

MILTON IN THE LIBRARY

BY THOMAS FULTON

In the spring of 2011, the Archibald S. Alexander Library hosted an exhibition of about 150 books, pamphlets, broadsides, and manuscripts, and other artifacts having to do with John Milton, his political and cultural contexts, and his literary afterlife. Drawing not only from the large collection in the Special Collections and University Archives of the Rutgers University Libraries, the curators borrowed two Milton editions, as well as some later artifacts such as cigarette cards, medallions, and a delightful bust from the rare book and manuscript collections of the University of Pennsylvania. The exhibition also included facsimiles from several other libraries, including the 1645 volume of Milton's poetry from the Beinecke Library at Yale University, a Proclamation of the King recalling two of Milton's books from the New York Public Library, and a digital copy of Milton's manuscript "Digression" to the *History of Britain* from the Houghton Library at Harvard University. The two-part exhibition encompassed two galleries with two curatorial teams: in the Special Collections and University Archives Gallery, *Milton and the Cultures of Print* featured the seventeenth-century items produced in Milton's lifetime, while in Gallery '50, *Milton's Afterlife* showed artifacts concerned with later editions and Milton's influence.¹

This extraordinary display of library artifacts attracted a large number of visitors from both inside and outside the university. Since it was organized to coincide with a meeting of the Northeast Modern Language Association (NeMLA), programming included an opening lecture (co-sponsored by Rutgers Seminar in the History of the Book), a curator's tour, and a panel devoted to items in the exhibition and the questions that they raise. The collected essays in this journal draw on some of the opportunities afforded by these events, and on the conversations that have ensued.

The first essay, by Kathryn James, a scholar and curator at Yale's Beinecke Library, originated as part of a NeMLA panel. Exploring the relationship between book collecting, curating, and

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English literary studies, James disinters a correspondence between Rutgers English Professor J. Milton French ("Milton") and the Yale collector and curator James Marshall Osborn. The two men were the forces behind a new journal, *The Seventeenth Century News Letter*, a publication that provides a fascinating glimpse of the commerce among various kinds of bibliophiles—book collectors and interpreters—in the mid-twentieth century. James's investigation exposes an unexpected relationship between the inventors of New Criticism—a form of interpretation that purports to rely on the text disembodied from its material circumstances—and rare book collections.

James's essay is followed by a detailed bibliography, with an accompanying history, of the Rutgers Milton collection, assembled by one of the curators of the Special Collections exhibition, Fernanda Perrone. This detailed history and checklist is of particular importance, not just as an accurate record of the library's current holdings, but also as a record of provenance: where possible, Perrone has listed owner autographs, gift inscriptions (our 1669 edition of *Paradise Lost* is inscribed to the poet William Wordsworth, for example), bookseller information, and the details of Rutgers's acquisition.

Printed books are not, of course, the only forms of literary production in the seventeenth century, nor are they the only rare and unique objects housed in Special Collections. Milton's own work circulated in manuscript as well as print, a number of other manuscripts of his include: a collection of poetic and dramatic drafts, a commonplace book of citations from reading, a historical "Digression" expressing radical republican sentiments that could not be printed, and a large theological treatise, *De Doctrina Christiana*, that was also too controversial to publish. The exhibition at Rutgers displayed these manuscripts in facsimile, seeking to illustrate how manuscript evidence sheds light on Milton's printed corpus. Rutgers also has several seventeenth-century poetic manuscripts that demonstrate some of the complexities of scribal culture in the period. Although there are only a handful of manuscript copies of Milton's poems extant, there exist a large number of John Donne's poems — including the elegy in the Rutgers collection. As Stephanie Hunt shows in the essay that follows, this love poem was too scandalously explicit to be printed in 1633, two years after Donne's death, when most of his poetry first appeared in print. The scribal anthologist who collected the

poem set it on the same page as a little sonnet, which also provides insight into the practices and assumptions of contemporary readers. The accompanying poem would not now be anthologized with Donne or included in an anthology of Renaissance verse, as it is more a tavern song than a product of high culture. Hunt's analysis is followed by a valuable transcription of both poems as they appear in manuscript, here in print for the first time.

