

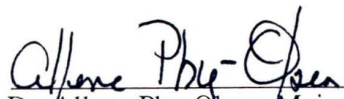
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OF EDUCATION AND THE 'MODERN JUANA'S AND DIDACTICS':
MILTON'S POLITICAL AGENDAS SEEN IN OPPOSITION
TO THE POLITICAL AGENDA OF COMENIUS


BRETT A. HUDSON

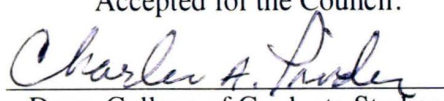
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Critical Apparatus and Influences

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the political agendas working in and through the texts of John Milton and Johannes Amos Comenius' educational tracts; therefore, I have used the basic critical philosophy that every person holds unique and individual beliefs, which are shaped by his or her own unique and individual experience and history. One of my basic underlying critical principles is that these individual beliefs interact in a world discourse, where ideas and information are created, traded, and consumed. Therefore, the tenets of New Historicism have greatly influenced the direction of my thesis.

New Historicism, which is a post-Deconstruction response to New Criticism, seeks to provide insight into the text by looking into the broader context in which the author wrote the text. Rather than looking merely at the text as the New Critics did or looking merely at the author as traditional historicists did, New Historicism examines the cultural events and history surrounding the *text*, *audience*, and *author*. Stephen Greenblatt, a major influence in this theoretical school and the man who coined the term *New Historicism*, says that "we need to develop terms to describe the ways in which material—here official documents, private papers, newspapers clippings, and so forth—is transferred from one discursive sphere to another and becomes aesthetic property" (Greenblatt 157). The idea of tracking material or ideas from non-literary fields into literature is a primary goal of this thesis. New Historicists believe that any "text" can provide insight into the cultural milieu of a time and can provide new understanding and give room for interpretation and debate. Therefore, with the aid of New Historicism, I follow the political and religious temperaments of Continental Europe and Britain as they worked themselves into pedagogical treatises and textbooks.

Furthermore, since my thesis attempts to recognize the economic, cultural, and gender issues present in the educational treatise which I examine, New Historicism once again influences this thesis. This theoretical school builds upon the premises of previous theories, such as Marxist and Feminist Criticism. In the thesis, I examine the suppression of impoverished economic groups and women in education to provide insight into the purpose and meanings of the educational tracts. This approach is possible because New Historicism attempts to be aware of all powers which are present in the literary work.

The other major influence in this paper comes from technical writing theory. After taking a Technical Writing seminar where I read Donald Norman's *Design of Everyday Things*, I became very aware of how a document should meet the needs of its reader or user. Since Milton's treatise is a methodical instruction booklet on how to educate a child, I decided to examine it as a form of early technical writing. Norman's book advocates the use of User Design Theory. This theory promotes heightened awareness of the audience or user's needs when creating a document or device. Furthermore, those needs become the principals around which the document is designed. I took User Design Theory into account while studying Milton's educational tract and determined that Milton's tract fails to supply Samuel Hartlib, the intended audience/user, with appropriate or usable information. In fact, by using User Design Theory, it became apparent that *On Education* works in direct opposition to its user.

The critical apparatus of this thesis combines New Historicism and User Design Theory by examining the way that Milton and Comenius' educational tracts were the results of the cultural climates in which they were constructed rather than results of any one person's request or design. It is the goal of this critical approach and thesis to then show that the same influences

which were present in Milton and Comenius' writings can be active in the pedagogical techniques and agendas of current educators.

On Education and the “Modern *Juana*’s and *Didactics*:” Milton’s Political Agendas Seen in
Opposition to the Political Agenda of Comenius

Politics in the classroom is almost inevitable for every teacher. No matter how much one tries, one’s politics will work its way into one’s lectures, whether it is intentional or unintentional. Who we are as individuals are made up from the sum of our experiences and our surroundings, and from these experiences and surrounding, we develop a natural political agenda reflective of how we process and react to our own political climates. Therefore, political agenda will find its way into the classroom, but this is not necessarily a problem. The problem lies in not being aware of one’s political agenda. When teachers are unaware of what political agendas they are presenting to their students, they are not in full control of their actions and classroom. Furthermore, they might actually be instructing their students in an opposite direction than the one they intend to lead the students. To examine this idea of politics in education, it will be helpful to look at the cultural climates and pedagogical writings of two particular historical figures. John Milton who is popularly known for his poetical works was also a prolific political, religious, and educational writer, and his educational work is best understood when seen in opposition to that of Johannes Amos Comenius. Milton and Comenius were two writers who wrote on education in the seventeenth century as England’s Civil War and Europe’s Thirty Year War were taking hold on their worlds, respectively.

As mentioned above, the political and prose writings of John Milton have been relatively ignored by scholars and students of English literature. Instead, the focus has often been on Milton’s poetry; *Paradise Lost* stands as one of the great works of the English language and has continued to be a subject of consideration and debate, and this is rightly so. Milton’s epic embodies the political and religious turbulence present in his day, and it does so with more

beauty and power than any of his overtly political tracts. Yet, despite having *Paradise Lost*, which has long been considered Milton's *magnum opus* in all matters of theology, politics and pedagogy, curious students of Milton will want to consider what Milton was attempting to accomplish through his volumes of non-poetical works. One of his more interesting works to those Milton students who are in the business of education is his tractate *On Education*. The examination of this pedagogical tract, when compared against the *Juana*, the *Didactica*, and the *Pansophia* of Comenius reveals Milton's underlying political desire to strengthen the integrity of the Puritan Parliament by training capable leaders who could, if need be, win the Civil War for the Puritans.

In the mid 1630s, Comenius, a European educational reformer wrote that "[t]he Beginning and the End of our Didactic will be...[one] by which the Christian State will suffer less under obscurity, confusion, and conflict, and will enjoy a greater amount of light, order, peace, and quiet" (Comenius 340). These words reflect a strong concern for peace throughout all Christian communities. The educational program designed by Comenius is one which has a strong emphasis on eliminating confusion by prescribing a universal curriculum available to all members of society. Comenius' pedagogy reflects a socially communal agenda which has all members of society coming from different economic, cultural, and religious backgrounds to form a unified community. That was Comenius' response to the social turbulence propagated by the Thirty Year War.

