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THE
POETICAL WORKS
OF
JOHN MILTON.

TO THE *ILLUSTRIOUS* MEMORY
OF
FRANCIS, DUKE OF BRIDGEWATER,
TO WHOSE KINDNESS THESE VOLUMES
OWE CONSIDERABLE IMPORTANCE,
AND THE EDITOR OF THEM
THE MOST HEART-FELT OBLIGATION,
THIS EDITION OF MILTON'S POETICAL WORKS
IS GRATEFULLY INSCRIBED.

POETICAL WORKS

OF

DOHN MILTON,

WITH NOTES OF VARIOUS AUTHORS.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED ILLUSTRATIONS,

AND

SOME ACCOUNT OF

THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF MILTON

BY THE ^{fr}REV. HENRY J. TODD, M.A.R.A.S,
RECTOR O'ALLOWS, LOMBARD-STREET, &C

THE SECOND EDITION, WITH CONSIDERABLE ADDITIONS,

AND WITH

A VERBAL INDEX TO THE WHOLE OF MILTONS POETRY,

*

IN SEVEN VOLUMES,

VOL. I

L O N D O N :

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PREFACE

THE PUBLICK is here presented with a complete edition of the Poetical Works of Milton, accompanied with notes of various authors.

To this undertaking I was invited, and encouraged, at the close of the year 1798. Without this previous declaration, I might have been accused of intrusion into the present office. Sensible that the task would have been better executed by many recent annotators on Milton, I would not indeed have listened to the unexpected application of engaging in an employment so important, if some literary friends had not promised their assistance. I therefore undertook to arrange my materials; and continued my inquiries till the close of the year 1799, when the edition began to be printed; at which time, nearly half a century had elapsed since the publication of the Poetical Works entire, with illustrations. And my attention to the progress and completion of the work in 1801, was constant and unwearied.

Of those criticisms and annotators, whose observations were selected in 1749, &c. by Dr. Newton; as well as of those, with whose subsequent remarks the following pages are enriched; some account may be thought necessary.

The first annotator on the poet was Patrick Hume, a Scotchman. He published, in 1695, a copious commentary on the *Paradise Lost*; " ' to which some of his successors in the same province," says Mr. Warton, " apprehending no danger of detection from

* This is the Preface to my first edition of Milton's Poetical Works, with such alterations and additions, as on account of unintentional mistake or omission, new materials, and other circumstances are requisite. II. J. T.

* Preface to his edition of Milton's Smaller Poems.

a work rarely infected, and too pedantick and cumbersome to attract many readers, have been often amply indebted, without even the most distant hint of acknowledgement." His illustrations in these volumes will be rarely found uninteresting. To him succeeded the elegant Addison, by whose ^b blandishments of gentleness and facility, Milton has been made an universal favourite, with whom readers of every class think it necessary to be acquainted." His essays on the *Paradise Lost* are here printed as a Preliminary Dissertation; the remarks on each *particular book* not being detached from the *general* observations on the Poem, because the author himself was desirous that the reader should not neglect; to view the ^c *whole extent* of his criticism. By the same critic ^d *Comus* and ^c *L' Allegro* had been before commended. In 1732, Dr. Bentley published a splendid edition of the *Paradise Lost*, by which he acquired no honour. His specious pretences of an interpolated text, and his arbitrary method of emendation, were received with derision and disgust. Yet there are some notes, in the edition, which bespeak the unvitiated taste of this eminent scholar, and to which the classical reader will always thankfully subscribe. Immediately after the publication of this edition, the admirers of Milton were gratified by Dr. Pearce's masterly and candid refutation of the editor's chimerical corrections: And the *Review of the Test of Paradise Lost* furnished abundant annotations, at once instructive and delightful. In 1734, the two Richardsons published their *Expla-*

^h Dr. Johnson's Life of Addison.

^e See the Prolegomena in the second volume of this edition, p. 18. Dr. Johnson also wrote his Essay on Milton's Verification, in order to serve as a continuation of this criticism. See the Proleg. in the second vol. pp. 152, 156.

^d Tatler, No. 98. Nov. 24, 1709.

^c Spectator, No. 249. Dec. 15, 1711.

natory Notes on the Paradise Loft. Soon afterwards, Dr. Warburton communicated to the world some remarks upon the same poem. An *EJfay upon Milton's imitations of the Ancients*, said to be written by a gentleman of North Britain, whose name, it is believed, has not been divulged; the *Letters concerning poetical Tranflations*, ascribed to Auditor Benfon; and the *Critical Observations on Shakfpeare*, in which are interperfed remarks upon Milton, by Mr. Upton; were the next publications, from which Dr. Newton professes to have derived assistance. But, besides the flower of those which had been already published, he added many new observations both of others and his own. He was indebted, for several ingenious illustrations of *Paradise Loft* to his relation, Dr. Greenwood. He was also obliged by the use of Dr. Heylin's manuscript remarks on the same poem; which had been before communicated to Bentley, and of which the greater part (according to his account) had been difingenuoufly ^f adopted,

^f " I cannot," if I may employ Milton's expressions, " think" Bentley " so to seek, or so unprincipled in" criticism's " book," as to be guilty of this meannefs. I have been lately favoured, by the Rev. J. Mitford, (in whose possession this literary curiosity now is,) with the examination of Tonfon's quarto edition of *Paradise Loft*, 1720, containing Bentley's alterations of the text, as well as various memoranda for notes. These are probably the *first* expressions and remarks of the great critick, in regard to the labour which he had undertaken. It may be acceptable to the curious reader, (and it is evident that they do not minutely accord with Bentley's edition,) if I present him with specimens from the beginning and end of the poem.

B. i. ver. 5. *sacred top.*

ver. 13. *adventurous wing.*

ver. 15. *I purfue.*

ver. 16, *verfe*, (5, 15.) *then fong.*

ver. 18.—*th'* *heart upright.* (221. 2, 72.)

ver. 26.—to *Man.*

ver. 23. *deep gulph.*

ver. 34. *whose wile.* (646. 9, 85. And note at the bottom, *Ephef.* vi. 11. *Wile, craft, guile, fraud.*)

by that critick, without acknowledgement. By the mariucript communications of Richardfon, Jortin, and Warburton; and more particularly by those of the ipodeft and liberal Mr. Thyer; his commentary on *Paradife Loft* was confiderably enlarged. To the fame learned coadjutors, with the addition of fuch respectable names as Sympfon, and Seward, the editors of Beaumont and Fletcher; of the Rev. Mr. Meadowcourt, Prebendary of Worcefter; of the Rev. Mr. Calton of Lincolnihire; and of Mr. Peck, the antiquary; Dr. Newton's fubfequent edition of *Paradife Regained*, *Samfon Agoniftes*, and the *Smaller Poems*, was alfo gratefully indebted.

In the year after the publication of Dr. Newton's edition of *Paradife Loft*, there was publifhed at Glafgow the firft Book of that poem with a large and very learned commentary; from which fome notes are felected in this edition. They, who are acquainted with this commentary, will concur with me in wifhing that the annotator had continued his ingenious and elaborate criticifms on the whole poem. That annotator, I find, was Mr. Callander. And fince the publication of my firft edition of thefe

B. i. ver. 36. *Thee mother, &c.*

ver. 39. *God's Son.* (5. 660. And at the bottom,
To place in glory above the Son of God.)

ver. 46. *ruin and confufion.*

ver. 48. *circling.* (2.647. And at the bottom,
Inchain'd with adamant rock and circling fire.
Alfo, over circling is written folid)

B. xii ver. 599. ——— *her firft to know.*

ver. 603. ——— *with caufe*

Humbled for evils paft —

ver. 610. *Whither thou went'ft, and whence return'ft —*

ver. 643. *blade.* (592. xi. 120. And note below, *flaming*
/word. Gen. i. 24.)

ver. 648. *Then ——— wearied, afterwards carefull,*
next foetal, and laftly

—— with foetal fteps their way

Through Eden took, with hope and promife cheard.
And for hope and promife is alfo given heav'nly favour.

volumes, I have been favoured, by the learned Malcolm Laing, Esq. with a small interleaved Copy of *Paradise Lost*, containing memoranda of Mr. Candler for notes on the whole poem, and a few remarks completed.

In a letter from the late Mr. Macon to Doddsley, the bookfeller, dated May 31, 1747, which was in the possession of my friend, the late Isaac Reed, Esq. an editorial intention is announced; which, though not accomplished, it may not be improper here to notice; as it coincides with the opinion of him, who has so ably illustrated the picturesque description, and romantick imagery, of the poems which Mr. Macon mentions; and to whose illustrations the editor must next express his obligations. "I could wish to know," says Mr. Macon, "whether Tonson or any other Bookfeller has a property in the second volume of Milton. I have often thought it a great pity that many of the beautiful pieces it contains should be so little read as they certainly are. I fancy this has arisen from *the bad thing* they are tack'd to. I want vastly to have a separate edition of the *Tragedy, Mæcenas, Lycidas, L' Allegro*, &c. And I fancy I shall some time or other undertake it myself; but, if you think that it would sell at present, I would willingly give you my assistance either for a preface, or notes, or any thing that should be thought necessary; and this merely for the sake of the incomparable poet, whom I am not content with having considered and praised as the Author of *Paradise Lost* alone."

What Mr. Macon might have intended, the late Mr. Warton effected. In 1765 the Publick was presented with *Lycidas, L' Allegro, Il Penseroso, Arcades, Comus, Odes, Sonnets*, &c. accompanied with Mr. Warton's critical and explanatory notes; of which a second edition, with many alterations and large additions, was published in 1791, soon after his lamented death: In whom Poetry and Antiquity lost

one of their most zealous votaries, Criticism one of its ablest assertors, Society one of its most agreeable members, and the University of Oxford one of her most valuable and most respected sons. Mr. Warton appears to have also planned an edition of *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes*, by having omitted in the latter edition such notes as more immediately related to those poems, and which had appeared in the former edition; and by substituting merely references to the notes on those respective passages. The signatures to the sheets of his latter edition are numbered indeed *volume the first*. From both these editions, in which the names of Warburton, Hurd, Bowie, and Dr. Joseph Warton, often occur as annotators, the most valuable illustrations have been derived to the following pages. I have been also greatly obliged, since the publication of my first edition, to the Rev. John Warton, for the notes in manuscript, both of his father and uncle, on the *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes*. They are indeed but few in number. Those of the latter appear to have been principally drawn from his first edition of the *Smaller Poems*, in subserviency to the plan just noticed. From Mr. Dunster's edition of *Paradise Regained*, published in 1795, a copious stock of judicious and elegant observations on that poem has been also here extracted. Of the numerous remarks, in manuscript, on *Paradise Lost* and on almost all the remaining *English Poems* of Milton, which Mr. Dunster consigned to the proprietors of this edition in 1805, and with the perusal of which I have been entrusted for the purpose of selecting such as I might consider suitable to my plan, I must likewise speak with pleasure, as well as with increased esteem of the worthy author. In the selection I have made, the candid reader will acknowledge many an ingenious and solid remark, evincing the taste and learning by which Mr. Dunster has ever been distinguished.

From modern works of critical eminence, relating to the English language and poetry, many notices have been likewise drawn; in particular, from the compositions of Lord Monboddo, Dr. Beattie, and Dr. Blair; from the late commentaries on Shakespeare; from Mr. Headley's *Select Specimens of Ancient English Poetry*; from the acute observations of Dr. Johnson and Mr. Hayley; and in short, if I may respectfully adopt the language of my predecessor, "like the bee, I have been studious of gathering sweets wherever I could find them." The Fragment of an intended *Commentary on Paradise Lost* by the poet Cowper, published by his friend Hayley, did not appear till long after the three Books, which that Commentary illustrates, were printed in this edition.

Contributions, however, have not been exacted, without references to the original treatises of the information adduced, or without the names of the authors subjoined. Of the notes in Dr. Newton's excellent edition of the *Paradise Lost*, few have been omitted, and some have been shortened; by which method I have been enabled to introduce, without too copious a commentary, the important observations of critics already enumerated, as well as of those who are yet to be named. Of the notes also in his edition of *Paradise Regained*, and the remaining *Poems*, several are retained. The labours of Mr. Warton and Mr. Dunster have rendered more perhaps unnecessary.

I must now acknowledge obligations, not perhaps less interesting or valuable, to manuscript communications, besides those already mentioned of Mr. Callander, the two Wartons, and Mr. Dunster.

To the late George Steevens, Esq. I was indebted for the interleaved copies of *Paradise Lost*, and of the *Smaller Poems* printed in 1673, with many manuscript remarks by the late Mr. Bowie;

after whose decease these volumes came into Mr. Steevens's hands; and, since the death of Mr. Steevens, have become my property. This singular kindness was conferred by Mr. Steevens at the commencement of this undertaking; not without a promise also of further assistance; which, unfortunately for the publick and for me, he lived not to afford.

To Joseph Cooper Walker, Esq. the author of the very elegant Historical Memoir on Italian Tragedy, and of other valuable publications, I have been likewise particularly obliged for many remarks, biographical as well as critical.

My sincere thanks are also due to two distinguished prelates, whose amiable dispositions and unassuming abilities have met with their reward; the present bishops of Ely and Hereford. Dr. Dampier, on being made acquainted in 1800 by my very kind and zealous friend, Dr. Luxmoore, with this undertaking, obligingly transmitted to me an interleaved copy of *Paradise Lost* with numerous manuscript notes, by that accomplished scholar, the late Benjamin Stillingfleet, Esq. They contain not only the chief classical allusions, which are found in Dr. Newton's edition; but references to, or citations of, various other passages subservient to the illustration of the poem. They had been put together about the year 1745, with a view to publication; but were left unfinished, from the apprehension that they would not make their way in opposition to Dr. Newton's edition, which was then announced under the patronage of Lord Bath. These particulars are gathered from several important letters of Mr. Stillingfleet to Dr. Dampier's father, formerly Deaij of Durham; to whom he had presented his interleaved *Paradise Lost*. From one of these letters, entrusted to me also by Dr. Dampier, I selected the truly Miltonick Sonnet written by Mr. Stillingfleet, which I have printed in the *Preliminary Ob-*

fervations on the Sonnets, in the fixth volume of this edition. It muft be added, that the volume, containing the firft fix books of *Paradife Loft*, was nearly printed off, when I was honoured with thefe remarks. A felection, therefore, of Mr. Stillingfleet's notes on thofe books, has been given, duly acknowledged, at the clofe of *my firft edition*, among other additions to the preceding volumes; and, in *the prefent*, thefe notes are in their refpective places, with Mr. Stillingfleet's name fubjoined.

To the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury I beg to mention my refpectful obligations alfo for the ufe of manufcripts in their poffeffion, which have contributed to the purpofes of my edition.

But my gratitude can never be fufficiently expreffed for the aids afforded me by the Library of the late Duke of Bridgewater. And as on a former occafion I had to thank his Grace for permiffion to print the manufcript Mafk of Comus, obtained through the obliging application of the Hon. and Rev. Mr, Egerton; fo was I gratified, through the fame literary attention, by being allowed to print, on the occafion of my complete edition of Milton's poetry, the manufcript Mafk of Marfton performed before the Counteffe Dowager of Derby; and to make ufe of, many rare and curious books, perhaps not to be found in other collections. To this liberal condefcenfion I owe the opportunity of having introduced to publick notice the poems of fome forgotten Englifh bards, as well as other pieces of our ancient literature, hitherto overpaffed by the moft curious inveftigators. Nor, in recording this circumftance, will I lofe the occafion of thanking the prefent head of this illuftrious houfe; both in avowing that to the Earl of Bridgewater's kindnefs in introducing me to his family I have been primarily indebted for the diftinguifhed favours I have ftated, and that by his patronage I have

been benefited and honoured. The invaluable collection, from which I have derived such advantage, was removed in 1800 from his Grace's seat at Ashridge to Cleveland House, London; and at his death in 1803 became, by bequest, the property of his nephew, the present Marquis of Stafford, to whom as an ardent lover of literature, and an exquisite judge of what is serviceable to its interests, the donation has been most acceptable. To the present age the notification of such treasures will be highly acceptable; for, among its characteristics, a taste for relishing the strains of elder days is honourably conspicuous; to the increase of which, the publication of Mr. Ellis's *Specimens of Early English Poetry* has, doubtless, powerfully contributed.

I have been fortunate also in obtaining other manuscript supplies of no mean import. To my friends, the liberal friends indeed to the literature of their country, the late Isaac Reed, Esq. and James Bindley, Esq. I have been obliged for many valuable suggestions, as well as for the favour of several scarce works in their choice and rich collections.

From the Rev. Mr. Boyd, the elegant translator of Dante, I have received, just as this edition was closing at the press, the very interesting *Observations on the Characters of the Fallen Angels of Milton*. The few communications of other gentlemen I have noticed in their respective places.

Having thus discharged my duty of grateful acknowledgement, I proceed to give the reader an account of what he is to expect further in the conduct of my edition.

• I call it an invaluable collection, not only as it relates to literary treasures of the description just noticed, but also as possessing numerous rarities in various departments of literature. It is not my province here to give a larger account, however, agreeable to myself the talk might be, of Ashridge Library. I reserve it, as is meet, for my *History of the College of Ashridge* from its foundation to its demolition.

The chief purpose of my notes, is, in humble imitation of Mr. Warton, to "explain the allusions of Milton; to illustrate or to vindicate his beauties; to point out' his imitations both of others, and of himself; to elucidate his obsolete diction; and, by the adduction and juxtaposition of parallels universally gleaned both from his poetry and prose, to ascertain his favourite words, and to show the peculiarities of his phraseology." Mr. Warton justly adds, that, "among the English poets, those readers who trust to preceding commentators will be led to believe, that Milton imitated Spenser and Shakespeare only. But his style, expression, and more extensive combinations of diction, together with many of his thoughts, are also to be traced in other English poets, who were either contemporaries or predecessors, and of whom many are now not commonly known. Nor have his imitations from Spenser and Shakespeare been hitherto sufficiently noticed." Of this it has been a part of my talk, as it was of Mr. Warton, to produce proofs. The coincidences of "Fancy's sweetest children," Spenser, Shakespeare and Milton, are accordingly here enlarged. The obligations of our author to Dante, as well as to some other Italian poets, hitherto little noticed, are pointed 'out. The poet's imitations of himself are also considerably augmented. Nor have the romances and fabulous narratives, on which the poetry of Milton is often founded, been neglected. While I have not been sparing of classical illustration, I have constantly kept in mind the necessity of attention to the literature of Milton's age. Without this attention, as Mr. Warton remarks, "the force of many strikingly poetical passages has been weakened or unperceived, because their origin was unknown, unexplored, or misunderstood. Coeval books, which might clear such references, were therefore to be consulted; and a new line of commentary was to be pursued. Com-

paratively, the claffical annotator has here but little to do. Dr. Newton, an excellent feholar, was unacquainted with the treafures of the Gothick library. From his more folid and rational ftudies, he never deviated into this idle track of reading." But, as Milton, at leaft in his early poems, may be reckoned an old Englifh poet; and as in his later poetry allufions to the fources of fictions, with which he had been pleafed in his youth, often appear; he generally requires that illuftration, however trifling it may feem to faftidious readers, without which no old Englifh poet can well be illuftrated.

The arrangement of the materials in thefe volumes has been formed with a view to uniformity, and to the accommodation of the reader. The Table of General Contents will point out the order obferved; the accompanying difsertations; and the appendixes fubjoined.

Prefixed to this edition is a Verbal Index; not merely to the *Paradife Loft*, as in Dr. Newton's edition, but to *All the Poems* of our illuftrious author, and^h applicable to any edition of thefe Poems; to the laborious completion of which (in imitation of the editors of the Dauphin Clafficks) I have cheerfully fubmitted for the love and veneration with which I regard the (trains of Milton, and for the refpect which I owe my country in giving fuch ufeful references to the language of its fublimeft bard. To the whole is alfo added a Gloffarial Index. I think it proper to obferve, that, in compliance with the wifhes of feveral literary friends, the *Paradife Loft* has been placed firft, in the following methodical difpofition of the poetical works.

I have endeavoured to render the text as perfpicuous as poffible; not only by feveral illuftrations

^k A considerable impreffion of this Index, (with my Account of the Life and Writings of Milton,) has therefore been printed in a feparate volume, for general accommodation.

of antiquated words, which, as Mr. Warton has observed, in a succession of editions had been gradually and silently, yet perhaps not always properly, refined; but also by comparing the copies published under the immediate notice or direction of Milton, as well as most subsequent editions; more particularly those of Tickell, Fenton, Bentley, and the later editors: as the notes will shew. Nor should I here omit to mention, that Milton has not so uniformly contracted the words of his language, as to countenance the spelling of *ifle*, of *honour*, of *inferiour*, of *mujick*, and several other words, with the omission of a letter in each. Milton's manuscript at Cambridge, and his own editions of his *Poems*, as well as of his *Paradise Lost*, will afford testimonies to this observation. The text of Milton must, indeed, exhibit some peculiarities. By such as are here retained, the meaning cannot be embarrassed. His love of Italian, of Chaucer, and of Spenser, requires this notice.

To the punctuation also, of which Milton has been pronounced by Mr. Warton to have been habitually careless, great attention has been paid. I conceived it my duty likewise to examine the manuscript, containing many of Milton's early poems, preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge; and I found, on examination, several particularities which had been omitted by those who had before collated the manuscript, and which were too curious not to be noticed in my edition. To the end of the several poems, of which there are copies in the manuscript, these Various Readings are annexed. The reason is assigned in the *Appendix to Paradise Lost*, No. L

I offered, with the utmost deference, in the first edition of these volumes, some Account of the Life and Writings of Milton; of which the materials were drawn from authentic sources. In this biographical

attempt some new anecdotes, relating to the history of Milton's friends, of his works, and of his times, were interwoven. To that Account additions are now made. These circumstances may perhaps plead as some apology for my rashness, in affecting to sketch the poet, whom the masterly hands of a Johnson and an Hayley have depicted; a rashness, to which I was impelled by the persuasion of others, that, to a new edition of his Works, it is a custom to prefix the Life of the Author. To this custom indeed English biography has lately been indebted for a spirited acquisition; the Life of Milton, accompanying an edition of his Prose-Works, written by the Rev. Dr. Symmons; a composition, which, like those of Johnson and Hayley, opposes to my unadorned narration a very brilliant contrail. Cheerfully conceding the honour due to this work, I claim the liberty, however, of differing from the eloquent biographer in some political sentiments, and of refuting my assent to one or two of his assertions and literary opinions.

Such are the materials here accumulated, in order to explain the labours of Milton: of Milton, the proud boast of his own country, and the admiration of the world: of Milton, whose imitations of others are so generally adorned with new modes of sentiment or phraseology, that they lose the nature of borrowings, and display the skill and originality of a perfect master; and from whom succeeding poets, at various periods, have "stolen authentick fire."

I must not neglect to mention, that the proprietors have adorned this edition with a new and neat engraving of Milton from Faithorne's drawing. And I gratefully add, that it is enriched with an etching of part of Ludlow Castle, (in which *the Comus* of **our** poet was first performed,) from a view taken on the spot, which I received as a mark of friendship from the Marchioness of Stafford.

To the liberal and candid reader I commit these volumes with cheerfulnefs; and I trust that I have not greatly expofed myfelf in them either to the infuls of malicious ingenuity, or to the cavils of unforgiving bigotry. My errours, let me hope, will be overlooked in my endeavours to pleafe and to inform; and my labour, I am fure, is amply compensated in the confideration, that can ceafe only with my exiftence, of the delight afforded by minute attention to the poetry of Milton:

" While I fit with thee, I feem in Heaven;
 " And fweeter thy difcourfe is to my ear
 " Than fruits of palm-tree, pleafanteft to thirft
 " And hunger both, from labour, at the hour
 " Of fweet repaft; they fatiate, and foon fill,
 " Though pleafant; but thy words, with grace divine
 " Imbued, bring to their fweetnefs no fatiety."

Far. Loft, B. viii. 210.

HENRY J. TODD.

LONDON, April 14, 1809.

SOME ACCOUNT
or THE
LIFE AND WRITINGS
or
MILTON.



JOHⁿ MILTON, son of John and Sarah Milton, was born on the 9th of December 1608, at the house of his father, who was then an eminent scrivener in London, and lived at the sign of the Spread Eagle (which was the armorial ensign of the family) in Bread-street. The ancestry of the poet was highly respectable. His father was educated as a gentleman, and became a ^b member of Christ-Church, Oxford; in which society, as it may be presumed, he imbibed his attachment to the doctrines of the Reformation, and abjured the errors of Popery; in consequence of which, his father, who was a bigotted papist, disinherited him. The student therefore chose, for his support, the profession already mentioned; in the practice of which he became so successful as to be enabled to give his children the advantages of a polite education, and at length to retire with comfort into the country.

• " The xxth daye of December 1608 was baptized John, the sonne of John Mylton, scrivener." *Extract from the Register of Allhallows, Bread-street.*

^b See the first Note on Milton's Verses *Ad Patrem*.

The grandfather of the poet was under-ranger or keeper of the foreſt of Shotover, near Halton in Oxfordſhire; and probably reſided at the village of Milton in that neighbourhood, ' where the family of Milton, in remoter times, were diſtinguiſhed for their opulence; till, one of them having taken the unfortunate ſide in the civil wars of York and Lancaſter, the eſtate was ſequeſtered; and the proprietor was left with nothing but what he ^d held by his wife. There is a tradition ' that the poet had once reſided in this village, while he was Secretary to Cromwell.

The mother of Milton is ſaid by ^f Wood, from Aubrey, to have been a Bradſhaw; deſcended from a family of that name in Lancaſhire. Peck relates, that he was ^g informed ſhe was a Haughton of Haughton-tower in the ſame county. But Phillips, her grandſon, whoſe authority it is moſt reaſonable to admit, ^h affirms, in his Life of Milton, that (he was a *Caſton*, of a genteel family derived originally from

In the Keſtlers of Milton, as I have been obligingly informed by letter from the Rev. Mr. Jones, there are however no entries of the name of Milton. Phillips, Milton's nephew, ſays that the family reſided at Milton *near Abingdon* in *Oxfordſhire*, as appeared by the monuments then to be ſeen in Milton church. But *that Milton* is in *Berkſhire*; and Dr. Newton ſearched in vain for the monuments ſaid to exiſt in that church. The information of Wood is moſt probably correct, that they lived at 'Milton near Halton and Thame.

^a Phillips Life of Milton, 1694. p. iv.

^e Communicated to me by letter from Milton.

^f Faſti Ox, vol. i. p. 262, &c. chiefly taken, as Mr. Warton has obſerved, from Aubrey's manuſcript Life of Milton, preſerved in the Aſhmoſem Muſeum, Oxford.

^g Memoirs of Milton, 1740. p. 1.

^h Life of Milton, p.v.

Wales. Milton himself has¹ recorded, with, becoming reference to the respectability of his descent, the great esteem in which she was held for her virtues, more particularly for her charity.

His father was particularly distinguished for his musical abilities. He is said to have been a voluminous composer, and equal in science, if not in genius, to the best musicians of his age. Sir John Hawkins and Dr. Burney, in their Histories of Music, have each selected a specimen of his skill. He has been mentioned also by¹ Mr. Warton, as the author of *A five-fold Politician. Together with a five-fold precept of Policy.* Lond. 1609. But Mr. Hayley agrees with Dr. Farmer and Mr. Reed in assigning that work rather to John Melton, author of the *Astrologaster*, than to the father of our poet. Of his attachment to literature, however, the Latin verses of his son, addressed to him with no less elegance than gratitude, are an unequivocal proof. Perhaps it may again be confounding him with the author of the *Astrologaster*, in noticing the person who signs himself John Melton, citizen of London, at the close of a very indifferent Sonnet of fourteen lines, addressed to John Lane on his *Guy of Warwick*, which is preserved in the British Museum, and bears the date of licence for being printed in July 1617. This John Lane is the person whom Milton's nephew calls^m " a

¹ Londini sum, natus, geture honesto, patre viro integerrimo, matre prohatissima, et elemosynis per viciniam potissimum nota. *Defens.fec.* vol. iii. p. 95, edit. fol. 1698.