The next discussion of a manuscript poem, by Erin Kelly, is also followed by an edition of that poem. Kelly shows how political poems were circulated in manuscript in the later seventeenth century, not unlike some of Milton's own political sonnets, which had a limited manuscript circulation, and were not printed in some cases some until many years after his death. The author of the anonymously-circulated poem, "A Dialogue between King James and King William," is Charles Blount (1654–1693), a radical Whig author who wrote mostly in prose. Indeed, the author is identifiable partially because the poem follows some of the sentiments found in Blount's prose work, *King William and Queen Mary Conquerors*, which advocated a right by conquest theory that was not officially endorsed by the Whig party. In the manuscript poem, Blount imagines a conversation between King James and King William after James fled to Ireland, when William rose to power in what is known as the Glorious Revolution of 1688.

The coda to this collection of essays is Michael Joseph's curator's reflection on a few of the notable artifacts displayed in *Milton's Afterlife*, some newly discovered as a result of the exhibition. Some of Joseph's most valuable observations concern what is perhaps the least costly item in the exhibition, reminding us that rare books need not be always be expensive to be valuable. It is a small and rather crude edition of Milton's poetic works published in 1794: *The Poetical Works of John Milton*.² Some graffiti on the title page comments that the engravings do not "adorn," as the printed title page would have it, but rather "deform" Milton's original conception. But the title page also gives clues to the book's early readership, for it is signed by a "Lady Emmeline [Lascess?]." Joseph's discussion leads to an instructive meditation on books marketed for the education of young women in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

In this brief introduction to this important and eloquent group of essays, I would also like to reflect on the significance of the collection represented in this exhibition, how this collection

came into being, and, more broadly, what the library collection may look like in the future. As the guest curator of the exhibition, and one whose habitual contact with these materials is in modern editions, I had the rare experience of weighing even more tangibly than I usually do the ways in which these books and manuscripts functioned in their original form. Milton's first published poem, to take an example that captivated students, appears as an anonymous "Epitaph on the admirable Dramaticke Poet, W. Shakespeare," in the collected volume of Shakespeare's plays that appeared in 1632, commonly called the "Second Folio" (see 2.1). It is the same imprint that King Charles I owned, and his copy still exists with many markings and annotations. In the commendatory poem, the young Milton celebrates the Shakespearean volume for its immortalization of the author, and yet, paradoxically, Milton hides his own identity, potentially immortalized in the same context, behind the veil of anonymity, only to publish the poem under his name—but under a different title—thirteen years later. Was Milton on some level afraid of the stigma of print, or afraid to appear in association with the dramatic poet, however profoundly the admiration is expressed? One might also ask, of a magnificent edition of Milton's *Paradise Lost* in 1688 that is similarly meant to establish the author's permanence: can a single edition of a book, well made and well timed, really establish an author's place in the canon? Can it significantly correct the problems with an author's reputation, as it has been argued that Milton's first volume of poems in 1645 had sought to do?³ I found myself staring repeatedly at the broadside proclamation of King Charles II, posted throughout London in 1660, and wondering how Milton or his contemporaries would have responded.

But I also found myself drawn to ask—prompted in part by the challenges of putting a consistent narrative together from a necessarily inconsistent body of evidence, and in part by inquiring visitors and students—how Rutgers' extraordinary trove of artifacts came into existence, and what precise functions it has served within the community. The history of the collection itself—now more evident to me in the cross-section represented by this exhibition—appears as a largely untold series of anecdotes of acquisition and collection-building. The collection's history seems to be punctuated over the years by concentrated efforts, or just by simple twists of good fortune, like a cross-section of a sequoia, where the variously-sized growth rings represent some corresponding blight, abundance