Also writing in a socially turbulent time at the beginning of England's Civil War in 1644, Milton seems to have written a very similar beginning and end to his didactic:

The end then of learning is to repair the ruins of our first parents by regaining to know God aright, and out of that knowledge to love him, to imitate him, to be like

him, as we may the nearest by possessing our souls of true vertue, which being united to the heavenly grace of faith, makes up the highest perfection. (*Complete Prose Works of John Milton* [from this point on *CPW*] 2.366-367)

“Being united to the heavenly grace of faith” sounds as equally peace-loving as Comenius’ pacifistic view which has all Christians, both protestant and Roman Catholic, existing without “confusion and conflict,” but pacifism is not Milton’s political agenda. Milton’s true end of learning is to design a “complete and generous Education that which fits a man to perform justly, skillfully and magnanimously all the offices both private and publike of peace and war” (*CPW* 2.377-379). Milton’s pedagogical philosophy does not work to create peace on earth through universal understanding; it works to create peace by educating superior leaders who can win battles for their sides. Therefore, Milton’s pedagogical philosophy reflects an aristocratically focused agenda which has only a select number of the members of society forming a superior government.

The idea that Milton’s educational system does not correspond with that of Comenius’ might not seem relevant, but, when Milton prescribed his views on education, he was writing to Samuel Hartlib who was a strong follower of Comenian pedagogy. That fact that Milton wrote an educational tract which was in many ways in direct opposition to the basic pedagogical philosophy to that of his primary audience works to emphasize those areas of opposition and the ways which they support Milton’s political agenda rather than Hartlib’s agenda.

Milton’s grand literary scheme included writing on the themes of personal, civil and religious liberty. Later in Milton’s life in his *Second Defense*, he explains the reasons which prompted his literary career to temporarily move away from poetry to prose:

Since, then, I observed that there are, in all, three varieties of liberty, ecclesiastical liberty, domestic or personal, and civil liberty, and since I had already written about the first, while I saw that the magistrates were vigorously attending to the third, I took as my province the remaining one, the second or domestic kind.

(*CPW* 4.624)

Milton goes on to explain that in order to treat domestic liberty, he had to discuss “three problems: the nature of marriage itself, the education of children, and finally the existence of freedom to express oneself” (*CPW* 4.624). Education was obviously an important subject to Milton and an integral part of his literary agenda; he had spent the majority of his life up until that point in the pursuit of knowledge. He had moved from the school at St. Paul’s Cathedral to Christ’s College at Cambridge to self-directed study at his father’s house in Horton to his grand tour of the continent which ended in 1639. Milton had devoted much of his life to education, but up until 1644, he had not yet given his full attention to pedagogical theory.

The occasion which precipitated Milton’s tractate *On Education* was the entreaty of Samuel Hartlib. When published in June of 1644, *On Education* was addressed to Hartlib. In the opening lines Milton states:

I am long since perswaded, that to say, or doe 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 designes, 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. (*CPW* 2.363-363)

The introduction would imply that, without Hartlib's request, *On Education* might not have been written; therefore, there seems to be some irony to what Milton writes in his tract because in many ways Milton's educational values and goals do not meet the expectations of Hartlib. Before fully explaining how Milton's tract fails to satisfy Hartlib's expectations, it is necessary to understand the intentions and agenda of Hartlib.

Samuel Hartlib (1595-1662), an English man born in Prussia and educated in Cambridge, was a prominent educational activist in England and Europe. Through his travels and acquaintances, Hartlib became a proponent for the advancement of education and the dissemination of the knowledge of the new sciences. During several points in his life, he tried to found schools based on his pedagogical leanings, but they mostly failed. Between the founding of schools, Hartlib solicited pedagogical tracts from Johannes Comenius, John Drury, John Milton, Hezekiah Woodward, Cyprian Kinner, William Petty, George Snell, John Pell, and Heinrich Scheurl. Hartlib published the tracts of all of these men except for those of Milton, Woodward, and Snell—whom he did offer to publish (*CPW* 2.209). The primary focus of these collected writings was to expound upon the pedagogical philosophy of Johannes Amos Comenius. Ernest Sirluck, the editor and contributor of the Yale Edition of *The Complete Prose Works of John Milton*, notes that Hartlib “was particularly interested in the reforms proposed by Comenius, and by 1643 had published, among eight or more works on various causes he supported” (*CPW* 2.363). Hartlib became a follower of Comenian educational programs, even to a point of bringing Comenius to England in order to spread those programs there. In 1641, three years before Milton wrote out his educational tract, the English Parliament, at the behest of Hartlib, invited Comenius to come to England and finish his life's work by establishing “a College of Light” (Perkinson 67).

Hartlib's enthusiasm for Comenius' writings plays heavily into understanding Milton's pedagogical agendas in *On Education*. Hartlib had expected Milton to put forth another tract to support and further the causes of Hartlib and Comenius. As stated above, just two of the authors solicited to write an educational treatise were not published or offered to be published by Hartlib. The reason that Hartlib rejected Milton's pedagogical views is that they are in opposition to the Comenian agenda. Therefore it becomes relevant to examine the differences between Comenius and Milton's educational writings.

To understand the writings of Comenius, one must understand the world from which he came. Johannes Amos Komenský, later Latinized as Comenius, was born on March 28, 1592 in Moravia. The world in which he lived was strongly divided along politically religious lines, and it is important to point out this political and religious tension. The nation of Moravia along with Bohemia was classified at this time as Protestant, and the religious group which most closely resembled a nationalized religion was the Unity of Brethren. This religious communion of Christian believers profited from a large influx of members who came from all classes of society, from nobility to the peasantry (Spinka 10). The Unity of Brethren, which was formed in 1467 by the followers of the pacifist Peter Chelčický, were noted for their dedication to complete pacifism and unwillingness to involve themselves in political wars, which was considered sacrilegious. Their pacifistic notions led them to adopt the idea of separation of the church from the state and they regarded the state "as a necessary evil" (Spinka 9). Unfortunately, the world around the Brethren was not as peace-loving.

The countries surrounding Moravia and Bohemia were locked in a struggle for religious and political power. In 1617, Catholic powers forced the Holy Roman Emperor to leave his empire to his nephew, the Archduke Ferdinand of Styria. Having the Archduke as the new

Emperor was a significant advantage for the Roman Catholics. The Archduke was a dedicated pupil of the Jesuits and had already erased Protestantism from Styria (Spinka 17). Soon after the Archduke took power, the Brethren started facing great persecution. All Protestant services were prohibited in Moravia, and children were ordered sent to monasteries in order to be educated by Catholic monks rather than by their parents. All of these actions were in direct opposition to the current treaties between Protestant and Catholic countries of that area. In 1618, with the collapse of the treaty and elimination of the religious freedoms provided for by it, the Thirty Year War was at its beginning. The world of the Thirty Year War was the world which Comenius observed in his formative youth and which would greatly influence his pedagogical views.