^k Dr. Burney's Hist. of Music, vol. iii. p. 134.

¹ See the Note on ver. 66. *Ad Patrem.*

^m Phillips's *Theatrum Poetarum*, 1675. p. 111.

fine old queen Elizabeth gentleman, who was living within his remembrance," and of whose poems he gives a very flattering character. The Sonnet is entitled " *In Poefis Laudem*," and is not worth citing. But a little poem, to which the mufick of the elder Milton's Madrigal is adapted, (whether the poetical as well as the mufical compofition be his or not,) is given ⁿ below, on account of the circumftance which occafioned it, (that of flattering a maiden queen on the verge of feventy,) as a curiofity.

The care, with which Milton was educated, fhows the ^o difcernment of his father. The bloom of genius was fondly noticed, and wifely encouraged. He was

ⁿ See the note on ver. 66. *Ad Patrem*. And Madrigales, viz. The Triumphes of Oriana, to 5 and 6 voices, compofed by diuers feuerall authors. Newly publifhed by Thomas Morley, Batcheler of Mufick, &c. 4to. Lond. 1601.

For 6. Voices. Mad. XVII I,
 Fayre Orian in the morne,
 Before the day was borne,
 With velvet fteps on ground
 Which made nor print nor found,
 Would fee hir nymphs abed,
 What lives thofe ladies led:
 The rofes blufhing fayd,
 O ftay thou ftiepherd's mayd:
 And on a fodain all
 They rofe and heard hir call.
 Then fang thofe fhepherds and nymphs of Diana,
 Long live faire Oriana !

The Annual Register of 1762 very erroneoufly refers to Milton's poem *Ad Patrem*, in order to fupport the following miftaken aflertion: " Ariofto often lamented, as Ovid and Petrarch did before him, "and our own Milton fince, that his father banifhed him from the Mufes." Characters, Life of Ariofto, p. 23. Milton's verfes to his father prove exactly the reverfe.

fo happy, fays Dr. Newton, as to fhare the advantages both of private and publick education. He was at firft inftructed, by private tuition, under ^p Thomas Young, whom Aubrey calls " a puritan in Effex who cutt his haire ihort;" who, having quitted his country ou account of his religious opinions, became Chaplain to the Englilh merchants at Ham-burgh; but afterwards returned, and during the ufurpation of Cromwell was mafter of Jefus College, Cambridge. Of the pupil's affection for his early tutor, his fourth elegy, and two Latin epiftles, are publick teftimonies. Mr. Hayley confiders the portrait of Milton by Cornelius Janfen, drawn when he was only ten years old, *at which age* Aubrey affirms " *he was a poet*," as having been executed in order to operate as a powerful incentive to the future exertion of the infant author. This fuppofition is very probable: And, as the portrait was drawn by a painter ^q then rifing into fame, and whole price for a

^p See the Notes at the beginning of Milton's fourth *Elegy*. If Milton imbibed from this inftructor, as Mr. Warton fup-pofes, the principles of puritanifm, it may be curious to remark that he never adopted from him the outward fymbol of the feft. Milton preferved his " clattering locks" throughout the reign of the *round-heads*. Wood, defcribing the *Seekers* who came to preach at Oxford in 1647, affords a proper commentary on Young's *cutting his hair fhort*. " The generality of them had mortified countenances, puling voices, and eyes commonly, when ki difcourfe, lifted up, with hands lying on their breafte. They moftly had *fhort hair*, which at this time was commonly called the *Committee cut*, &c." Fafti. Ox. vol. ii. p. 61.

^q Janfen's firft works in England are faid to be dated about 1618 ; the year, in which the young poet's portrait was drawn. See Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting, Works*, vol. iu. p. 149. edit, 1798,

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"whose genius was equal to a subject that tarried him beyond the limits of the world."

Few readers will be inclined to admit that Cowley and other poets have surpassed, in "products of vernal fertility," the efforts of Milton. Few will regard, without aversion, the unfair^x companion of Milton's juvenile effusions with those of Chatterton. Milton, as he is the most learned of modern poets, may perhaps retain his princely rank also in the list of those who have written valuable pieces at as early or an earlier age; and Politian, Tasso, Cowley, Metastasio, Voltaire, and Pope, may bow to him, "as to superior Spirits is due."

In the 17th year of his age, distinguished as a classical scholar, and conversant in several languages, he was sent, from St Paul's School, to Cambridge; and was^y admitted a Pensioner at Christ College on the 12th of February, 1624-5, under the tuition of Mr. William Chappel, afterwards Bishop of Cork and Ross in Ireland. Here he attracted particular notice by his academical exercises, as well as by several copies of verses, both Latin and English, upon occasional subjects. He neglected indeed no part of literature, although his chief object seems to have been the cultivation of his poetical abilities. "This good hap I had from a careful education," he says; "to be inured and seasoned betimes with the best

In the Biograph. Brit. vol. iv. p. 591. edit. Kippis.

¹ Johannes Milton, Londinensis, filius Johannis, institutus fuit in Literarum elementis sub Mag¹⁰ Gill, Gymnasi Paulini Præfecto, admissus est Pensionarius Minor Feb. 12°. 16²⁴, sub M¹⁰. Chappell, solvitque pro Ingr. 0.10. 8." *Extract from the College Register.*

and elegantest authors of the learned tongue?; and thereto brought an ear that could measure a just cadence, and scan without articulating; rather nice and humourous in what was tolerable, than patient to read every drawling versifier."

To his eminent skill, at this time, in the Latin tongue Dr. Johnson affords his tribute of commendation. " Many of his elegies appear to have been written in his eighteenth year; by which it appears that he had then read the Roman authors with nice discernment I once heard Mr. Hampton, the translator of Polybius, remark, what I think is true, that Milton was the first Englishman who, after the revival of letters, wrote Latin verses with classical elegance," Milton's Latin exercises, which he recited publicly, are also marked with characteristic animation. From some remarkable passages in these, as Mr. Hayley observes, it appears " that he was first an object of partial severity, and afterwards of general admiration, in his college. He had differed in opinion concerning a plan of academical studies with some persons of authority in his College, and thus excited their displeasure. He speaks of them as highly incensed against him; but expresses, with the most liberal sensibility, his surprise, delight, **and** gratitude, in finding that his enemies forgot their animosity to honour him with unexpected applause."

But incidents unfavourable to the character of Milton, while a student at Cambridge, have **been** positively asserted to be contained in his own words; and the poet has been summoned to prove his own flagellation and banishment in the following verses, in his first elegy:

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" Jam nec arundiferum mihi cura revifere Camum,

" Nee dudum vetiti me laris angit amor.—

" Nec duri libet ufque minus perferre Magiftri,

" CATERAQUE ingenio non fubeunda meo"

" Si fit hoc *exilium* patrias adiiffe penates,

" Et vacuum curis otia grata fequi,

" Non ego vel *profugi* nomen forteme recufo,

" Laetus et *exilii* conditio ne fruor."

On thefe lines I muft introduce Mr. Warton's ob-
fervation.

" The words *vetiti laris*, and afterwards *exilium*, will not fuffer us to determine otherwife, than that Milton was fenfenced to undergo a temporary removal or ruftication from Cambridge. I will not fuppofe for any immoral irregularity.

Dr. Bainbridge, the Mafter, is reported to have been a very active difciplinarian : and this lover of liberty, we may pre-
fame, was as little difpofed to fubmiffion and conformity in a college as in a ftate. When reprimanded and admonifhed, the pride of his temper, impatient of any fort of reproof, naturally broke forth into expreffions of contumely and contempt againft his governour. Hence he was punifhed. He is alfo laid to have been whipped at Canibridge. See *Life of Bathurft*, p.153. This has been reprobated and difcredited, as a moft extraordinary and improbable piece of feverity. But in thofe days of fimplicity and fubordination, of roughnefs and rigour, this fort of punifhment was much more common, and confequently by no means fo difgraceful and unfeemly for a young man at the univerfity, as it would be thought at prefent. We learn from Wood, that Henry Stubbe, a Student of Chrift Church, Oxford, afterwards a partifan of Sir Henry Vane, "fhewing himfelf too forward,

jnatical, and conceited/ was publickly whipped by the Cenfor in the college-hall. *Ath. Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 560. See alfo *Life of Bathurft*, p. 902. I learn from fome manufcript papers of Aubrey the antiquary, who was a ftudent of Trinity college Oxford, four years from 1642, ' that at Oxford and, I believe, at Cambridge, the rod was frequently tried by the

tutors and deans: and Dr. Potter, while a tutor of Trinity college, I knew right well, whipt his pupil with his fword by his fide, when he came to take his leave of him 'to ga to the inns of court.' In the Statutes of the faid college, given in 1556, the Scholars of the foundation are ordered to be whipped by the Deans, or Cenfors, even to their twentieth year. In the Univerfity Statutes at Oxford, compiled in 1685, ten years after Milton's admiffion at Cambridge, corporal punifhment is to be inflicted on boys under sixteen. We are to recollect, that Milton, when he went to Cambridge, was only a boy of fifteen^z. The author of an old pamphlet, *Regicides no Saints nor Martyrs*, fays that Hugh Peters, while at Trinity college, Cambridge, was publickly and officially whipped in the *Regent-walk* for his infolence, p. 81. 8vo.

" The anecdote of Milton's whipping at Cambridge, is told by Aubrey. MS. *Muf Afhm*. Oxon. Num. x. P. iii. From which, by the way, Wood's Life of Milton in the *Fujii Oxonienfes*, the firft and the ground-work of all the 'lives of Milton, was compiled. Wood fays, that he draws his account of Milton 'from his own mouth to my Friend, who was well acquainted with and had from him, and from his relations after his death, moft of this account of his life and writings following.' *Ath. Oxon.* vol. i. Fafti, p. 262. This *Friend* is Aubrey; whom Wood, in another place, calls credulous, 'roving and magotie-headed, and fometimes little better than crafed.' *Life of A. Wood*, p. 577. edit. Hearne, TA. *Caii Vind.* &c. vol. ii. This was after a quarrel. I know not that Aubrey is ever fantaftical, except on the fubjefts of cheraiftry and ghofts. Nor do I remember that his veracity was ever impeached. I believe he had much lefs credulity than Wood. Aubrey's *Monumenta Britannica* is a Very folid and rational work, and its judicious conjectures and obfervations have been approved and adopted by the beft modern antiquaries. Aubrey's manuscript Life contains fome anecdotes of Milton yet unpublished.

^z Mr. Warton is miftaken in this affertion. Milton, when he vent to Cambridge, was in his feventeenth year. But this will prefently be more largely confidered.

" But let us examine if the context will admit some other interpretation. *Cateraque*, the most indefinite and comprehensive of descriptions, may be thought to mean literary talks called impositions, or frequent compulsive attendances on tedious and unimproving exercises in a college-hall. But *catera* follows *minas*, and *perferre kerna*s to imply somewhat more than these inconveniences, something that was *suffered*, and severely felt. It has been suggested, that his father's economy prevented his constant residence at Cambridge; and that this made the college *far dudum vetitus*, and his absence from the university an *exilium*. But it was no unpleasing or involuntary banishment. He hated the place. He was not only offended at the college-discipline, but had even conceived a dislike to the face of the country, the fields about Cambridge. He peevishly complains, that the fields have no soft shades to attract the Muse; and there is something pointed in his exclamation, that Cambridge was a place quite incompatible with the votaries of Phœbus. Here a father's prohibition had nothing to do. He resolves, however, to forget all these disagreeable circumstances, and to return in due time. The dismissal, if any, was not to be perpetual. In these lines, *ingenium* is to be rendered temper, nature, disposition, rather than genius.

" Aubrey says, from the information of our author's brother Christopher, that Milton's 'first tutor there [at Christ's college] was Mr. Chappell, from whom receiving some unkindness, (he *whipt him*) he was afterwards, though it seemed against the rules of the college, transferred to the tuition of one Mr. Tovell², who dyed parson of Lutterworth.' MS. *Muf. Ashm.* ut suprà. This information, which stands detached from the body of Aubrey's narrative, seems to have been communicated to Aubrey, after Wood had seen his papers; it therefore does not appear in Wood, who never would otherwise have suppressed an anecdote which contributed in the

² It should be Tovey. I have seen the signature of his name to some resolutions of his college.

least degree to expose the character of Milton. I must here observe, that Mr. Chappell, from his original Letters, many of which I have seen, written while he was a fellow and tutor of Christ's College, and while Milton was there, and which are now in the possession of Mr. Moreton of Westham in Kent, by whom they have been politely communicated, appears to have been a man of uncommon mildness and liberality of manners,"

To the authority of the preceding remarks Dr. Johnson has implicitly subscribed; not without adding, however, that it may be conjectured, from the willingness with which the poet has perpetuated the memory of his exile, that its cause was such as gave him no shame.

That flagellation might be performed upon offenders at Cambridge, (as well as at Oxford,) the Statutes of that university will (show: That Milton suffered this public indignity, rests solely upon the testimony of Aubrey, which I am unable to controvert: But it is remarkable that it never should have been noticed by those who would have rejoiced in such an opportunity of exposing Milton to a little ridicule. Yet further. It is related by Mr. Warton, that, "in the University Statutes at Oxford, compiled in 1635, ten years after Milton's admission at Cambridge, corporal punishment is to be inflicted on boys *under fifteen*. We are to recollect, that Milton, when he went to Cambridge, was only a boy of *fifteen*." This is a mistake. Milton was in his *seventeenth*^b year, when he was admitted at Christ's College. And if the same exemption was granted

^b See the Extract from the College Register, p. 8.

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to boys of *fifteen* at Cambridge, as to those of the same age at Oxford, the flagellation of Milton becomes still less entitled to credit. One of the statutes of Christ's College, entitled Cap. 37. *De Lectoris Autoritate in Discipulos*, seems to countenance the supposition of similar exemption: After preferring that they, who absent themselves from certain Lectures, shall *be fined*, the Statute subjoins the following reservation; "*si tamen adultus fuerit; alioquin, virga corrigatur*"

The application also of *cetera* may be perhaps more *general* than Mr. Warton and Dr. Johnson have been pleased to consider it; instead of corporal punishment, it may suggest the idea of academical restrictions, to which a youth of Milton's genius could not submit; or merely of threats perhaps, which he thought he did not deserve; and, if he therefore acquiesced in a short exile from Cambridge, as some biographers suppose, it should seem that, by his admission to the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1628, he had incurred no loss of terms; which, rustication however must have occasioned, and which the Register of his College, or of the University, would probably have noticed. His reply to an enemy, who in the violence of controversy had asserted that he was expelled, may here be cited. "I must be thought if this libeller (for now he shews himself to be so) can find belief, after an inordinate and riotous youth spent at the' University, to have been at length vomited out thence. For which commodious

*
^c Apology for Smectymnus. Prose-Works, vol. i. p. 174, edit. 1698.

lye, **that** he may be encouraged in the trade another time, I thank him; for it hath given me an apt occasion to acknowledge publickly, with all gratefull mind, that *more than ordinary favour and respect* 'Which I found above any of my equals at the hands of those courteous and learned men, the fellows of the College wherein I spent some years; who at my parting, after I had taken two degrees, as the manner is, signified many ways, how much better it would content them that I would stay; as by many letters, full of kindness and loving respect, both before that time, and long after, I was allured of their lingular good affection towards me." And still more pointedly in another place: ^d "Pater me—*Cantabrigiam* misit: *Illic* disciplinis atque artibus traditis septennium studui; *procul onpii fagatio*, bonis omnibus probatus, usque dum magistri, quern vocant, gradum, &c."

To oblige one of the fellows, his friends so affectionately noticed, he wrote, in 1628, the comital verses, entitled *Naturamnonpatifemur*. I mention this in order to obviate a remark made by Dr. Johnson, that the poet countenanced an opinion, prevalent in his time, "that the world was in **its** decay, and that we had the misfortune to be produced in the decrepitude of nature." In the preceding year the following very learned work had been published, "An Apologie or Declaration of the Power and Providence of God in the Government of the World, by George Hakewill, D. D. **and** Archdeacon of Surrey, 1637." The young poet, I

conceive, had been much pleased with this excellent work, which refutes, with particular felicity of argument, the absurdity of supposing nature impaired. This forgotten folio has found an able advocate in modern days. " They," says Dr. Warton,^e " whom envy, malevolence, discontent, or disappointment, have induced to think, that the world is totally degenerated, and that it is daily growing worse and worse, would do well to read a sensible, but too much neglected, treatise of an old Divine, written in ^f 1630, Hakewill's Apology &c." This work was commended by Archbishop^g Usher. A truly amiable and learned author, it may here be added, to whom the literature of this country is peculiarly indebted, has closed his *Philological Inquiries* with a chapter, well calculated, like the animated lines of Milton, to banish the timid and unbenevolent idea of nature's decrepitude.

Milton was designed by his parents, and once in his own resolutions, for the Church. But his subsequent unwillingness to engage in the office of a minister was communicated to a friend in a letter; (of which two draughts exist in^h manuscript;) with which he sent his impressive Sonnet, *On his being arrived at the age of twenty three*. The truth is,

^e Pope's Works, edit. 1797. vol. iv. p. 319.

^f This is the *second* edition of the work, which Dr. Warton seems not to have known.

^g See a Letter from Dr. Hakewill to Archbishop Usher, in the Life and Letters of Usher by R. Parr, D.D. fol. 1686. Letters, p. 398.

^h See Birch's Life of Milton, Dr. Newton's edit. of Milton, Sonnet vii. General Dictionary, 1738, vol. vii. And Biograph. Brit. 1760, vol. v. Art. *Milton*, where they are printed.

says Dr. Newton, he had conceived early prejudices against the doctrine and discipline of the Church. This, no doubt, was a disappointment to his friends, who though in comfortable were yet by no means in great circumstances. Nor does he seem to have been disposed to any profession. It is certain **that** he also declined the ⁱ Law. He had probably read, with no (light attention, the conduct of Taffo, as described by the noble biographer to whom he has addressed his admired eclogue :

“ ^k II qual poema [il Rinaldo] mando egli fuori per voler del Cardinal Luigi da Elle ; e con poco piacer di suo padre; il quale non haurebbe ciò per due ragioni desiderato. Primieramente percioche, Bernardo non rimaneua appagato, che ranimo del giouanetto s'appigliasse alla piacevolezza della poesia, perche non deuiaffe (come aduienne) dallo studio delle leggi dal qual' egli speraua maggiori comodi con l'effempio in contrio di se medesimo, che per molto, e per bene c' faueffe, &, in versi, & in prosa saputo scriuere, non potette giammai pero auanzare la mezzanità della sua fortuna ne difenderfi dalla rea: nella qual cosa malageuolmente Torquato l'obediua, tirato altroue dal proprio genio, come ne' versi che seguono dietro a que' che detti habbiamo, si legge:

Ad altri Audi, onde poi speme hauea
Di riftorar d'auuerfa forte i danni,

¹ His contempt of the Law, as well as of the Church, is pretty strongly marked. See the Note *Ad, Pat rem*, ver. 71. To the ecclesiastical lawyers he has shown no mercy; but alludes to "chancellours and suffragans, delegates and officials, with all the *kell'pestering* rabble of sumners and apparitors," in the very spirit of Quevedo. See his *Animadversions*, &c. Prose-Works, vol. i. p. 159. edit 1698.

^k Vita di Torq. Taffo, scritta da G. B. Manfo, 12^{mo} Venet. 1621, p. 32, 33.

Ingrati ftudi, dal cui pondo oppreffo,
Giaccio ignoto ad altrui graue a me fteffo."

Rinaldo, Canto 12. ft. 90.

Dr. Newton thinks that he had too free a fpirit to be limited and confined; that he was for comprehending all fcience, but profeffing none. His conduct; however, on thefe occafions is a proof of the fincerity with which he had refolved to deliver his fentiments. ¹" For me, I have determined to lay up as the beft treafure and folace of a good old age, if God vouchfafe it me, the honeft liberty of free fpeech from my youth."

Having taken the degree of ^mM. A. in 1632, he left the univerfity, and retired to his father's houfe in the country; who had now quitted bufinefs, and lived at an eftate which he had purchafed at Horton near Colnebrooke, in Buckinghamfhire. Here he refided five years; in which time he not only, as he himfelf informs us, read over the Greek and Latin authors, particularly the hiftorians, but is alfo believed to have written his *Arcades*, *Comus*, *L'Allegro*, *Il Penferofo*, and *Lycidas*. The pleafant retreat in the country excited his moft poetick feelings; and he has proved himfelf able, in his pictures of rural life, to rival the works of Nature which he contemplated with delight. In the neighbourhood of Horton the Countefs Dowager of Derby refided; and the *Arcades* was performed by her grand-children at this feat, called Harefield-place. It feems to me, that

¹ Profe-Works, vol. i. p. 220. edit. 1698.

^m He was admitted to the fame degree at Oxford in 1635. See Wood, Fafti, vol. i. p. 262.

Milton intended a compliment to his fair neighbour, (for "fair Ihe was,) in his *L'Allegro*:

" Towers and battlements it fees
 " Bofom'd high in tufted trees,
 " Where perhaps fome Beauty lies,
 " The Cynofure of neighbouring eyes."

The woody fcenery of ° Harefield, and the perfonal accomplifhments of the Countefs, are not unfavourr able to this fuppofition; which, if admitted, tends to confirm the opinion, that *L'Allegro* and *Il Penfero/o* were compofed at Horton.

The Mafk of *Comus*, and *Lycidas*, were certainly produced under the roof of his father. It may be obferved that, after his retirement to private ftudy, he paid great attention, like his matter Spenfer, to the Italian fchool of poetry. Dr. Johnfon obferves, that his acquaintance with the Italian writers may be difcovered by the mixture of longer and fhorter verfes in *Lycidas*, according to the rules of Tufcan poetry." In *Comus* alfo the fweet rhythm and cadence of the Italian language are no lefs obfervable. I muft here obferve that the houfe, in which Milton drew fuch enchanting fcenes, was about^p ten years fince pulled down; and that, during his refidence at Horton, he had occasionally taken lodgings in London, in order to cultivate mufick and mathematicks, to meet his friends from Cambridge, and to indulge his paffion for books.

ⁿ See the preliminary Notes to. *Arcades*, and alfo the poem, ver. 14, &c.

^o See Lyfons's *Middlefex*, 3 800. *Harefield*, p. 108,

^p As I have been obligingly informed by letter from the pre-fent Rector of Horton.

It seems to have been the notion, however, of the late Sir .William Jones, that we are indebted, not to **Horton**, but to Forest Hill, for Milton's descriptive pictures of the country. That accomplished scholar **has** thus delivered his opinion in a letter to Lady Spencer, dated from Oxford, 7. Sept. 1769.

"^q The necessary trouble of correcting the first printed sheets of my history, prevented me to-day from paying a proper respect to the memory of Shakspeare, by attending his jubilee. But I was resolved to do all the honour in my power to as great a poet; and set out in the morning in company with a friend to visit a place, where Milton spent some part of his life, *and where, in all probability, he composed several of his earliest productions.* It is a small village on a pleasant hill, about three miles from Oxford, called Forest Hill, because it formerly lay contiguous to a forest, which has since been cut down. The poet chose this place of retirement after his first marriage, and he describes the beauties of his retreat, in that fine passage of his L'Allegro *

Sometime walkings not unfeen,
By hedge-row elms, on hillocks green,—
While the plowman near at hand,
Whittles o'er the furrow'd land,
And the milk-maid fingeth blithe,
And the mower whets his fithe.
And every shepherd tells his tale
Under the hawthorn in the dale.
Straight mine eye hath caught new pleasure,
Whilst the landkip round it measures ;
Ruffet lawns, and fallows gray,
Where the nibbling flocks do stray
Mountains, on whose barren bread
The labouring clouds do often rest;

* Lord Teignmouth's Life of Sir William Jones, 8vo. edit. p. 83.

Meadows trim with daifies pide,
 Shallow brooks, and rivers wide :
 Towers and battlements it fees
 Bofom'd high in tufted trees—
 Hard by, a cottage chimney fmoaks,
 From betwixt two aged oaks, 8tc.

" It was neither the proper feafon of the year, nor time of the day, to hear all the rural founds, and fee all the objects mentioned in this defcription ; but, by a pleafing concurrence of circumftances, we were faluted, on our approach to the village, with the mufic of the mower and his fcythe; we faw the ploughman intent upon his labour, and the milk-maid returning from her country employment.

" As we afcended the hill, the variety of beautiful objects, the agreeable ftillnefs and natural limplicity of the whole fcene, gave us the higheft pleafure. We at length reached the fpot, *whence Mi/ton undoubtedly took moft of his images*; it is on the top of the hill, from which there is a moft extenfiive profpect on all fides: the diftant mountains that feemed to fupport the clouds, the villages and turrets, partly (haded with trees of the fincft verdure, and partly raifed above the groves that funounded them, the dark plains and meadows of a greyifti colour, where the flieep were feeding «t large, in fliort, the view of the fstreams and rivers, convinced us that there was not a Angle ufelefs or idle word in the above-mentioned defcription, but that it was a moft exact and lively leprcfentation of nature. Thus will this fine paffage, which has always been admired for its elegance, receive an additional beauty from its exaftnefs. After we had walked, with a kind of poetical enthuliaftn, over this enchanted ground, we returned to the village.

" The poet's house was clofe to the church ; the greateft part of it has been pulled down; and what remains, belongs to an adjacent farm. I am informed that feveral papeis in Milton's own hand, "were found by the gentleman who was left in poffeffion of the eftate. The tradition of his having live there is current among the villagers: one of them

fhewed us a ruinous wall that made part of his chamber, and I was much pleafed with another who had forgotten the name of Milton, but recollected him by the title of The Poet.

" It muft not be omitted, that the groves near this village are famous for nightingales, which are fo elegantly defcribed in the *Penferofo*. Moft of the cottage windows are overgrown with fweet-briars, vines, and honey-fuckles; and, that Milton's habitation had the fame ruftick ornament, we may conclude from his defcription of the lark bidding him good-morrow,

Through the fweet-briar or the vine,
Or the twifted eglantine ;

for it is evident, that he meant a fort of honey-fuckle by the eglantine; though that word is commonly ufed for the fweet-briar, which he could not mention twice in the fame couplet.

" If ever I pafs a month or fix weeks at Oxford in the fummer, fhall be inclined to hire and repair this venerable manfion, and to make a feftival for a circle of friends, in honour of Milton, the moft perfect fcholar, as well as the finblimeft poet, that our country ever produced. Such an honour will be lefs fplendid, but more fincere and refpectful, than all the pomp and ceremony on the banks of the Avon.

" I have the honour, Sec."

