**Stephen D. Dobranksi (ed.)**

**MILTON IN CONTEXT**

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**Pamphlet Wars**

**by**

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The Milton who, heir of Moses, Homer and Virgil (*CPW*, 1: 812), invoked a time of oral culture and manuscript circulation, aspired to timelessness: 'with his garland and singing robes about him', he sought 'an immortality of fame' by leaving 'something so written to aftertimes, as they should not willingly let it die' (*CPW*, 1: 327, 808, 810).  This same Milton was, however, also the most topically immediate of authors, addressing himself not to posterity but to his contemporaries. By utilising press technology to take up current issues of public concern through the prompt publication of pamphlets and controversial tracts, this most traditional of authors was yet among the most innovative of early modern writers, becoming the first master of print culture in English literary history.

The publishing opportunity of which Milton took such creative advantage had never before been available.  His early literary career coincided with, and was shaped by, an unprecedented increase in press activity associated with the gathering momentum of the English Revolution.  The political and religious tensions of the early decades of the century were articulated through what, assuming ironically the voice of a would-be controller of the press, Marvell later described as 'the seditious meetings of Letters': '*O Printing*!  How hast thou disturb'd the Peace of Mankind!  that Lead, when moulded into Bullets, is not so mortal as when founded into Letters!'.  Both Milton and Marvell likened the output of the press to the dragon's teeth sown by Cadmus that 'sprang up armed men'.[1]  It was a time, in the words of Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, of 'paper-skirmishes', of pamphlet wars.[2]

In 1648 the Puritan minister Richard Baxter exclaimed in dismay at the result: '*Every ignorant, empty braine … hath the liberty of the Presse … whereby the number of bookes is grown so great that they begin with many to grow contemptible'.*   By 1653, he had come to fear the '*Luxuriant Fertility, or Licentiousness of the Press of late'* is '*a design of the Enemy to bury and overwhelm in a croud … Judicious, Pious, Excellent Writings'.* [3]  The revolutionary and radical ideas published in the tracts of Levellers, Anabaptists, Ranters and, later, Quakers, disclosed to Baxter's orderly Puritanism a prospect of anarchy, of, in the oft-quoted words of Acts 17: 6, 'a world turned upside down'.[4]  While Baxter's dismay at the consequences of its '*Luxuriant Fertility'* might be challenged, there is no disputing the press's extraordinary increase in productivity in the 1640s:  an annual output of  625 titles in 1639 jumped to 850 in1640, to over 2000 in 1641 and over 3,666 in 1642. [5]  A unique record of this output is preserved in the remarkable collection of broadsides, tracts, pamphlets and books assembled by Milton's friend the bookseller George Thomason, who, between 1640 and 1661, amassed 22,000 publications. Never before had so many people turned to writing, never before had so many seen their thoughts into print, and never before had what they printed generated such extensive interest and public debate.[6]

A condition of this sudden upsurge in press productivity was the collapse of pre-publication censorship following the opening of the Long Parliament in November 1640 and the subsequent abolition of the Court of Star Chamber in August 1641.  Every legally published title had hitherto required prior approval (that is, a licence to publish) from an appointed censor (generally an episcopalian cleric), who inevitably exercised an 'uneven hand' (*CPW*, 1: 668), since that approval was withheld from texts challenging political or ecclesiastical authority.[7]  When, after censorship's 'injurious strangle of silence' had for so many years prevented 'the voyce of Truth' from being heard,  'freedom of speech … became possible' in  'our time of *Parliament*, the very jubily, and resurrection of the State' in 1641, unrestricted access to the press was realised for the first time since the introduction of printing into England in 1476 (*CPW*, 1: 689, 4.1: 621).