The only son to a fairly wealthy family, Comenius started his education early at the local church school, but the educational program there was not beneficial to him. After the plague killed his parents and sisters, he was sent to live with an aunt who also enrolled him in a poorly run school, but at the age of sixteen, Comenius was sent to the school at Přerov where he studied under the John Lánecký, a bishop of the Unity of the Brethren (Spinka 26). At this school, Comenius decided to become a priest in the Unity; thereafter, he continued his education at the Reformed Gymnasium at Herborn in Nassau. At Herborn, Comenius was influenced strongly by Calvinistic doctrines and studied under Heinrich Alsted, whose partiality for broad, encyclopedic learning was particularly influential throughout the rest of Comenius' pedagogical career (Spinka 28). In 1614, after finishing at Herborn, Comenius studied at the University of Heidelberg for a year and finished his formal education there at the age of twenty-two. He was too young to be ordained in the Brethren, so he began to teach at his alma mater, the Latin school at Přerov, thus beginning his pedagogical career. He continued on there for several years, marrying, having children, and being ordained, but the turbulent war disturbed Comenius' life greatly. Due to the

religious persecution, Comenius had to go into hiding in order to keep his ministerial position. He had to leave his wife and children behind, and they unfortunately died of the plague in 1622. Because of religious wars and civil unrest, Comenius had to spend much of the rest of his life traveling to different seats of learning in order to further his pedagogical agenda, which, in turn, was much influenced by his religious and politically turbulent life.

Over the course of his life, Comenius wrote over two hundred books of which probably fifty have been lost (Sadler 25). The genres and topics which Comenius covered in his writings are astounding. His pamphlets and books include all manners of religious paraphernalia: commentaries, theologies, hymns, catechisms, church histories, sermons, prophecies and devotionals. Beyond religious matters, his books also included Latin grammars and other textbooks along with books on new pedagogical theories designed to accommodate the new sciences which were immersing in his day. Furthermore, he had volumes of letters on various topics and addressed to various men of importance throughout the continent and England (Frost 223).

Since his writing is so extensive and expansive, it is most beneficial to focus on just a few of this prolific writer's works. In the tractate *On Education*, Milton directly responds to Comenius by refusing "to search what many modern *Juana's* and *Didactics*, more then ever [he] shall read, have projected" (CPW 2.264). This line of Milton's can be used to select which of Comenius' tracts should be examined in relation to Milton's educational tract. By *Juana's* Milton is referring to Comenius' book *Juana linguarum reserata* or *The Gate of Learning Unlocked* which appeared in 1631. The *Didactics* to which Milton refers must be Comenius' *Didactica magna* or *Great Didactic*, which Comenius had written and published between 1622 and 1632 (Perkinson 66). One other work of Comenius which should be considered while

examining Milton's pedagogical views is Comenius' *Pansophia prodramus* or *Harbinger of All Wisdom*. In 1642, just prior to Milton's educational tract, Samuel Hartlib had translated and published the *Pansophia* into English as *The Reformation of Schools* (Perkinson 66). In the *Pansophia*, Comenius references extensively his *Didactica*, which had not yet been published in England. Therefore, Milton's direct references to these two books along with their direct relation with the other book make the *Juana*, the *Didactica* and the *Pansophia* important books to examine in relation to Milton's tractate *On Education*.

Comenius' most popular book was the *Juana*, which made him an instant success in the world of education and "placed him among the chief educational reformers of the age (Spinka 52). The *Juana*'s conception was a response to Comenius' distaste for the methods of teaching Latin in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries; therefore Comenius set off to design a textbook which would ease the instruction of Latin. In most places, the students were taught Latin through mere repetition of Latin words and phrases. They were not given any visual or mental reference to the things which the Latin words signified. This made Latin instruction too difficult for beginners and elementary students (Spinka 52).

In 1628, Comenius came upon a textbook by three Jesuits. Their book, which was entitled *Juana linguarum*, worked to reform the method of Latin instruction but failed to connect the abstract concepts of the language to real-life experience (Perkison 62). Comenius writes that the purpose of the book was that "the property of things and actions and passions of things, should be presented, and to each should be assigned its own proper word" (Perkinson 63). Comenius' *Juana* was divided into one hundred chapters with each chapter focusing on "some aspect of the real world: Concerning Elements, Fire, Earth, Stones, Metals, Trees, and Forests, Herbs, Shrubs. Other chapters were on Animals, on Man (his body, his internal and external

members), and so on” (Perkinson 68). The text was simple and accessible to all students of nature.

Upon its release, the *Juana* was an instant success and was immediately available in German and Polish editions soon followed by editions in ten other European languages as well as some near Eastern languages, such as Arabic, Turkish, Persian, and Mongolian (Perkinson 53). In the wake of the success of the work, Comenius also released a *Vestibulum* to the now further unlocked gates of learning. His *Vestibulum* worked to simplify Latin instruction even more by putting common Latin phrases and words parallel to vernacular phrases and words. The popularity of the *Juana* and the *Vestibulum* helped Comenius first gain the notice of England’s Samuel Hartlib, who later became a major proponent of Comenian pedagogy.

The basic principles of Latin instruction set forth in the *Juana* are utilized as Comenius sets out his broad pedagogical scheme in his *Didactica magnum*. The *Didactica*, even though published later on in Comenius’ life, reflects his early pedagogical leanings and was formulated on the principles of Francis Bacon. When Comenius was studying at Heidelberg, he read the two parts of Bacon’s *Magna Instaurata*. In this work, Bacon expresses the idea that education should follow the natural development of the child, which was a great concern to Comenius in designing his Latin grammar (Perkinson 58). Other major tenets of the *Didactica* include the systematizing of educational levels. Comenius splits his educational process into four stages.

The first stage or “the school of infancy” is supervised at home by the parents. This stage covers the first six years of the child’s life. The second stage is the “vernacular schools”. He insists that every child must learn the mother-tongue of the country. The third stage is the “Latin school” which includes all the disciplines covered by the traditionally classical programs but infused with the newer studies of “natural sciences and useful arts” based on Baconian principles

(Spinka 48). The fourth stage is “the school of manhood” or the university, which is reserved for the intellectually deserving. Much like Milton’s tract, Comenius sets down a detailed process on the complete education of the child, but unlike Milton, Comenius is very progressive with whom he is educating.

