

MILTON, AUTHORSHIP, AND THE BOOK TRADE

This study offers an original exploration of Milton's relationship to the seventeenth-century book trade. Critics have often assumed that Milton presided over all stages of his texts' creation, and little has been said about his dependence on other people for producing his works. Examining Milton's changing historical circumstances with special attention to his texts' material production, Stephen B. Dobranski shows in a series of provocative and original case studies that Milton benefited from a collaborative process of writing and publishing. He worked with amanuenses, acquaintances, printers, and publishers, often in dramatic and surprising ways; paradoxically, Milton's implied persona of the independent, even isolated, poet required the cooperation of these various individuals. Applying textual scholarship and book-trade history to the material forms of publication, Dobranski offers fresh insight into the practice of authorship and the meaning of Milton's works.

STEPHEN B. DOBRANSKI is co-editor with John Rumrich of Milton and Heresy (Cambridge University Press, 1998) and a contributing editor to the Variorum Commentary on the Poems of John Milton. He has published articles on Milton and Renaissance literature in English Literary Renaissance, Milton Studies, The Seventeenth Century, Studies in English Literature, and the forthcoming Cambridge Companion to Milton, 2nd edition.





MILTON, AUTHORSHIP, AND THE BOOK TRADE

STEPHEN B. DOBRANSKI





CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521641920

© Stephen B. Dobranski 1999

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 1999

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data

Dobranski, Stephen B.

Milton, authorship, and the book trade / Stephen B. Dobranski.

p. cm.

Includes index.

ISBN 0 521 64192 6 hardback

- Milton, John, 1608–1674 Authorship.
 Book industries and trade England History 17th century.
 - 3. Authors and publishers England History 17th century.
 - 3. Authors and publishers England History 1/th Century
 - Literature publishing England History 17th century.
 Authorship Collaboration History 17th century.
 - 6. Editing England History 17th century.
- 7. Milton, John, 1608–1674 Publishers. 8. Milton, John, 1608–1674 Editors.

PR3586.D63 1999

821'.4-dc21 98-44373 CIP

ISBN 978-0-521-64192-0 Hardback ISBN 978-0-521-11900-9 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



For my Mom and Dad and Shannon





Contents

List of illustrations		page	viii
Ac	knowledgments		хi
List of frequently cited works			xiii
In	troduction: the author John Milton		I
I	The labor of book-writing and book-making		14
2	Restoring Samson Agonistes		4I
3	The myth of the solitary genius		62
4	Fair Milton's counterfeit		82
5	Letters and spirit in Areopagitica		104
6	The mystery of Milton as licenser		125
7	The poet John Milton, 1673		154
Afterword			179
No	otes		185
Index			237



Illustrations

ıa.	Text from Milton's Samson Agonistes (1671), sig. O4v.	page	4^{2}
	Reproduced by permission of the Harry Ransom		
	Humanities Research Center, the University of Texas		
	at Austin		
ıb.	Text from Milton's Samson Agonistes (1671), sig. O ₅ r.		43
	Reproduced by permission of the Harry Ransom		
	Humanities Research Center, the University of Texas		
	at Austin		
2.	Omissa from Milton's Paradise Regain'd Samson Agonistes		45
	(1671). Reproduced by permission of the Harry		
	Ransom Humanities Research Center, the University		
	of Texas at Austin		
3.	Errata lists from Milton's Paradise Regain'd Samson		46
	Agonistes (1671). Reproduced by permission of the		
	Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, the		
	University of Texas at Austin		
4.	Portrait frontispiece of Milton's <i>Poems</i> (1645).		83
	Reproduced by permission of the Harry Ransom		
	Humanities Research Center, the University of Texas		
	at Austin		
5.	Title page of Milton's <i>Poems</i> (1645). Reproduced by		84
	permission of the Harry Ransom Humanities Research		
	Center, the University of Texas at Austin		
6.	Title page of Milton's <i>Areopagitica</i> (1644). Reproduced		H
	by permission of the Harry Ransom Humanities		
	Research Center, the University of Texas at Austin		
7.	Title page of Milton's <i>Eikonoklastes</i> (1649).	1	142
	Reproduced by permission of the Harry Ransom		
	Humanities Research Center, the University of		
	Texas at Austin		

viii



	Illustrations	ix
8a.	Title page of Milton's Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio	143
	(1651; first issue). Reproduced by permission of the	
	British Library, London, C.114.b.38	
8b.	Title page of Milton's Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio (1651;	144
	second issue). Reproduced by permission of the British	
	Library, London, C.114.b.39	
9.	Ornament from Milton's Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio	145
	(1651; second issue). Reproduced by permission of the	
	British Library, London, C.114.b.39	
ю.	Errata list from Milton's <i>Poems</i> (1673). Reproduced by	157
	permission of the Harry Ransom Humanities Research	
	Center, the University of Texas at Austin	
II.	Title page of Milton's <i>Poems</i> (1673). Reproduced by	167
	permission of the Harry Ransom Humanities Research	
	Center, the University of Texas at Austin	