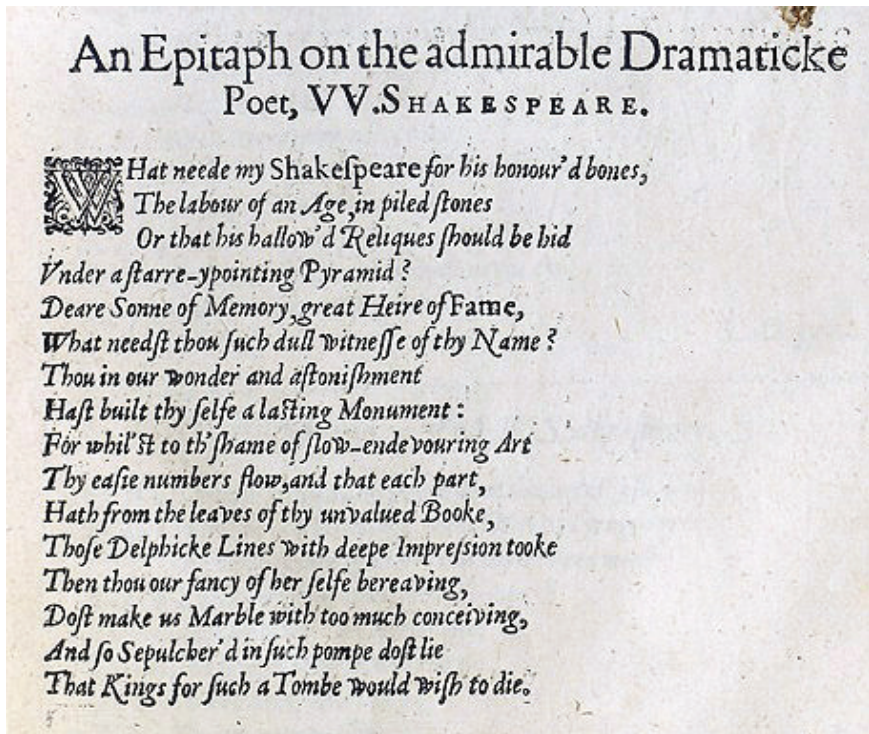


Figure 2.1: "An Epitaph on the Admirable Dramatic Poet, William Shakespeare" in *Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies* (1632). Milton's first published poem appeared anonymously in an august volume of Shakespeare's collected plays.

of rain, or forest fire; or, in this case, a world war, a marshalling of library supporters, a sudden act of generosity, a lapse of interest, or a recession. Unknown to many of the literature students in New Brunswick—we presently have as many as seventy undergraduates a semester in courses devoted to Milton—Rutgers has one of the strongest collections of Milton's works among American public university libraries. What accounts for the growth rings in the history of this collection? Is investment in the collection prompted by antiquarian or preservationist interests, or by a belief that these objects hold something vital to our understanding of literature and culture?

As is true of most rare book collections, the rich horde of materials represented in this exhibition came to the university in a remarkably haphazard fashion. Beginning in the nineteenth century, when many rare materials were not so rare, to 2011, when

many artifacts in the collection would be virtually unobtainable, the rare book collection was built largely by the generosity of private individuals, and not by public funding. The spectacular 1611 King James Bible, for example, which was displayed in a vitrine entitled "Milton's Library," was donated by P. Vanderbilt Spader, Rutgers Class of 1849, to the Rutgers College Library. (Milton owned a quarto version printed in 1612, now housed in the British Library—it is filled with markings, family history, burn holes, stains, and a few corrections to the wording of that translation.) Another of Rutgers' most valuable and most valued books is the second Folio of Shakespeare's plays, mentioned above, remarkable not only in itself, but in that it contains Milton's first printed poem. A contemporary Puritan, William Prynne, complained in the year after its appearance that "Shakespeare's plays are printed in the best Crown paper, far better than most Bibles."⁴ Expensive even in its own time, it came to us as a generous gift of Gabriel Wells (Rutgers Hon D. Litt, 1935, died 1946), a book dealer and publisher who was the honorary president of the Associated Friends, later the Friends of the Rutgers University Libraries, an organization devoted to the improvement of the Rutgers collection.

The richly inconsistent nature of the acquisition history is illustrated in the detailed bibliography of the collection offered by Fernanda Perrone. There are 53 books in this bibliography, the last five of which are art printings produced in the twentieth century. The oldest part of the Milton collection, printed before 1700, has 32 titles (not including the above-mentioned first poem of Milton's). This sample of books produces some interesting statistics: out of the 32 books listed, 14 have some record of acquisition, and of these *all* were acquired within a three decade period, between 1936 and 1967. Eleven of the fourteen were acquired in the first four years of this period; only one was given after 1954. Five of the seventeenth-century books have the bookplate of the bookseller Barnet J. Beyer, who was listed as an Associated Friend from 1939 to 1943, which means that these books were probably given by him in this period; Beyer is also responsible for our Donne manuscript. Most of the other early titles for which we have no acquisition information happen to be Latin, although some of the most treasured books in the collection, such as the twelve-book edition of *Paradise Lost* in 1674, or the 1688 edition of the epic, also have no extant records. All of these were almost certainly acquired between 1825, the inaugural date of the two literary societies—the Peithessophian and