That Milton refided at Foreft Hill, I am ready to admit; but at periods, I conceive, far diftant from the compofition of *L'Allegro* and *II Penferofo*. The tradition that he did reside at this beautiful and beautifully defcribed village, is indeed^r general;

* Madame du Bocage, in her entertaining *Letters concerning England*, &c. relates that, vifiting, in June 1750, Baron Schutz and Lady at their houfe near Shot over Hill, " they fhewed me from a fmall eminence *Milton's houfe*, to which I bowed with all the reverence with which that poet's memory infpires me."

though none of his biographers assert the circumstance. But Sir William Jones represents him to have chosen this place of retirement, 'after *Ms* *marriage*. Now Milton, we find, was not married before 1643, at which time he was in his thirty-fifth year; when, about Whitfuntide or a little after, " he ' took a journey," says his nephew Philips, " into the country; nobody about him certainly knowing the reason, or that it was more than a journey of recreation: after a month's stay, home he returns a married man that went out a bachelor; his wife being Mary, the eldest daughter of Mr. Richard Powell, then a justice of peace, of *Forethil*, near Shotover, in' Oxfordshire." Anthony Wood relates also, that Milton courted, married, and brought his wife to his house in London, *in one month's time*; and that she was very young. She continued, however, but a few weeks with her husband, and returned to Forethill. Milton, as we shall presently see, disdained to follow her thither. But, after their reconciliation, it is probable that they were allowed by her father, who, I am ^x informed, possessed another mansion in the neighbourhood, the occasional occupation of this retreat. Or, after the seizure of it by the rebels in 1646, Milton, we may easily believe, possessed sufficient interest to obtain the restitution of it to his father-in-law, (whose affairs he is indeed said " to have accommodated with the ruling party, and who is supposed to have quitted in 1647 the protection which Milton's house afforded him in London,) from whom he might subsequently receive a

s Life of Milton, p. xxii.

t By T. B. Richards, Esq. whose intelligence is presently given.

u See Milton's narration in a subsequent page.

grant of it. However, this concedes nothing to the assertion of *L' Allegro* being composed at Forest Hill. No. The early poems of Milton were written, I apprehend, long before the date of his first marriage; and, as I have ^x already stated, most probably at Horton; a point in which Mr. Hayley concurs with me, at least in respect to *L' Allegro* and *Il Penferqfo*. In the collection of these poems into a volume, which was published by Moseley in 1645, and of which more will presently be said, *L' Allegro* and *Il Penferqfo* precede both *Lycidas* and *Comus* in the arrangement; both of which refer to matters of a much earlier date than 1640. But, not to insist on this circumstance, Moseley in his Address to the Reader, says, " ^y The author's more peculiar excellency in these studies was too well known to conceal his papers, or to keep me from attempting to solicit them from hint." So that Milton, we see, had concealed these papers, till he was solicited to permit them, with *Lycidas* and *Comus* already printed, to appear in one volume. I must observe also that Milton tells his friend Rouse, in presenting to him this collection of his poems, that they were the productions of his ² early youth.

Milton, however, might compose at Forest Hill part of his *later productions*. Mr. Warton has asserted

x See before, pp. 18, 19, and my Preliminary Notes to *L' Allegro* and *Il Penferqfo*.

y Milton's Poems, ed. 1645, 12^{me} fig. a. 4.

z " Gemelle cultu (implici gaudens liber,

" Fronde licet gemina,

" Munditieque nitens lion operosa;

" Quern manus attuht

" Juvenilis olim,

" Sedula tamen haud nimii poetæ, &c."

that he did. I mention this on the authority of a^a gentleman, whose information indeed will highly interest our curiosity, but at the same time excite our sorrow.

"Milton married a daughter of Justice Powell, (of Sandford in the vicinity of Oxford,) and lived in a house at Forest Hill, about three miles from Sandford; where, the late laureate Warton told me, Milton wrote a great part of his *Paradise Lost*. Warton found a number of papers of Milton's own writing in that house, and also many of Justice^b Powell's; which the late Mr. Crewe (father to the late Viscountess Falmouth) permitted him to take, and make what use of them he thought proper. The late Mr. Mickle translated part of Camoens's *Lusiad* in the same house, he being at the time I visited him a lodger in that house. Mr. Mickle married the daughter of Mr. Tomkins a farmer, the tenant to Mr. Crewe. The time I allude to of visiting my worthy friend Mickle was in 1772 and 1773. And my conversations, had with Mr. Warton and Mr. Crewe, were from 1781 to 1786."

Our sorrow cannot but be excited, when it is added that of Milton's papers no regular account appears to have been taken, and no description has been given. The^c biographers of Warton and Mickle will be consulted in vain on this subject.

A pretended romantick circumstance in Milton's younger days has been publicly mentioned, which has been supposed to have formed the first impulse of his Italian journey. In the General Evening Post

^a Thomas B. Richards, Esq. One of the Sub-Commissioners under the present Record Commission for England.

^b See Mr. Warton's Notes on the Nuncupative Will of Milton, subjoined to this account of the Life and Writings of the poet.

^c The Rev. R. Mant's Life of T. Warton, and the Rev. J. Sims's Life of W. J. Mickle, prefixed to the Poetical Works of those authors.

in the Spring of 1789 it is supposed to have appeared; in which, or in any other journal, however, I had not been so fortunate, before the first edition of this account was published, as to discover it. The anecdote has since been obligingly, transmitted to me, exactly as it appeared in a News-paper, (the Italian citation only being here corrected,) of which the date does not appear; and for which I am indebted,, through my friend Mr. Bindley, to M. Whiit, Esq,

" Believing that the following real circumstance has been but little noticed, we submit the particulars of it, as not uninteresting, to the attention of our readers :—It is well known that, in the bloom of youth, and when he pursued his studies at Cambridge, this poet was extremely beautiful. Wandering, one day, during the summer, far beyond the precincts of the University, into the country, he became so heated and fatigued, that, reclining himself at the foot of a tree to rest, he shortly fell asleep. Before he awoke, two ladies, who were foreigners, passed by in a carriage. Agreeably astonished at the loveliness of his appearance, they alighted, and having admired him (as they thought) unperceived, for some time, the youngest; who was very handsome, drew a pencil from her pocket, and having written some lines upon a piece of paper, put it with her trembling hand into his own. Immediately afterwards they proceeded on their journey. Some of his acquaintances, who were in search of him, had observed this Silent adventure, but at too great a distance to discover that the highly-favoured party in it was our illustrious bard. Approaching nearer, they saw their friend, to whom, being awakened, they mentioned what had happened. Milton opened the paper, and, with surprise, read these verses from Guarini: [Madrigal xii. ed. 1598.]

" *Occhi, flette mortali,*
 " *Minifire de min malt,—*
 " *Se chiufi ni uccidete,*
 " *Aperti che farete?"*

" Ye eyes! ye human ftars! ye authors of my liveliest pangs! If thus, when fhut, ye wound me, what muft have proved the consequence had ye been open?" Eager, from this moment, to find out the fair *incognita*, Milton travelled, but in vain, through every part of Italy. His poetick fervour became inceffantly more and more heated by the idea which he had formed of his unknown admirer; and it is, in fome degree, to *her* that his own times, the prefent times, and the lateft pofterity muft feel themselves indebted for feveral of the moft impaffioned and charming compositions of the Paradife Loft."

The preceding highly coloured relation, however, is not lingular. My friend Mr. Walker points out to me a counterpart in the following Extraâct from the Preface to Poefies de Marguerite-Eleanore Clotilde, depuis Madame de Surville, Poète Francois du XV. Siecle. Paris, 1803.

" Juftine de Lévis fe promenoit dans une forfet avec deux de fes parentes; elles appergurent un jeune chevalier endormi. Sa beauté frappe les trois jeunes amies; Juftine furtout en regut une im predion qui ne s'effaca jamais. Elle ne put s'empfecher de depofe fes talletes aupres du bel inconnu, après y avoir écrit *quatre vers Italiens* qui fermoient une efpece de declaration; elle s'eloigna enfuite avec fes compagnes. On peut juger de l'etonnement du chevalier lorsqu' a fon reveil il trouva ces tablettes et lut ce qu'elles contenoient. Louis de Puytendre (c'etoit fon nom) ne s'occupa plus que de la recherche de l'incounue: il parcourut inutilement l'Italie enlire; il eut diverfes aventuies, &c."

Though credence will hardly be granted to the anecdote refpecting Milton, obligation is due to him who publifhed it; inafmuch as the publication occafioned it to be clothed in the following elegant drefe:

In fultry noon when youthful MILTON lay

Supinely ftretch'd beneath the poplar (shade,

Lur'd by his Form, a fair Italian Maid

Steals from her loitering chariot to furvey

The (lumbering charms, that all her foul betray.
 Then, as coy fears th' admiring gaze upbraid,
 Starts;—and theſe lines, with hurried pen pourtray'd,
 Slides in his half-clos'd hand;—and ſpeeds away—
 Ye eyes, ye human ftars!—if, thus conceal'd
 By ſleep's ſoft veil, ye agitate my heart,
 Ah ! what had been its conflict if reveal'd'
 Your rays had ſhone !—Bright Nymph, thy drains impart
 Hopes, that impel the graceful Bard to rove,
 Seeking through Tufcan Vales his viſionary Love,
 He found her not;—yet much the Poet found,
 To ſwell imagination's golden ſtore,
 On Arno's bank, and on that bloomy ſhore,
 Warbling Parthenope; in the wide bound,
 Where Rome's forlorn Campania ſtretches round
 Her ruin'd towers and temples ;—claſſick lore
 Breathing ſublimer ſpirit from the power
 Of local conſciouſneſs —Thrice happy wound.
 Given by his ſleeping graces, as the Fair,
 Hung over them enamour'd, the delire
 Thy fond reſult inſpir'd, that wing'd him there,
 Where breath'd each Roman and each Tufcan lyre,
 Might haply fan the emulative flame,
 That roſe o'er DANTE'S ſong, and rivall'd MARO'S fame i
Original Sonnets, &c. by Anna Seward, 1799, p. 76.

On the death of his mother in 1637, he prevailed
 with his father to permit him to viſit the continent
 This permiffion Mr. Hayley ſuppoſes to have been
 " the more readily granted, as one of his motives
 for viſiting Italy was to form a collection of Italian
 muſick." His nephew Phillips indeed relates, that,
 while at Venice, he ſhipped a parcel of curious and
 rare books which he had collected in his travels;
 particularly a cheſt or two of choice muſick-books of
 the beſt maſters flouriſhing about that time in Italy.
 Having obtained ſome directions for his travels from

Sir Henry Wotton, to whom he had communicated his^d earnest desire of seeing foreign countries, he went in 1638, attended with a single servant, to Paris; where, by the favour of Lord Scudamore, he was introduced to Grotius. Of this interview, although the numerous letters of Grotius afford no trace, Milton's nephew gives the following account; Grotius took the visit kindly, and gave him entertainment suitable to his worth and the high commendations he had heard of him.

Having been presented, by Lord Scudamore, with letters of recommendation to the English merchants in the several places through which he intended to travel, he went, after staying a few days in Paris, directly to Nice, where he embarked for Genoa. From Genoa he proceeded to Leghorn, Pisa, and Florence. The delights of Florence detained him there two months. His compositions and conversation were so much admired, that he was a most welcome guest in the academies, (as in Italy the meetings of the most polite and ingenious persons are denominated,) held in that city. He has affectionately recorded the^c names of these Italian friends;

⁴ See Sir Henry Wotton's Letter to him, and the Notes prefixed to *Comus* in this edition.

^c " Tui enim Jacobe Gaddi, Carole Dati, Frefcobalde Cullentine, Bommatthaeae, Clementille, Francine, aliorumque plurium memoriam apud me semper gratam, atque jucundam, nulla dies delebit." *Defens. fec. Prose-Works*, vol. iii. p. 96. edit. 1698. It is to one of these friends that he professes his love of the Italian language. " Ego certè istis utrifque Unguis [Greek and Latin] non extremis tanturamodd labris madidus; fed, fiquis alius, "quantum per annos licuit, poculis majoribus prolutus, possum tamen nonnunquam ad ilium *Dantem*, et *Petrarcam*, alioqut

and has expreffed his obligations to their honourable diftintions, Dati ^f prefented him with a Latin eulogy; and Francini with an Italian ode. A few years fince, Mr. Brand accidentally difcovered on a book-ftall, a manufcript which he purchafed, entitled *La Tina*, by Antonio Malatefti, not yet enumerated, feys ^g Mr. Warton, among Milton's friends. It is dedicated by the author to John Milton while at Florence. Mr. Brand gave it to Mr. Hollis, who, in 1758, fent it together with Milton's works, both in poetry and profe, and his Life by Toland, to the Academy Delia Crufca. The manufcript, as Mr. Warton obferves, would have been a greater curiofity in England. Milton became acquainted alfo with the celebrated Galileo, whom many biographers have reprefented as in prifon when the poet vifited him. But Mr. Walker has informed me that Galileo was never a prifoner *in* the inquisition at Florence, although a prifoner *of* it. On his arrival at Route on February the 10th, 1632, that illuftrious philofopher had furrendèred himfelf to Urban, who ordered him to be confined for his philofophical herefy in the

veftros compufculos, libenter et cupide comeffatum ire." Epift. B. Bommathceo. Profe-Works, vol. iii. p. 325. ed. 1698.

^f Rolli has made the following remark on the commendatory notices of his countrymen. " Offerviffi nelle lodi dagl' Italiani date a quefto grand Uomo ; com' effi fin d' allora fcorgevano in lui l' alta forza d' Ingegno che lo portava al primo Auge di gloria letteraria nel fuo Secolo e nella fua Nazione; e gliene facevano gli avverati Prognoftici." Vita di Milton, 1735. Dennis pays much compliment to the difcernment of the Italians who difcovered, while Milton was among them, his great and growing genius. See his Original Letters, &c. 1721, vol. i. p. 78, 80.

^s Milton's Smaller Poems, 2d edit. p. 555. But Milton mentions *this* friend in a letter to Carlo Dati, Epift. Fam. x.

palace of the Trinità de' Monti. Here he remained five months. Having retracted his opinion, he was dismissed from Rome; and the house of Monfignor Piccolomini in Sienna was assigned to him as his prison. ' About the beginning of December, in 1633, he was liberated; and returned to the village of Belloguardo near Florence, whence he went to Arcetri, where, it is probable, he received the visit of the English bard. Milton himself has informed us that he had really seen Galileo; and Rolli, in his Life of the poet,^h considers some ideas in the *Paradise Lost*, approaching towards the Newtonian philosophy, to have been caught at Florence from Galileo or his disciples.

From Florence he passed through Sienna to Rome, where he also stayed two months; feasting, as Dr. Newton well observes, both his eyes and his mind, and delighted with the fine paintings, and sculptures, and other rarities and antiquities, of the city. It has been judiciously conjectured, that several of the immortal works of the finest painters and statuary may be traced in Milton's poetry. They are supposed by Mr. Hayley to have had considerable influence in attaching his imagination to our first parents. " He had most probably contemplated them, the elegant writer continues, " not only in the colours of Michael Angelo, who decorated Rome with his picture of the creation, but in the marble of Bandinelli, who had executed two large statues of Adam and Eve, which, though they were far from satisfying the taste of con-

^h " In Firenze certamente egli apprese dagli Scritti e dalle Maffime del Galileo invalorite già ne' di lui Saguaci, quelle Nozioni filosofiche sparfe poi pel Potema, che tanto si uniformano al Siftema del Cavalier Newton." Vita, &c. 1735..

noisseurs, might stimulate even by their imperfections the genius of a poet" The description of the creation in the third book of *Paradise Lost*, (ver. 708, 719,) is supposed by ⁱ Mr. Walker to be copied from the same subject as treated by Raphael in the gallery of the Vatican, called "La Bibbia di Raffaello." There are indeed several interesting pictures relating to Adam and Eve in the Florence collection, together with "the fall of Lucifer" supposed to be the work of Michael Angelo, which Milton might have also seen, Mr. Dunster ingeniously ^k conjectures the *Paradise Regained* to have been enriched by the suggestions of Salvator Rosa's masterly painting of *The Temptation*. The genius of Milton seems indeed to have resembled more particularly that of Michael Angelo. It is worthy of notice, as it shows a strong coincidence of taste in the poet and the painter, that Michael Angelo was particularly struck with Dante; and that he is said to have ^l sketched with a pen, on the margin of his copy of the *Inferno*, every striking scene of the terrible and the pathetical; but this valuable curiosity was unfortunately lost in a shipwreck. The learned author of "Tableaux tires de l'Iliade, de l'Odysee d'Homere, et de l'Eneide de Virgile," was never more mistaken than in supposing the *Paradise Lost* incapable of supplying an artist with scenes as graceful and sublime as can be met with in the poems of the Grecian and Roman bards: for, in the words of Mr. Hayley, there is no charm exhibited by painting, which Milton's poetry has failed to equal,

ⁱ Hift. Mem. on Italian Tragedy, p. 166.

V Addition to his edit, of *Par. Reg.* 1800.

^l See "A Sketch of the Lives and Writings of Dante and Petrarch, 1790." p. 31.

as far as analogy between the different arts can extend. Indeed the numerous exercifes for the painter's fkill, which Milton's works afford, have, in later times, commanded due attention; and Fufeli, by his happy (ketches from fuch originals, has taught us how to admire poetry and painting " breathing *united force*"

At Rome Milton was honoured with the acquaintance of feveral learned men, more efpecially with that of Holftenius, keeper of the Vatican library. By him he was introduced to Cardinal Barberini, the ^w patron Cardinal of the Englifh; who, at an entertainment of mufick, performed at his own ex-+

^m, T loam from the manufcript of Dr. Bargrave, (preferred in the Libiary of Canterbury Cathedral,) of which an ample account is given in my Note on Milton's Epigram to Chnftina, Queen of Sweden, that, " at Home, euery forraigne Nation, hath fome Cardinall or other to be then *peculiar Gardian* : when I was 4 feucrall times at Rome," fays Dr. Bargrave, " this Cardinall Barberini was *Gardian to the Errghjh*." Headds, " Whea I was at Rome with the Earle of Chefterfield, then under my tuition, 1650, at a yeare of Jubile, this Cardinall (formerly kinde to mo) would not admitt my lord or myfelfe to any audience, though, in eleuen months time, tryed feuerall times : and I heard that it was, becaufe that wo had recommendatory letters from our Queen Mother to Cardinall Cappomus, and another from the Dutchefts of Sauoy to Cardinall Penzirolo ; and no letters to him, *who was the Englifh (I fay REBELLS) Protector*; and that we vifited them before him."

ⁿ See the notes on Milton's poem, *Ad Leonoram Roma canentem*; in the firft of which, it is related by Mr. Warton that Milton heard the accomplifhed Leonora Baroni fing at the concerts of this Cardinal, and that there is a volume of Greek, Latin, Italian, French, and Spanifh poems, printed *at Rome, in praife* of this lady. I have fought in vain for this curious volume; as have two or three literary friends, both abroad and at home. I muft obferve however that this book is defcribed, in the Barberini collodion, as printed *at Bracciano*. Index Bib. Barberin. fol. 1681. tom. i. p, 114.

pence, waited for him at the door, and condescended to lead him into the assembly. Milton did not forget the extraordinary civilities of this accomplished Cardinal. In thanking Holftenius afterwards for all his favours to him, he adds ° " De cætero, novo beneficio devinxeris, si ^p *Eminentissimum* Cardinalem quanta potest observantia meo nomine salutes, cujus magnæ virtutes, rectique studium, ad provehendas item omnes artes liberales egregie comparatum, semper mihi ob oculos verfatur." At Rome aliò, Selvaggi and Salfilli praised the attainments of Milton in those verses, which are prefixed to his Latin poetry.

· He next removed to Naples, in company with a hermit; to whom Milton owed his introduction to

° Lit. Lucæ Holftenio, dat. Florent. Mart. 30. 1639, *Prose-Works*, vol. iñ. p. 327. edit. 1698.

P Milton, it may be observed, is careful not to omit the *title* first applied to the Cardinals by Barberini: since whose time, Dr. Bargrave relates, " the title of *Padrone* continueth to the Pope's chiefe Nephew, and the title of *Eminenza* to all the Cardinals. Indeed the authority which Urban VIII. gave to Francisco [Barberini, his eldest Nephew,] was *not ordinary*; for he thought it not enough to give the powre, except he gave it the variety and title of *Padrone*, that is, Mailer and Lord, a title never heard of before at Rome. But Urban had nothing in his mouth but the *Cardinall Padrone*: Where is the *Cardinall Padrone*? Call the *Cardinall Padrone*: Speake to the *Cardinall Padrone*: Nothing was heard of but the *Cardinall Padrone*; which the embassidors of Princes did not like, saying they had no *Padrone* but the Pope himselfe. Howcuer their [the Barberinis'] ambition played not at this title: they took exceptions of the quality of *Illusterrimo*, with which hitherto the Cardinals had bin content for so many ages. The title of *Excellency* belonging to *soveraine Princes* in Italy, they strove to find out something that should not be inferior to it; and, canvassing many titles, at length they pitched upon *Eminency*, which the Princes hearing of, they took upon, themselves the title of *Highness*." MS, as before.

the patron of Taffo, Manfo, marquis 'of Villa, a nobleman diftinguifhed by his virtue and his learning. To this eminent perfon he was obliged in many important inftances; and, as a teftimony of gratitude, he prefented to him, at his departure from Naples, his beautiful eclogue, entitled *Manfus*; which Dr. Johnfon acknowledges muft have raifed in the noble Italian an high opinion of Englifh elegance and literature. Manfo likewife has addreffed a diftich to Milton, which is prefixed to the Latin poems.

From Naples Milton intended to proceed to Sicily and Athens:

" Countries," as Mr. Warton has excellently obferved, ' " connected with his finer feelings, interwoven with his poetical ideas, and impreffed upon his imagination by his habits of leading, and by long and intimate converfe with the Grecian literature. But fo prevalent were his patriotick attachments, that, hearing in Italy of the commencement of the national quarrel, inftead of proceeding forward to feaft his fancy with the contemplation of fcenes familiar to Theocritus and Homer, the pines of Etna and the • paftures of Peneus, he abruptly changed his courfe, and haftily returned home to plead the caufe of ideal liberty. Yet in this chaos of controverfy, amidft endlefs difputes concerning religious and political reformation, independency, prela-), tithes, toleration, and tyranny, he fometimes feems to have heaved a figh for the peaceable enjoyments of lettered folitude, for his congenial purfuits, and the more mild and ingenuous exercifes of the mulè. In a Letter to Henry Oldenburgh, written in 1654, he fays, ' ' Hoc cum libertatis adverfariis inopinatum certamen, *diverfis* longe et *amœnioribus* omnino me ftudiis intētum, ad fe rapuit *invitum*'. And in one of his profe-tracts, • ^c I may one day hope to have ye again in a

^q Preface to his Edition of the Smaller Poems,

^r Profe-Works, vol. iii. p. 330. ed. 1698.

• Apol. Smectymn. 1642.

ftill time, when there fhall be no Chiding. Not in thefe Noifes.' And in another, having mentioned fome of his fchemes for epick poetry and tragedy, ' of higheft hope and hardeft attempting' he adds, ' With what fmall vullingneii I endure to interrupt the purfuit of no lefs hopes than thefe, and leave a calm and pleafing folitarinefle, fed with chceiful and confident thoughts, to imbark in a troubled fea of noifes and hoarfe difputes, from beholding the bright countenance of Truth in the quiet and ftill air of delightfull ftudies, &c.' He ftill, however, obftinately perfifted in what he thought his duty. But furely thefe fpeculations fhould have been configned to the enthufiafts of the age, to fuch reftlefs and wayward fpirits as Prynne, Hugh Peters, Goodwyn, and Baxter. Minds lefs refined, and faculties lefs elegantly cultivated, would have been better employed in this talk :

——Coarfe complexions,
 ' And cheeks of forry grain, will ferve to ply
 ' The fampler, and to teafe the hufwife's wool.
 ' What need a vermeil-tinctur'd lip for that,
 ' Love-darting eyes, and treffes like the morn?' - "

He returned by the way of Koine, though fome mercantile friends had acquainted him that the Jefuits there were forming plots againft him, for the liberty of his converfation upon matters of religion. He paid little attention to the^u advice of his friend Sir Henry Wotton, " to keep his thoughts clofe, and his countenance open." Nor did the liberal and polifhed Manfo omit to acquaint him, at his departure, that he would have fhown him more confiderable favours, if his conduct had been lefs unguarded. He is fupposed to have given offence by having vifited Galileo. 'And he had been with difficulty refrained from publicity afferting, within the verge of the Vatican, the

^f Church-Governm. B. ii. 1641.

See the Prelim. Notes to *Comus*, in this edition-

cause of Protestantism. While Milton, however, defended his principles without hypocrisy, he appears not to have courted contest. When he was questioned as to his faith, he was too honest to conceal his sentiments, too dauntless to relinquish them. He staid at Rome two months more without fear, and indeed without molestation. From Rome he proceeded to Florence, where he was received with the most lively marks of affection by his friends, and made a second residence of two months. From Florence he visited Lucca: Then crossing the Apennine, he passed by the way of Bologna and Ferrara to Venice, in which city he spent a month. From Venice he took his course through Verona, Milan, and along the lake Lemano, to Geneva. After spending some time in this city, where he became acquainted with ^w Giovanni Deodati, and Frederick Spanheim, he returned through France, and came home after an absence of fifteen months. Mr. Hayley has admirably observed, that, " in the relation which Milton gives himself of his return, the name of Geneva recalling to his mind one of the most staid of his political adversaries, he animates his narrative by a solemn appeal to Heaven on his unspotted integrity; he protests that, during his residence in foreign scenes, where licentiousness was universal, his own conduct was perfectly irreproachable. I dwell the more zealously on whatever may elucidate the moral character of Milton; because, even among those who love and revere him, the splendour of the poet has in some measure eclipsed the merit of the man; but in proportion as the particulars of his life are studied with intelligence **and**

See the Notes on *Epitaph. Dan*).

candour, his virtue will become, as it ought to be, the friendly rival of his genius, and receive its due share of admiration and esteem."

His return happened about the time of the King's second expedition against the Scots, in which his forces under lord Conway were defeated by general Lefley, in the month of August 1639. In a Bible,^x said to have been once in his possession, (probably the constant companion of his travels,) is a manuscript remark, dated 1639 at Canterbury city, which may serve to show the powerful impression made on his mind, (admitting the authenticity of the remark,) by this eventful period. "This year of very dreadful commotion, and I weene will cnfue murderous times of conflitting fight." The date of the year and place may lead us to suppose that, having landed at Dover, he was on his return from his travels to London. The gentleman, who communicated the intelligence of this Bible to the publick, and had been indulged with a sight of it, selected other marginal observations which appeared to him remarkable; among which is the following poetical note on I. Maccab. xiv. 16. "Now when it was heard at Rome, and as far as Sparta, that Jonathan was dead, they were very forry:"

" When that day of death shall come,
 " Then shall nightly (hades prevail;
 " Soon shall love and mufick feile;
 " Soone the fresh turfe's tender blade
 " Shall flourish on my sleeping shade."

^x Gentleman's Magazine, July 1752, p. 615. And I learn, from the obliging information of Mr. Nichols, that this Bible is now in the possession of the Rev. Mr. Blackburn, son of the late Archdeacon Blackburn who wrote the Remarks on Dr. Johnson's Life of Milton, 12^{mo} Lond. 1780.

The authenticity of the remarks, and of the Bible having belonged to Milton, has indeed been ^y questioned; but has been defended not without considerable force, by the communicator himself, and by other writers in the valuable miscellany, in which the information has been given; to the demonstrations and conjectures of whom I refer the reader².

Before we attend to the busier scenes of life, in which Milton, now returned to his native country, became engaged; let me be permitted to lament that he never executed the scheme, which he once proposed to himself in his animated lines to Manfo, of^a "embellishing Original tales of chivalry, of clothing the fabulous achievements of the early, British kings and champions in the gorgeous trappings of epick attire." The delight which he had derived from the military tales of Italy now perhaps sunk into neglect; though never into forgetfulness. In his latest poems he seems to look back, not without an eye of fond regard, to the more distinguished competitions of this kind; and certainly with ample testimony of the attention, with which he had studied (to use his own words) "those lofty fables and romances that recount in solemn cantos the deeds of knighthood^b."

At his return he heard of the death of his beloved friend and schoolfellow, Charles Diodati. And he lamented his loss in that elegant eclogue, the *Epita-*

^y Gent. Mag. Sept. 1792, p. 789.

^z Gent. Mag. Oct 1792, p. 900. And Ibid. Gent. Mag. February 1793, p. 106. Gent. Mag. March 1800, p. 199.

^a See Mr. Warton's Preface to the Smaller Poems.

^b See particularly P. L. B. i. 579, &c. P. R. B, iii. 336, &c.

phium Damonis, which Mr, Warton has fuccesfully defended againft the cold remark of Dr. Johnfon^e..