The Long Parliament, however, quickly found that it had no more liking for a free press than had earlier regimes and by an ordinance of 14 June 1643 licensing of texts before publication was re-instituted.  This was the immediate occasion of Milton's *Areopagitica: A Speech of Mr. John Milton for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing, to the Parliament of England* (1644) which construed the disputatious ferment that so distressed Baxter not as the work of Satan but as vital to continuing Christian commitment:  'Truth is compar'd in Scripture [Psalm 85:11]  to a streaming fountain; if her waters flow not in a perpetuall progression, they sick'n into a muddy pool of conformity and tradition' (*CPW*, 2: 543).  What animates *Areopagitica* is not the revelation of truth but the excitement of its pursuit: 'to be still searching what we know not, by what we know, still closing up truth to truth as we find it … is the golden rule in *Theology*' (*CPW*, 2: 551).  Rather than retreat, 'fugitive and cloister'd', the true Christian presses on in the Pauline 'race, where that immortall garland is to be run for, not without dust and heat' (*CPW*, 2: 515), for 'our faith and knowledge thrives by exercise, as well as our limbs and complexion' (*CPW*, 2: 543).  What Baxter shunned, Milton welcomed:  'Where there is much desire to learn, there of necessity will be much arguing, much writing, many opinions; for opinion in good men is but knowledge in the making.  Under these fantastic terrors of sect and schism, we wrong the earnest and zealous thirst after knowledge and understanding which God hath stirr'd up in this City.  What some lament of, we rather should rejoyce at' (*CPW*, 2: 554).  'Sects and schisms', he wrote elsewhere, 'are but as the throws and pangs that go before the birth of reformation' (*CPW*, 1: 795).  The fecundity of a free press, the availability of cheap print, pamphleteering – these Milton took to be the marks of a  'Kingdome of free spirits' (*CPW*, 1: 669): 'Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties' (*CPW*, 2: 560).[8]

Milton's confidence in the potential of free debate - 'Let [Truth] and Falshood grapple; who ever knew Truth put to the wors, in a free and open encounter' (*CPW*, 2: 561) – was founded on an equally idealistic opinion of his readers, or, at least, of their responsibility.  To substitute for heresy and disobedience custom and tradition as the obstacles to religious and

political well-being was to identify searching personal interrogation of received opinion as a primary Christian duty, leading to Milton's paradoxical, but understandable, assertion that a person 'may be a heretick in the truth … if he beleeve things only because his Pastor sayes so … though his belief be true, yet the very truth he holds, becomes his heresie' (*CPW*, 2: 543).  Milton's pamphlets hence participate in a revolution not simply in press productivity but in reading practices and expectations.  In the words of I Thessalonians 5:21, which Milton quotes (*CPW*, 2: 511-12), his readers are to 'Prove all things, hold fast that which is good', to assess, weigh and analyse evidence before adopting or accepting contentions or arguments.  The true Christian exercises an independent intelligence in critical and self-aware reading.[9]

Milton's apparently democratic confidence in his readers sits awkwardly, however, with his many disparaging and dismissive comments elsewhere on the incapacity of the 'ruder sort' with their 'thousand idle descants and surmises' to recognise the force of his arguments and his apprehension that it might have been better to withhold his more radical ideas from 'common readers'  by writing in Latin (*CPW*, 2: 224, 233; 4.1: 610).  The 'numerous and vulgar train' of 'Error and Custome … make it their chiefe designe to envie and cry-down the industry of free reasoning' (*CPW*, 2: 224) while the 'blockish vulgar' (*CPW*, 3: 339) accept whatever they hear or read.  Milton dismisses as a 'credulous and hapless herd', 'an inconstant, irrational, and Image-doting rabble' (*CPW*, 3: 601), those impressed by *Eikon Basilike*, even though these are the very readers he would win from their royalist allegiance.   Despite his commitment to pamphleteering, popular opinion did not in fact count for much with Milton.   'If a majority in Parliament prefer enslavement and putting the commonwealth up for sale, is it not right for a minority to prevent it if they can?' was his response to the accurate observation that in Pride's Purge 'The officers did it with their troops': 'We should then thank the officers for standing by the state, and for driving off the raging mob of London hirelings and hucksters' (*CPW*, 4.1:457-8).   Milton's characterisation of the readers of *The Reason of Church-Government* (1641) as 'intelligent and equal [impartial]', 'elegant & learned', 'the gentler sort'  (*CPW*, 1: 806, 807, 808) is no doubt a compliment, but it is not a hollow compliment.  His pamphlets place their confidence in 'the wise and right understanding handfull of men', 'the choisest and the learnedest'  (*CPW*, 2: 232, 233), rather than in the multitude, just as later *Paradise Lost* would address a 'fit audience though few' rather than the riotous (royalist) train of Bacchus and his revellers (Bk. 7, ll. 30-8).