It must be pointed out that Comenius desires the education of all children. He writes that in “these schools all youth of both sexes, without exception, can be instructed in the sciences, improved in morals, filled with piety, and, in suchwise, be equipped” (Comenius 340). Unlike the tradition of educating the male children of wealthy families, Comenius wants to teach “[n]ot only the children of the rich and noble” but also wants to teach “all the children ... whether they are nobles or commoners, rich or poor, boys or girls, or whether they come from cities, towns, or villages” (Comenius 343). He writes that “we do not know for which divine dispensation has destined one or the other of us... [and] God has chosen the most perfect tools of his glory out of the poorest, humblest, and unknown people” (Comenius 343). He stresses that education should not be exclusive to men because women “are equipped with the same industriousness and capacity for wisdom” as men (Comenius 343).

Comenius is progressive in terms beyond who qualifies for education. In this work, he also desires a more benevolent educational process without “beating, severity and any kind of coercion, but [done] easily, pleasantly, and, so to speak by its own momentum” (Comenius 344).

In his first postulate of education, he lists his major concerns:

1. One has to have books and other adequate tools ready
2. Perception must come before language.
3. Language must be learned not from grammar but from fitting authors.
4. Observation has to precede analysis.

5. Examples have to precede the rule. (Comenius 345)

In his fourth postulate, he suggests that “pupils in schools ought to be occupied with only one subject at any one time” (345). In his sixth postulate, he writes that “one ought never to instruct anybody in such a way that he becomes perfect in one branch of knowledge to the exclusion of others” (345). Milton was most likely aware of all of these ideas laid out in the *Didactica*.

As mentioned earlier, the ideas in the *Didactica* were known in England through Hartlib’s translation of Comenius’ *Pansophia prodramus* which Hartlib renamed *The Reformation of Schools*. It is in *Pansophia* which Comenius lays down many of the philosophical beliefs behind his educational systems. The *Pansophia* laments that the “learning found in the schools today is most inadequate... It is prolix, too difficult for students, frequently in error, of no practical use, and not conducive to piety” (Perkinson 66). Comenius’ answer to these problems, as the title suggests, is to focus on a universal knowledge, which will “lead men away from the other books to the greatest book of all, the book of nature (and the Scriptures), so that they will begin to penetrate to knowledge of things themselves” (Perkinson 66).

Comenius reveals here that he believes there are only two true sources for wisdom and knowledge and both sources come from God. The first source, which is directly related to his religious beliefs, is the knowledge revealed to man in the Bible, God’s direct words to man. The second source is directly related to the influence of Francis Bacon on Comenius. Besides the wisdom revealed by the Bible, the only other source for knowledge is Nature, God’s only other gift to man. Comenius believes that it is necessary to observe the natural world in order to understand it; therefore, it is impossible to learn morality, piety, philosophy, language, history and so on without consulting the world surrounding the student. Through this mode of education, students from every nation would have the same basis for their education.

Another direct consequence of basing education on the free gifts of the word of God and the creation of God is that universal knowledge—*pansophy*, as Comenius referred to it—is available to all Christians regardless of rank, age, sex or language, rather than the previously privileged students and learned men (Perkinson 67). Therefore, as Comenius believed, “pansophy would become the basis for the restoration of a pious community of Christians, the foundation of research and inquiry, as well as a philosophy of education for the schools” (67). The idea of a “community of Christians” is a major motivation for Comenius’ educational agenda.

As Henry Perkinson, an educational historian, states, “first and foremost, Comenius wanted to bring about the reestablishment of the Christian community, a community torn to pieces by the horrible religious wars of his time” (52). There is a strong socially communal aspect to Comenius’ pedagogy, and it can be informed by viewing his cultural and religious heritage. As a pacifist, Comenius’ educational system was designed to fix the fissure between the warring sects of Christians. If all men were taught from the same book, then they would all come to know and believe the same ideas, thus reforming into one community. Furthermore, as a member of the Unity of Brethren, who typically only saw government as a necessary evil, Comenius would much rather see a unified world.

The religious influences on Comenius’ communal pedagogical agenda are seen in his denominational beliefs. Even from its earliest formation, the Unity of Brethren was a society of Christians with a strong communal bond which was not separated by class tensions and was comprised from all levels of society. One of Comenius’ biographers notes:

The majority of the Brethren continued to be of the peasant class and there was always a witness against all money-making for its own sake but nevertheless it

was agreed that wealth could be used for the glory of God... If wealth was allowed... then some extension beyond subsistence occupations had to be allowed but the Brethren insisted that they be of social and moral benefit (Sadler 46).

Furthermore, his religious beliefs reflect the concept of equality of men. Comenius believes that "true Christians... recognize that they all belong to the same community: they are children of the one father, they partake of the same spiritual food and expect the same rewards. Learned Christians know not philosophy nor many languages but do know useful things" (Comenius 61). As in most socially communal societies, each individual has his or her own particular job; therefore, each individual must not need be trained to do all activities but only those which he or she has been called to by God or by society. Thus, there is a strong vocational emphasis in Comenius' pedagogical philosophy.

The curriculum which Comenius lays out in the *Didactica*, in comparison to the traditional humanistic curriculum and to that of Milton, is a very limited one. As Comenius suggests in *Pansophia*, true learning comes from the observation of nature. In the opinion of Comenius, the study of other languages beyond those of the vernacular and basic Latin could "only be justified on grounds of utility and should not take up time which could be better spent on more realistic knowledge" (Sadler 161). Comenius' students do not learn Latin in order to learn from the 'great authors and thinkers' of the past, but to communicate by means of a common language. Therefore in Comenian education, the Greeks and the Romans are not the only teachers of ethics, morality, piety, and politics. The education that Comenius designs in his pedagogical tracts is not a "bookish" one; therefore, it is, in Comenius' words, "not for the sake of learning... but for the sake of exercise, in order to obtain the goal of all activities, which is rest and happiness" (Sadler 172). In the Comenian community, the "goal of all activities," is

achieved when each individual focuses on his or her respective goal. When people are trained to focus on one respective goal, they are “trained for his [or her] own special vocation so that those who have subordinate positions should learn how to obey” (Sadler 168). The vocation of subordination is instilled by teaching those who will not be leaders to submit to “the mystery of reasonable obedience” because “a constant gradation is necessary in all things, and it is in the interests of things themselves to be administered by wise men” (Sadler 168). Therefore, Comenius does not wish to train merely leaders of government and church but also tradesmen, ploughmen, and parishioners, so that each member of society functions efficiently in Comenius’ Christian utopian society.

