

### MILTON AND THE ART OF RHETORIC

Challenging the conventional view of John Milton as an iconoclast who spoke only to a "fit audience though few," Daniel Shore argues that Milton was a far more pragmatic writer than previous scholarship has recognized. Summoning evidence from nearly all of his works – poetry and prose alike – Shore asserts that Milton distanced himself from the prescriptions of classical rhetoric to develop new means of persuasion suited to an age distrustful of traditional eloquence. He demonstrates that Milton's renunciation of agency, audience, purpose, and effect in the prose tracts leads not to quietism or withdrawal, but rather to a reasserted investment in public debate. Shore reveals a writer who is committed to persuasion and yet profoundly critical of his own persuasive strategies. An innovative contribution to the field, this text will appeal to scholars of Milton, seventeenth-century literature, Renaissance literature, and the history and theory of rhetoric.

Daniel Shore is Assistant Professor of English at Georgetown University. His work has appeared in journals such as *PMLA*, *Critical Inquiry*, and *Milton Studies*. In 2006, the Milton Society of America awarded him the James Holly Hanford Award for "Most Distinguished Essay" of the year. He earned his Ph.D. and master's degrees from Harvard University.



# MILTON AND THE ART OF RHETORIC

DANIEL SHORE

Georgetown University







Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom
One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05–06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment, a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107021501

© Daniel Shore 2012

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 & Assessment.

First published 2012

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

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication data Shore, Daniel, 1980– Milton and the art of rhetoric / Daniel Shore.

p. cm. Includes bibliographical references and index. ISBN 978-1-107-02150-1 (hardback)

1. Milton, John, 1608–1674 - Criticism and interpretation. 
1. Title.

PR3588.854 2012 821'.4-dc23 2012012067

ISBN 978-1-107-02150-1 Hardback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment 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.



To Carolyn



## Contents

Acknowledgments	<i>page</i> ix
Abbreviations and Editions	xi
Introduction: Spoken Only to Trees and Stones	I
PART I THE RENUNCIATION OF RHETORIC	
I Milton in the Public Sphere	21
2 Constraint as a Means of Persuasion	39
3 Becoming a Supplement	62
PART II THE PRESERVATION OF RHETORIC	
4 Why Milton Is Not an Iconoclast	85
5 The Uses of Trembling	105
6 Instrumental Reason and Imitatio Christi	125
Epilogue: The Threat of Samson Agonistes	146
Notes	167
Index	197

vii



# Acknowledgments

This book began, to borrow a phrase from Wallace Stevens, as a thesis scrivened in delight. In the scrivening I have incurred many debts, foremost to the doctoral advisers who guided my research from its earliest beginnings. With her endless learning and unflagging good sense Barbara Lewalski supported and improved my writing in more ways than I can know. I cannot imagine a better adviser. Gordon Teskey has been at once a mentor, colleague, friend, and inimitable model. I will continue to look to him for illumination. I am thankful for James Engell's generosity and wisdom. He has made me a better scholar, teacher, and rhetorician. Considering how much these teachers have given me, I expect that I will never "quit / The debt immense of endless gratitude."

A Harvard Dexter Summer Fellowship and Sheldon Traveling Fellowship, an American Council of Learned Societies/Andrew W. Mellon Foundation Dissertation Completion Fellowship, and a research grant from Grinnell College gave me time to read, think, and write. An earlier version of Chapter 1 appeared as "Fit Thought Few': *Eikonoklastes* and the Rhetoric of Audience," *Milton Studies 45*, ed. Albert C. Labriola (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2006): 129–48, which received the Milton Society of America's 2006 James Holly Hanford Award. A version of Chapter 4, "Why Milton Is Not an Iconoclast," appeared in *PMLA* 127.1 (2012), 22–37; it is reprinted by permission of the copyright owner, The Modern Language Association of America.

I wish to thank the two anonymous reviewers at Cambridge University Press for suggesting thoughtful and constructive revisions, as well as Ray Ryan, Louis Gulino, Susan Thornton, Diana Witt, Marielle Poss, and Bindu Vinod for their patience and hard work. The members of the Harvard Renaissance Colloquium, the Intellectual History Reading Group, the Oxford Early Modern Graduate Forum, and the Canada Milton Seminar listened to parts of my argument and helped me to improve them. The Folger Shakespeare Library, the British Library, and



### Acknowledgments

Harvard's Houghton Library allowed me to work in their collections. The impresses of past teachers - William Pritchard, Victoria Kahn, Stephen Booth, and John Parker - remain strong in my mind and, I hope, on the page as well. Although their expertise is in the field of history rather than literature, Edward Baring and Angus Burgin have been both my most incisive readers and the greatest spurs to my continued intellectual development. Conversations with James Simpson and Joseph Koerner helped me to advance my thinking on iconoclasm. I have appreciated the encouragement, advice, and fit conversation of John Rumrich, Steven Fallon, William Kerrigan, Patrick Cheney, Joanna Picciotto, Tom Luxon, Adam Potkay, David Loewenstein, Ken Hiltner, John Rogers, Nigel Smith, Marjorie Garber, Stephen Greenblatt, Leah Price, Richard Strier, Tobias Gregory, Blair Hoxby, Anthony Welch, Sharon Achinstein, Laura Knoppers, Douglas Trevor, Roy Sellars, John Robert Ladd, Maia McAleavy, Julie Orlemanski, Katie Deutsch, and Timothy Michael. For generously reading parts of the manuscript and offering the proper mix of criticism, encouragement, and intellectual camaraderie, I thank Nicholas Nace, Jacob Jost, Christopher Warren, Timothy Arner, Steven Hequembourg, Hannah Sullivan, Blaine Greteman, Tobias Gregory, Paul Stevens, and Jason Rosenblatt. This book has benefited from their knowledge and acuity. While I would gladly disown the errors that remain, they are unmistakably mine.

This book would never have been written without the love and support of my family. I dedicate it to my wife, Carolyn, to whom I owe what is best in my life.

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment



### Abbreviations and Editions

Quotations from Milton's poems are from *The Complete Poetry and Essential Prose of John Milton*, ed. William Kerrigan, John Rumrich, and Stephen M. Fallon (New York: Modern Library, 2007). *Paradise Lost, Paradise Regained*, and *Samson Agonistes* are abbreviated as *PL*, *PR*, and *SA*, respectively.

YP The Complete Prose Works of John Milton, 8 vols., ed. Don M. Wolfe et al. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953–82).

CW *The Works of John Milton*, 20 vols., ed. Frank Allen Patterson et al. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1923–40).

Passages from the Bible, unless otherwise noted, are from the King James Version.