There is a similar tension between the high valuation of pamphleteering in *Areopagitica* and Milton's slighting comments in other tracts on the business of controversial prose.  He has no opinion of the 'wretched projectors … that bescraull their Pamflets every day with new formes of government for our Church' (*CPW*, 1: 753) and professes 'small willingnesse' to take on such controversial work himself (*CPW*, 1: 821).  'The genial power of nature' draws him rather to 'versing' rather than 'prosing'. If he 'hunted after praise by the ostentation of wit and learning', he would not work in 'the  cool element of prose' 'wherin

knowing my self inferior to my self …I have the use, as I may account it, but of my left hand'. Were he 'wise to mine own ends' he would not engage in controversies which demand hasty composition since 'the not deferring is of great moment to the good speeding' of the work. He would choose instead 'such a subject as the publishing whereof might be delayd at pleasure, and time enough to pencill it over with all the curious touches of art, even to the perfection of a faultlesse picture' (*CPW*, 1: 807-8).

These disclaimers, however, may not be quite all they seem, for Milton's pronouncements about poetry and prose can be contradictory and are often at odds with his practice. [10] He can exalt poetry as capable of 'Religious… glorious and magnificent use' (*CPW*, 2: 405), but in *Eikon Basilike* he associates it with fatuity, fabrication and hypocrisy to discredit Charles I: 'Poets indeed use to vapor much' (*CPW*, 3: 502). 'Cool' is hardly the characterisation one would choose for his own prose style which can display just those 'knotty Africanisms, the pamper'd metafors; the intricate, and involv'd sentences' that he deplored in the Church Fathers (*CPW*, 1: 568 ). Though he avers that 'it were a folly to commit any thing elaborately compos'd to the carelesse and interrupted listenings of these tumultuous times' (*CPW*, 1: 807) that, in fact, is what he does, expending upon this supposedly inferior medium great rhetorical ingenuity. Indeed, a key part of his business is to demonstrate by his practice that critics of the political and religious establishment are not 'grosse-headed, thick witted, illiterat, shallow', in need of tuition 'to speak good English' and to 'order a set of words judiciously' (*CPW*, 1: 873). On the contrary, 'fond utterances' and specious 'metaphoricall compellations' are characteristic of his opponents' incapacity 'to write, or speak in a pure stile' (*CPW*, 1: 877, 934). He himself is 'not unstudied in those authors which are most commended' and knows 'the rules of the best rhetoricians', which he can impudently demonstrate in an extended passage illustrating what his opponent, were he as skilled as Milton, might have said to promote his case (*CPW*, 1: 889, 899, 922-8; cf. 949). He rehearses the range of his reading as a recommendation to his readers (*CPW*, 1: 888-93) and in the tracts reaches not only for the generically predictable historical and theological sources, but for Classical, medieval and Renaissance dramatists and poets. His titles - *Areopagitica*, *Tetrachordon*, *Colasterion* – appeal to the learned, and (as he recognised) could affront the 'vulgar': 'Bless us! What a word on/ A title-page is this!' ('Sonnet XI', ll. 5-6). This is a writer at 'the elite end of the pamphleteer's spectrum'.[11]

In short, the business of Milton's autobiographical passages of methodological comment is affective, not confessional. His apparently personal interventions serve to establish his own exceptional vocation and credentials in contrast to his contemptible adversaries, mere drudges and hired labourers (*CPW*, 1: 822), and to flatter his implicitly - indeed, explicitly - learned and gentle readers. The extended, and seemingly irrelevant, autobiographical passage in *The Reason of Church-Government* in which Milton discourses on Classical and Renaissance literary theory, and expatiates on the didactic mission and civilising force of high culture, is not in fact the digression from his main business that it might

appear (*CPW*, 1: 806-23). By entering into a 'covnant with any knowing reader' that he will in due course produce a great work consistent with these principles (*CPW*, 1: 820-1), he situates his tract in a cultural context they would recognise and impresses on them how serious the case must be that compels him to turn aside from this work. Rather than disparaging pamphleteering, his distinction between 'learned pains and unlearned drudgery' (*CPW*, 1: 822), between the exalted and enduring didactic mission of poetry and the ephemeral carping of controversy, in fact elevates the latter.

To the same end, Milton constructs a pamphleteering persona of conscientious integrity with the highest of literary motives: 'the enforcement of conscience only' (*CPW*, 1: 806) compels him to his prose writings, to exercise the 'honest liberty of free speech' (*CPW*, 1: 804) against tyranny and hypocrisy. While he might himself prefer to continue his preparations for his great work, yet 'were it the meanest under-service, if God by his Secretary conscience injoyn it, it were sad for me if I should draw back, for me especially, now when all men offer their aid' to fight tyranny in church and state (*CPW*, 1: 822). Hence, by his own account, in the summer of 1639 he returned early from his Italian journey because of 'the sad tidings of civil war from England … For I thought it base that I should be travel abroad at my ease … while my fellow-citizens at home were fighting for liberty'. He resolved to commit himself to the struggle and with *Of Reformation* (1641) began his series of five tracts opposing episcopacy (by its opponents derogatively called *prelacy*) as a form of church government (*CPW*, *CPW*, 4.1: 618-22).