the Philoclean—which formed the basis of much of the Rutgers library collection, and the 1930s, when self-conscious acquisition of rare books began.⁵ One of the books, the 1821 *Poetical Works of John Milton*, has the stamp of the Peithessophian society; it is possible that some of the other eighteenth- and nineteenth-century volumes also belong to the oversight of these two societies. The first printed catalog of the Rutgers College Library in 1832 actually does not list Milton among its titles; it is mostly theological volumes, but the two volumes of Milton's poetry are listed in the 1834 catalog of the Philoclean Library.⁶ The record of acquisition fades with more recently published books, probably because late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century works were acquired nearer their production, and only later were determined to be too valuable for circulation. Only one nineteenth- or twentieth-century volume is known to have been a gift: the first edition of Milton's posthumous *De Doctrina Christiana* (or *Of Christian Doctrine*), given by Lane Cooper (Rutgers class of 1893), a professor of comparative literature at Cornell University (and author of, among many things, a *Concordance of the Latin, Greek, and Italian Poems of John Milton*, published in 1921). Cooper probably gave the book in 1941, when he is listed among 27 donors to the library, and when the Associated Friends of the library numbered 373.⁷ In short, the foundation of the Associated Friends and the inception of this journal in 1937 coincided with a flurry of support for the library and rare book acquisition. J. Milton French's arrival at Rutgers in 1940, along with a collaborative interest among librarians, ensured that Milton and seventeenth-century British literary production would be well-represented among the new additions. After French's retirement in 1960, the interest of library curators turned towards building other aspects of the rare book collection, most notably to eighteenth-century polemical literature, Westerners in Japan, and early Jerseyana.

The reasons why Rutgers acquired so many rare books in the 1930s and 1940s, an era of depression and world war, deserves further research. It may have been partly an economic phenomenon, dictated by the sudden poverty of Britain after World War I, and a relative prosperity in America. Economic circumstances allowed for budding libraries in the United States to make big purchases (see James's essay), but also even for middle- and upper-middle-class individuals to start collections, which would then be donated to libraries. But why the intense interest in British artifacts at this time, in particular? Was British material

valued because it was cheap, or was it valued because of a national alliance valorized by the wars, or more simply because of the rise in literary study in the universities? In addition to the economic explanations suggested here, there are also cultural ones, suggested again in Kathryn James's essay. James's provocative essay shows that New Critics, though they themselves argued for a kind of textual autonomy and democratic access to the text—even by relatively inexperienced readers such as the GIs returning to school after the war—these same formalists were still scholars and devotees of the original, material text. In short, there remained strong cultural and intellectual support for textual studies and textual antiquarianism. The division between literary theory and textual materialism thus did not really emerge until the next generation of formalists and literary theorists. We have returned to a moment in literary theory when the material text is once again valued, but the question remains whether this renewed emphasis will have a correspondent benefit to acquisition and preservation.

In the pages that follow, I would like to draw attention to a few of the artifacts in from the Milton collection, as a way of arguing that this library's treasures have a cultural and intellectual value that is as compelling a reason for their continued stewardship as is their antiquarian interest. The objects in this exhibit tell a vital story about literary history that cannot be told easily or well without them.

In 1688, in the year of the Glorious Revolution and fourteen years after Milton's death, publisher Jacob Tonson put out a magnificent folio edition of *Paradise Lost* (Figure 2.2). Unlike the previous editions of the epic, which are small quartos and plain by comparison, this large fourth edition is as it claims on the title page "Adorn'd with Sculptures" by well-known European engravers. These artists provided images of Satan and other characters for each of the twelve books of *Paradise Lost*. Tonson, already the publisher of famous living English writers such as Addison, Pope, and Dryden, repackaged Milton's epic after it had been out of print for some ten years in a way that helped establish it permanently in the literary canon. Under the portrait frontispiece, on what is made to look like a stone engraving, lies a powerful endorsement from England's poet laureate, John Dryden:



Figure 2.2: John Milton, *Paradise Lost: a Poem in Twelve Books* The fourth edition, adorn'd with sculptures (London, 1688). This first illustrated edition of the epic played a major role in establishing Milton's experimental work in the literary canon. The epitaph-like poem is by England's poet laureate, John Dryden.

Three Poets, in three distant Ages born,
Greece, Italy, and England did adorn.