Examining the *Juana*, the *Didactica* and the *Pansophia* shows Comenius’ pedagogical program as being created with a socially communal agenda. It works to educate all members of society so that each member will complete his or her job. By focusing on the areas where Milton’s educational philosophy differs from Comenius’ philosophy, Comenius’ pedagogical philosophy can work to reveal and highlight Milton’s educational agenda in his tract *On Education*.

To first understand *On Education*, it will be necessary to briefly look at some of the primary influences on Milton’s educational values. Milton’s nephew and student Edward Phillips writes that Milton, “who was destined to be the ornament and glory of his country, was sent, together with his brother, to Paul’s school” (Phillips xxxiii). At the school at St. Paul’s Cathedral, Milton “was entered into the first rudiments of learning, and advanced therein with that admirable success, not more by the discipline of the school and good instructions of his master... than by his own happy genius, prompt wit and apprehension, and insuperable industry” (Phillips xxxiii). What this passage reveals is that Milton not only studied at an effective and

well run school but also that he enjoyed the educational process and spent many nights “in voluntary improvements of his own choice, as the exact perfecting of his school exercises” (Phillips xxxiii). Milton’s early education is contradictory to the early schooling of Comenius which led Comenius to reform educational practices. Milton’s insatiable appetite for education coupled with the methods of St. Paul’s led Milton to view education in a different manner.

The education at St. Paul’s was based on the pedagogical practices of Erasmus and John Colet. The education being taught at St. Paul’s was not “representative of the English grammar school of the mid-seventeenth century” (Sirluck 212). Instead, St. Paul’s resisted the newer ideas of replacing Aristotle with Cicero. While many schools were transitioning from “literature” to “language and modes”, from “form” to “content” and from the canon of classical literature to “grammar-books, phrase-books, and similar compilations,” St. Paul’s resisted (Sirluck 213). It is obvious that Milton’s educational views in *Of Education* follow strongly along the lines of his early education.

Milton’s later education was acquired in Christ’s College at Cambridge, and again Milton excelled in his studies and finished with a Masters of Arts before retiring to his father’s house where he “devoted [himself] to the study of Greek and Latin writers, completely at leisure (*CPW* 4.614). Only after the death of his mother, did Milton take his European grand tour, which was cut short due to the religious unrest growing in England. In his *Second Defense*, Milton writes his personal feelings concerning his role in England:

Since, moreover, I had so practiced myself from youth that I was above all things unable to disregard the laws of God and man, and since I had asked myself whether I should be of any future use if I now failed my country (or rather the church and so many of my brothers who were exposing themselves to danger for

the sake of the Gospel) I decided, although at that time occupied with certain other matters, to devote to this conflict all my talents and all my active powers.
(*CPW* 4.622)

This passage reveals that Milton views his education as preparation for service to his country and that service to England has precedence over most everything else. Upon returning from the continent in 1639, Milton quickly started his professional and civil career. The years 1641-42 saw the release of Milton's anti-prelatical pamphlets, and the years 1643-45 saw his divorce tracts.

The conflict which had so hastily called Milton back to England from the continent in order for him to start his public career was the rising tensions between Parliamentary and Royalist forces. Milton's anti-prelatical tracts were in direct response to the growing religious tensions of the feud. On August 22, 1642, when Charles I raised his standards at Nottingham, England toppled into a civil war. In the midst of civil war, with the Parliamentary forces slowly gaining more control over England, Milton was penning *On Education*. With these thoughts in mind, it is now appropriate to examine some of the ideas posited in *On Education*.

Milton's basic theological beliefs lead him to state in his introduction that "the end of learning is to repair the ruins of our first parents," but his pedagogical convictions have a different agenda (*CPW* 2.366). He goes on to explain that the education which he will lay out allows "a man to perform justly, skillfully and magnanimously all the offices both private and publike of peace and war" (*CPW* 2.378-379). In order for his students to perform in all "offices both private and publike," Milton's pedagogical program excludes a large portion of the population, includes a vast amount of information, and focuses heavily on the works of classical minds.

Since Milton is writing on how to train leaders, his educational philosophy by necessity must exclude all of those who will not be leading. This idea of education was not new to Milton. Sirluck explains that “[o]ther [classical] writers had advocated education for citizenship and service to the state, though with less specific emphasis than Milton places... on training for the responsibilities of leadership” (*CPW* 2.377). The Renaissance had taken hold of the idea that a complete education was the type which trained a man to be capable enough to handle all problems, and the education which Milton received at St. Paul’s was still highly effected by the Renaissance model. Milton’s education will be the “complete and generous Education” which Sirluck notes literally means “appropriate to one of noble birth or spirit; from the Latin *generosus*, of good or noble birth” (*CPW* 2.377-378). Milton concludes the tract by stating that he has set forth the method “wherein our noble and our gentle youth ought to bestow their time in a disciplinary way from twelve to one and twenty” (*CPW* 2.406). When Milton states that only “noble” and “gentle”-bred youths will be admitted into the schools, he is excluding those who are of poor and rustic families, which is in direct opposition to Comenius who prescribed education for all classes and did not consider class a limiting factor for admission into school.

Another obvious exclusion beyond birth and rank is that of gender. Throughout the tractate, Milton uses masculine language which reveals his position. Frances Teague addresses this idea in “A Voice for Hermaphroditical Education”:

John Milton’s ‘Of Education’ (1644) was written in reaction to a group of educators known as the Comenians, who advocated the extension of humanistic education to women (as well as to non-élite). Milton responded by arguing for a humanist revival, heightening the ‘manliness’ of his style, writing as a man for a male audience. (249)

This observation of Milton's engendered writing is strongly informed by his descriptions of the daily exercises of the youth. The boys are prescribed to spend the afternoon hours wrestling and in learning "the exact use of their weapon; to guard and to strike safely with edge, or point" (CPW 2.409). The leisure hours are, in Milton's day, masculine and exclusionary to women. Milton's tract is exclusionary to women because it was perpetuating the traditions of male leadership in Milton's Puritan religious and political circles.