He now hired a lodging in St. Bride's Church-yard, Fleet-ftreet; where he undertook the education of his fitter's fons, John and Edward Phillips,^d " the firft ten, the other nine years of age; and in a year's time made them capable of interpreting a Latin author at fight." Finding his houfe not fufficiently large for his library and furniture, he took a handfome^e garden-houfe in Alderfgate-ftreet, fituated at the end of an entry, that he might avoid the noife and difturbance of the ftreet Here he received into his houfe a few more pupils, the fons of^f his moft intimate friends; and he proceeded, with cheerfulnefs, in the nobleft employment of mankind, that of inftructing others in knowledge and virtue. " As he was fevere on one hand," fays Aubrey, " fo he was moft familiar and free in his converfation to thofe

^e Note at the end of the poem,

^d Aubrey'sMS,

^e From the Note figned H. in Dr. Johnfon's *Life of Milton, Lives of the Poets*, ed. 1794, vol. i. p. 130, it appears, that there were many of thefe *garden-houfes*, i. e. houfes fituated in a garden, efpecially in the north fuburbs of London; and that the term is technical, frequently occurring in the *Athen. and F&ft. Oxon.* The annotator adds, that the meaning may be collected from the article Thomas Farnabe, the famous fchoolmafter; of whom the author fays, that he taught in Goldfmith's-rents, in Cripple-gate parifh, behind Redcrofs-ftreet, where were large gardens and handfome houfes: Milton's houfe in Jewin-ftreet was alfo a *garden-houfe*, as were indeed moft of his dwellings after his fettlement in London.

^f See the laft Note on Lawes's Dedication of *Comus* to Lord Brackley.

whom, he muſt ſerve in his way of education." His younger nephew has related the method of his inſtruction, and the books employed. Of the Latin, the four authors concerning huſbandry, Cato, Varro, Columella, and Palladius; Cornelius Celfus, the phyſician; a great part of Pliny's natural hiſtory; the Architecture of Vitruvius; the Stratagems of Frontinus; and the philoſophical poets, Lucretius and Manilius. Of the Greek, Heſiod; Aratus's Phenomena and Diolēmeia; Dionyſius Atēr de fitu orbis; Oppian's Cynegeticks and Halieuticks; Quintus Calaber's poem of the Trojan war, continued from Homer; Apollonius Rhodius's Argonauticks; and in proſe Plutarch's Placita philoſophorum, and of the Education of children; Xenophon's Cyropaedia and Anabaſis; Ælian's Tacticks; and the Stratagems of Polyænus. Nor did this application to the Greek and Latin tongues impede the cultivation of the chief oriental languages, the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriack, ſo far as to go through the Pentateuch, to make a good entrance into the Targum or Chaldee paraphraſe, and to underſtand ſeveral chapters of St. Matthew in the Syriack Teſtament; beſides the modern languages, Italian and French; and a knowledge of mathematicks and aſtronomy. The Sunday exerciſe of his pupils was, principally, to read a chapter of the Greek Teſtament, and to hear his learned expoſition of it: to which was added the writing, from his dictation, ſome part of a ſyſtem of divinity, which he had collected from the ableſt divines who had written upon the ſubject. From the rigid attention which ſuch a ſyſtem required he occaſionally relaxed; and once in three or four

weeks the hard study and spare diet, of which he was an eminent example to his pupils, gave way to the regale of a gaudy day with some young gentlemen of his acquaintance; the chief of whom, says his nephew, were Mr. Alphry and Mr. Miller, the beaux of those times, but nothing near so bad as those now-a-days.¹ These were the seasons in which Milton "resolved to drench in mirth that, after, no repenting draws," and in which he would not forfeit his pretensions of admission into the train of the true Euphrofyne:

" In thy right hand lead with thee
 " The mountain-nymph, sweet Liberty ;
 " And, if I live thee *hoitour due*,
 " Mirth, admit me of thy crew;
 " To live with her, and live with thee,
 " In *unreproved pleasures free* ."

It seems uncandid in Dr. Johnson to have ridiculed the academick institutions of Milton with the title of the "wonder-working academy," because no man very eminent for knowledge proceeded from it, and because Philips's small history of poetry, as he^g inaccurately states, is its only genuine product. The merit of Milton's intention cannot be denied, however the mode of education, which he pursued, may perhaps be justly thought impracticable. His nephew, with great spirit and affection, observes that, if his pupils^h "had received his documents with the lame acuteness of wit and apprehension, the same industry, alacrity, and thirst after knowledge, as the Instructor was endued with, what prodigies of wit and learning

^g See this point further discussed in the present Account.

^h Life of Milton, p. xix.

might they have proved! The scholars might in some degree, have come near to the equalling of the Matter, or at least have in some sort made good what he seems to predict in the close of an elegy he made in the seventeenth year of his age, upon the death of one of his father's children, a daughter, who died in her infancy:

Then thou, the mother of so sweet a child,
Her false-imagin'd joys cease to lament,
And wisely learn to curb thy sorrows wild;
This if thou do, he will an offspring give,
That, to the world's last end, shall make thy name to live.

But, though thus employed in the education of youth, Milton now began to sacrifice his time to the harsh and crabbed employment of controversy. In 1641 the clamour ran high against the bishops, and in that clamour he joined, by publishing a treatise *Of Reformation*, in two books; being willing to assist the Puritans in their designs against the established Church, who, as he informs us in his *Second Defence*, were inferior to the bishops in learning. We are to recollect that Milton had before attacked the episcopal clergy, and had even anticipated the execution of Archbishop Laud, in his *Lycidas*, written before he was twenty-nine years old. The antipathy, then clothed in an allegorick veil, now burst into expressions of elaborate and undisguised invective. Of the innovations, caused in the ceremonies of the Church by Laud, and which excited the animadversion of Milton, it may not be improper here to observe, that it has been ⁱ laid by a great scholar,

¹ See the *Europ. Magazine*, vol. xxviii, p. 379.

and moſt excellent hiſtorian in eccleſiaſtical no leſs than in civil matters, that every ceremony, of which Laud enforced the obſervation, is to be found in the ritual of Andrews, biſhop of Wincheſter, who was ſtyled the antipapiſtical prelate. Laud, in his ſpeech delivered at the Star-Chamber, when he paſſed judgment on Baſtwick, Burton, and Prynne, thus vindicates himſelf, p. 4, &c. ^k " I can ſay it clearly and truly as in the preſence of God, I have done nothing, as a prelate, to the uttermoſt of what I am conſcious, but with a ſingle heart, and with a ſincere intention for the good government and honour of the Church, and the maintenance of the orthodox truth and religion of Chriſt profeſſed, eſtabliſhed, and maintained in this Church of England. For my care of this Church, the reducing of it into order, the upholding of the externall worſhip of God in it, and the ſetting of it to the rules of its firſt reformation, are the cauſes (and the ſole cauſes, whatever are pretended,) of *this malicious Jiorme, which hath lowered ſo "black upon me, and ſome of my brethren.* And in the meane time they, which are the only or the chief *innovators* of the Chriſtian world, having nothing to lay, *accuſe as of innovation*; they ſlandermſelves and their complices in the meane time being the *greateſt innovators* that the Chriſtian world hath almoſt ever known. I deny not but others lye

^k " A Speech delivered in the Star-Chamber, on Wedneſday the 15th of Juno, MDCXXXVII, at the cenſure of John Baſtwick, Henry Burton, and William Prinn; concerning pretended Innovations in the Church. By the moſt reverend father in God, William, L. Archbiſhop of Canterbury, London, printed by R. Badger, 1637."

spread more dangerous errors in the Church of Chrifft; but no men, in any age of it; have been *more guilty of innovation* than they, while themselves cry out againft it: *Quis tulerit Gracchos?* And I faid wel, *Quis tulerit Gracchos?* For 'tis moft apparent to any man that will not winke, that the *intention of thefe men, and their abettors, was and is to raife a fedition; being as great incendiaries in the State (where they get power) as they have ever been in the Church;* Novatian himfelfe hardly greater. Our maine crime is (would they all fpeak out, as fome of them do,) that we are bifhops; were we not fo, fome of us might be as paffable as other men." To tholè, who would examine attentively the ecclefiaftical controverfy of this period, I recommend the perufal of the whole fpeech.

In 1641, the eloquent Hall, biihop of Norwich, having publifhed an *Humble Remonftrance* in favour of Epifcopacy, five miniifters, under the title of *SmeçlymmuiS*) a word formed from the firft letters of their¹ names, wrote an *Anfwer*; of which Archbifliop Ufher publifhed a *Confutation*. To this *Confutation* Milton replied in his *Treatife Of Prelatical Epifcopacy*. And, although he has ungracefully claffed the archbifhop's *Confutation* with "fome late treatifes, *one whereof goes under the name of James, Lord Bifhop of Armagh,*" he has, in his next publication, complimented the excellent prelate for

¹ Stephen Marfhall, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young (Milton's p. ceptor), Matthew Newcomen, and William Spurfrow, the initial letter of whole Chriftian name is quaintly divided, in produce this celebrated word ! This is to be enumerated playful tricks of fanaticifm.

his learning. With fuch an adverfary as Ufher, indeed, which of the *Smectymnuans* would have dared to cope? This enterprife none *could* partake with Milton. Vehement as he was in his reply to the two bifhops, he alfo enlarged this topick of puritanical zeal in another performance, entitled *The Reafon of Church Government urged againft Prelacy*, in two books. And, bifhop Hall having publifhed *A Defence of the Humble Remonftrance*, he wrote *Animadverfions* upon it. Thefe treatifes were the fruits of his prejudice againft the eftablifhed Church in 1641. From the third treatife, *The Reafon of Church Government*, we derive fome knowledge of his literary projects, and of the opinion he entertained of his own abilities; expreffed, as Dr. Johnfon well obferves, not with oftentatious exultation, but with calm confidence; with a promife to undertake fomethings, he yet knows not what, that may be of ufe and honour to his country. The whole paffage, from which Dr. Johnfon has cited a fmall part as a fervid, pious, and rational pledge of the *Paradife Loft*, however well known to the admirers of the poet, is too fublime and interefting to be read again and again without renewed and encreafed delight.

" ^mTime ferves not now, and, perhaps, I might feem too profufe to give any certain account of what the mind at home, in the fpacious circuits of her mufing, hath liberty to propofe to herfelf, though of higheli hope and hardeft attempting; whether that epick form, whereof the two poems of Homer, **and** thofe other two of Virgil and Taffo, are a diffufe, and

the book of Job a brief, model; or whether the rules of Ariftotle herein are ftrictly to be kept, or nature to be followed ; which in them that know art, and ufe judgement, is no tranfgreffion, but an enriching of art: and laftly, what king or knight, before the Conqueft, might be chofen, in whom to lay the pattern of a Chriftian hero. And as Taffo gave to a prince of Italy his choice, whether he would command him to write of Godfrey's expedition againft the infidels, Belifarius againft the Goths, or Charlemain againft the Lombards ; if to the iuftinft of nature, and the emboldening of art, aught may be trusted, and that there be nothing advei fe in our climate, or the fate of this age, it haply would be no ralhnefs, from an equal diligence and inclination, to prefent the like offer in our ancient ftories. Or whether thofe dramatick constitutions, wherein Sophocles and Euripides reign, fhall be found more docttrinal and exemplary to a nation.—Or, if occafion fhall lead, to imitate thofe magnifick odes and hymns, wherein Pindarus and Callimachus are in moft things worthy. But thofe frequent fongs throughout the Law and Prophets, beyond all thefe, not in their divine argument alone, but in the very critical art of compofition, may be eafily made appear over all the kinds of lyrick poefy to be incomparable. Thefe abilities, wherefoever they be found, are the infpired gift of God, rarely bellowed, but yet to fome (though moft abufe) in every nation; and are of power, betides the office of a pulpit, to inbreed and cherifh in a great people the feeds of virtue and publick civility, to allay the perturbations of the mind, and fet the affections in right time; to celebrate in glorious and lofty hymns the throne and equipage of God's Almightynefs, and what he works, and what he differs to be wrought, with high providence in his church; to fing viftorious agonies of martyrs and faints, the deeds and triumphs of juft and pious nations doing valiantly through faith againft the enemies of Chrift; to deplore the general relapfes of kingdoms and ftates from juftice and God's true worship. Laftly, whatfoever "in religion is' holy and fublime, in virtue amiable or grave, whatfoever hath

paffion or admiration in all the changes of that, which is called fortune from without, or the wily subtleties and refluxes of man's thoughts from within; all thefe things, with a folid and treatable fmoothnefs to paint out and defcribe, teaching over the whole book of fancity and virtue, through all the inftances of example, with fuch delight, to thofe efpecially of foft and delicious temper, who will not fo much as look upon Truth herfelf, unlefs they fee her elegantly dreft; that whereas the paths of honefty and good life appear now rugged and difficult, though they be indeed eafy and pleafant, they will then appear to all men both eafy and pleafant, though they M ere rugged and difficult indeed.—

^a The thing which I had to fay, and thofe intentions, which have lived within me ever fince I could conceive myfelf any thing worth to my country, I return to crave excufe that urgent reafon hath pluckt from me by an abortive and fore-dated difcovery; and the accomplifhment of them lies not but in a power above man's to promife; but that none hath by more ftudious ways endeavoured, and with more un* wearied fpirit that none fhall, that I dare almoft aver of myfelf, as far as life and free leifure will extend. Neither do I think it fhame to covenant with any knowing reader that for fome few, years yet I may go on truft with him toward the payment of what I am now indebted, as being a work not to be rafhed from the heat of jouth, or the vapours of wine, like that which flows at waiie from the pen of fome vulgar amorift, or the trencher fury of a riming parafitc; nor to be obtained by the invocation of dame Memory and her Siren daughters; but by devout prayer to that eternal Spirit, who Can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and fends out his Seraphim with the hallowed fire of his altar to touch and purify the lips of whom he pleafes: to this mult be added indufirious and felect reading, fteady obfervation, infight into all feemly and generous arts and affairs; till which in fome meafure be compaffed, at mine own peril and coft I refufe not fo fuftain this expectation from as many as are not loth to hazard fo much credulity upon the beft pledges that I can give

them. Although it nothing content me to have disclosed thus much before hand; but*that I trust hereby to make it manifest with what small williugness I endure to interrupt the pursuit of no less hopes than these, and leave a calm and pleasing solitariness, fed with cheerful and confident thoughts, to embark in a troubled sea of noise and hoarse disputes, put from beholding the bright countenance of Truth, in the quiet and still air of delightful studies.*

In 1642 he closed the controversy with an *Apology for SmeStymnuus*, in answer to the *Confutation of his Animadversions*, written, as he supposed, by bishop Hall or his son. He thought all this while, says Dr. Newton, that he was vindicating ecclesiastical liberty. Yet he has confessed, that he was not disposed to " this manner of writing, wherein knowing myself inferior to myself, led by the genial power of nature to another talk, I have the use, as I may account it, but of my left hand/' *This left hand*, indeed, has recorded too many sentiments which we must reject, too many expressions which we must lament. By his asperity the repulsive form of puritanism is rendered more hideous and disgusting, and the cause which he would support is weakened.

At Whitfuntide in 1643, and in his thirty-fifth year, (as I have before observed,) he married Mary, the daughter of Richard Powell, a gentleman who resided at Forest Hill near Shotover in Oxfordshire, and was a justice of the peace for the county. He brought his bride to London; who, after living only a few weeks with him, obtained his consent to accept the invitation of her friends to spend the remaining part of the sum-

^h Introduction to the second Book of his Reason of Church Government.

mer with them in the country. He gave her permission to stay till Michaelmas; but she declined to return at the expiration of that period. The visit to her friends was, in fact, only a pretence for conjugal desertion. This desertion has been imputed, by Phillips, to the different principles of the two families. Her relations, he tells us, "being generally addicted to the Cavalier party, and some of them possibly engaged, in the King's service, (who by this time had his head quarters at Oxford, and was in some prospect of success,) they began to repeat them of having matched the eldest daughter of the family to a person so contrary to them in opinion; and thought it would be a blot in their escutcheon, whenever that Court should come to flourish again: however, it only incensed our author, that he thought it would be dishonourable ever to receive her again after such a repulse." The same biographer intimates, that she was averse to the philosophical life of Milbourn, and sighed for the mirth and jovialness to which he had been accustomed in Oxfordshire. And Aubrey relates, that she "was brought up and bred when there was a great deal of company and merriment as dancing, &c.; and, when she came to live with her husband, she found it solitary, no company came to her, and she often heard her nephews cry and be beaten. This life was irksome to her, and so she went to her parents. He sent for her home after some time. 'As for wronging his bed, I never heard the least suspicion of that; nor had he of that any jealousy.'" It has escaped the biographers of the

poet, however, that, while he ingenuoufly admits " ^p that every motion of a jealous mind fhould not be regarded," he has not failed to enumerate, among the reafons which are faid to have warranted divorcp in elder times, " the wilfull haunting of feajls, and invitations with men not of her near kindred, the lying forth of her houfe without probable caufe, the frequenting of theatres againft her hujbands mind, &c." If this be not pointed directly at the condufit of his wife, the following paffage certainly exhibits his indignation at her continuance under her father's roof, while at the fame time it confirms Aubrey's account that he did not fufpect her as faithlefs to his bed. " ^q He [Grotius] fliewes alfo, that fornication is taken in Scripture for *fuch a continual headjhong behaviour,, as tends to plain contempt of the hujband*, and proves it out of Judges xix. 2, where the Levite's wife is faid to have played the whore againft him; which Jofephus and the Septuagint, with the Chaldean, interpret *only of ftubbornnefs and rebellion cgainjl her hifband*: and to this I add that Kimchi, and the two other rabbies who glofs the text, are in the fame opinion. Ben Gerfom reafons, that had it been whoredom, a Jew and a Levite would have difdained to fetch her again. *And this I fhall contribute, that had it been whoredom, fhe would have cho fen any other place to run to than to her FATHER'S HOUSE*, it being fo infamous for a Hebrew woman to play the harlot, and fo opprobrious to the parents. Fornication then in this place of the Judges is under-

^p Doct. and Difcip. of Divorce, B. ii. Ch. xviii.

^q Ibid.

ftood for *ftubborn djfobedience agabft the hujband, and not for adultery."*

He fent for her, however, in vain. As all his letters, defiring her to return, were unanfwered; fo the meffenger, whom he afterwards employed for the fame purpofe, was difmiffed from her father's houfe with contempt. He refolved therefore, without further ceremony, to repudiate her; and, in defence of his refolution, he publifhed four treatifes, the two firft in 1644, the two laft in 1645. *The Doctrine and Difcipline of Divorce; The Judgement of Martin Bucer concerning Divorce; Tetrachordon, or Eupojitiom upon the four chief Places of Scripture which treat of Marriage, or Nullities in Marriage; and Colajjierion.* The laft is a reply to the anonymous author of "An Anfwer to a Book, intituled *The DoBrine and Difcipline of Divorce*, or a Plea for Ladies and Gentlewomen, and all other Married Women againft Divorce. Wherein both Sexes Are vindicated from all bondage of Canon Law, and other miftakes whatfoever; and the unfound principles of the Author are examined and fully confuted by Authority of Holy Scripture, the Laws of this Land, and found Reafon. Lond. 1644." This pamphlet was licenfed and recommended by Mr. Jofeph Caryl, a Preibbyterian divine, and author of a voluminous commentary on the book of Job; whom Milton, in his reply, roughly ftigmatizes with repeated charges of ignorance, as he alfo ftyles his antagonift "a ferving-man both by nature and by function, an idiot by breeding, and a folicitor by prefumption!" The application of thefe and fimilar terms, in the difpute, may remind us of the *elegant dialogue* be-

tween Nym and Piftol in Shakſpeare's ^r King Henry the fifth: but there a wife retained, and not a wife repudiated, is the cauſe of ſo much eloquence!

There had been another tract written againſt Milton's doctrine, which he briefly notices at the beginning of his *Colaſterion*, entitled " Divorce at pleaſure." Nor was he inattentive to the remark of Dr. Featley, who in the Epiſtle Dedicatory to his " Dippers dipt," publiſhed in 1645, enumerates, among " the audacious attempts upon Church and State, a *Traſtate of Divorce*, in which the bonds of marriage are let looſe to inordinate luſt, and putting away wives for many other cauſes beſides that which our Saviour only approveth, namely, in caſe of adultery." Milton ſpeaks contemptuouſly of the author as having written an " equivocating treatiſe," and as " diving the while himſelf with a more deep prelatical malignance againſt the preſent State and Church-government." Dr. Johnſon and Mr. Warton are miſtaken in ſuppoſing the new doctrine to have been unnoticed, or neglected: indeed the two Sonnets, which Milton wrote on the ſame ſubjeſt, ſeem to diſcountenance the opinion. It certainly was received with ridicule, as we learn from Howel's Letter to Sir Edward Spencer. But it gave riſe to a band, not perhaps very formidable, who were called *Divorcers*, and even *Miltoniſts*. Pagitt, in his " Deſcription of the Hereticks and Sectaries" of that period, notices the ^r former ſeſt with him, who wrote

^r Act ii. Scene i.

• Letters, 10th edit. p. 455.

¹ Hereſiography, &c. 1654. p. 129. See alſo Ibid. p. 77- And " A brief deſcription &c. of Phanatiques in generall, 1660." p. 33.

the *Tractate of Divorce*, at their head. The latter title occurs in "^u The Epilogue, fhewing the Parallell in two Poems, the Return, and the Reftauration, Addreffed to her Highneffe the Lady Elizabeth, by C[hristopher.] W[affe]. 1649." 8vp.

- " Force-can but in a Rape engage,
- " Tis choice muft make it Marriage :
- " Hence a conveyance they contrive,
- " Which muft on us their caufe derive:
- " This muft attaque, what holds out ftill,
- " And is impregnable, the Will.
- " This muft enchant our confcious hands,
- " To (lumber in like guilty bands,

" This book was obligingly pointed out to me by Thomas Park, Efq; to whom the literary world is indebted for fome of the fweeteft Sonnets in the Englifh language. The fame gentleman directs me to the following bitter application of Milton's doctrine to himfelf by G. S. (whom I fuppofe to be the fame perfon as the author of the weak performance noticed in Mr. Warton's and my own remarks on the poet's Sonnet to Cynack Skinner,) in " Britain's Triumph, for her imparallel'd deliverance and her joyful celebrating the Proclamation of her moft gracious incomparable king Charles the fecond &c. 1660." 4to, G. S. the author, after fatirizing the members of the Rump Parliament, thus proceeds, p. 15.

- " But who appears here with the curtain drawn ?
- " What, MILTON ! afe you come to fee the fight?
- " Oh *Image-breaker* I poor knave ! had he fawn
- " That which the fame of made him crye out-right,
- " He'ad taken counfel of Achitophell,
- " Swung himfelf weary, and fo gone to hell.
- " This is a fure Divorce, and the beft way;
- " Seek, Sin no further, now the trick is found,
- " To part a fullen knave from's wife, that day
- " He doth repent his choyce; ftab'd, hang'd, or drown'd,
- " Will make all fure and further good will bring,
- " The wretch will rail no m6re againft his *King*."

" While, like the froward *Miltonift*,
 " We our old nuptiall knot untwift:
 " And with the hands, late faith did joyn,
 " The bill of plain Divorce now ligne."

It had been treated alfo as an " ^w errorr fo grofs as to need no other confutation," than the mere mention of it. But before thefe remarks had been made upon a doctrine, at which the shafts of ridicule as well as cenfure might indeed be fairly levelled, the innovation of the author had alfo been oppofed from the pulpit. The prefbyterian clergy had not only caufed him to be fummoned before the Houfe of Lords, by whom however he was quickly difinifled; but one of them, in a fermon before the Lords and Commons on a faft-day, had endeavoured in vain to excite their indignation againft him. Milton notices this attack in the beginning of his *Tetrachordon*, and thanks the auditors for not repenting of what the preacher called their fin, the neglecting to brand his book with fome mark of their difpleafure. This opponent, who has been hitherto unnoticed, was Herbert Palmer, B. D. a Member of the Affembly of Divines, and parliamentary Mailer of Queen's College, Cambridge. " ^x If any," fays lie to his judicial audience,

^w In " A Glafle for the Tiroes, &c. With a briefe Collection of the Errors of our Times, and their Authors Names. Collected by T. C. a friend to Truth. Lond. 1648." 4to. Milton and his doctrine are noticed in p. 6. T. Fordc, the dramatick writer, appears to have entertained no favourable opinion of *incompatibility of temper* being urged as a reafon for divorce. See his letter to T. C. apparently written at the time when Milton's treatife was firft publifhed, in the collection of his Letters, 8vo. Lond. 1660, p. 103—106.

^x I had examined many

" plead conscience for the lawfulness of *polygamy* ; (or for *divorce* *far* ^y other causes than Christ and his Apostles mention; of which a *wicked booke is abroad and uncensored, though deferring to be burnt, whose author hath been so impudent as to set his name to it, and dedicate it to yourselves,*) or for liberty to marry

the hope of discovering the author who had thus publicly attacked Milton ; but without success. I am indebted to my liberal friend, James Bindley, Esq; for pointing out, after a long research also, this forgotten discourse ; of which I will give the title : " The Glass of God's Providence towards his Faithful Ones. Held forth in a Sermon preached to the two Houses of Parliament at Margaret's Westminster, Aug. 13, 1644. being an extraordinary day of Humiliation. Wherein 'u discovered the great failings that the best are liable unto, &c. The whole is applied specially to a more careful observation of our late Covenant, and particularly against the ungodly toleration pleaded for *under pretence of Liberty of Conscience*. By Herbert Palmer, B. D. &c."

^y And yet it seems, in the *Confessio Fidei* of the Assembly of Divines published in 1656, that Milton's doctrine had not been entirely neglected- See Cap. xxiv. " *De Conjugio et Divortio*. §. 6. Quamvis ea sit hominis corruptio, ut proavis sit ad excogitandum argumenta indebitè illos, quos Deus connubio junxit, diffociandi; nihilominus tamen *extra* adulterium ac *defectionem ita obstinatam ut cum nullo remedio nec ab ecclesia nec a magistratu civili subveniri possit*, sufficiens causa nulla esse potest conjugium dissolvendi." Conf. Fid. 12mo. Cantab. 1656, p. 65. I am indebted to Mr. Octavius Gilchrist, the ingenious editor of bishop Corbet's poetry, for the notice of the following stroke of fate, evidently pointed at Milton, both in respect to this and to another subject, so late as in 1670, in the Preface to Echard's *Grounds and Occasions of the Contempt of the Clergy and Religion*; " I am not, I'll assure you, any of those occasional writers, that, minding preferment at the University, can presently write you their new ways of education; or, being tormented with an ill-chosen wife, set forth the Doctrine of Divorce to be truly evangelical."

indefectibly, will you grant a toleration for all *this*?" Milton now became an enemy to the Presbyterians, whom he before had favoured. Notwithstanding their opposition, however, he proceeded to illustrate his opinion more forcibly by paying his addressee to a young lady of great wit and beauty, the daughter of one Dr. Davis, with a design to marry her! But this desire of carrying his doctrine into practice was not countenanced by the lady. What is more remarkable, the proceeding contributed to effect a reconciliation with the discarded wife.

In the mean time, Milton pursued his studies with unabating vigour; and, in 1644, at the request of his friend, Mr. Samuel^z Hartlib, published his tractate *Of Education*; or plan of academical institution: in which, as he expresses it, he leads his scholar from Lilly to his commencing master of arts. Mr. Warton observes that^a Milton's plan has more of (how than value. " ^b Education in England," Dr. Johnson has remarked, " has been in danger of being hurt by two of its greatest men, Milton and Locke. 'Milton's plan is impracticable, and I suppose has never been tried. Locke's, I fancy, has been tried often enough, but is very imperfect; it gives too much to one side, and too little to the other; it gives too little to literature.'" It is perhaps not generally known that Milton's treatise on this subject; has been translated

^z Of this remarkable person the reader may find an account, written by himself, in Kennel's Register, 1728. p. 868. See also Mr. Warton's first edition of Milton's Smaller Poems, p. 116, &c. A Life of Hartlib is a desideratum in English biography.