Given that their occasion was the defence of five Presbyterian divines who, as 'Smectymnuus' (a pseudonym constructed from their initials) contested the claims of episcopacy, these tracts are, with the exception of *The Reason of Church-Government*, curiously uninterested in ecclesiology. They have a very great deal to say about bishops, and none of it good, but almost nothing to say about what church polity should replace them. Hence, while Milton may be supposed in 1641-2 to have had Presbyterian sympathies, evidence of firm Presbyterian commitment is wanting. It is not ecclesiology but the prospect of the corrupt and tyrannical exercise of power which animates his writing, as it will do throughout his life. The target is the bishops, or prelates; the alternative, '*Presbytery*, if it must be so call'd' (*CPW*, 1: 610), receives little attention. It is less rival ecclesiastical systems that are opposed than the despotism of coercive authoritarianism and the heroism of the individual conscience. This takes us to the heart of Milton's prose enterprise and to the core value championed by all his tracts, to, indeed, their high seriousness whatever their immeidaate occasion. It would be for ;*mdchampioned by all his tracts, to, indeed, their high seriousness whatever their immediate* 'crowding free consciences and *Christina* liberties into canons and precepts of men' that in 1644 Milton would condemn the 'prelaticall tradition' in *Areopagitic*a (*CPW*, 2: 554), and that theme drives these earlier tracts. By preferring the externalities of uniformity in profession and worship to the sincerity of inner commitment episcopacy creates

not a communion of believers but 'a grosse conforming stupidity', 'the iron yoke of outward conformity', 'the ghost of a linnen decency', 'the gripe of custom' (*CPW*, 2: 563-4). Milton presents himself as a test case: convinced that 'tyranny had invaded the Church', he refused to 'subscribe slave' to secure his ordination and so found himself 'Church outed by the Prelats' (*CPW*, 1: 822-3).[12]

In retrospect, Milton came to see these anti-prelatical tracts as the first components of a literary enterprise that worked out in prose a coherent libertarian system covering in sequence the 'three varieties of liberty without which civilized life is scarcely possible, namely, ecclesiastical liberty, domestic or personal liberty, and civil liberty' (*CPW*, 4.1: 624). Biographers and commentators have been unpersuaded by this intellectualistic account and have supposed that it was Milton's recent experience of abandonment by his first wife that prompted him to move on to 'domestic' liberty in his next series of tracts. The target of *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce* (1643) was the law's restriction of divorce to a single physical cause – adultery - which implies that marriage is 'a work of the flesh' (*CPW*, 2: 236). Milton's counter argument, that divorce should be available for incompatibility as well as for infidelity, construes mutual companionship, not sexual intimacy, as the essence of marriage: '*mariage is not a meer carnall coition, but a human Society*' (*CPW*, 2: 275). This leads him to a characteristic formulation: 'Love in marriage cannot live nor subsist, unlesse it be mutual; and where love cannot be, there can be left of wedlock nothing, but the empty husk of an outside matrimony; as undelightfull and unpleasing to God, as any other kind of hypocrisie' (*CPW*, 2: 256). While the latent patriarchal prejudice of this and the ensuing three divorce tracts jeopardises their talk of mutuality, [13] they do undertake a wonderful exercise in Miltonic 'free reasoning' in countering the obvious objection based on the absolute dominical prohibition of divorce 'saving for the cause of fornication' (Matthew 5:32, 19: 9) by elevating as the interpretative key for all Biblical texts the 'supreme dictate of charitie', the 'command above all commands' (*CPW*, 2: 250, 355, alluding to Matthew 22: 36-8; Romans 13: 10; I Timothy 1: 5) which is frustrated, not fulfilled, by the 'polluting sadnes and perpetuall distemper' of a loveless marriage (*CPW*, 2: 258).