Besides being exclusive in its nature, the pedagogical philosophy in *On Education* is inclusive to vast amounts of knowledge. Much like Comenius, Milton has a definite method and order in the way in which the students learn, but rather than dividing the system into four schools like Comenius, Milton places the students' education at a single place which "should be at once both School and University, not needing to remove to any other house of Schollership" (CPW 2.380). He seems to be directly responding to Comenius' idea of "the school of infancy," "the vernacular school" and so on. Milton believes that "the best and Noblest way of Education" does not start at the "beginning, as some have done from the cradle" but at the age of twelve (CPW 2.414). Even though Milton's plan of education does start later in the student's life, it still very extensive.

Milton's educational program is strongly regimented. Students begin with the study of abstract subjects like logic and metaphysics along a substantial amount of reading in Latin and Greek. This is in opposition to Comenius who starts with observation of reality and works toward the abstract. Milton's students proceed through the coursework by studying topics which will be useful in studying other, more complicated material. For example, Milton's students begin to work on classical writers of ethics and economics, "and either now, or before this, they may have easily learnt at any odde hour the *Italian Tounge*" (CPW 2.397). After

having mastered ethics and economics, the students move on to politics and a few more languages: the “Hebrew tounge” added to by the “*Chaldey*, and the *Syrian Dialect*” (CPW 2.400). Through the use of the previously stated languages, Milton assigns biblical studies and Church history for the latter hours of the day. Only after the students complete all previous course work, can they move on to the “choice Histories, *Heroic poems*, and *Attic* tragedies of stateliest and most regal argument” (CPW 2.400). The list of subjects and languages for the student to learn seems quite daunting, but this is perhaps a consequence of Milton’s own youthful zeal for education. As stated earlier, as a youth, Milton would stay up late into the night to finish his studies; therefore, he expects every youth to share his same enthusiasm for education. Milton assumes that, as long as the program of study is correctly situated and balanced, any capable student will conquer the vast amount of knowledge. Even though the amount of information is quite prodigious for any scholar, Milton has an agenda for each addition to his curriculum.

By focusing on the ideas of classical authors, Milton hopes to mold his students into model citizens. By assigning “the Authors of *Agriculture*, *Cato*, *Varro* and *Columella*,” Milton suggests that before “halfe these Authors be read... [the students] cannot choose but be masters of any ordinary prose” (CPW 2.387-388). Furthermore, “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” (CPW 2.389-390). Learning the “use of the Globes and all the maps” was of a definite concern in order to train functioning leaders. Jonathan Smith, a historian and geographer, writes that as “introduced to England by Sir Thomas Elyot, whose educational treatise of 1531, *The Governour*, presented a system of education for prospective members of the

ruling class...[g]eographical knowledge was an integral part of this system, as an adjunct to history and an abetment to military strategy” (Smith 94). As Milton adds each set of authors, the student becomes a better leader.

Milton moves from the authors of agriculture to the “Historicall Physiology of *Aristotle* and *Theophrastus*” and to “*Vitruvius*, to *Senecas* naturall questions” among others (CPW 2.390-391). Gaining competency in these subjects allows the students to conquer the ideas behind the “principles of *Arithmetic*, *Geometry*, *Astronomy*, and *Geography*” while gaining “a generall compact of *Physick*...[and] *Mathematicks*” (CPW 2.391-392). These authors and concepts have practical application in the knowledge of “*Fortification*, *Architecture*, *Enginry*, or *navigation*” which is indispensable in the administration of a nation’s infrastructure (CPW 2.392). The list of classical authors goes on, and Milton places each author in the appropriate place. Sirluck makes note of Milton’s use of classical authors in order “to repair the ruins of our first parents by regaining to know God aright:”

While this religious end was generally accepted by English educators of the Renaissance, no matter how prominent a place they gave to the pagan classics in their curricula, few if any other writers on education up to this time had given evidence of seeing as clearly as Milton did exactly how secular classical studies and practical knowledge might serve the religious purpose. Contrast the view of Comenius...that among ‘unnecessary’ studies are ‘the most part of the vanities of the Gentiles, the name of their petty Deities, together with their lying histories, and fables.’” (CPW 2.366)

As was the case in the exclusion of the poorer classes, Milton is once again in opposition to Comenius’ pedagogical philosophy. His focus on classical authors is a stark deviation from

Comenius' view, which leads scholars to ask why Milton is writing a pedagogical tract that is in so much opposition to the Comenian educational philosophy. Milton is writing to Samuel Hartlib, a noted follower of Comenius; therefore, Milton and Comenius' views should be in coherence, especially since they have admitted to a similar end of learning.

It is worth considering that perhaps Milton was not using the "pagan classics" for religious purposes but for political purposes. Gauri Viswanathan suggests:

[Milton] developed a secular impulse less interested in explaining the conditions of human depravity and in eliminating evil than in channeling the human potential for good in service of the state. Having decided that the object of education was to make good citizens of state, Milton put his intellectual weight behind national consolidation rather than individual salvation. (351)

While Comenius is actively working to create an educational system which will restore the community of Christians, Milton is working to create an educational system which will empower and strengthen England during a time of civil war. Milton and Comenius have opposing political agendas present in their pedagogy. These opposing political agendas are rooted culturally and manifested in their pedagogical tracts.

As stated above, Comenius was reared and educated in a primarily pacifistic environment; therefore, when Comenius was faced with the horrors of the Thirty Year War, he responded with a system that he hopes would reunite the factions of Christianity. In Comenius' view, the only way to bring peace and unification was to educate all levels of society to a point where each member of society could work in harmony with the other members. Milton's response to turbulence and war was opposite.

Milton's Puritan background was more militant than Comenius'. The Puritan led Parliament was willing to fight for their religious convictions; therefore, when faced with political upheaval, Milton responds by designing an educational program which will come to the aid of England, especially the Parliamentary forces. With the looming civil war, Milton felt great urgency. In the introduction to *On Education*, he wrote, "Briefe I shall endeavour to be: for that which I have to say, assuredly this nation hath extreame need should be done sooner then spok'n" (*CPW* 2.364). Had Milton's tract been based on Comenian practices, it could be assumed that Milton was attempting to "repair the ruins of our first parents," but, instead, he focuses on the education of leaders which share his theological and most importantly civil concerns. It would be naïve to think that the educational system designed by Milton in the year 1644 would produce Royalist leaders. In just five short years from the publication of *On Education*, Milton would become the Latin secretary in Oliver Cromwell's Commonwealth (Hanford 9-10).