^a See his first edition of Milton's Smaller Poems, p. 117.

^b Boswell's Life of Johnson, ed. 1799- vol. iii. p. 382.

into French. The tratiilator has bellowed much eulogium^e upon the author. In the fame year, Milton publifhed his *Aredpdgitica, a Speech for the liberty of unlicenfed Printing*: perhaps the beft vindication, as Dr. Newton obferves, that has been publifhed at any time, or in any language, of that liberty which is the bafis and fupport of ail other liberties, the liberty of the prefs. But the candid critick adds, that it produced not the defired effect; for the Prefbyterians were as fond of exercifing the licenfing power, when they got it into their own hands, as they had been clamorous before in inveighing againft it, while it was in the hands of the Prelates.

^c " Dans les tems que nous nous propofions de donner ces Lettres au Public, il nous en eft tombe entre les mains *une de Milton*, qui n'a pas encore paru dans notre langue, &c.—Rien ne fait tant d'honneur a l'Angleterre que de voir que *le plus grand poëte*, et Y un de plus celebres philofophes [Locke], qu' elle ait *ens*, ont affez fenti de quelle importance etoit Y education des enfare, pour s' en occuper ferieufement.—Dans *cette Lettre* il eft aife de s' appercevoir que c' a ete un des plus fcavans hommes qui ayent vecu C'eft par cette vafte erudition, joint a un heureux génie, qu' il eft devenu le plus grand de tous les poetes raodernes. Auffi fon *Paradis Perdu* n' eft-il pas l' ouvrage de fa jeuneffe: Peut-etre alors en avoit-il conçu Y idee; mais avant que de Y executer, il avoit vecu avec les hommes, il avoit connu l' ufage et la puiffance des paffions, il avoit l' efprit orne de la connoiffance de toutes les fcienes & de tous les arts. Sans examiner fi la maniere d' elever la jeuneffe que Milton propofe eft aifee a, reduire en pratique; il eft fur que fon plan eft rempli de vues ties-fines & tres-lages, & qu' il paroît contenir tout ce qui eft neceffaire pour former un citoyen utile a, fa patric & agreable a la fociete." Lettres fur L'Education des Princes. Avec une Lettre de Milton, &c. 1746. Preface, pp. lxxv, lxxix.

His father having come to live with him. after the furrender of Reading to the Earl of Effex in 1643, and his fcholars now encreafing, he required a largeir houfe; btefore his rettioval to which, he was furprifed, at one of his ufual vifits to a relation in the lane of St. Martin's-le-grand, to fee his wife come from another room, and beg forgivenefs on her knees. The interview on her part had been concerted. The declining ftate of the royal caufe, and confequently of her father's family, as well as the intelligfence of Milton's determination to marry again, caufed heir friends to employ every method to re-unite the infulted hufband and difobedient wife. It was contrived that fhe fhould be ready, when he came, in another apartment. Fenton, in his elegant fketch of the poet's life, judicioufly remarks, that "^d it is not to be doubted but an interview of that nature, fo little expected, muft wonderfully affect him: and perhaps the impreffions it made on his-imagination contributed much to the painting of that pathetick fcene in *Paradife Loft*, in which Eve addreffes herfelf to Adam for pardon and peace. At the interceffion of his friends who were prefent, after a fhort reluctance, he generoufly facrificed all his repentment to her tears:

' Soon his heart relented

^r Towards her, his life fo late, and fole delight,

' Now at his feet fubmiffive in diftreffs.'

And after this re-union fo far was he from retaining an unkind memory of the provocations which he had

^d Prefixed to his edition of *Paradise Loft*, firft published in 1725.

received from her ill conduct, that, when the king's cause was entirely oppressed, and her father who had been active in his loyalty was exposed to sequestration, Milton received both him and his family to protection and free entertainment, in his own house, till their affairs were accommodated by his interest in the victorious faction." Mr. Powell, however, seems to have smarted feverely for his attachment to the royal party. I observe, in the " Catalogue of the Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen, that have compounded for their Estates," printed at London in 1655, that he was thus branded as well as fined: " Richard Powel, *Delinquent*, per John Pye, Esq; 5761. 12s. 3d." And his house had been before seized by the rebels.

At the time of Milton's reconciliation with his wife, it was settled that she should reside in the house of a friend, till his new mansion, which he had procured in ^e Barbican, was ready for the reception of his increased household. When it is considered that Milton cheerfully opened his doors to those who had treated him with indignity and breach of faith; to a father, who, according to the poet's ^f Nuncupative Will, never paid him the promised marriage portion of a thousand pounds, and to a mother, who, according to Wood, had encouraged the daughter in her perverseness; we cannot but accede to Mr. Hayley's conclusion, that the records of private life exhibit not a more magnanimous example of forgiveness and beneficence. They are supposed to have left him

^e See the Notes on Lawes's Dedication of *Comus*.

^f Subjoined to this account of the Life. In the Notes on the Will Mr. Warton relates several particulars concerning Mr. Powell.

soon after the death of his father, who ended a long life in 1647; and whose declining days had been cheered by every attention of a truly affectionate son.

While Milton experienced the mortification of conjugal desertion, and was immersed in elaborate disquisitions connected with his misfortune, he was not without mental amusement. His leisure hours often passed smoothly away in visits to a lady of the most engaging talents and conversation, the daughter of the Earl of Marlborough; to whom, as to her husband Captain Hobson, a very accomplished gentleman, his company was peculiarly acceptable. His tenth Sonnet, inscribed to this discerning lady, is a grateful acknowledgement of his esteem. His time also had been employed in collecting together his early poems, both English and Latin, for the press. They were first published by Humphrey Moseley, the general publisher of the poets of his day, in 1645; who tells us, in his Address to the Reader, that "the author's more peculiar excellency in these studies was too well known to conceal his papers, or to keep me from attempting to solicit them from him. Let the event guide itself which way it will, I shall deserve of the age, by bringing into the light as true a birth as the Muses have brought forth since our famous Spencer wrote; whose poems in these English ones are as rarely imitated, as sweetly excelled." Moseley was not more discerning than Milton was modest. But modesty was a principal feature in Milton's character. He affixed only his initials to *Lycidas*: he acknowledged, with hesitation, *Comus*. It is rather surprising, that Mr. Warton should have^g asserted that,

^g In the Prefaces to both his Editions of the Smaller Poems,

for feventy years after their firft publication, he recollects no mention of thefe poems in the whole fucceffion of Englifh literature; and that the quantity of an hemiftiph, quoted from them, is not to be found in the Collections of thofe who have digefted the Beauties or phrafes of the Englifh Poets from 1655 to 1738 inclufively. It is my duty pofitively to affert that in the edition of Poole's *Englifh Partnaffus*, or Help to *Englifh Poefie*, publifhed in 1677, there are few^h pages in which quotations may not be found from Milton's poetry. In the preface alfo to Ayres's *Lyrick Poems*, publifhed in 1687, Milton is thus noticed:

" If any one quarrel at the oeconomy or ftructure of thefe poems, many of them being Sonnets, Canzons, Madrigals, &c. objecting that none of our great men, either Mr. Waller, Mr. Cowley, or Mr. Pryden, whom it was moft proper to have followed, have ever ftooped to any thing of this fort; I fhall very readily acknowledge, that, being fenfible of my own weaknefs and inability of ever attaining to the performance of one thing equal to the word piece of theirs, it eafily difwadged me from that attempt, and put me on this; which is not without prefident: For many eminent perfons have publifhed feveral things of this nature, and in this method, both Tranflations and Poems of their own; as the famous Mr. Spencer, Sir Philip Sidrey, Sir Richard Fanfhaw, Air. Milton, and fome few others: The fuccefs of all which, in thefe things, I muft needs fay, cannot much be boafed of; and though I have little reafon, after it, to expeft credit from thefe my flight Mifcellanies, yet has it not difcouraged me from adventuring on what my genius prompted me to."

^b And, to the credit of Pole's felection, I may add, that the examples are very often taken from *Lycidas*, *L'Allegro* and *Il Perferofo*, and the *Ode on the Nativity*.

I may further observe that *L' Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* appear to have sometimes caught the notice of Robert Herrick, in his *Hesperides*, published in 1648; and that both the ease and imagery of these poems are certainly copied, in a few instances, by Andrew Marvell, the intimate friend of Milton. I will cite a proof from his verses, entitled *The Garden*, Poems, ed. 1681, p. 49.

" Fair Quiet, have I found thee here,
 " And Innocence, thy sister dear!
 " Mistaken long, I fought you then
 " In busie companies of men."

That we meet with no notices of these exquisite poems in the days of Cromwell, must be imputed to " the dark and fullen humour of the time." And we may truly apply, to such neglect, the judicious couplet of Milton's ¹ happiest imitator:

" Verse, in the finest mould of fancy cast,
 " Was lumber in an age so void of taste.*

In 1647 Milton removed to a smaller house in Holborn, which opened backward into Lincoln's-Inn fields; and continued to instruct a few scholars. Phillips tells us, that " he is much mistaken, if there was not about this time a design of making him an adjutant-general in Sir William Waller's army. But the new modelling of the army proved an obstruction to the design." This perhaps may be doubted, when it is considered that Waller was esteemed a leader of the Presbyterians against the designs of the Independents. Milton, in his military capacity, could not have served cordially under a general so disposed.

¹ Cowper. Table-Talk.

Tili the oyerthrow of the kingly government in the death of Charles, his pen appears to have been unemployed . It was refumed in order to filence the outcry, raifed by the Prefbyterians, againft the deed of blood; and to advance the interelts of the infant commomvealth. The product of it was entitled, "*The Tenure of Kings and Magjfrates*, proving that it is lawfull, and hath been held fo through all ages, for any, who have the power, to call to account a tyrant, or wicked king; and, after due conviftion, to depofe, and put him to death, if the ordinary magiftrate have neglected or denied to do it: And that they, who of late fo much blame depofing, are the men that did it themfelves, 1649." Milton feems to have been not correct in his charge. He fhould have added the Papifts and Independents, who were banded in firm leagne againft the Church and the King. He remembered howevèr the affiftance which had been afforded by the Pope, when he wrote his treatife *Of True Religion* four and twenty years afterwards; of whom he fays, " we have fhaken off his Babylonilh yoke, [who] hath not ceafed by his fpies and agents, bulls and emiffaries, *once to deftroy both King and Parliament*" On this part of Englifh hiftory it cannot be uninterefting to enlarge.

" I fhall here fay no more," fays the editor of a very curious ^k tract, " than that the doctrine which was practis'd in

^k " Certain paffages which happened at Newport in the Ifle of Wight, Nov. 29, 1648, relating to King Charles I. Written by Mr. Edward Cooke, of Highnam in Gloucefterfhire, fometime Colonel of a Regiment under Oliver Cromwell. Lond. 1690,"

forty eight, was published in English in twenty one, in the book entitied *The Rights of the Prelate and the Prince*, as good Roman Catholick divinity, by J. E. with Licence of Superiors; and consequently, that John Goodwin and John Milton were not the first broachers of it in England. The strain of the whole book is of that nature, and the following words are part of it, ch. 15..p. 375. And if Kings, who Were not excommunicated nor deprived by the Pope, may by the Commonwealth be depos'd and kill'd, where they are intolerable tyrants; why may not the Commonwealth exercise the same power over tyrants excommunicated and deprived by the Pope, they, after excommunication and deprivation, being no more Kings, but private men."

The subject adreed had been before discussed in a very interesting discourse, of which the title is, " Herod and Pilate reconciled: Or, The Concord of Papist and Puritan (against Scripture, Fathers, Councils, and other Orthodoxall Writers) for the Coercion, Deposition, and Killing of Kings. Discovered by David Owen, Batchelour of Divinitie, &c. Cambridge, 1610," 4^{to}. To this point I may also apply an extract: from " Foxes and Firebrands; or a Specimen of the danger and harmony of Popery and Separation;" attributed by some to Dr. Nelson, by others to Sir James Ware: " But that which makes the thing plain, is the discovery which was made to Sir William Boswell by Andreas ab Habnerfeld; which was communicated first by Sir William to my Lord of Canterbury, and by him transmitted to the King then at York, Novemb. 1640. The whole is printed by itself, and in ¹ Rushworth's Collections; and is too long here to insert; but the principal parts and matter of the

¹ Hist. Collect. p. 1314.

plot was this; That there was a defign on foot, by the Papifts, againft the King and the Archbifhop. That, to effect this, the Scottifh commotions were raifed, and fomented by the Jefuits; that they exasperated the Englifh Diffenters by the feverity ufed againft Pryn, Burton, and Baftwick; and the Scots, by the fears of Popery upon the impofition of the Common-Prayer book; that Cuneus or Con, the Pope's Legate, and Chamberlain a Scot, Chaplain and Almoner to Cardinal Richlieu, were the great negociators of this confpiracy; and that the defign was to embroil thefe nations in a civil war. The troubles came on fo faft, as may well be fuppofed, precipitated for fear of a further profecution of this difcovery, that the Archbifhop loft his head for refufing a cardinal's hat, and oppofing the Scottifh Covenanters; and the King his, becaufe he would not give away the crown, and put down the mitre, by granting toleration, 2d. edit. 1682, pp. 50, 51." It was one of the threats of the Covenanters, that " the Enemy fhould be forced either to give Liberty of Confcience to the Catholicks, or put themfeives in danger of lofing all, p. 48." Other proofs of the^m combination might be added. The following narrative if too curious; and too well authenticated, to be here omitted. * It is from the pen of Dr. Bargrave, (whole manufcript I have already noticed) who was particularly acquainted with Holftenius, one of Milton's friends. Being at Rome, he fays,

" Cardiael Roffetti was (hewed to me to take more particular notice of him, becaufe that he had binn almoft 3 years

^m See more particularly Rennet's Register, 1728, pp. 539, \$40, And Lord Strafforde's Letters, 1739, vol. ii. p. 74.

in England the Popes Nuntio Incognito, as yau may find in the Italian Hiftorian mentioned in the margent °.

" An°. 1639 There arriued (fayth he) at London, to refide at the Court as a gentleman traueler, fent by Cardinal Barberino, but effectually he was the Pope's Nuntio, by name Charles Roffetti, an Earle by birth; whoe had taken vpon him the Church habite of a Prelate; whoe was of a greate fpirit, actiue, and prudent; able to vndertake bufinefs of the greateft difficulie. He was valerous of heart, had a learned tongue, was quick in parts, in breif he was fuch an one, that his fellow could not be fownde in all the Court of Rome. His letters were dated at Rome the 16th. of Aprill: (and then my Author telleth us a fecret that we are not to know, viz.) And becaufe that in England he woare a Secular habit, and tooke vpon him no other name but of Conte Roffetti, therefore I will allfo hide, where I haue occafion to mention him, his ecclefiafticall title of Monfignore, and giue him onely the title of his noble famely^p. Vpon his comming to Court, and being courteoufly receiued, all things went well with the Ro: Catholicks; and thofe Preifts, that by law were to be punifhed with Death, were onely banifhed. This was the Spring time of the Catholick Religion in that kingdome, which *ftorifhed by the fweete favourable blafts of the Conte Roffetti!* Vpon this libels went about that^q the King and Archbifliop were Popifh &c; wherevpon the Archbiihop aduifed the King to rid his Court of the Roman Mi-nifters, and to renew the rigour of the law. The Conte Roffetti, hearing of this, wold not hide the Intereffe for which he was at London; but, vpon this occafion, being made more vigoroufe of courage in this time of dainger, thought that now an opportunity was giuen him *to captivate the Kings foul*, and to conduct him to the Catholick Fayth! vpon which he broke his minde to a confident Courtier of theires, whoe yet doubted how to effect it. Roffetti, having

° Il Conte Bifaccione Delle Guerre Civili DInghilterra, Edit. 2^a 1653. p. 17.

^p P. 18. ^q P. 22.

bin perfuaded by the Queene to write to the Pope for abowt an 100000^b ſterling to ſupplie the Kings neceſſeties, His Holineſs his anſwer was, ^r That the Pope was very ready to ſupply the King ſo ſoone as euer he ſhould declare him ſelfe a Catholick, the onely auaylable meanes to loſen the chaines of the Treafurie of the Cattle of St. Angelo at Rome. But, for a King that ſhould turne to the boſom of the Church, he would lay hands upon that Sacred Treaforie, otherwiſe ſhut vp and impenetrable &c.—Where one may reade a greate many Intreagues abowt the lending of this mony,² and how reſolutely the King withſtood their attempts, and how Roffetti aſſailed the two Archbiſhops to returne to the Roman Fayth^t. And then we haue mention of Roffetti's letter to the King to perſwade him to turne Papift. But he finding his Ma:^{tie} vnmooueable and firme as a Rock, that ſtrongly jeſſiteih the fury of ſtormes and tempeils, bauing his Faith fixjed and faſtned to a more ſure foundation; this Latent^a Nuntio gaue ouer his fruitleſs Deſigne. Finding (ſaith my Author) that *he gaue light unto the blinde, that he /pake to cue that was deaft, and, as the prouerb hath it, wold with water waſh a blackmore white,* the (Latent) Nuntio forfooke him; and ſtole owt of England (for feare of the Parliament that ſented him) by the help of Sig^r. Giuſtiniano the Venetian Imbaſſador, and at his comeing to Rome *fu decorato della Porpora Vaticana.*

" Though he was forced to be gonn, yet the effects of his Nuntiaſture laſted all the Ciuill Warr, eſpecially amongſt the Irifh Rebels^w. To diſprooue the calomny that was rayſed upon the King (probably both by Papift and Presbyterians) he vſed all the meanes he could to ſhew that he was a cordiall Proteſtant, as is ſeene by his mony then coyned. So in the ſeuerall Speeches that he made at the head of his Army, one Of them, ſeyth my Author, hath this paſſage^x: ' If I tooke a wife of an other Religion being of the Roman faith, it was

^rP. 31. ^rP. 32, 33. ^tP. 34. ^u P. 35.

^w P. 44. * P. 80.

with a Univerfall Consent: If the Lord Roffetti came to my Court, I used him courteously, as a noble man and a stranger, as it is fitt for Princes to doe, and yet vpon onely suspition, and not guilt of any wrong to England, I sent him away.'— My Author in another place^y, speaking of the death of Archbiftiop Laud on the Scaffold, by way of scoffe sayth—
It had bin better for him to haue turned Catholick, and to hauegonn to Rome, as he had binn aduised, by the prudent tounfell of the Popes zealous Nuntio, Rofctti, now a Cardinall^z ! And, speaking of our Kings death, he hath this passage—His death wasforetould (so long ago as when he was Prince of Wales) when he was in Spaine, wheie he, going to visit a holy Nunne, whoe was much esteemed for her sanctity; shee foretold him, that, if he did not hearken to the inspirations of that light which his gardian Angell shold instruct him in, he shold dye a miserable death, and ruine all his progeny! This ANGELL was Cardinal ROSSETTI, whoe by his frequent inspirations, not internally but to the eare and the eye, by the voice and by writings, by his eloquent and angelicall suggestions, indeavoured his conuerfion to the Catholik Faith; Card: Roffetti an *Angel* in practice! Greate Minister of the Pope, and an *Angel* by his office, as being a *Nuntio* or *MeJJenger*; a zealous Nuntio! Whence it is no maruell, if what the holy Nunne foretold had its effect!

" Card: Barberino at Rome; This Man his Agent *here* ; Card: Mazarino in France; And Gio: Rinuccini Archbifhop of Firmo in Italy, and the Popes Nuntio in Ireland; were the Popish Ecclesiasticks, that by the helpe of the Iesuites, in all probability, were the men that ruined the King and Kingdome vnder the new name and Cheate of INDEPENDENT ; I being tould beyond Sea by Muncks and Fryars that I might heare Mafs where I wold among the *Independents*; that Word fignefying onely *Independent as to the Church of England, but Dependent as to the Church of Rome*; and so our warr was a warr of Religion to bring in

Popery, and the King was a true martyr (that died for his Religion) in reuenge for the death of the Queene of Scotts, his grandmother."

This acute traveller relates also that he was at Rome, on his fourth visit to that city, when Charles the second was restored; which event, he says, "to my knowledge, was to the great griefe of the Triple Crowne and College of Cardinals, who thought to have bin Matters of England." In another page he cites the Italian author, already mentioned, to show that "Charles the first suspected Mazzarino and the Imbassador of France to have had a hand in his troubles."

From these communications, which the subject of Milton's book induced me to make, I pass on to notice his next publication in 1649; which was "*Observations on the Articles of Peace* between James Earl of Ormond, for King Charles I. on the one hand, and the Irish Papists and Rebels on the other, &c. And *Animadversions on the Scotch Prejbytery* at Belfast." The new order of things seemed to be threatened by the desertion of the Scotch Prelbyterians to the standard of Ormond; and he made these remarks to obviate the danger.

He next entered upon his *Hiftory of England*; of which he had written four books, when, without expectancy or felicitation of preferment, he was invited by the Council of State to be *Latin* Secretary; as they had determined neither to write to others abroad, nor to receive any answers, except in that language, which was common to them all. Their choice could not have fallen upon a more perfect master of Latinity. Dr. Nekton wishes that succeeding princes

had followed this example of Latin correspondence; becaufe, " ^a in the opinion of very wife men, the univerfality of the French language will make way for the * univerfality of the French monarchy." It may be added, that Milton himfelf has countenanced the opinion: " Then began the Englifh to lay afide their own ancient cuftoms, and in many things to imitate French manners; the great peers to fpeak French in their houfes, in French to write their bills and letters, as a great piece of gentility; afhamed of their own: *a pre/age of their fubjection fhortly to that people, whofe fafhions and language they affected fo flavifhly*^b" Perhaps in the affectation of her fafhions and manners, rather than in the uſage of her language, France may have found, and may yet hope to find, in other countries, no mean auxiliary to her deteftable aim of univerfal domination. But Britain has flood, and may it ftand to the laft period of time, " unfhaken, unfeduced," by fuch degrading imitations in a few faithlefs children. That innocence, and modeſty, and tendernefs of heart, by which her daughters have ever been diſtinguiſhed; and that well-principled conduct, the true ſpirit of liberty and real love of religion, for which her ſons have been renowned; will never, let us hope, fell victims to the deſigns of a pretended philoſophy, which confounds the diſtinctions of right and wrong; to

— " thoſe new-fangled toys, and trimming flight
" Which-takes our late fantaſticks with delight^c."

^a Life of Milton.

^b Hiſt. of England, B. vi. edit. 169s, p. 111.

^c From Milton's maſterly Verſes *At a Vacation Exercife in the*

About this time the-King's imprefive book, entitled " Eicon. Bafilike, or the Portraiture of his Sacred Majefty in his Solitudes and Sufferings," having been publifhed; Milton was ordered to prepare an anfwer to it. He accordingly printed, by authority, in 1649, his " Eiconoclaftes," or *the image-breaker*; the purport of the King's book being, in his opinion,^d " to catch the worthless approbation of an inconfant, irrational, and^e *image-doting* rabble." Milton's work has been tranflated into French. It has been afferted, but not proved, that Milton together with Bradfhaw prevailed upon the printer to interpolate a prayer, taken from Sidney's *Arcadia*, in fome editions of the King's book. Dr. Newton candidly obferves, " I cannot but hope and believe, that Milton had a foul above being guilty of fo mean an action to ferve fo mean a purpofe; and there is as little reafon for fixing it upon him, as he had to traduce the King for profaning the duty of prayer,' with

College, addreffed to the corrupters of his Native Language. See the Notes on ver. 18 of that poem.

^d Eiconoclaftes, at the end.

• The popularity of the book was unquestionably very great. And no wonder. Interefting as the fubject is, the ftyle is alfo extremely elegant as well as forcible. Dr. Symmons in difcuffing the controverted point whether the king or bifhop Gauden was the author of it, relates, from the reft of the biographers, that it received *two answers*, viz. the _____ in 1651, and *Vindiciæ Carolines* in 1692. Several other tracts require to be examined, (and which might be named,) on this fubject In particular, for the ufe of thofe who may hereafter inveftigate the point, it may be neceffary to ftate that the _____ written againft the king, and the _____ for him, (both publifhed in 1649,) deferve more attention than hitherto has been bellowed on them.

the polluted traff of romances.' For there are not many finer prayers in the best books of devotion; and the King might as lawfully borrow and apply it to his own occasions, as the^f Apostles might make

^f This reasoning (though not noticed by Dr. Newton) occurs in the Εἰκὼν ἀκλάωτος, The Image Unbroken, an Answer to Milton's book, printed in 1651. The passage is worthy of citation. " He [Milton] sayes, *herein the worst of kings professing Christianisme have by far exceeded him, and he gives his reason, for that the king hath, as it were, unhallowed and unchristened by borrowing to a Christian use prayers offered to a heathen god.*

" And doth faint Paul exceed the worst of kings professing Christianisme by borrowing to a Christian use the words of an heathen philosopher, and poet? did he thereby unhallow and unchristian Scripture?

" His [Milton's] meaning is, as follows afterward, that the king used a prayer taken out of Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia. After the first edition of his Majesty's booke, the printers, finding the greater vent of them, in the following editions printed prayers, and other things in the king's name, not belonging to the booke. Among these prayers, there is a prayer taken out of the Arcadia. That prayer is neither made by a heathen woman, nor to a heathen god, but is composed by the author a Christian, without any reference to any heathen deity; and the author is not thought to unchristian prayer by it, the libeller himselfe saying the booke in its kinde is full of worth and wit; but as his outcry hath no cause from the matter, so here is no evidence of the fact, that his Majesty made use of that prayer, or put into the bishop's hands a relique of his exercise, though he might warrantably have used it, and professed it." P. 82.

Peck assures us that he had seen an English edition of the Eicon, printed in 1648, in which this prayer was not to be found. *Defid. Cur.* ed. fol. vol. ii. lib. xiv. p. 48. I have before me a Latin translation of the Eicon by Dr. Earle, printed in 1649, in which also we seek in vain for this famous prayer. Whether Milton intended to ridicule the king's book by the following remark, I know not; "*there wanted only rime, and that, they say, is bestowed upon it lately.*" Eiconoclastes, ch. vi.

quotations from heathen poems and plays: And it became Milton the least of all men to bring such an accusation against the King, as he was himself particularly fond of reading romances, and has made use of them in some of the best and latest of his writings." Milton's supposed impoſture has been alſo diſcredited by Dr. Birch^z.

Having thus diſtinguiſhed himſelf as the advocate of republicanifm, the Members of the Engliſh council naturally appointed him to vindicate their cauſe againſt the attack of no mean opponent. King Charles the ſecond, being now protected in Holland, had employed Salmaſius, a learned Frenchman, profeſſor of Polite Learning at Leyden, to write a defence of his late father, and of monarchy. " Salmaſius," Dr. Johnſon obſerves, " was a man of ſkill in languages, knowledge of antiquity, and ſagacity of emendatory criticifm, almoſt exceeding all hope of human attainment; and having, by exceſſive praifes, been confirmed in great confidence of himſelf, though he probably had not much conſidered the principles of ſociety, or the rights of government, undertook the employment without diſtruſt of his own qualifications; and, as his expedition in writing was wonderful, in 1649 publiſhed *Defenſio Regia*" It is certainly remarkable that Salmaſius, the penſioner to a republick, ſhould write a vindication of monarchy. The States indeed ordered it to be ſuppreſſed. Before he had proceeded in his work, he was thus cautioned by his friend Sarravius: ^h" Periculofae plenum opus aleæ

^g See the Inquiry into the Ong. of Par, Loſt, p. 233.