As Stanley Fish remarks, to 'show that when Christ *says* a man can put away his wife only for reason of fornication, he *means* that a man can put away his wife for any reason' requires an exercise in hermeneutics 'so strenuous that even the word "manipulation" is too mild to describe it'.[14] That after 1600 years Milton should be the 'first [who] found out, or at least with a fearlesse and communicative candor first publisht' a 'discount'nanc't truth' by rescuing 'the words of Christ with other Scriptures of great concernment from burdensome & remorsles obscurity' (*CPW*, 2: 224, 226, 340) seemed equally preposterous to contemporaries, and dangerous besides. Traduced and berated in print as an heretic and libertine proponent of divorce at pleasure, condemned in the Westminster Assembly of Divines and investigated by the Long Parliament, Milton found that the Presbyterians were

quite as determined to outlaw dissent from its views as the episcopalians: 'Bishops and Presbyters are the same to us both name and thing' (*CPW*, 2*:* 539).

The third of Milton's 'varieties of liberty' – the 'civil' - is articulated in just the terms of *Areopagitica* in his 1649 defences of regicide and in his 1659-60 tracts attempting to prevent the restoration of monarchical government:

> he who holds in religion that beleef or those opinions which to his conscience and utmost understanding appeer with most evidence or probabilitie in the scripture, though to others he seem erroneous, can no more be justly censur'd for a heretic then his censurers … To protestants therfore whose common rule and touchstone is the scripture, nothing can with more conscience, more equitie, nothing more protestantly can be permitted then a free and lawful debate at all times by writing, conference or disputation of what opinion soever, disputable by scripture. (*CPW*, 7:251).

For Milton, it is the business of republican government to facilitate believers' exercise of this intellectual independence: parliamentary supremacy is but a means to the end of religious toleration.  To secure this fundamental and unlimited 'Christian and euangelic liberty' (*CPW*, 7:271) Milton was  prepared severely to limit civil liberty: while the former encompasses all (Biblically-derived) opinions, in the public sphere only a very restricted range of political views is admitted.   In his various constitutional models of 1659/60 his self-perpetuating supreme council is elected by, and consists of, those who hold appropriate (that is, Miltonic) political and religious convictions. [15]

The elitism and exclusivity that are consequent marks of Miltonic republicanism were Biblically founded.  Milton shared with many radical Puritans a fondness for the Old Testament notion of the 'godly remnant', reserved by the Lord to fulfil his purposes despite the ungodly and hostile majority.[16]  Just so, in *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* (1649) he had applauded the exercise of unrepresentative power in bringing Charles I to trial and execution:  'If God and a good cause give them Victory' then these 'Worthies' are justified in pressing ahead regardless of  'the throng and noises of Vulgar and irrational men' (*CPW*, 3:192).  By empowering Milton to dismiss the views of the 'rable' who objected to rule by a small and unrepresentative junto (*CPW*. 7:365-6), this conviction that  'God hath yet his remnant' (*CPW*, 7:363) fatally undermined the polemical force and political persuasiveness of the 1659/60 tracts:  it was precisely the right of the 'revolutionary elite' to exercise power that royalists and Presbyterians did not accept and was the point to be argued. [17]

The 1659-60 republican tracts, then, hardly succeed as political manifestoes.  However, as Thomas N. Corns has remarked, republicanism for Milton was, as

Presbyterianism had been, more an attitude of mind than a political system.[18]  It embodied and articulated a set of values about human nature and potential.  As the restoration of monarchy became every more probable, Milton assumed the role of a prophet bearing witness against a backsliding nation.[19]  This witness is structured in *The Readie and Easie Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth* (1660) by a binary rhetoric that opposes, on the one hand, 'the noblest, the manliest, the equallest, the justest government, the most agreeable to all due libertie and proportiond equalitie, both humane, civil and Christian' (*CPW*, 7: 359), conducted by men who 'are not elevated above thir brethren, live soberly in thir families, walk the streets as other men, may be spoken to freely, familiarly, friendly, without adoration' (*CPW*, 7: 360), against, on the other, the government of a king who 'must be ador'd like a Demigod, with a dissolute and haughtie court about him, of vast expence and luxurie … to set a pompous face upon the superficial actings of State, to pageant himself up and down in progress among the perpetual bowings and cringings of an abject people, on either side deifying and adoring him' (*CPW*, 7:360-1).   This opposition between republican freedom and monarchical servitude is reworked and reinforced insistently in *The Readie and Easie Way*, less in political terms than through metaphor, metonymy and association.  Within the register of the former lie: manliness, strength, resilience, nobility, freedom, glory, friendship, confidence, service,  magnanimity, integrity, order, naturalness, plainness;  and within the latter: womanliness,  weakness, softness, debasement, enslavement, ignominy, sycophancy, fear,  tyranny, indulgence, hypocrisy, chaos, monstrosity, affectation.  Distinguishing good from evil in just these terms, *Paradise Lost* would be the continuation of the pamphlet wars by other means as the right-handed epic bard took up the work of the left-handed pamphleteer.