Another consideration in Milton's educational system is the strong military presence. The tract is riddled with references to preparation for war and military strategies. The schools which Milton would like to see in every city in England would contain about 150 people, counting students, administrators and faculty. This number also features "the convenience of a foot company, or interchangeable two troops of cavalry" (*CPW* 2.381). The studies in physiology and health sciences "may at some time or other, save an Army by this frugall, and expencelesse meanes only; and not let the healthy and stout bodies of young men rot away... for want of discipline" (*CPW* 2.393). Even the exercises have a primary function to train soldiers:

[Students] are by sudden alarum or watch word, to be call'd out to their military motions, under skie or covert, according to the season, as was the Romane wont;

first on foot, then as their age permits, on horse back, to all the art of cavalry; That having in sport, but with much exactnesse, and dayly muster, serv'd out the rudiments of their Souldiership in all the skill of embattailing, marching, encamping, fortifying, besieging and battering, with all the helps of ancient and modern stratagems, Tactiks and warlike maxims, they may as it were out of a long warre come forth renowned and perfect Commanders in the service of their country. (*CPW* 2.411-412)

“Perfect Commanders in the service of their country” typifies Milton’s political agenda. In his tractate *On Education*, Milton creates a pedagogical philosophy that has education serving government. In this manner, Jeffrey Gore’s article on “Obedience in *Of Education and Paradise Lost*” is quite correct when he suggests that “Milton’s program...is designed to inculcate a sense of obedience through practice and experience,” but it is only obedience to a particular party (13). Therefore, *Of Education* continues with Milton’s over-arching theme of liberty and rebellion because his education program is working to help Parliament overthrow the Royalists.

On the other hand, Comenius’ pedagogical philosophy is one that is more socially communal and has government serving education. Comenius believes that government is a necessary evil, one that must be tolerated because it does such things as provide universal education. In order to have a compulsory education for all classes and genders, education must be state funded.

However, Milton and Comenius do share some similarities in their educational values. They both see a necessity to reform the current shape of education, and they both come from a strongly religious epistemology, but it is their differences which work to highlight their opposing agendas. While Comenius’ pedagogical philosophy has a socially communal political agenda,

Milton's has an aristocratically totalitarian political agenda. They both seek less "confusion and conflict" with "a greater amount of light, order, peace, and quiet," (Comenius 340) that is "united to the heavenly grace of faith," (*CPW* 2.367) but it is impossible for Comenius or Milton to segregate their political concerns from their educational concerns. The political dynamics of Comenius and Milton's educational tracts work to show how political movements and civil conflicts, such as the Thirty Year War and England's Civil War, influence educational trends and agendas as much as philosophical and epistemological trends, such as the lasting traditions of the Renaissance or the newer movement towards the empiricism of Francis Bacon.

This fact must give current educators pause. Milton, as well educated as he was, succumbed to the political pressures of his day. When he was supposed to be writing a pedagogical tract which was to reform society for the good of all, he was actually creating an educational system which was biased against the incumbent government. Gore concludes very aptly in his article on Milton's pedagogical writings by reminding educators that "[w]ho we are and what we do are not separate things now any more than they have ever been, even as much as now we may do enough different things that are not always recognizable as parts of a single system of culture" (25). In universities throughout the nation, educators owe it to their students to be honest and forthcoming with their political agendas; and in the case that political agendas do not exist, the educator should undertake some careful introspection to conclude what agendas are present but unaware.

Annotated Bibliography

Butts, R. Freeman. *A Cultural History of Education: Reassessing Our Educational Traditions*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1947.

This book extensively maps out the history of education and focuses on the formations of educational traditions. Freeman explains the educational aims, curricula, methods and theories behind the educational reformers of Western Civilization. Due to the broad scope of the book's topic, Freeman's focus is on trends in education rather than the individual reformers.

Comenius, John Amos. "The Great Didactic." *Three Thousand Years of Educational Wisdom: Selections from Great Documents*. Ed. Robert Ulich. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959. 339-346.

This collection of primary sources of educational writers and thinkers presents a broad overview of some of the major educational reformers of Europe and America. Each selection is typically brief and highly edited. This book is good for finding the basic outlines of major educators' thoughts in their own words.

Daiches, David. *Milton: A Fresh and Balanced Introduction to the Poet's Life and Works*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1966.

Daiches gives a brief but concise biography and history of Milton. He also gives good details on Milton's major works and some brief descriptions of Milton's minor poetry and prose.

De Bruyn, Frans. "The Classical Silva and the Generic Development of Scientific Writing in Seventeenth-Century England." *New Literary History* 32.2 (2001): 347-373.

De Bruyn explores the development of scientific and technical writing in seventeenth-century England in relation to preexisting genres. The author focuses on Francis Bacon's *Sylva Sylvarum: or a Natural History* (1627). This article can be used to examine the existence and shape of technical documents in the period of Milton in order to compare Milton's *Of Education* to its contemporaries.

Fraser, Antonia. *Cromwell: The Lord Protector*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974.

Fraser's biography is a very readable and informative history of Oliver Cromwell. In giving a complete description of Cromwell, Fraser also explains the temperament of pre- and post-Commonwealth England. The book provides insight into the world in which Milton was attempting to be a political and intellectual figure. Furthermore, it provides a picture of the government which, in 1644, Milton would have been mostly supporting.

Fish, Stanley. "Why Milton Matters; or, Against Historicism." *Milton Studies*. Vol. 45.

Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2005. 1-12.

In this article, Fish is concerned that Milton scholarship will lose tract of "Form" and only be left with theory. The problem is that if Milton's value is based on his contributions to politics, then Milton's value will fall. The warning to current scholars is to appreciate the work when theory is used on it. This article was useful to this thesis in developing its critical approach.

Frost, S. E., Jr. *Historical and Philosophical Foundations of Western Education*. Columbus, OH:

Charles E. Merrill Books, Inc., 1966.

Frost presents his history of education in terms of periods. Rather than following the development of educational thought, the author separately introduces and explains

each phase of history. The product is a collection of detailed pictures of education at different times in Western Civilization. The book works well in giving a complete picture of any period of education.

Greenblatt, Stephen. "Towards a Poetics of a Culture." *The New Historicism*. Ed. H. Aram Veese. New York: Routledge, 1989. 157.

