)

When the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991, however, education in the 15 independent former Soviet countries fell into chaos. Georgia, one of those countries, has been persistent in seeking improvements in education since the earlier immediate post-Soviet chaos. Most recently, in the summer of 2019, a new, highly qualified Minister of Education, Mikheil Batiashvili, has raised the bar, saying, "Education is the priority of our country" (Ingorokva, 2019). One of Batiashvili's key reforms focuses on teachers, indicating that, by 2022, he wants to triple the current teacher's minimum salary. "It is very important to attract new people to the profession. Hence the minimum wage regulations must be amended and regulated." Batiashvili echoes Milton: "My main message to the readers is that education is truly an acquired freedom. And that we should cherish it."



Figure 22. John Milton
Currier and Ives, Springfield Museum
Public Domain

A Few Notable Quotes of John Milton

The mind is its own place, and in itself can make a Heaven of Hell, a Hell of Heaven.
For so I created them free and free they must remain.

—*Paradise Lost*

In those vernal seasons of the year, when the air is calm and pleasant, it were an injury and sullenness against Nature not to go out, and see her riches, and partake in her rejoicing with heaven and earth.

The end then of learning is to repair the ruins of our first parents.

—*Of Education*

Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties.

—*Areopagitica*

The childhood shows the man,
As morning shows the day.

—*Paradise Regained*