Acknowledgments

I am pleased to acknowledge the many friends and colleagues who have collaborated with me in researching and writing this book. Leah Marcus and Michael Winship perused early drafts, offered stimulating suggestions, and provided unwavering encouragement. Anyone familiar with their scholarship knows how fortunate I am to have worked with them. Portions of this book also benefited from the advice of Peter Blayney, Elizabeth Hedrick, and Peter Lindenbaum. Thomas Berger, who first inspired me to research the seventeenthcentury book trade, wrote detailed comments on early typescripts; and I am also indebted to D. F. McKenzie for offering critical suggestions on drafts of two chapters and for generously sharing with me excerpts from his research. I am especially grateful to the remarkable Josie Dixon, the eagle-eyed Audrey Cotterell, and the vigilant readers at Cambridge University Press. Their excellent advice helped me to reconceive parts of my argument and to improve significantly individual sentences and paragraphs.

My research was facilitated by the helpful staffs at the British Library, the New York Public Library, and the Public Records Office. On a rainy afternoon in London, I met with Robin Myers at Stationers' Hall and recall fondly her good humor and timely recommendations. Most of my research I conducted at the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center at the University of Texas in Austin. I am grateful to past and present members of the staff – Jake Baxter, Ken Craven, Bill Dietrich, Pat Fox, and Rachel Howarth – for their friendly and patient assistance. One of my trips to the HRC was funded in part by a grant from the Department of English at Georgia State University, and during the final stages of revision, the university awarded me two additional grants that helped me to bring the typescript into publishable shape. I owe a debt of thanks to my students and colleagues at both Georgia State and the University of



xii

Acknowledgments

Texas, particularly, Pitt Harding, James Hirsh, Ernest Kaulbach, Timothy Rogers, Matthew Roudané, and Robert Sattelmeyer.

I also appreciate that Albert Labriola, editor of *Milton Studies*; Richard Maber, editor of *The Seventeenth Century*; and Robert Patten, editor of *SEL* supported my early work, thus encouraging me to pursue a book-length study of Milton's authorship. Briefer versions of chapters 2 and 5 were published, respectively, as "Samson and the Omissa," *SEL* 36 (Winter 1996): 149–69, and "Letter and Spirit in Milton's *Areopagitica*," *Milton Studies* 32 (1995): 131–52. Part of chapter 6 has appeared in "Licensing Milton's Heresy" in *Milton and Heresy*, ed. Stephen B. Dobranski and John P. Rumrich (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 139–58. I am grateful to Rice University, the University of Pittsburgh Press, and Cambridge University Press for their permission to build on these materials.

I have reserved for last the pleasure of acknowledging my strongest debts of gratitude. John Rumrich has been there from the beginning, when this project had its inauspicious start as a seminar paper on *Areopagitica*. Through our countless conversations and lunches since then, John has tirelessly guided and challenged me. Over several years he has read an unreasonable number of drafts and responded with incisive, copious comments. His own contributions to Milton studies continue to inform and delight; his influence on my work is pervasive and extraordinary.

Finally, I am indebted to my Mom, Dad, and sisters for their ongoing emotional and moral support. I cannot begin to measure, nor articulate, all the ways my parents have contributed to this book. Without their help it would not have been completed. My warmest thanks must also go to Shannon, my colleague and wife, who read the entire typescript so often that she began to memorize select sentences. Shannon's keen insights helped me to untangle and reorganize individual chapters, and her wise questions and criticisms improved the project as a whole. Any faults that remain are my own.



Frequently cited works

CP The Complete Prose and Major Prose, gen. ed. Don M.

Wolfe, 8 vols. (New Haven, 1953–82).

Darbishire Helen Darbishire, ed., The Early Lives of Milton

(London, 1932).

French J. Milton French, ed., The Life Records of John Milton, 5

vols. (New Brunswick, NJ, 1956).

Masson David Masson, The Life of John Milton, 7 vols.

(1877–96; New York, 1946).

Parker William Riley Parker, Milton: A Biography, 2nd edn.,

ed. Gordon Campbell, 2 vols. (1968; Oxford, 1996).

Citations and line numbers for Milton's poetry, unless otherwise noted, are taken from Merritt Y. Hughes, ed., *John Milton: Complete Poems and Major Prose* (New York, 1957). The translations from Milton's Latin are my own, unless otherwise indicated.

When quoting from seventeenth-century texts, I have tried to preserve the spelling, pointing, capitalization, elision, and use of roman and italic case. However, \int has been silently modernized; most small capitals have been treated as upper case letters; and ligatures and swash letters have been ignored.