Greenblatt is the best known New Historicist. In this article he breaks from what were excepted ways of examining ideas with in literature. In stead of examining the ideas contained with in each text, he looks for an over-arching narrative present in the culture in which the text was presented. Furthermore, Greenblatt goes beyond consulting just literary text; he also examines non-literary works and histories.

Gore, Jeffrey. "Obedience in *Of Education* and *Paradise Lost*." *Milton Studies*. Vol. 46. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2007. 1-29.

Gore's article represents the most recent criticism on *Of Education*. Gore's viewpoint is that Milton's educational agenda was to create curriculum which would fashion followers out of the students. The author makes this claim by examining the type of books and grammar activities present in Milton's treatise. The conclusion is that Milton's method of teaching Latin grammar is done by the students following a strict set of rules and that the literature selected by Milton enforces the disciplinary agenda of the grammar. The result is that the great rebel Milton is educating followers of the state. The focus of the article is on the linguistics of Milton's grammar textbooks.

Hanford, James Holley. *A Milton Handbook*. 4th ed. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc. 1946.

Hanford's *Handbook* is a must read for any beginning Milton scholar. He presents all of the basic knowledge of Milton studies. Although, the text is dated, so Hanford does not address Milton in terms of recent criticisms and theories.

Lewalski, Barbara K. "Why Milton Matters." *Milton Studies*. Vol. 45. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2005. 13-21.

Lewalski states that Milton should matter to the current Milton scholar based on the many ideas of his prose works. The author suggests that Milton was the model of a responsible citizen who is concerned with his intellectual and social liberties.

Milton, John. *Complete Prose Works of John Milton*. Ed. Ernest Sirluck. 8 vols. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959.

This compilation of the prose works of Milton contains authoritative texts of Milton's works along with numerous notes and introductions by Sirluck. In the first two volumes, the editor has given valuable information on the relationship between Hartlib, Comenius and Milton. An added value to this paper was Sirluck's examination of the educational programs at St. Paul's and how they related to Milton's educational tract. The information provided in the editor's notes goes well beyond the breadth of this thesis and should be consulted by anyone wishing to learn more on Milton's educational views.

Norman, Donald A. *The Design of Everyday Things*. New York: Doubleday, 1990.

This book focuses on the idea that the design of any object should be centered on the needs of the user and that, when the user cannot understand the object, it is the designers fault. Therefore, this book became very instrumental in examining the relationship between Milton's educational tract and the wishes and theories of Hartlib and Comenius. Using Norman's ideas, I determined that *Of education* was in fact working in

complete opposition to the wishes of the Hartlib, the user. Reading this book will give insight into how technical documents, along with all types of devices, should be designed with the user in mind.

Perkinson, Henry J. *Since Socrates: Studies in the History of Western Educational Thought*. New York: Longman, 1980.

Perkinson approaches his history of education by examining the impact of individual thinkers and educational reformers. In order to do so, the author presents biographies and analyses of major players in educational reform. The section on Comenius is concise yet very informative. Perkinson gives all of the relevant biographical information to understand the development of the thinker's educational views which are thoroughly explained and outlined along with descriptions the thinker's major literary works.

Phillips, Edward. "The Life of Mr. John Milton." *The Student's Milton*. Ed. Frank Allen Patterson. New York: Appleton Century Crofts, Inc., 1933. xxxi-xliii.

As the nephew and student of Milton, Edward's opinion of the great writer gives the reader an intimate insight to contemporary opinions of Milton. Furthermore, being that the two men were related, the factual information can be understood as fairly reliable, but the subjective statements of Milton should be considered dubious.

Sadler, John Edward. *J. A. Comenius and the Concept of Universal Education*. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1966.

Sadler's biography of Comenius is detailed and extensive. The author gives careful analysis of how all of Comenius' works and thoughts fit together. Sadler maps

the evolution of Comenius' educational philosophy into its culmination in universal education.

Sauer, Elizabeth. "Tolerationism, the Irish Crisis, and Milton's *On the Late Massacre in Piemont*." *Milton Studies*. Vol. 45. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2005. 40-61.

In this article, Sauer examines Milton's "complication of interests" of politics, religion and toleration with the British Commonwealth government of Cromwell. The author notes that the Commonwealth government was noted for its political, ecclesiastical and imperial mission to spread Protestantism. The article reinforces the idea that Milton was, at one point in his career, a governmental rhetorician.

Smith, Jonathon M. "State Formation, Geography, and a Gentleman's Education." *Geographical Review* 86.1 (Jan 1996): 91-100.

This article shows how the educational reformers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries included geography and the knowledge of terrain in their educational treatises in order to train efficient soldiers and statesmen. The idea posited by Smith is that, through an extensive knowledge of maps and globes, the nation of England would be prosperous both fiscally and militarily. The article provides added insight into the inclusion of geography and globes in Milton's educational tract.

Spinka, Matthew. *John Amos Comenius: The Incomparable Moravian*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1943.

Spinka's biography is complete and informative, and beyond that, it also works to show Comenius' personality. The biography attempts not only to show Comenius'

interests and influences in education but also his interests in theology and religion. The result is new information but an original perspective for its time.

Stavely, Keith W. *The Politics of Milton's Prose Style*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975.

Stavely examines the effectiveness of Milton's language in his prose works. The author concedes that Milton's political writings were often ignored by his contemporaries, and his conclusion is that his prose style had poetical foundations which were adverse to the genre of political prose. This book is helpful in determining the receptiveness of Milton's educational tract by his contemporaries. Furthermore, it helps understand the linguistic nature of the treatise.

Teague, Frances. "A Voice for Hermaphroditical Education." *This double Voice: Gendered Writing in Early Modern England*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000. 249-269.

Teague examines the responsive nature of three historical treatises on education. The author suggests that Milton was writing in a masculine style about a masculine topic in response to Comenius writing about a hermaphroditical topic in a masculine style and that Bethsua Makin responded in a female style on a feminine topic. The articles focus on gendered writing gives added insight into the exclusion of women in Milton's educational philosophy.

Viswanathan, Gauri. "Milton, Imperialism, and Education." *Modern Languages Quarterly* 59.3 (1998): 345-361.

Viswanathan focuses on how Puritan education prepared the English for imperialism and world domination. The author suggests that Milton's tract does not merely educate a man, nor does it just educate a man for war, but it readies a man for

management, especially management of other nations. The focus of the article is how Renaissance education which was linguistically based moved to an early modernist education which had linguistics working toward a goal. Language could be used for diplomacy and bureaucracy, and, when combined with military strategy, it becomes imperialistic language.