^h M, Gudii et C, Strravii, Epitola. Ultrajeſti, 1697. Sarrar. Ep. cxcviii. p. 205.

aggrederis, Defenfionem dico nuper occifi Britaimiarum Regis; maxime cum veftri Ordines mediam viam fecent. Laudo tamen animi tui generofum propofitum, quo nefandum fcelus aperte damnare fuftines. Hac tamen te cãutione uti opus eft, ne ita Majeftatem Regiain extollas, ut erga fubditos amorem videantur illis gratis largiri." From the correſpondence of this learned Frenchman with Salmaſius we learn ſome curious particulars reſpecting the work, which occaſioned Milton's elaborate anfwer. Sarravius adviſed him to read the king's book, as ſubſervient to his purpoſe; a book, he ſays, which he had read with the higheſt admiration : ⁱ "aded in ea [icone] plena omnia bonitatis erga fubditos eximiae, et in Deum pietatis. Ex eo Kbro potueris non pauca depromere Apologetico tuo firmando." After the *Defenſio Regia* had been publiſhed, he informs him of the blame attached to him for not having ſent a copy to the widowed queen of Charles; ^k *who, though poor, would yet have paid the bearer.* Sarravius informs him alſo of ^l reported antagoniſts, long before Milton appeared againſt him. Milton indeed commenced hoſtile operation immediately on the publication of Salmalius's defence. But the various interruptions, which he mentions in the eloquent Preface to his *Defenſio Populi*, prevented his publick diſplay of oppoſition till the beginning of the year 1651.

^j Ibid. Ep. ccv. p. 210.

^k Ibid. Ep. ccxiii. p. 223. "Vidi nobilem Anglum expoſ. tulantem, quod omiferis unum exemplum mittere ad defuncti Caroli viduara, quæ hic [Paris.] degit; *Quemvis enim, inqueiebat, fit in re minimi lauta, tamen potuſſe ſolvere pretimn tabellarii, qui allud attuliſſet.*"

Ibid, Ep. ccxxxvii. p. 235.

Hobbes is said to have declared himself unable to^m decide whose language was best, or whose arguments were worst. In Dr. Johnson's opinion, Milton's periods were smoother, neater, and more pointed; but he delights himself with teasing his adversary, as much as with confuting him. Milton's book was burnt at Paris, and at Toulouse. But this procured it more readers. From a letter of Nicholas Heinfius to Isaac Vossius it appears to have been translated into Dutch, and to have been expected also in a French dress. Into our own language it was translated, at the close of the seventeenth century, by Mr. Waddington of the Temple. Salmasius's book attracted much less notice. It has appeared indeed in

^m " Uterque, si Iobbio fides, Latino infignis, at rationibus vacuus." Comm. de Rebell. Angl, ab an. 1640, &c. à R. Manlio, Eq. Aur. 8vo. 1686. lib. ii. p. 226

It seems that they accused each other of grammatical blunders. I have heard of a copy of Salmasius's book, the margins of which are said to be decorated with barbarisms and solecisms detected by Milton. Without weighing the demerits of this kind, I will only observe, that Milton's criticisms appear to have occasioned the following farcical of the witty Butler. See Butler's Remains, edit. Thyer, vol. i. p. 220.

——some polemics use to draw their swords
Against the language only and the words;
As he who fought at barriers with Salmagius,
Engag'd with nothing but his jylk and phrases,
Wav'd to assert the murder of a prince.
The author of ~~false~~ Latin to convince;
But laid the merits of the cause aside,
By those that understood them to be try'd;
And counted breaking Priscian's head a thing
More capital than to behead a king;
For which he has been admir'd by all the learn'd
Of knaves concern'd, and pedants unconcern'd!

different forms, both Latin and French; and, as it should seem from the correspondence of Sarravius,ⁿ in some editions with slight variations. Salmalius afterwards endeavoured to defend his cause, according to the testimony of Isaac Voffius, by a most unjustifiable attack upon the moral character of Milton while he resided in Italy: Both combatants indeed had betrayed too much personal malevolence: But it is to the disgrace of Salmalius that he should so far have forgotten himself as to confound the champion with the affair. Milton, for his performance, was complimented^o at home by the visits or invitations of all the foreign ministers at London, as well as by the more solid approbation of his employers in the present of a thousand pounds; and by encomiastick letters from the most celebrated scholars abroad. Christina, queen of Sweden, is said to have treated the *defender of monarchy* with coldness, after having read the *Defence of the People*: And Dr. Newton adds that Salmalius was dismissed, from her Court, with contempt. He was dismissed, or rather retired, not with degradation, but, as Dr. Johnson observes, with a train of attendance scarcely less than regal. Probably for the mean pleasure of tormenting Salmalius, this capricious monarch had commended Milton. After Salmalius's death, the

ⁿ Ibid. Ep. ccxxxvi. p. 234.

^o He perhaps lost the friendship of others on this occasion. Certain it seems that the amiable and learned Earl of Bridgewater, who had performed the part of the First Brother in his *Comus*, now disdained his acquaintance. On the title-page of the *Defensio*, now in the Marquis of Stafford's possession, that Nobleman has written, "*Liber igne, Author furca, dignissimi*,"

affured his widow, by letter, that she had esteemed him as a father, and would never cease to honour his memory. Salmafius died in 1653 at Spa; having prepared a reply to Milton, without books, and by the sole help of memory^p; which, left as it was unfinished, was^q published by his son, with a dedication to the King, at the Restoration; It is more distinguished for abuse than argument.

It must not be omitted that Salmafius, in his *Defensio Regia*, had pressed hard upon his adversary in a particular point; and that Milton, to maintain the point, was tempted to put on the fragile armour of untruth. A learned prelate, in modern times, has detected this diminished brightness of Milton.

"^r When Salmafius upbraided Cromwell's faction with the tenets of the Brownists, the chosen advocate of that execrable faction [Milton] replied, that, if they were Brownists, Luther, Calvin, Bucer, Zuinglius, and all the most celebrated theologians of the Orthodox, must be included in the same reproach. A gross falsehood, as far as Luther, Calvin, and many others are concerned, never fell from the unprincipled pen of a party-writer. However (edition might be a part of the puritanick Creed, the general faith of the Reformers rejects the infamous alliance."

Dr. Symonds, who to the late edition of^z Milton's Prose Works has prefixed a life of the author, is

P Vita et Epist. Cl. Salmafii, ab. Ant. Clementio, 1656. Vit. p. liii.

^q It appears to have been translated into English, and published at London in 1660. See bishop Rennet's Register, p. 270. "Salmafius's Diffinition and Confutation of Milton."

^r Appendix to Bishop Watson's Sermon before the House of Lords, Jan. 30, 1793, p. 38.

Published in 1806.

indignant at this accusation; conceding indeed to the "liberal and worthy prelate very unfeigned respect," but at the same time "protesting against the raffine which incited him to this violent paragraph; and with singular humanity deploring the "unhappy infection" of it, preceded by my "harsh imputation," into this account of the great poet. No less desirous than Dr. Symmons to avoid misrepresentation in speaking of Milton, I will copy what he has advanced in maintenance of his pity and indignation, and with a brief reply leave the *charge of rashness* to be appropriated as impartiality may direct

"^x To refute this incautious charge," says Dr. Symmons, "nothing more can be necessary than the production of the passage in Milton's work, to which the reference is made. It concludes the fifth chapter of the *Defensio pro Populo Anglicano*, and it stands independently of any thing which precedes it. 'Querere enim postremis hinc seculis disciplinæ vigorem laxatum, regulam corruptam,' *quod uni scilicet tyranno, cunctis legibus soluto, disciplinam omnem laxare, mora omnium corrumpere, impune non liceat. Hanc doctrinam* 'Brunista inter reformatos' *introducisse ais; Ita Lutherus, Calvinus, Zuinglius, Bucerus, et Orthodoxorum quot celeberrimi theologi fuere, tuo judicio Brunistæ sunt. Quo æquiore animo tua maledicta perferunt Angli, cum in ecclesiæ' doctores præstantissimos, totamque adeo ecclesiam reformatam, iidem prope contumeliis debacchari te audiant.* 'You complain,' addressing himself to Salmasius, says Milton, ^f that in this last age the vigour of discipline is impaired and its right rule corrupted, because truly it is not in the power of one despot, released himself from the controul of all law, to relax with impunity the general discipline and to corrupt the morals of all. This doctrine, as you say, was first introduced among the reformed by the Brownists; so that, by your decision, Luther, Calvin, Zuinglius, Bucer, and all the

^t Life, note, p. 321. ⁿ Ibid, p. 320, ^x Ibid. 321.

most celebrated of the orthodox divines are included among the Brownists. The English, therefore, support your calumnies with the greater equanimity, when they hear you thus furious in your invectives against the most admirable doctors, and consequently against the body itself of the reformed church.'—If we admit the premises of Milton, can we refuse our assent to his conclusion? If to contend for liberty against the tyranny of a single person be the distinction of a Brownist, the first reformers were, beyond all question, Brownists; for one of the principal objects of their liberal and enlightened contention was to break the despotism of the Court of Rome. Milton asserts nothing but the truth; and he is justified in bringing it forward by that part of his adversary's work to which he replies. The first reformers were not only strenuous in their opposition to the papal despotism, but were on all occasions warm advocates and supporters of the civil liberties of man."——

So then the prelate is refuted by the representation, that Milton is speaking only of contending for liberty against the tyranny of a single person! I cannot yield to this a pretence of vindicating Milton; nor may I withhold Salmasius's own words. "^Y Postremis vero sæculis UT IN ALIIS REBUS *ita et in hac* mores, ut jam dictum, cum temponibus mutati sunt, disciplinæ vigor laxatus est, et regula corrupta. Quinimo extitere tandem pestes Rerum publicarum, regumque et omnis a Deo ordinatae potestatis hostes, fophistæ quidam qui contrariam illi, quæ a Christo tradita est, *doctrinam* introduxerunt *de occidendis. quajj jure regibus si displicerent subjectis.* Tales ia Pontificiis Jesuitæ, inter Reformatos qui vocantur "^Z INDEPENDENTS et *Brunistæ*" Milton's

y Defensio Regia, edit 12^{me}, 1650, p. 166.

See this point illustrated, in the present account; p. 64, & seq. Salmasius speaks correctly.

reply is unquestionably evasive. It is an **effort up** vindicate his own party " ^a upon the same principles/" as Dr. Watkins has well observed, " which induced the reformers to separate from the Church of Rome; an awful manoeuvre to put rebellion against the king, and the reformation from popery, upon the same footing."

That the death of Salmasius was hastened by the neglect which he is said to have experienced, on the appearance of Milton's book, is by no means clear. His biographer, Clementius, gives a distinct account of the disorder which terminated his days, and to which he had long been subject, the gout. The supposed credit of defeating a literary antagonist may indeed be deducted, without injury, from the achievements of Milton.

The first reply to Milton's *Defensio Populi* was published in the same year, and was entitled " Apologia pro Rege et Populo Anglicano, contra Johannis Polypragmatici (alias Miltoni Angli) Defensorienis destructivam Regis et populi." The author was unknown. Milton directed his younger nephew to answer it, who possibly prepared the first draught of a reply; which, before it went to press, was so carefully examined and corrected by Milton, that it **may**

• Characteristic Anecdotes of men of learning and genius, &c. 8vo. 1308, p. 214.

^b Bentley justly observes, in the Preface to his Dissertation on Phalaris, that " he must be a young writer, and a young reader too, that believes Milton and Petavius had themselves as mean thoughts of Salmasius, as they endeavour to make others have," Milton could once avow his respectful opinion of the " industry of the learned Salmasius." Reason of Ch. Gov, B. i. Ch. vi.

be confidered almoft as his own performance, althöugh denominated "Johannis *Philippi* Angli Refponfio ad Apologiam anonymi cujusdam tenebrionis pro Rege et Populo Anglicano infantiffimam." This piece appeared in 1652. Bifhop Bramhall is the ideal enemy with whom Phillips here encounters. Of fo contemptible and barbarous a compofition as the *Apologia* that learned prelate could not be the author. Since the firft edition of this account of Milton was publifhed, I have indeed difcovered the real author; and the imputation whether of Milton, or his nephew, applied to this excellent bifhop, muft never more be named. Dr. Symmons is wholly miftaken in his fuppofed difcovery of the author. I have the authority alfo of bifhop Bramhall himfelf on my fide^c.

^c From the following work we learn the name of the author *et* the *Apologie*: "Polemica five Supplementum ad Apologiam anonymam pro Rege et populo Anglicano, adverfus Jo: Miltoni Defenfionem populi Anglicani, &c. Per Io: Rowlandum, Paftorem Anglicum. 1653." 12mo. In p. 47, the author begins to fpeak of his former book, and of himfelf: "Æftimantur tamen plerumque libri authorum vel patronorum titulis, ut divites gemmis,

——' cui annulus ingens,
.—' atque ideó pluris quam Cottus agebat.'

Et nifi typographis hoc fupplementum vili veniffet, qui egenti ei nudo nullam laboris mei mercedem porrigere aufi funt, tel præli impenfæ facere, fuo Iucro metuentes, diu antehac *hanc fecundam Apologiam* publici juris feciffem. Sed fi Salmafius, tel Heinfius, vel quis magni nominis *meæ* præfigerctur, fperno fpretus, cum Heinfii Socratis pulchro fortasie pulchritudine certaret. Sed *meam* intra anni fpatium decorticare periculum fecit *quidam Johannes, an alter et idem Miltonus ? Philippus, vel Pfeudo Philippus ?* cui ratio non eft quod infe fuccenferem, qui, errando circa authorem *Apologiæ*, *me dignitate epifcopali honoravit*,

But it was thought fubfervient perhaps to the con-
 ſequence of the caufe, to exhibit its namelefs opponent
 as a man of the moſt diſtinguiſhed talents. In this
 year Sir Robert Filmer's *Animadverſions* on Milton's
Defenſio, Hobbes's *Leviathan*, and Grotius's *De Jure*
Belli, were likewiſe publiſhed. They were unnoticed
 by Milton. In 1652 alſo, the following publication
 appeared in ^d Dublin againſt him: " *Carolus I. a*
fecuri et calamo Miltoni vindicatus." And in 1653,

et Epifcopum Ditræum, aulicorum facerdotum primipilum, omni
vitiorum labe maculavit,—Quoad caetera, Philippus, levis veles,
in tricis et quifquilliis fere totum ſe exercet circa linguæ Latinæ
puritatem, cum mihi a 14 annis nec grammatica nec dictiona-
rium fuerit, quam quæ cerebro meo mecum circumferre poſſim;
et tamen hiſce phantaſmatibus, verbis, et tropis incauti lectores
capiuntur, tanquàm Prifciani vel Defpauterij cauſa ageretur,
qui, quoniam in re tarn feriâ tarn pueriliſter ineptit, non aliud à
me reſponſum expectabit quàm quod hoc diſticho compre-
hendam:

Phy nota fætoris Lippus malus omnibus horis,
Et malus et Lippus, totus malus ergo Philippus.

Non ſum enim Johannes Bramalius Epifcopus Dirræus aulicus,
 ſed *Johannes Rowlandus Anglicus*, Paſtor Eccleſiæ particularis,
 et tamen nominis mei me non pudet, quod in Eccleſiæ ortho-
 doxum, olim in proverbium ceſſit, *Rowlandus pro Olivero*, &c." *Cap. 5. Ad fin.*—I have now to communicate biſhop Bramhairs
 own remark, obligingly tranſmitted to me from Ireland by the
 Rev. Edward Berwick, (of Efker near Leixlip,) who, in looking
 over ſome original letters of the biſhop, diſcovered the inform-
 ation in one of them addreſſed to his ſon under an assumed
 name, and dated at Antwerpe in May 1654. " That filly book
 which he [Milton]. aſcribes to me, was written by one John
 Rowland, who ſince hath replied upon him. I never read a
 word either of the firſt book or of the replie in my life."

^d This is noticed in Rawlinſon's *Method of ſtudying Hiſtory*,
 vol. ii, p. 475. I have fought for it in vain.

at Leyden, " Cafpari Ziegleri Lipfienfis circa Regi-
cidium Anglorum exercitationes. Accedit Jacobi
Schalleri Differtatio ad loca quaedam *Miltoni*." Zeigler has thought proper thus to infult the great poet: " Jam vero, in dictis S. Scripturæ interpo-
landis et enervandis, quantus artifex eft Miltonus! *Jefuitis felicior, ipfo Diabola audacior!*" Ad Leo-
torem Benevolum!! Schaller is not fo much difpofed to abufe.

Milton, when he was firft made Latin Secretary, removed from his houfe in Holborn to lodgings in the vicinity of Whitehall; and was at length fixed, with his family, in apartments prepared for him in Scotland-yard; where he loft an infant fon. His health being impaired, he chofe, however, in 1652, a more airy fituation; and occupied a garden-houfe in Petty-FYance, Weftminfter, which opened into St James's Park; in which he continued till within a few weeks of the Reftoration. In this abode he had not been fettled long, before he loft his firft wife in child-bed; who left him three daughters. He afterwards married Catherine, the daughter of Captain Woodcock of Hackney. She alfo died in child-bed of a daughter, and within a year after their marriage. Milton honoured her memory, and foothered his own fenfibility, in a tender Sonnet.

He had become utterly blind two or three years before his fecond marriage; having loft the ufe of his left eye in 1651, and, according to his biographers,

^e " Mrs. Catharine Milton, wife to John Milton, Efq. buried Feb. 10, 1657." Bifhop Rennet's MS, Collections for St. Margaret's Parifh, Weftminfter, cited by Mr. Malcolm in his entertaining Hift. of London, 4to. vol. 4. p. 128.

that of the other in 1654. But I am inclined to suppose, that he experienced the misfortune of total darkness before the latter date. For, in Thurloe's *State-Papers*, there is the following passage in a letter from the Hague, dated 20. Junii, 1653. "^f Vous avez en Angleterre *un aveugle* nommé Milton, qui a le renom d' avoir bien écrit"

His enemies meanly triumphed in his blindness; and imputed it as a judgement from heaven upon him for writing against the King. But his eyes had been gradually failing long before, owing to the midnight studies of his youth. He had been cautioned by his physicians, while he was writing his *Defence of the People*, to desist from the task, if he valued the preservation of his sight; but he was undismayed by their opinion, and did not hesitate to prefer what he thought his duty to his eyes; and, after their orbs were quenched, he nobly tells us, that, while he despised the repentment of those who rebuked his darkness, he did not want the charity to forgive them. At the desire of his friend Leonard Philaras, a celebrated Athenian, and ambassador from the Duke of Parma at Paris, (who had written an encomium of his *Defence*,) he sent him a particular account of his calamity; not without an expectation, which alas! was never gratified, of deriving benefit from the opinion of Thevenot, a physician particularly distinguished as an oculist. Milton's curious and admirable letter, which is the fifteenth of his Latin epistles, has been translated by Mr. Richardson and Mr. Hayley. In the more attractive language of the latter, I submit it to the reader.

^f Vol. i. p. 281.

" As I have cherished from my childhood (if ever mortal did) a reverential fondness for the Grecian name, and for your native Athens in particular, so have I continually persuaded myself, that at some period I should receive from that city a very signal return for my benevolent regard : nor has the ancient genius of your most noble country failed to realize my preface; he has given me in you an Attick brother, and one most tenderly attached to me. Though I was known to you only by my writings, and though your residence was far distant from mine, you first addressed me in the *most* engaging terms by letter; and afterwards coming unexpectedly to London, and visiting the stranger, who had no eyes to see you, continued your kindness to me under that calamity, which can render me a more eligible friend to no one, and to many, perhaps, may make me an object of disregard.

" Since, therefore, you request me not to reject: all hope of recovering my sight, as you have an intimate friend at Paris, in Thevenot the physician, who excels particularly in relieving ocular complaints, and whom you wish to consult concerning my eyes, after receiving from me such an account as may enable him to understand the source and symptoms of my disorder, I will certainly follow your kind suggestion, that I may not appear to reject assistance thus offered me, perhaps providentially.

" It is about ten years, I think, since I perceived my sight to grow weak and dim, finding at the same time my intestines afflicted with flatulence and oppression.

" Even in the morning, if I began as usual to read, my eyes immediately suffered pain, and seemed to shrink from reading, but, after some moderate bodily exercise, were refreshed; whenever I looked at a candle I saw a sort of iris around it. Not long afterwards, on the left side of my left eye which began to fail some years before the other) a darkness arose, that hid from me all things on that side;—if I chanced to close my right eye, whatever was before me seemed diminished.—In the last three years as my regaining eye failed by degrees some months before my sight was utterly

gone, all things that I could discern, though I moved not myself, appeared to fluctuate, now to the right, now, to the left. Obstinate vapours seem to have settled all over my forehead and my temples, overwhelming my eyes with a sort of fleecy heaviness, especially after food, till the evening; so that I frequently recollect the condition of the prophet Phineus in the Argonauticks: .

—————' Him vapours dark
' Envelop'd, and the earth appeared to roll
' Beneath him, sinking in a lifeless trance,'

But I should not omit to say, that while I had some little fight remaining, as soon as I went to bed, and reclined on either side, a copious light used to dart from my closed eyes; then, as my light grew daily less, darker colours seemed to burst forth with vehemence, and a kind of internal noise; but now, as if every thing lucid were extinguished, blackness, either absolute or chequered, and interwoven as it were with ash-colour, is accustomed to pour itself on my eyes; yet the darkness perpetually before them, as well during the night as in the day, seems always approaching rather to white than to black, admitting, as the eye rolls, a minute portion of light as through a crevice. -

" Though from your physician such a portion of hope also may arise, yet, as under an evil that admits no cure, I regulate and tranquillize my mind, often reflecting, that since the days of darkness allotted to each, as the wise man reminds us, are many, hitherto my darkness, by the Angular mercy of God, with the aid of study, leisure, and the kind convention of my friends, is much less oppressive than the deadly darkness to which he alludes. For if, as it is written, man lives not by bread alone, but by every word that proceeds from the mouth of God, why should not a man acquiesce even in this? not thinking that he can derive light from his eyes alone, but esteeming himself sufficiently enlightened by the conduct or providence of God.

" As long therefore, as he looks forward, and provides for me as he does, and leads me backward and forward by **the**

hand, as it were, through my whole life, fhall I not cheerfully bid toy eyes keep holiday, fince fuch appears to be his pleaſure ? But whatever may be the event of your kindneſs, my dear Philaras, with a mind not leſs reſolute and firm than if I were Lynceus himſelf, I bid yon farewell. *Weſtminſter*, Sept. 38, 1654."

Thus " content, though blind," he continued to exerciſe his abilities with his accuſtomed animation. For, as Dr. Johnſon remarks, his mind was too eager to be diverted, and too ſtrong to be ſubdued. An aſſiſtant, however, was allowed him in his office of Latin Secretary; and his ſalary was continued. In 1654, he publiſhed his " *Defenſio Secunda pro Populo Anglicano, contra infamem libellum anonymum, cui titulus, Regii ſanguinis clamor ad coelum adverſus parricidas Anglicanos.*" Of the book, which excited this reply, the author was Peter du Moulin the younger, afterwards prebendary of Canterbury. He had tranſmitted his papers to Salmaſius, by whom they were entrusted, for publication, to Alexander Morus. Du Moulin had been already in too much danger not to know the neceſſity of concealment. In the late King's ſervice he had written his " *Apolo- gie de la Religion Reformee, et de la Monarchie, et de l'Egliſe d'Angleterre, &c.*" which, he has himſelf recorded, " ' was begun at York, during the ſiege, in a room where chimney was beaten down by the cannon while I was at my work; and, after the ſiege and my expulſion from the recory at Whel-

t From the copy of his book in the Library of Canterbury Cathedral, numbered L. iv. 50.5.; the firſt five leaves of which contain a manuſcript relation, written with his own hand, of his ſervices in the cauſe of royalty.

drake, it was finifht in an underground cellar, where I lay hid to auoyd warrants that were out againft me from Committees to apprehend me and carry me prifoner to Hull—Much about the fame time I fet out my Latin poeme *Ecclefiaë Gemitus* with a long epiftle to all Chriftians in-defence of the King and the Church of England; and two years after *Clamor regii fanguinis ad coelum*" Here is a confirmation then, if confirmation were " wanting, that Milton had miftaken the publifher for the author. Milton, in his *Second Defence*, has treated Morus with equal feverity and ridicule. Morus replied in his *Fides Publica*, into which were interwoven, with the vain hope of blunting the keennefs of Milton's fatire, teftimonies of character, and a difavowal of the book. Du Moulin was now again in great danger. His difmayed publiher gave his enemies the means of difcovering him; but they fuffered him to efcape, rather than they would publickly convict Milton of his errour. Milton, on being informed that Du Moulin, and not Morus, was the author of the *Clamor*, is faid to have replied, "¹ Well! that was all one, he having writt it [his *Second Defence*], it fhould goe into the world; one of them was as bad as the other." Morus, however, is ftill the object of his attack in his *Authoris pro fe Defenfio*, publifhed in 1655, as a reply to the *Fides Publica*. Morus ventured to rejoin in a *Supplementum*, which was foon filenced by a brief *Refponfo* from Milton; and the controverfy clofed.

^h See the Note on the Epigram *In Morum*,

ⁱ Aubrey's MS.

He now gave himself up to his private studies, and to the duties of his office. As Latin Secretary, he is justly supposed to have written the Protestor's Declaration of the reasons for a war with Spain, in 1655. The peculiar elegance of the style bespeaks the author. He had before addressed, in the name of Cromwell, the celebrated Latin verses to Chrifina, queen of Sweden. For Milton, rather than Marvell, I think, has the fairest pretensions to be their owner

As Milton is believed ¹ to have continued his friendship for Henry Lawes, the musician, throughout the Rebellion, I am led to think that he now often experienced a pleasing relaxation from business and study in listening to the "soft pipe, and smooth-tuned song," of his early acquaintance. Lawes, who was acquainted with the principal poets of his time, and was honoured with many of their productions for the use of his lyre, had now published two *Books of Ayres*; in the latter of which, dated 1655, is a ballad, which "The Table, with the names of those who were the Authors of the Verses," ascribes to "Mr. I. M. p. 37." The ballad consists of the first and last stanzas of a little poem, which had appeared not long before in an edition of Shakspeare's poems; at the end of which is "'An Addition of some excellent poems, to those precedent of renowned Shakspeare, by other Gentlemen;" but these verses are without any signature, while Milton's epitaph on Shakspeare, in the same volume, is subscribed L. M.

^k See the Notes on Par. Reg. B. ii. 481, and on the Verses to Chrifina.

¹ Account of Henry Lawes, prefixed to *Comus*.

It may not perhaps seem improbable, that Milton might formerly have acknowledged to Lawes this production of his earlier days, which yet he had not thought worthy of admision into his collection of poems. The little poem shews at least a remarkable familiarity with Sylvefter's *Du Bartas* ; a book, in which Milton was^m assuredly conversant. I submit the verses, with deference, to the determination of the reader-

" *Lavinia walking in a frosty morning.*

" I' the non-age of a winter's day,
 " Lavinia, glorious as May,
 " To give the morn anⁿ earlier birth,
 " Paced a mile of crusted earth,
 " ° When each place, by which me came,
 " From her veins conceiv'd a flame.
 " The amorous plants began to strive,
 " Which should first be fenitive;
 " Every hoary'-headed twigge
 " Dropp'd his fnowy perriwigge,
 " And each bough his icy beard :
 " On either side his walkes were heard
 " Whispers of decrepit wood,
 " Calling to their rootes for blood:
 " The gentle foyle did mildly greete
 " The welcome kisses of her feete ;
 " And, to retaine such a treasure,
 " Like wax dissolving, took her measure.
 " Lavinia stood amaz'd to see
 " Things of yearly^p certaintie

^m See the Inquiry into the *Origin of Par. Lost*.

ⁿ In Lawes's copy, " an earlier birth."

^o In Lawes's copy, " Where every place."

^p In Lawert copy, " yearly coftancie."