Dryden's poem would not, of course, have the same epitaphic effect when lifted from this engraved context. It pretends that the reader encountering the commemorative poem and the epic it celebrates does so far in the future, peering back to the "distant Ages" when the immortal poets, Milton, Virgil, and Homer once wrote. Milton's *Paradise Lost* had, Dryden goes on to suggest, surpassed all former epics by combining the "loftiness of thought" of Homer with the "Majesty" of Virgil. The words of praise play a role much like those of Ben Jonson's in the First Folio of Shakespeare, in which a reigning poet of the age immortalizes a passed elder contemporary. Dryden's words go still further, for in claiming that Milton surpasses Homer and Virgil, he is also claiming that England has at last earned a place as the third great civilization of the west: Greece, Italy, and now England.

Yet Milton's work during his lifetime assumes a less dignified and more ephemeral form, and his efforts to set his ideas in print were constantly thwarted by both social opposition and governmental controls. Perhaps the most powerful of these controls for the author was a broadside proclamation, issued by King Charles II in 1660, in which the government declared Milton a wanted man. The proclamation recalled two of his books to be burnt: *Eikonoklastes* (1649), a refutation of *Eikon Basilike* ("The King's Image"), which Rutgers acquired in 1940; and a Latin defense of the English people, *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio*, of which Rutgers owns several copies. One of these copies contains a manuscript note at the end indicating that Milton had been released from prison—suggesting that this reader not only followed Milton's career, but that he also put himself at some risk by not handing his copy over to the authorities or pitching it in the fire. As the broadside makes clear, Milton was in trouble at this moment of the restoration of King Charles II for what he had written about the king's deposed father. As the broadside states: "Milton, and John Goodwin" —another polemical writer and friend of Milton—"are fled and so obscure themselves that no endeavors used for their apprehension can take effect whereby they might be brought to Legal Tryal, and deservedly receive condign punishment for their treasons and offenses." Milton was literally on the run, and his books recalled and burned, because he had written against

the English monarchy. This is, of course, one of the significant moments of governmental imposition on Milton's freedom as a writer. Fortunately and even amazingly, Milton survived this brief imprisonment—though John Goodwin did not—and went on seven years later to publish *Paradise Lost*, albeit in a far more humble state than the publication of 1688—such as the Rutgers copy of the 1668 reissue owned by the Romantic poet William Wordsworth, or Rutgers' 1674 edition.

Many of Milton's ideas never made it into print at all, which we know from the unusually large horde of Milton's manuscripts that somehow survived the ravages of time. These unique artifacts suggest several questions about printed reading material in Milton's own lifetime. What can pen and paper, the most basic tools of composition, tell us about how things appear in print? What habits of use—marking books, or taking notes from books, from example—might have shaped the way that literature was produced in print?

Milton's commonplace book offers a revealing glimpse of the writer in part because it shows him at work in his private study—mostly reading and entering passages from his reading, though sometimes also reflecting on the reading he is doing. The practices of deliberate and scholarly reading were highly developed in early modern Europe, thanks in part to the value placed on them by leading figures like Erasmus, who advocated extracting eloquent phrases or sentences—commonplaces—from one's reading. But like so many of Milton's activities, Milton's note taking in his commonplace book deviated considerably from the dominant methods of his contemporaries.

One of the most exciting developments in the study of reading over the past twenty years has been a return to books themselves as evidence for the way in which people read. This development includes both study of the marks and annotations people made in books—see, for example, Rutgers' copy of *Areopagitica* (1644), filled with reader's marks—but also the way in which information from reading is used or intended to be used by readers. Unfortunately, we lack the vast majority of Milton's own marked books; only seven volumes that were known to be in his library still exist. But in addition to this scant record, we are also able to reconstruct a large number of the books that Milton had handy because his commonplace book has survived, which contains citations of various formats that allow us to trace the editions consulted, and

to reconstruct how they were read. Using this and other evidence, we were able to display a collection of books that were certainly or almost certainly the same imprints that Milton used.

One of these books used by Milton was an exciting new acquisition, a volume of Pindar, *Pindari Olympica, Pythia, Nemea, Isthmia*, printed in Saumur in 1620. The publication's origins may at first seem obscure, but Milton's reading was not just in English, but in Latin, Greek, Italian, and other languages, and while books in other languages were printed in London, the majority of the books he read were European imports—about 73 percent, judging from the proportion recorded in his commonplace book. Foreign books could be obtained in London bookshops, though Milton also shipped books home from Europe, and had friends send him books from abroad. In comparison with other personal libraries for which we have shelf-lists, the surprisingly low percentage of British imprints in Milton's notes is quite normal, and it may well represent the proportions in Milton's own library.