**NOTES**

1    *CPW*, 2: 492; Annabel Patterson et al (ed.), *The Prose Works of Andrew Marvell*, 2 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 1: 46.  Cf. the title of Michael Wilding, *Dragons Teeth: Literature in the English Revolution* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987).

2    Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars,* ed. W. Dunn Macray, 6 vols. (1888; rptd. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 2; 13, 206.  Cf. the title of James Holstun (ed.), *Pamphlet Wars: Prose in the English Revolution* (London: Frank Cass. 1992).

3    Richard Baxter, *Aphorismes of Justification* (1649), pref. ep., sigs. A1 -A1v. , and *The Right Method for a Settled Peace of Conscience* (1653), pref. ep., sig. A11. The 'Enemy' is, of course, Satan.

4    The phrase provides the title of Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas during the English Revolution* (London: Temple Smith, 1972).

5    For statistical data, see John Barnard, D. F. McKenzie and Maureen Bell, *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain: vol. IV: 1557-1695* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), chapters 1, 2 and 26 (especially pp. 557-67), and appendix 1, from which these figures are taken.

6    See further Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), esp. pp. 161-201; Sharon Achinstein, 'Texts in Conflict: the Press and the Civil War', in N. H. Keeble (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Writing of the English Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 50-68.

7    See further chapter 18, 'The Book Trade'.

8    For a reading that problematises this idealism, see e. g. Stanley Fish, 'Driving from the Letter:  Truth and Indeterminacy in Milton's *Areopagitica*', in Mary Nyquist and Margaret W. Ferguson (ed.), *Re-membering Milton* (London: Methuen, 1987), pp. 74-96.

9    Joad Raymond, 'The Literature of Controversy' in Thomas N. Corns (ed.), *A Companion to Milton* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001),  pp. 202, 205.  See further Sharon Achinstein, *Milton and the Revolutionary Reader* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

10      See further James Grantham Turner, 'The Poetics of Engagement', in David
        Loewenstein and James Grantham Turner (ed.), *Politics, Poetics and
        Hermeneutics in Milton's Prose* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,
        1990), pp. 257-75.

11      Raymond, 'Literature of Controversy', pp. 201, 202.

12      See chapter 24, 'The English Church', for further discussion of Milton's
        opposition to the established episcopal church.

13      As noted by e.g. Annabel Patterson, 'Milton, Marriage and Divorce' in Corns
        (ed.), *Companion to Milton*), pp. 285-9; James G. Turner, *One Flesh:
        Paradisal Marriage and Sexual Relations in the Age of Milton* (Oxford:
        Clarendon Press, 1987), pp. 188-229. See further chapter 32, 'Marriage and
        Divorce'.

14      Stanley Fish, 'Wanting a Supplement,' in Loewenstein and Turner (ed.),
        *Politics … in Milton's Prose* pp. 54, 55.

15      For the 1659/60 tracts see: Laura Lunger Knoppers, 'Late Political Prose', in
        Corns (ed.), *Companion to Milton*, pp. 309-25; N. H. Keeble, '"Nothing nobler
        then a free Commonwealth": Milton's Later Vernacular Republican Tracts', in
        Nicholas McDowell and Nigel Smith (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook to Milton*
        (Oxford: Clarendon Press, forthcoming).

16      See e.g. Isaiah 10:20-6; Jeremiah 23:3; Micah 5:7-8; Zephaniah 3:13;
        Zechariah 8:12.

17      The phrase is from Thomas N. Corns, *Uncloistered Virtue: English Political
        Literature, 1640-1660* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992)*,* p. 197, which quotes
        this passage.

18      Thomas N. Corns, 'Milton and the Characteristics of a Free Commonwealth',
        in David Armitage, Armand Hiny and Quentin Skinner (ed.), *Milton and
        Republicanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 41.

19      For this view, see James Holstun, *A Rational Millennium: Puritan Utopias of
        Seventeenth-Century England and America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press,
        1987), pp. 246-65; Laura Lunger Knoppers, 'Milton's *Readie and Easie Way*
        and the English Jeremiad', in Loewenstein and Turner (ed.), *Politics … in
        Milton's Prose*, pp. 213-25.