" Thus to rebel againſt their feaſon:
 " And, though a ſtranger to the reaſon,
 " Back retiring quench'd their heate,
 " And Winter^r tooke his former feate."

It has been already obſerved, that Milton was ſupplied with an aſſiſtant in his office of Secretary. In 1657 Andrew Marvell was aſſociated with him in this duty; before which time, Marvell aſſerts that he " never had any, not the remoteſt, relation to publick matters, nor correſpondence with the perſons then predominant;" but that he then " entered into an employment, for which he was not altogether improper, and which he conſider'd to be the moſt innocent and inoffenſive toward his Majeſties affairs of any in *that uſurped and irregular Government to which all men were then expoſed*. And this he accordingly diſcharg'd without diſobliging any one perſon; there having been opportunity and endeavours, ſince his Majeſties happy return, to have diſcover'd had it been otherwiſe," So manly an avowal cannot but command reſpecta—Of Marvell's regard for Milton, the verſes, uſually prefixed to *Paradiſe Loſt*, are an elegant teſtimony. In the volume, from which I have made the preceding citation, are ſeveral anecdotes of Milton and his friends, not generally known, as Mr. Warton long ſince obſerved. This ſecond part of Marvell's *Rehearſal Tranſpoſ'd* publiſhed in 1673, is an attack on Dr. Samuel Parker, well known for his tergiverſation with the times; and of whom it was

^q In Lawes's copy, " Back *returning* quench'd the heat

^r In Lawes's copy, " And Winter *kept*."

^s *Rehearſal tranſpoſ'd*, Sec. Part, p. 127.

once said that he " had wit enough to colour any thing though never so foule, and impudence enough to affirm any thing though never so false." When Marvell attacked him with farcical and (successful) raillery, Parker was an antipuritan in the extreme. Marvell thus expresses his honest indignation against Parker for traducing his friend Milton, p. 377.

" You do three times at lead in your *Reproof*, and in your *Transprofer Rehears'd* well nigh half the book thorow, run upon an author J. M., which does not a little offend me. For why should any other man's reputation suffer in a contest betwixt you and me? But it is because you resolved to suspect that *he* had an hand in my former book, [the first part of *The Rehear/all*, published in 1672,] wherein, whether you deceive yourself or no, you deceive others extremely. For by chance I had not seen him of two years before; but, after I undertook writing, I did more carefully avoid either visiting or sending to him, lest I should any way involve him in my consequences. And you might have understood, or I am sure your friend, the author of the *Common Places*, could have told you, (he too had a flax at J. M. upon my account,) that had *he* took you in hand, you would have had cause to repent the occasion, and not escaped so easily as you did under my *Transprofer*.—But because in your 115. p. you are so particular you *know a friend of ours*, &c. intending THAT J. M. and his answer to Salmasius, I think it here reasonable to acquit my promise to you in giving the reader a short trouble concerning my first acquaintance with you. J. M. was, and is, a man of as great learning and sharpness of wit as any man. It was his misfortune, living in a tumultuous time, to be tossed on the wrong side; and he writ, *flagrante bello*, certain dangerous treatises.—At his majesty's happy return, J. M. did partake, as you yourself did, for all your huffing, of his royal clemency, and has ever since ex-

¹ Preface to " A Caveat to the Cavaliers, 1661."

piated himself In a retired filence. It was after that, **I well** remember it, that, being one day at his house, I there first met you, and accidentally.—Then it was, when you, as I told you, wandered up and down Morefielde, astrologizing upon the duration of his majesty's government, that you frequented J. M. incessantly, and haunted his house day by day. What discourses you there used, he is too generous to remember. But he never having in the least provoked you, for you to insult thus over his old age, to traduce him by your scaramuccios, and in your own person, as a schoolmaster, who was born and hath lived more ingenuously and liberally than yourself; to have done all this, and lay at last my fimple book to his charge, without ever taking care to inform yourself better, which you had so easy an opportunity to do:—it is inhumanly and inhospitably done; and will, I hope, be a warning to all others, as it is to me, to avoid (I will not say) such a Judas, but a man that creeps into all companies to jeer, trepan, and betray them."

Marvell, however, was mistaken in attributing the *Transprofer Rehears'd* to Parker; which, as Mr. Warton remarks, was written by R. Leigh, formerly of Queen's College, Oxford, but then a player. It was printed at Oxford in 1673, "*for the Affignes of Hugo Grotius, and Jacob Van Harmine, on the North-side of the Lake-Lemane !*" A more scurrilous or indecent publication has seldom disgraced the press. The contemptible writer ridicules the *Paridise Lost*, because it is written *in blank verse*, p. 30; and for the same reason calls Milton a *schismatick in poetry*, p. 43. He describes the poet as *groping for a beam of light* in that sublime apostrophe, "*Hail, holy Light, &c.*" p. 43. And he reproaches him as *a Latin Secretary and an English Schoolmaster*, p. 128. With the obsequies of this scribbler I will not fill these pages. I must add that

the *Reproof* in which Milton is called a *friend of ours*, was certainly written by Parker. But Parker's "friendly voice" was afterwards changed. Neither Milton nor Marvell, however, lived to read the abuse, which Parker bestowed on both of them in his posthumous *Commentarii fut temporis*; of which Mr. Warton has given the following translated passage, relating to the pamphleteers against the royal party at Cromwell's accession.

" Among these calumniators was a rascal, one Marvell. As he had spent his youth in debauchery, so, from natural petulance, he became the tool of faction in the quality of satyrist: yet with more scurrility than wit, and with a mediocrity of talents, but not of ill-nature. Turned out of doors by his father, expelled the university, a vagabond, a ragged and hungry poetaster, kicked and cudgelled in every tavern, he was daily chastised for his impudence. At length he was made under secretary to Cromwell, by the procurement of Milton, to whom he was a very acceptable character, on account of a similar malevolence of disposition, &c." B. iv. p. 275.

This passage was perhaps written about the year 1680. *Paradise Lost*, Mr. Warton adds, had now been published thirteen years, and its excellencies must have been fully estimated and sufficiently known; yet in such terms of contempt, or rather neglect, was its author now described, by a popular writer, certainly summan of learning, and very soon afterwards a bishop. Parker became indeed a bishop; but he was also the obtruded president of Magdalen College, Oxford; the minion of a popish king.

From this account respecting Milton, and his associate in office, we may return to the employment of the great poet, after the days of controversy were

no more. His time now appears to have been devoted to the accomplishment of three literary projects ; the history of his country, an epick poem, and a new dictionary of the Latin tongue. Of this last work the preparations, which he had made long before, and had occasionally continued till his death, were found so discomposed and deficient, as Phillips relates, that they could not be fitted for the press. From these preparations, however, perhaps originated the Cambridge Dictionary, published in 1693 ; the editors of which acknowledge, that " they made three large folio volumes, containing a collection out of all the best and purest Roman authors." They were probably communicated by Phillips, who is supposed to have been the last possessor of these classical accumulations.

In the mean time Milton amused himself with the publication of final productions; of a manuscript by Raleigh, entitled *The Cabinet Council*, in 1658 ; and of two tracts, in the succeeding year ; the first relating to the *Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes*; the last to *The Means of removing Hirelings out of the Church*. It must here be noticed, as another proof of his studious disposition, that he had collected a variety of State Papers, from the death of the King to the present period, probably with a view to render them subservient to some particular or general history of his times. They were published in 1743 with the following title: " Original Letters and Papers of State, addressed to Oliver Cromwell, concerning the Affairs of Great Britain. From the year 1649 to 1658. Found among the Political Cohesions of Mr. John Milton, Now first published from the

Originals. By John Nickolls, Jun. Member of the Society of Antiquaries, London." They had been once in the possession of Ellwood. In this collection are two important letters written by Milton's friend, Colonel Overton; and a character, drawn by Captain Bifhope, of another of Milton's particular friends, the lord president Bradshaw; harmonizing, in respect to personal qualities, with his own most eloquent eulogy of that regicide. The collection abounds also with choice effusions of fanatical zeal, in addresses to Cromwell and other supporters of what Milton terms "*The Good Old Cause!*" In a letter to Colonel Robert Overton, p. 161, is the following passage: " Sir, your friends beseech you *to be much in the mount with God*, who is the best counsellor, and will then be seen : This is no time to consult with flesh and blood." Then follows almost immediately an unfortunate anticlimax to such impressive eloquence, compensated instantaneously, however, by the writer's blazing resumption of his favourite subject: " *Sir, there is one Miss Dawjon presented her service to you.* To-morrow is kept a very solemn day among some heathens, fasting and prayers; but the devil himself is no other way cast out!"

Oliver being dead, and Richard being obliged to resign the protectorship, Milton, upon the dissolution of the parliament by the army, wrote *A Letter concerning the ruptures of the Commonwealth*. With a view to prevent the restoration of kingly government, other republican pens were also busily employed. Not to mention the strenuous exertions of

Harrington, I have now before me " Idea Democratica, or a Commonweal Platform," and " A IModel of a Democraticall Government, humbly tendered to confideration by a friend and well-wifher to this Common-wealth," both anonymous productions of 1659. They minutely agree with Milton's *Brief Delineation of a Free Commonwealth*, addreffed to Monk in the fame year. But^x " the ihip of the Commonwealth" could no longer be kept afloat : The gale of popular opinion was now adverfe. Of the ufurpation there were few who were not eager to fhake off the galling chains. The following lines of Lucretius may be confidercd as no diffimilar picture of the prefent period, as well as of the triumphant reign of Cromwell.

o

y " Ergo regibus occifis fubverfa jacebat
 " Priftina majeftas foliorum, et fcepra fupcrba;
 " Et capitis kimmi praeclarum infigne cruentum
 " Sub pedibus volgi magnum lugebat honorem.
 " Nam eupide conculcatur nimis ante metutum.
 " Res itaque ad fummam fecem turbafque redibat,
 " Imperium fibi cùm, ac Aimroatum, quifque petebat,
 " Inde magiftratum partim docuere creare,
 " Juraque conftitucie, ut **vellent** legibus uti:
 " Nam genus humaimm, defeffum vi colere aevum,
 " Ex mimicitiiis languebat; quo magis ipfum
 " Sponte fua cecidit fub leges, arctaque jura."

Milton, however, not long before the King's return, publifhed *The ready and eafy Way to eftablifh a Free Commonwealth*; which he hoped might not contain " the laft words of expiring liberty." The

See Milton's Profe-Works, vol. II. p. 789- edit. 1698.

y Lib. v. ver. 1135.

pamphlet gave rise ^z both to a ferious, and to a ludicrous, reply. He afterwards published *Brief Notes* upon a Sermon preached in March 1659-60, by Dr. Matthew Griffith, called *The Fear of God and the King*. These Notes were immediately answered by L'Efrange in a pamphlet, insultingly denominated *No Blind Guides*.

Perceiving the return of the King to be unavoidable, he was obliged to quit the house which he occupied as Latin Secretary, and in which he had lived eight years with great reputation; visited by all foreigners of distinction, and by several persons of quality in his own country, particularly by Lady Ranelagh, whose son had been his pupil. It appears, from Aubrey's relation, that several foreigners had been induced to visit England, in order " chiefly to see Oliver Cromwell lord protector, and Mr. John Milton." In the execution of his office Milton had acquired indeed the highest credit. His *State-Letters*, which are published, are justly admired by critics and politicians, and eminently bespeak the vigour and sensibility of his active mind. They are entitled " *Literal Senatûs Anglicani, necnon Cromwelli, &c. nomine ac jussu confcriptæ*" They have been translated into English; in which dress they appeared, with his Life prefixed by Phillips, in 1694.

Milton at the Restoration withdrew, for a time, to a friend's house in Bartholomew-Close. By this precaution he probably escaped the particular prosecution which was at first directed against him.

^z See the Notes on the 21st Sonnet, and the Ode to Rouse.

Mr. Warton was told by Mr. Tyers from good authority, that, when Milton was under, prosecution with Goodwin, his friends, to gain time, made a mock-funeral for him; and that when matters were fettled in his favòur, and the affair was known, the King laughed heartily at the trick. This circumstance has been 'also related by an hiftorian^b lately brought to light; who fays that Milton " pretended to be dead, and had a publick funeral proceffion," and that " the King applauded his policy in efcaping the puniftment of death, by a feafonable liew of dying-" His *Eiconoclaftes* and *Defenfio pro Populo Anglicano* were, however, conligned to the moft publick difgrace. It was the refolution of the Commons, on the 16th of June 1660, that his Majeity fhould be "^c humbly moved to call in Milton's two books, and that of John Goodwin, [*The Obftructors of Juftice*,] written in juftification of the murder of the late King, and order them to be burnt by the common hangman; and that the Attorney-General fhould proceed againft them by indictment or otherwife." Dr. Johnson thinks that Milton was not very diligently purfued. It is certain that he very fuccelsfully concealed himfelf. The proclamation for apprehending him, and his bold compeer, particularly notices that "^d the faid John Milton and John Goodwin are fo fied, or fo obfeure themfelves, that no endeavours ufed for their apprehenfion can take

^a See his Second Edition of Milton's Smaller Poems, p. 358,

^b Cunningham's Hift. of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 14.

^c Journals of the Houfe of Commons.

^d See the Proclamation printed **at length in Rennet's Register and Chronicle**, 1728, p. 189.

effect, whereby they may be brought to legal tryal, and deservedly receive condign punishment for their treasons and offences." Of the proscribed books several copies were committed to the flames on the 27th of August. Within three days after the burning these offensive publications, he found himself relieved, by the Act of *Indemnity*, from the necessity of concealment. Goodwin was incapacitated, as Dr. Johnson observes, with nineteen more, for any publick trust; but of Milton there was no exception. He was afterwards, however, in the custody of the Serjeant at arms; for on Saturday the 15th of December, 1660, it was ordered, by the House of Commons, " ^e that Mr. Milton, now in custody of the Serjeant at arms, attending this House, *be forthwith releas'd, paying his fees.*" And, on Monday the 17th, " a complaint being made that the Serjeant at arms had demanded excessive fees for *the imprisonment* of Mr. Milton; it was ordered, that it be referred to the Committee for Privileges to examine this business, and to call Mr. Mead the Serjeant before them, and to determine what is fit to be given to the Serjeant for his fees in this case." Milton is supposed to have had powerful friends both in Council and Parliament; as Secretary Morice, Sir Thomas Clarges, and Andrew Marvell. But the principal instrument in obtaining Milton's pardon is said to have been Sir William Davenant, who, when he was taken prisoner in 1650, had been fav'd by Milton's interest, and who now, in grateful return for so signal an obligation, interceded for the life of

^e Journals of the House of Commons.

Milton. This story has been related by Richardfon upon the authority of Pope, who received it from Betterton, the protégé of Davenant Aubrey, in his manuscript Life of Davenant,^f ascribes his safety, without mention of Milton, to two aldermen of York.

Milton, having obtained his pardon, took a house in Holborn near Red-Lion-Fields; but soon removed to Jewin-street, near Aldersgate. Here he married his third wife, Elizabeth Minihull, of a genteel family in Cheshire. She was a relation of Dr. Paget, his particular friend, whom he had requested to recommend a proper comfort for him. It may here be observed, that he chose his three wives out of the virgin state. Indeed he tells us that he entirely agreed "^g with them who, both in prudence and elegance of spirit, would choose a virgin of mean fortunes, honestly bred, before the wealthiest widow." Soon after this last marriage, he is said to have been offered the continuance of his employment of Latin Secretary, and to have,^h magnanimously declined it. It was while he lived in Jewin-street, that Ellwood the Quaker was recommended to him as a person who, for the advantage of his conversation, would read to him such Latin books as he thought proper; an employment to which he attended every afternoon, except on Sundays.

¹ See the Hift, Account of the English Stage, Steevens's Shakspeare, edit. 1793. vol. ii. p. 431.

² Prose-Works, vol. i p. 191. ed. 1698.

³ See the Note^f to the Nuncupative Will.

" At my first Titling to him," this ingenucras¹ writer informs us, in his life of himself, " observing that I used the English pronunciation, he told me, if I would have the benefit of the Latin tongue, not only to read and understand Latin authors, but to converse with foreigners, either abroad or at home, I must learn the foreign pronunciation; to this I consenting, he intrusted me how to found the vowels: This change of pronunciation proved a new difficulty to me ; but ' labor omnia vincit improbus;' and so did I; which made my reading the more acceptable to my master. He, on the other hand, perceiving with what earnest desire I pursued learning, gave me not only all the encouragement, but all the help, he could; for, *having a curious ear, he understood by my tone when I understood what I read, and when I did not; and accordingly he would stop me, and examine me, and open the most difficult passages to me.*"

The kind care bestowed by Milton upon the improvement of this young man was repaid by every mark of personal regard. The courtesy of the preceptor, and the gratitude of the disciple, are indeed

¹ " The early life of Ellwood," MR. Warton has remarked, " exhibits exactly the progress of an enthusiast. Having been a profligate youth, and often whipped at school twice a day, he was suddenly reclaimed by accidentally hearing a Quaker's sermon. He then had the felicity of following the steps of St. Paul, in suffering bonds and imprisonment. But those flight evils did not reach the spiritual man. He found the horrors of a jail to be green and flowery pastures, refreshed with the fountain of grace. He comforted himself as Shakespeare says, with * a snuff in a dungeon.' The history of his desultory life, written by himself, and from which I collated these anecdotes, is filled with idle rambles and adventures, foolish scraps of poetry, and fanatical opinions. 1 except those passages which relate to Milton, as also the best and most curious part of the description of Bridewell and Newgate, then the usual receptacles of preaching apprentices, and frequently more full of faints than felons,"

alike conspicuous. After several adventures, which were no flight trials of patience, Ellwood found *est* *asylum* in the house of an affluent quaker at Chalfont in Buckinghamshire, whose children he was to instruct. This situation afforded him an opportunity of being serviceable to Milton. For, when the plague began to rage in London in 1665, Ellwood took a house for him at ^k Chalfont St. Giles; to which the poet retired with his family. He had not long before

^k Dr. Birch, in his *Life of Milton*, has printed a *Sonnet*, said to be written by Milton in 1665, when he retired to Chalfont in Buckinghamshire on account of the plague; and to have been seen inscribed on the glass of a window in that place. I have seen a copy of it written, apparently in a coeval hand, at the end of Tonson's edition of Milton's *Smaller Poems* in 1713, where it is also said to be Milton's. It is re-printed, from Dr. Birch's *Life of the poet*, in Fawkes and Woty's *Poetical Calendar*, 1763, vol. viii. p. 67. But, in this Sonnet there is a scriptural mistake; which, as Mr. Warton has observed, Milton was not likely to commit. For the Sonnet improperly represents David as punished by penitence for his adultery with Bathsheba. Mr. Warton, however, adds, that Dr. Birch had been informed by Vertue the engraver, that he had seen a satirical medal, (struck upon Charles the second, abroad, without any legend, having a correspondent device.—This Sonnet, I should add, varies from the confusion of the legitimate Sonnet, in consisting of only ten lines, instead of fourteen.

Fair mirror of foul times! whose fragile frame
 Shall, as it blazeth, break; while Providence,
 Aye watching o'er his fancies with eye unseen,
 Spreads the red rod of angry pestilence,
 To sweep the wicked and their counsels hence;
 Yea, all 10 break the pride of lustful kings,
 Who heaven's lore reject for brutish sense;
 As erst he scourg'd Jezebel's sin of yore,
 For the fair Hittite, when, on seraph's wings
 He sent him war, or plague, or famine fore.

removed from Jewin-ftreet to a houfe in Artillery Walk, leading to Bunhill-fields. On his arrival at Chalfont he found that Ellwood, in confequence of a perfecution of the quakers, was confined in the gaol of Ayicftmry. But, being foon releafed, this affectionate friend made a vifit to him, to welcome him into the country. " After fome common difcourfes," fays Ellwood, " had paffed between us, he called for a manufcript of his, which, being brought, he delivered to me, bidding me take it home with me, and read it at my leifure, and when I had fo done, return it to him with my judgement thereupon. When I came home, and let myfelf to read it, I found it was that excellent poem, which he entitled *Paradife Loft*." From this account it appears that *Paradife Loft* was complete in 1665.

Next year, when the city was cleaned, and the danger of infection ceafed, he returned to Bunhill-fields, and defigned the publication of his great poem. Some biographers have fuppofed that he began to mould the *Paradife Loft* into an epick form, foon after he was difengaged from the controverfy with Salmafius. Aubrey fays, that he began the work about two years before the Reftoration. However, confidering the difficulties, as Dr. Newton well remarks, " under which the author lay, his uneafinefs on account of the publick affairs and his own, his age and infirmities, his not being in circumftances to maintain an amanuensis, but obliged to make ufe of any hand that came next to write his verfes as he made them, it is really wonderful that he fhould have the fpirit to undertake fuch a work, and much more

that he should ever bring it to perfection." Yet his tuneful voice was

—————" unchanged
 " To hoarse or mute, though fallen on evil days,
 " On evil days though fallen, and evil tongues;
 " In darkness, and with dangers compass'd round,
 " And solitude."——

To Milton indeed the days might now seem evil. But to so pathetick a complaint could must be the heart of him who can listen without compassion. It reminds us of the musical but melancholy strains; addressed by his favourite Tasso in a Sonnet to Stiglian, whom he salutes as advancing on the road to Helicon:

" Ivi prende mia cetra ad un cipresso ;
 " Salutala in mio nome, e dalle arbores,
 " *Ch'io fon da gli anni e da fort una oppresso*"

The last of Milton's familiar Letters in Latin, addressed to Peter Heimbach, an accomplished German, who is styled counsellor to the elector of Brandenburg, (and who is supposed, by an expression in a former epistle from Milton to him, to have resided with the poet, when he visited England, in the character of a disciple,) relates his consideration on his present circumstances, and his reflection on the days that were gone, in a most interesting manner. With the translation of this letter by his most affectionate and spirited biographer, Mr. Hayley, the reader will be gratified.

" If among so many ¹ funerals of my countrymen, in a year so full of pestilence and sorrow, you were induced, us

¹ Even at Chalfont, whither he had retired from the danger of infection, infection had appeared. For in the Register of the

you say, by rumour to believe that I also was snatched away, it is not surprizing; and if such a rumour prevailed among those of your nation, as it seems to have done, because they were solicitous for my health, it is not unpleasing, for I must esteem it as a proof of their benevolence towards me. But by the graciousness of God, who had prepared for me a safe retreat in the country, I am still alive and well; and I trust not utterly an unprofitable servant, whatever duty in life there yet remains for me to fulfil. That you remember me, after so long an interval in our correspondence, gratifies me exceedingly, though, by the politeness of your expression, you seem to afford me room to suspect, that you have rather forgotten me, since, as you say, you admire in me so many different virtues wedded together. From so many weddings I should assuredly dread a family too numerous, were it not certain that, in narrow circumstances and under severity of fortune, virtues are most excellently reared, and are most flourishing. Yet one of these said virtues has not very handsomely rewarded me for entertaining her; for that which you call my political virtue, and which I should rather wish you to call my devotion to my country, (enchancing me with her captivating name;) almost, if I may say so, expatriated me. Other virtues, however, join their voices to assure me, that wherever we prosper in rectitude there is our country. In ending my letter, let me obtain from you this favour, that if you find any parts of it incorrectly written, and without stops, you will impute it to the boy who writes for me, who is utterly ignorant of Latin, and to whom I am forced (wretchedly enough) to repeat every single syllable that I dictate. I still rejoice that your merit as an accomplished man, whom I knew as a youth of the highest expectation, has advanced you so far in the honourable favour of your prince. For your prosperity in every other point you have

parish, under the year 1665, two persons are recorded, as I have been obligingly informed by letter from the resident clergyman, to have died of *the sickness*; [so the Plague was denominated;] one of whom is called a stranger, and died at the Manor House,

both my wishes and my hopes. Farewell. London, August 15, 1666."

After the poem had been made ready for publication, it is laid to have been in danger of being suppressed by the licenser, who imagined that, in the noble^m simile of the sun in an eclipse, he had discovered treason. The licenser's hesitation is a striking example of Lord Lyttleton's acute remark, that "the politicks of Milton at that time brought his poetry into disgrace; for it is a rule with the English; *they see no good in a man whose politicks they dislike.*"

* Licensed, however, the poem was; and Milton sold his copy, April 27, 1667, to Samuel Simmons, for an immediate payment of five pounds. But the agreement with the bookseller entitled him to a conditional payment of five pounds more when thirteen hundred copies should be sold of the first edition; of the like sum after the same number of the second edition; and of another five pounds after the sale of the third. The number of each edition was not to exceed fifteen hundred copies. It first appeared in 1667, in ten books. In the history of *Paradise Lost*, Dr. Johnson has observed that a relation of minute circumstances will rather gratify than fatigue. Countenanced by such authority, I

^m B. i. 594 &c.

ⁿ Dialogues of the Dead. Dial. xiv.

^o Mr. Malone observes, that the poem was entered in the Stationers' Book by Samuel Symons, Aug. 20. 1669. See the Life of Dryden, 1800, vol. i. part i. p. 114. The title pages of 1667 and 1668, however, bear in front "Licensed and Entered according to Order." I have seen several copies with the title-page of 1669, in which this notification is omitted.

proceed to state that the poem, in a small quarto form, and plainly but neatly bound, was advertised at the price of ^p three {hillings. The titles were varied, in order to circulate the edition, in 1667, 1668, and 1665. Of these there were no less than ^q five. In two years the sale gave the poet a right to his second payment, for which the receipt was signed April 26, 1669. The second edition was not given till 1674; it was printed in small octavo; and, by a judicious division of the seventh and tenth, contained twelve books. He lived not to receive the payment stipulated for this imprefion. The third edition was published in 1678; and his widow, to whom the copy was then to devolve, agreed with Simmons, the printer, to receive eight pounds for her right, according to her receipt dated December 21, 1680. Simmons had already covenanted to transfer the right, for twenty-five pounds, to Brabazon Aylmer, the bookfeller; and Aylmer sold to Jacob Tonson half, August 17, 1683, and the other half, March 24, 1690, at a price considerably advanced.

Of the first edition it has been observed by Dr. Johnson, that " the call for books was not in Milton's age what it is at present;—the nation had been satisfied from 1623 to 1664, that is, forty-one years, with only two editions of the works of Shakspere, which probably did not together make one thousand copies. The sale of thirteen hundred copies in two years, in opposition to so much recent enmity, and to a style

^p In Clavel's Catalogue of all the books printed in England, since the fire of London, in 1666 to the end of 1672. Fol. Lond. 1673.

^q See the list of Editions at the end of the Life.

of verification new to all and disgusting to many, was an uncommon, example of the prevalence of genius." This remark will always be read with peculiar gratification, as it exonerates our forefathers from the charge of being inattentive to the glorious blaze of a luminary, before which so many stars "dim their ineffectual light." The demand, as Dr. Johnson notices, did not immediately encrease; because "many more readers than were supplied at first, the nation did not afford. Only three thousand were sold in eleven years; for it forced its way without assistance; its admirers did not dare to publish their opinion; and the opportunities, now given, of attracting notice by advertisements were then very few. But the reputation and price of the copy still advanced, till the Revolution put an end to the secrecy of love, and *Paradise Lost* broke into open view with sufficient fecundity of kind reception. Fancy can hardly forbear to conjecture with what temper Milton surveyed the silent progress of his work, and marked its reputation stealing its way in a kind of subterraneous current through fear and silence. I cannot but conceive him calm and confident, little disappointed, not at all dejected, relying on his own merit with steady confidence, and waiting, without impatience, the vicissitudes of opinion, and the impartiality of a future generation."