Milton's commonplace book and the library we are able to reconstruct together set in relief several aspects of the relationship between reading and writing in Milton's England. The fashion of commonplacing and even the print market itself reinforced a style of literary production that privileged sententiousness and language packed with portable phrases and axioms. Jonson claimed that he had discharged the offices of a tragic writer in *Sejanus* through the "fullness and frequency of Sentence."⁸ Unlike the blank verse of most of the play, these marked passages feature aphoristic abstractions set in strongly endstopped couplets. Like the 1603 *Hamlet*, the elaborate 1605 edition of Jonson's *Sejanus* also came with inverted commas to indicate sententious passages to be copied and commonplaced, and in this case we know of one reader contemporary to Milton—William Drake—who dutifully copied into his notebook the passages marked for extraction.⁹

Yet Milton's own reading places far less value on rhetorical formulation, even where the ideas themselves may still have the same separable portability. Some evidence of the portability of ideas can be found in Milton's use of Chaucer, and he in fact cites from an edition produced around the height of the vogue for marked sententiae. In the first edition of Thomas Speght's *Chaucer* (1598), Speght laments on a corrections page that "Sentences," "which are many and excellent in this Poet, might have been noted in the margent with some marke, which now must be left to the search of

the Reader." The passage suggests that pre-marked commonplaces—imitating in print the annotations readers habitually made in pen—would provide readers with the option of simply skimming a text for excisable words of wisdom.

We know that Milton used the second edition of 1602 (shown in Figure 2.3), because his citations match the later edition's changed foliation. The Rutgers copy, a gift of Reverend William Ormiston (1821–1899), richly demonstrates the complex ways in which not just writers, but also publishers appealed to the fashionable reading habits of the time. In this second printing,

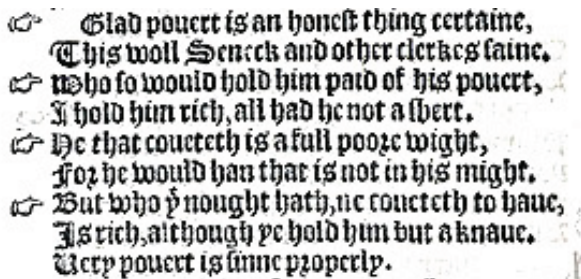


Figure 2.3: "Manicules" in Milton's Chaucer. *The Workes of Our Ancient and Lerved English Poet* (London, 1602), fol. 36v.

Speght rectified the lack of notation, and accordingly promoted the "Sentences and proverbs,"¹⁰ noted in this case by the marginal pointing hand that has been recently dubbed the "manicule."¹¹ These manicules imitated in print what readers had done in the manuscript margins of their books for decades, as Rutgers copy of *Areopagitica* shows—that is, mark passages worthy of notice and extraction with an enthusiastic pointy finger (see Figure 2.4).

Printed manicules served the function of providing the reader with extractable material while at the same time depriving the reader of some autonomous discrimination of what was to be valued. Not surprisingly, Milton's practice of reading shows that he avoided these printed markers. Not a single one of his many citations of Chaucer correspond directly to the passages marked for extraction, suggesting almost that he eschewed the tight, Jonsonian couplets valued by his contemporaries. This is supported by Milton's frequent distain for the rhetorical forcefulness of the aphorism. In *On Education*, for example, Milton complained that young people were trained to value "tyrannous aphorismes" that "appear to them the highest points of wisdom."¹² We see in

Milton's reading habits, then, the formation of his habits of writing. *Paradise Lost* not only avoids rhymed couplets or rhyme of any kind – much to the confusion of his contemporaries – but also, in its long, rambling enjambments, the conveniently extractable, endstopped sentence.

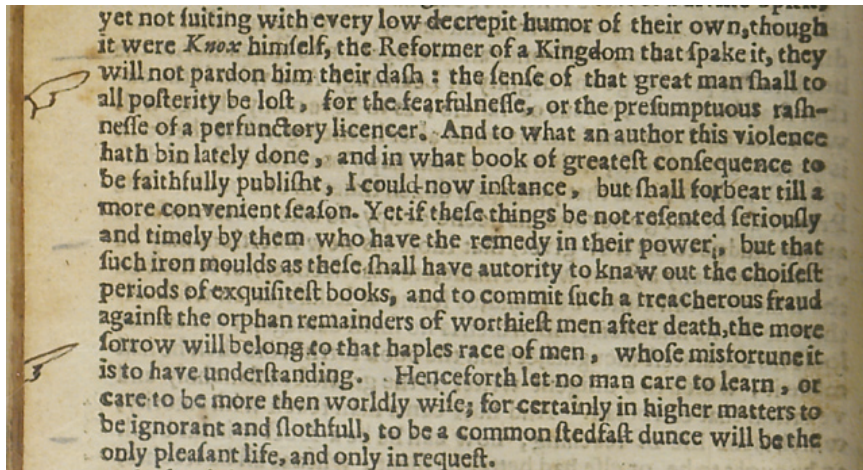


Figure 2.4: Manuscript manicules in Milton, *Areopagitica*; a *Speech of Mr. John Milton for the Liberty of Unlicens'd Printing, to the Parliament of England* (1644).

Here I have sought to outline just a few of the ways in which the actual artifact reveals far more about the conditions of writing and reading than can be reproduced in modern editions or in digital form. As we move forward in the centuries after Milton's death, we encounter many different Miltons —the young but proper Milton of the eighteenth century, replaced by the bold, powerful, prophetic, Blakean Milton early in the nineteenth century. We are constantly inventing and reinventing Milton as we read him, and we pass him on to the next generation, to be reinvented again. Students have done this at Rutgers University since it began, 82 years after Milton's death. Indeed, it is safe to surmise that there have never been as many students of Milton at Rutgers as there are now. And while the collection saw its greatest development under the influence of J. Milton French and George Osborn in the early 1940s, the prospects for a new interval of growth in this area are strong: there is now strong faculty interest in both the English and the History departments, where faculty are increasingly using the

collection for faculty workshops, graduate seminars, and research. The Rutgers Seminar in the History of the Book has run several archive-based workshops that have made use of the collection. From the library side, an interest in outreach through exhibitions—both digital and physical—has already drawn large groups of specialists and non-specialists to Rutgers. There is little doubt that this extraordinary collection deserves our continued investment. We anticipate that further outreach projects and collection development will follow.

Notes

1. In addition to the printed catalog, a digital version of *Milton and the Cultures of Print* can be viewed at <http://www.libraries.rutgers.edu/rul/exhibits/milton/>.
2. *The Poetical Works of John Milton: from the Text of Dr. Newton: in Two Volumes* (London: Printed and sold by T. Wilkins, Aldermanbury, MDCCXCIV [1794]).
3. Thomas N. Corns, "Milton's Quest for Respectability." *Modern Language Review* 77, no. 4 (1982): 769–79.
4. William Prynne, *Histrion-Mastix* (1633), fol. 1v.
5. See Perrone's essay in this volume. And for more on the history of Rutgers Libraries, see Fernanda Perrone, "Voorhees Hall: Rutgers' First Modern Library," *Journal of the Rutgers University Libraries* 61 (2005): 1–27.
6. "The Rutgers College Catalogue of 1832." *Journal of the Rutgers University Libraries*, 44, no. 2 (Dec. 1982): 59–93; Francis A. Johns, "The Peithessophian Society Catalogue of 1834," *Journal of the Rutgers University Libraries* 44, no. 2 (1982): 104.
7. Donald F. Cameron, "The Associated Friends," *The Journal of the Rutgers University Libraries*, 4, no. 2, (1941); Lane Cooper makes frequent appearances in the journal, and is also listed as having made gift in 1943, again without detail. Vol 7, no.1, (1943).
8. Jonson, *Sejanus* (1605), "to the Readers." Milton's habits of reading are traced in greater detail in my *Historical Milton: Manuscript, Print, and Political Culture in Revolutionary England* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2010), from which the surrounding paragraphs derive.

9. András Kiséry, "'Politicians in Show': The Circulation of Political Knowledge in Early Seventeenth-Century English Drama." Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2008, 185 ff; see also Kevin Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions: The Politics of Reading in Early Modern England* (London: Yale University Press, 2000), 259–60.
10. Chaucer, *Workes*, title page. For the evidence that this was Milton's text, see Mohl, *CPW* 1, 402, n31.
11. Chaucer, *Workes*, fol. 31 v; William Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 25–67.
12. Don M. Wolfe et al, *Complete Prose Works of John Milton* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953-82), 8 vols; vol 2, 375-6. For other examples, see Fulton, *Historical Milton*, 57-59.