Milton indeed may be considered as an illustrious example of *patient merit*. But his admirers were not long silent. Witness the spirited verses of Barrow and Marvell, prefixed to the second edition of the poem: Witness also the celebrated hexastich of Dryden, which accompanies the fourth edition; as

well as the liberal acknowledgement of his obligations to *Paradise Lost*, made almost immediately after the death of Milton in the preface to his *State of Innocence*: " I cannot, without injury to the deceased author of *Paradise Lost*, but acknowledge, that this poem has received its entire foundation, part of the design and many of the ornaments from him. What I have borrowed will be so easily discerned from my mean productions, that I shall not need to point the reader to the places; and truly I should be sorry, for my own sake, that any one should take the pains to compare them together, *the original being undoubtedly one of the greatest, most noble, and most sublime poems, which either this age or nation has produced*"

Among the circumstances of Milton's posthumous renown may be mentioned, to the no small diversion of the reader, the *curious commendation* contained in the Preface to " Poems in Two Parts First, an Interlocutory Discourse concerning the Creation, Fall, and Recovery of Man. Secondly, A Dialogue between Faith and a Doubting Soul. By Samuel Slater. Lond. 1679" The author of these poems seems to have thought the great bard, not however without some animadversion of his *corrupt pen*, to have been worthy his imitation ! " I was much taken" he says, " with *learned Mr. Milton's cast and fancy* in his book, [the *Paradise Lost*.] Him I have followed much in his method, and have been otherwise beholding to him, how much I leave thee [Gentle Reader!] to judge: but I have used a *more plain and familiar style, because I conceive it most proper* !" These compositions. the children of preposterous con-

ceit, would have been a valuable addition to the common-place books of Bayes, who alió " *loved to write familiarly!*" To the fame of Milton an elegant poetical tribute was paid in the fuccceding year by a writer, whom I have ^r conjectured to be Francis Cradock, a member of the fame club with Milton. The opinion and encouragement of Lord Somers foon afterwards occafioned the handfome folio edition of the *Paradife Loft*, which was publifhed by ^s iubfcription, in 1688; to which is prefixed a lift of more than five hundred fubferibers, among whom are all the moft diftinguifhed characters of that period. Atterbury exerted himfelf with zealous activity in the promotion of this honourable publication. In the preface to the *Second Part of Walter's Poems*, written by Atterbury, and printed in 1690; and in that to *The Defign of part of the book of Ecclefiaftes*, a poem by W. W., printed in 1691, Milton's rejection of rhyme is judicioufly commended. In 1692, another ornamented edition of *Paradife Loft*, in folio, was publiihed; and a third, with the copious and very learned commentary of Patrick Hume, in 1695. Thefe evidences of encreafing celebrity, within thirty

^r See the Commendatoiy Veifes on Milton in the prefent edition of his Poetical Works.

^s Dr. Johnfon has faid, that Dryden's *Virgil* was the firft configurable work publifhed by fubfcription. But this edition of *Paradife Loft* preceded the Englifh *Virgil* fome years. Mace's *Mufich's Monument*, fol. 1676, was publifhed by fubfcription. Perhaps Minfheu's *Guide into pongues*, foi. 1617, may be considered as the firft book, of which the fale was promoted by this method

¹ William Wollafton, author of the *Religion of Nature* delineated : the poem he endeavoured to fuppliefs. See Biog. But-
Art. *Wollafton*

years after the first appearance of the poem, I thought too remarkable to overpass; especially as the popularity of *Paradise Lost* has been supposed to be very confined, till the appearance of Addison's criticism.

Such were the proofs, relating to this subject, which I had discovered when I first published this account of Milton. I have since found more. Nor may the production of them be thought unnecessary, as the unpopularity of Milton in the seventeenth century is yet believed. A very ingenious^u author has lately asserted, that Cowley and Cleveland were more popular than Milton. The assertion has been questioned in an acute criticism, of which the foundation is just; as the facts already stated, and those which I shall add, evince. Nor will Mr. Southey regard, without pleasure, the evidences that *Paradise Lost* could be well appreciated even under the Stuarts. " The ^x assertion that Cowley was more popular in his day than Milton, we do not believe, in the more respectable sense of the word. If popularity mean the opinion of women and children, or the lower class of readers, the novels of the circulating library are at this day more popular than *Paradise Lost*. But, among good judges, Milton was early and classically worshipped. He was early translated into foreign languages,—which Cowley, we believe, never was. At all events, the popularity of Cowley is to be regarded as an exception to the rule—that demerit will not be overrated in its own

^u Mr. Southey, in the Preface to his *Specimens of the later English Poets*, p. XXVII.

^x *Edinburgh Review*, N^o xxi. p. 32.

day,—than a confirmation of the contrary. Cleveland was never so popular as Milton, in his own day, or in any other. The supposed neglect of Milton among his contemporaries has been greatly exaggerated. Neither the silence of Dryden, nor the political malignity of Winstanley, prove that the seventeenth century was not deeply sensible of his excellence, any more than Voltaire's laughing at *Paradise Lost* proves his being contemned by the moderns." To illustrate what is here advanced, I mention first that an examination of Milton's blank verse, and a proper tribute to the sweetness of his language in the *Paradise Lost* occur in Dr. Woodford's ^y *Paraphrase upon the Canticles*, published in 1679. Next, in the poetical translation of Jacob Catfius's *Self-Conflict*, published in 1680, the anonymous translator observes, in the Preface, that "it were a pity gold should be rejected, because presented unto thee in a homely vessel; or sovereign counsel, because not sung to thee by a Cowley, or a Milton; the very footsteps of either of which thou art not likely here to find." But, notwithstanding this modest depreciation of his labour, the translator has employed, with good effect, many Miltonic expressions. We find Milton again the admired theme of an unknown author in 1683, who, in his work entitled *The Situation of Paradise found out*, cites with taste and judgement several passages from the fourth book of *Paradise Lost*; and, by the application of a remark in S. Athanasius, confirms the opinion that Milton, in his description of Paradise' See also vol. ii. of the present edition of Milton's Poetical Works, pp. 277, 278.

² See my Note on *Par. Lost*, B. iv. 256.

dife, confulted the Fathers. " ^a As to the eaſterly ſituation of this garden," ſays the author, " S. Athanaſius has a fancy thereupon extraordinary poetical, and which I take to be more expreſſive of its riches, and its pleaſures, than thoſe deſcriptions the moſt fanciful poets can give of their Elyſium; viz. ' That from hence about the Oriental parts of India there are every where ſuch fragrant ſcents, and that the ſpices receive their odours, as if blown from that happy place : ' Which is good poetry enough, though too light for him: And Milton has it,

—————' Now gentle gales,
' Fanning their odoriferous wings diſpenſe
' Native perfumes, and whiſper whence they ſtole
' Thoſe balmy ſpoils.'——"

From the happy illuſtration of this beautiful paſſage, I proceed to notice a ^b tranſlation of the firſt book of *Paradiſe Loſt* ſo early as in 1685 ; and I will cloſe the publick expreſſions of regard and reſpect for Milton, under the Stuarts, with a citation from *Poems to the Memory of Edmond Waller, Eſq.* By ſeveral hands, in 1688, where Milton obtains, from an anonymous writer, this commendation by compariſon :

Now, in ſoft notes, like dying ſwans, he'd ſing.
Now tower aloft, like eagles on the wing;
Speak of adventurous deeds in ſuch a ſtrain,
As all but Milton would attempt in vain;
And only there, where his rapt Muſe does tell
How in th' arthral war th' Apoſtate Angels fell.

Of the anecdote, related by Richardſon, reſpecting the celebrity which *Paradiſe Loſt* has been ſuppoſed

^a Pages, 23, 24.

^b See the liſt of Tranſlation, at the end of this Account.

to owe to Denham, the accurate inveitigation of Mir-Malone has detected the improbability.

"^c The elder Richardfon," fays this acute and learned writer, " fpeaking of the tardy reputation of *Paradife Loft*, tells us, (and the tale has been repeated in various Lives of Milton,) that he was informed by Sir George Hungerford, an ancient member of parliament, many years previous to 1734,) that Sir John Denham came into the Houfe one morning with a fheet of *Paradife Loft* wet from the prefs, in his hand; and, being afked what it was, he replied, '*Part of the nobleft poem that ever was written in any language or in any age.*' However, the book remained unknown till it was produced about *too yeare afterwards* by Lord Buckhurft on the following occafion. That nobleman, in company with Mr. Fleetwood Shephard, (who frequently told the ftory to Dr. Tancred Robinfon, an eminent phyfician, and Mr. Richardfon's informer,) looking over fome books in Little Britain, met with *Paradife Loft* ; and, being furprifed with fome paffages in turning it over, bought it. The bookfeller requested his Lordfliip to fpeak in its favour, if he liked it: for *the impreffion lay on his hands as wafted paper*. Lord Buckhurft, (whom Richardfon inaccurately calls the Earl of Dorfet, for he did not fucceed to that title till fome years afterwards,) having read the poem, fent it to Dryden, who in a fhort time returned it with this anfwer: '*This man cuts us all out, and the ancients too.*'—Much the fame character (adds Mr. Richardfon) he gave of it to a north-country gentleman, to whom I mentioned the book, he being a great reader, but not in a right train, coming to town feldom, and keeping little company. Dryden amazed him with fpeaking loftily of it. ' Why, Mr. Dryden, fays he, (Sir W. L. told me the thing himfelf,) 'tis not in rhyme.' ' No; (replied Dryden,) *nor would I have done my Virgil in rhyme, if I was- to begin it again*'—How Sir John Denham fhould get into his hands one of the fheets of *Pa-*

^c Life of Dryden, 1800, vol. i. part i. p. 112, &c.

Paradise Lost, while it was working off at the prefs, it is not very easy to conceive. The proof-sheets of every book, as well as the finished sheets when worked off, previous to publication, are subject to the inspection of no person but the author, or the persons to whom he may confide them; and there is no evidence or probability that any intimacy subsisted between Sir John Denham and Milton. Here then is the first difficulty. The next is, that during a great part of the year 1667, when Milton's poem probably was palling through the prefs, the knight was disordered in his understanding : But a stronger objection remains behind; for, on examination, it will be found that Denham, who is said to have thus blazoned *Paradise Lost* in the House of Commons, was never in parliament. Let us, however, waive this objection, and suppose this eulogy to have been pronounced in a full House of Commons in 1667, in which year Milton's great poem according to some of the title-pages first appeared, whilst others have the dates of 1668 and 1669. So little effect had Denham's commendation, that we find in *two years afterwards* almost the whole impression lying on the bookseller's hands as waste-paper; during which time Dryden, a poet himself, living among poets, and personally acquainted with Milton, had never seen it! And to crown all, by the original contract between Milton and Simmons, the printer, dated April 27, 1667, it was stipulated, that, whenever *thirteen hundred* books were sold, he should receive five pounds, in addition to the sum originally paid on the sale of the copy: and this second sum of five pounds was *paid* to him, as appears from the receipt, on the 26th of April, 1669: so that, in two years after the original publication, we find that, instead of almost the whole impression then lying on the bookseller's hands, thirteen hundred out of fifteen hundred copies of this poem had been dispersed. Unless, therefore, almost every species of incongruity and contradiction can authenticate a narrative, this anecdote must be rejected as wholly unworthy of credit."

Before I quit the subject; of the first appearance of *Paradise Lost*, I must notice a communication, made to the publick^d not long since by a gentleman possessing the original edition, of the following lines ; apparently written by a female on two leaves prefixed to the title-page of his copy, and subscribed at the bottom with this singular remark; " *Dictated by J. M*" The communicator observes, that the daughter of Milton officiated as his amanuensis; and that, from the remark already mentioned, there is some reason to attribute the lines to the author of *Paradise Lost*. Different female hands, it may be added, appear in the manuscript of Milton, preserved in Trinity College, Cambridge. However, the bondage of rhyme will probably incline some readers to doubt the authenticity of these lines; while several striking sentiments and expressions, and the frequent flow of the verses into each other, may perhaps occasion some also to think them genuine, and that the great poet might have chosen, as an amusement, to employ once more the " jingling **found** of like endings." The subject also had been a favourite theme of Milton. *On Day-Break.*

- " Welcome, bright chorister, to our hemisphere;
- " Thy glad approaches tell us Day is near.
- " See! how his early dawn creeps o'er yon hill,
- " And with his grey-ey'd light begins to fill
- " The silent air, driving far from our sight
- " The starry regiment of frightened Night;
- " Whose pale-fac'd regent, Cynthia, paler grows,"
- " To see herself purfu'd by conquering foes;

" In the Gentleman's Magazine for August 1786, p. 698,

" Yet daring ftays behind, to guard the rear
 " Of her black armies whither without fear
 " They may retreat, till her alternate courfe
 " Bring her about again with rallied force.
 " Hark! how the lion's terrour loud proclaims
 " The gladfome tidings of day's gentle beams,
 " And, long-kept filence breaking, rudely wakes
 " The feather'd train, which foon their concert makes,
 " And with unmeafur'd notes, unnumber'd lays,
 " Do joyfully falute the lightfome rays.
 " But hearken yonder, where *the* louder voice
 " Of fome keen hunters horn hath once or twice
 " Recheated out its blaft, which feems to drill
 " Th' oppofing air, and with its echo fill.
 " Thither let's hie; and fee the toilfome hound,
 " Willing, purfues his labour, till he 'has found
 " Some hope of what he follows, then with frefht
 " And pleafing clamour tells it to the left.
 " O Thou, WHO fometimes by moft facred voice
 " Father of Light wert ftyl'd, let my free choice
 " (Though all my works be evil, feldom right,)
 " Shun loving darknefs rather than the light.
 " Let thy effential brightnefs, with quiek glance,
 " Dart through the foggy mift of ignorance
 " Into the darkened intellect, and thence
 " Difpel whatever clouds o'erfpread the fenfe;
 " Till, with^cilluminated eyes, the mind
 " All the dark corners in itfelf can find,
 " And till them all with radiant light, which may
 " Convert my gloomy night to fun-fhine day.
 " *Though dark, O God! if guarded by thy might*
 " *I fee with intellectual eyes; the night*
 " To me a noon-tide blaze, illumin'd by
 " The glorious fplendour of thy Majefty !"

" The printed word is *illumind*. An acute writer in the
 Britifh Critic fuggelts that the metre requires *illuminated*.

After the publication of *Paradise Lost*, Milton refused his design of giving an history of his native country. But he proceeded only as far as the Norman conquest. Of this history the first printed copies were mutilated; for the licenser expunged several passages, which, reprobating the pride and superstition of the Monks in the Saxon times, were understood as a concealed satire upon the Bishops in the reign of the second Charles. Milton, however, bellowed a copy of the unlicensed passages on the Earl of Anglesea; which were published in 1681, with a preface, declaring that they originally belonged to the third book of his history, and which have been since inserted in their proper places. The six books, which Milton executed, appeared in 1670.

In 1671, he published the *Paradise Regained*, and *Samson Agonistes*. Of the former poem Phillips has recorded Milton's opinion; not his preference of it to *Paradise Lost*, but his^h mortification to find it censured as infinitely inferior to his former epick production. His pretended preference has been⁴ recommended by an ingenious writer, with other

^f At the price, bound, of two (hillings and fixpenncc. Gavel's Catalogue, 1673.

^g Life of Milton, 1694, p. xxxix.

^h In a manuscript note, at the end of Toland's Life of Milton, communicated to me by Mr, F. G. Waldron, it is related that *Paradise Regained* was, in the poet's own opinion, the better poem, though it could never obtain to be named with *Paradise Lost*; and that Milton gave this reason for the general dislike, namely, *That the people had a general sense of the loss of Paradise, but not an equal gust for the regaining of it.*

i Letters of Literature, 1785, p. 416.

popular tales believed without vouchers, and without probability, to supreme contempt. Uncommon energy of thought, and felicity of composition, as Mr. Hayley observes, are apparent in both the performances of Milton, however different in design, dimension, and effect. And Mr. Dunster, the learned editor of *Paradise Regained* in 1795, has happily advanced the poem from the obscurity, in which it had been too long shrouded; pleading its merits with all the masterly discrimination of an eloquent advocate. Mr. Warton and Mr. Hayley assert, that the poet *planned*, or *began*, it at Chalfont: Mr. Dunster argues, that he probably *finished* it at his temporary residence.

"^k We may suppose," he says, " that Milton remained at Chalfont till towards the Spring of 1666; as it is said he did not return to London until ' the sickness was over, and the city was well cleaned, and become safely habitable."— Ellwood proceeds to inform us, that 'when' he waited on him afterwards in London, which he seldom failed to do when his occasions led him thither/ Milton showed him his second poem; and ' in a pleasant tone', (which to me indicates his own full approbation of his work,) said to him, ' This is owing to you, for you put it in my head by the question^l you put to me at Chalfont; which before I had not thought of/ It seems therefore nearly certain, that the *whole of the poem* was composed at Chalfont. As it was conceived with fervour, it was, I doubt not, proceeded in ' with eager thought/ This was the characteristic of Milton in composition, as may be collected from his letter to his friend Deodate, (September 2, 1637) where he describes his own

^k Addition to his edit, of *Par. Regained*.

^l See the *Origin of Paradise Regained*, prefixed to the poem in the 5th vol. of this edition*

temper to be marked with an eagerness to finish whatever he had begun; ' *meum hic est ingenium, nulla ut mora, nulla quies, nulla ferine illius rei cura, aut cogitatio distineat, quoad pervadam quo feror, et grandem aliquam studiorum meorum quasi periodum conficiam.*' *Epist. Familiar, vi.* There is also such a high degree of unity, connection, and integral perfection in the whole of this second poem, as indicates it to have been the *uninterrupted* work of one season; and, as I would suppose, the *exclusive* occupation of his divine genius during his residence in Buckinghamshire. To have composed the whole of the poem in that time, would require him to produce only about ten lines a day; and many parts are given so perfectly *con amore*, that I am confident, upon those occasions, he proceeded at a very different rate. That the *Paradise Regained* was not published till five years after the time when I suppose it to have been completed, might be the ground on which Mr. Warton considered it as not being then finished: and yet many other reasons might be assigned for its not being printed sooner. *Paradise Lost*, we know, was finished at least two years before it was printed; and it was not till a year after Milton's return to London from Chalfont, that the contract with Samuel Simmons for the copy of it was signed, and the first purchase money of five pounds was paid for it. Milton, we find, received the second five pounds two years after; the stipulated number of copies, to entitle him thereto, being then sold. The author probably did not think of going again to the press with his *second* poem, till he saw the requisite sale of the *first* accomplished. *Paradise Regained* might also wait for the completion of its companion, the *Samson*; a work, which furnishes some internal proofs of its having been composed at different periods. In July, 1670, the two poems were licensed, and were printed the year following. In 1670 was printed his *History of England*: so that Milton was not without his occupations between the time of his return to London, in the Spring of 1666, and his procuring the licence for printing his *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes* in July 1670. That

he might revile and correct his brief epick **previous to this**, is very possible: but, that it was composed in its first form at Chalfont, I think, cannot be doubted. Accordingly I regard the little mansion there with no small degree of veneration, as being exclusively the *incunabula* of Milton's *Paradise Regained*. I should approach it as a Tibur or a Tufculum; and should feel myself on claffick ground."

For^m similar reasons the poet's last residence, the house in the Artillery-walk, may appear to his enthusiastick admirers, as Mr. Hayley remarks, consecrated by his genius. I proceed to notice the poem accompanying *Paradise Regained*, the *Samson Agonistes*; in which there are so many severe strictures, clearly pointing at the Restoration, and at the subsequent sufferings of Milton's party, that it has been often wondered it should have been fancioned with an *imprimatur*. A learned antiquary thus endeavours to account for this indulgence in the licensor: " " Hurt by the censures,, to which he had subjected himself by his over-refined cavils at *Paradise Lost*, he might be unwilling to renew and encrease the obloquy, by demurring at the appearance of another poem of unquestionable excellence." To his own sufferings also the poet often alludes in this sublime and affecting tragedy. He had before couched his complaint, as well as his unfeigned contempt of regal government, under the concluding sentence of his history: " As the long-suffering of God permits bad men to enjoy prosperous days with the good, so his severity oftentimes exempts 'not good men from their share in evil times with the bad'".

^m See the Note " to the Nuncupative Will.

ⁿ Denne's Hist. of Lambeth Parish, &c. 1795, p. 344,

In 1672, he published his *Artis Logicæ plenior institutio ad Rami methodum concinnata*. He had, in 1661, given to the publick, for the service of youth, *Accidence commenced Grammar*., These pieces are proofs of that zeal for careful education, which Milton shewed throughout his life. To this zeal Dr. Johnson has paid a tribute of applause, not more honourable than just. " To that multiplicity of attainments, and extent of comprehension, that entitle this great author to our veneration, may be added a kind of humble dignity, which did not disdain the meanest services to literature. The epic poet, the controvertist, the politician, having already descended to accommodate children with a book of rudiments, now, in the last years of his life, composed a book of Logick, for the initiation of students in philosophy." Of his book of Logick there was a second edition in the following year.

In 1673, his *Treatise Of true Religion, Heresie, Schism, Toleration, and what best means may be used against the growth of Popery*, was published. In this discourse there are some passages, which show that Milton had altered his opinion, since his younger days, respecting certain points of doctrine. That regard for the Holy Writings, which always predominated in his mind, is also particularly observable in it. " Let not," he says, the countryman, the tradesman, the lawyer, the physician, the statesman, excuse himself by his much business, from the studious reading of the Bible." This advice he offers as the best preservative against Popery. His principle of toleration, as Dr. Johnson observes, is agreement in the sufficiency of the Scriptures and he extends it

to all who, whatever their opinions are, profess to derive them from the Sacred Books: In the same year he reprinted his juvenile poems with some additions, and with the Tractate on Education. Notwithstanding the publick avowal of his opposition to Popery, the infamous Titus Oates had the impudence to assert, not long afterwards, that "Milton was a known ° frequenter of a Popish Club."

In 1674, the last year of his laborious life, he published his *Familiar Letters in Latin*, to which he added some *Academical Exercises*. His employment of the press closed for ever in a translation of the ^p *Latin Declaration of the Poles in favour of John the third*, their heroic sovereign. He had now been a long sufferer by the gout; and in July, considering his end to be approaching, he informed his brother Christopher, who was then a bencher in the Inner Temple, that he wished to dictate to him the disposition of his property. The recent discovery of this Nuncupative Will minutely illustrates the domestic manners of the poet. To this account of his life it is subjoined, entire, with the notes of Mr. Warton. Milton died on^q Sunday the 8th of

° Dedication or address prefixed to the true Narrative of the Horrid Plot, &c. of the Popish Party, by T. Oates, D. D. fol. Lond. 1679.

^p The Biographical Dictionary, of 1798, calls this piece a translation from the *Dutch*. See vol. 10. p. 465. But the title-page of the performance announces it thus: "Now faithfully translated from the *Latin copy*."

^q Mr. Hayley says, on Sunday the 15th of November. But it appears, by the Register of St. Giles Cripplegate, that he was buried on the 12th. "L. John Melton, gentleman. Consumption. Chauncell. 12. Nov. 1674." Melton has been altered,

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November following. His death was so easy, **that** the time of his expiration was unperceived by the attendants in his room. No Muse's tear was found to grace publickly his obsequies. Fifteen years afterwards indeed there did appear "A propitiatory sacrifice to the ghost of J. M. by way of Pastoral, in a dialogue between Thyrfis and Corydon;" addressed by the author "to his dear brother Mr. Afh Wyndham." This poem, however, seems to have been written (though not published before 1689,) soon after the death of Milton. It is of considerable length, and of very unequal execution. There are passages in it, however, with which the reader of taste and feeling may be pleased; as with the following, where the author, having described the poetical abilities of Milton "from his cradle to his **tomb**," thus represents the blind bard in

—— " his age and fruit together ripe,
 " Of which blind Homer only was the type:
 " Tirefias like, he mounted up on high,
 " And so 'd the tilth of dull mortality ;

in fresher ink, to Milton. L. denotes the liberty of the parish. Mr, Steevens supposed the entry to have been made by the undertaker, who knew nothing more of Milton than that he was dead. Aubrey says, " He WAS buried at the upper end in St. Giles Crispin-gate chancell," and that, " when the two steps to the Communion Table were raised, (Nov. 1621,) his Stone was removed,"

¹ The book, in which this poem occurs, is little known; and has been obligingly pointed out to me by the ingenious and acute continuator of Jonson's *Sad Shepherd*, Mr. F. G. Waldron. It is entitled, " Poems and Translations written upon several occasions, and to several persons. By a late Scholar of Eaton. London, 1689." Small 8vo. The poem will be found it* p. 110, &c.

" Convers'd with gods, and grac'd **their royal** line,
 " All ecstasie, all rapture, all divine!"

Again, deploring his loss, the poet ably notices Milton's rejection of rhyme; and calls the object of his grief,

" Daphnis the great reformer of our isle!
 " Daphnis, the patron of the Roman stile!
 " Who first to fence converted doggerel rhimes,
 " The Muses' bells took off, and stopt their chimes;
 " On furor wings, with an immortal flight,
 " Taught us how to believe, and how to write!"

Towards the conclusion, is this spirited prediction of Milton's increasing glory :

" Even tombs of stone in time will wear away;
 " Brazen pyramids are subject to decay;
 " But lo ! the poet's fame shall brighter shine
 " In each succeeding age,
 " laughing at the baffled rage
 " Of envious enemies and destructive time."

Milton left in manuscript, *A brief History of Moscovia, and of other less-known Countries lying eastward of Russia as far as Cathay*, which was printed in 16812. His manuscript *System of Theology*, and *An Answer to a Libel upon himself* (which Phillips supposes him to have suppressed from a proper contempt of the libeller,) are supposed to have perished. Of the following tract the biographers of Milton have taken no notice: " *An Argument, or Debate in Law, of the great Question concerning the Militia; as it is now settled by Ordinance of both the Houses of Parliament.* By J. M. London, 1642." 4°. On the title page of this pamphlet, (now in the possession of the Marquis of Stafford,) Milton's

elder Brother in Cornus, the second Earl of Bridgewater, had written the name of the poet as the author. At the end of Phillips's *Life of Milton*, with manuscript remarks by Oldys, communicated to me by Mr. Reed, this tract was also noticed among Oldys's additions to the publications of Milton. The same remark is made in a² volume of Tracts, belonging to the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth Palace, with additions apparently from a contemporary writer; additions, indeed, not exhibiting genuine claims to credit, yet curious and amusing; and in the following order.

1. John Milton's Speech for unlicensed Printing.
2. *his Salve for y^e Blind, a def: of y^e Partem^t*
3. *Ms Argument concerning y^e Militia.*
5. *his Jus Populi*
6. Εἰκωνεκλάσις, his Answer to y^e Kings Book.
7. his Tenure of Kings.
4. The Parlam^{ts}. Petition conc: y^e Militia, & y^e Kings Answ^f.

The numbers 5, 6, and 7, have been altered by the writer of the preceding contents, as he had omitted to put number 4 in its proper place. And 5 appears to have first stood without *his* before *Jus*; but is added evidently by the same hand. After the *Jus Populi* were also the following words, *by some supposed to be his*; but these words are eroded through with the pen, and *his* prefixed, as I have before stated. The initials J. M. Esquire are printed in the title-page of the *second* of these tracts, and the remarker has written under them *J. Milton*; as

³ In quarto, numbered I. 5. 23.

he has also placed in the title-page^{of} the *fifth*, which exhibits no name or initials, the letters J. M. But however careful and earned this remarker has been, I am convinced he is mistaken, in attributing these two pamphlets to Milton. They exhibit indeed (particularly the latter) many energetick sentiments and expressions. The former, printed in 1643, opens with this pithy avowal to the Reader: " It is not rhetoric but reason can satisfy the judgment The former may cozen the confidence, and dazzle simple men: the latter only can satisfy the wife, and lead to truth. A rough diamond is precious, when the best wrought glass is despicable: the painted oratory which best pleases the vulgar, ill suits with the well-becoming gravity of a statesman." But, very soon afterwards, the author tells us that the unhappy state of things " hath enforced a pen *ever before full* to expose itselfe to publick censure." The author therefore was not Milton. In the latter of these Tracts, published in 1644, there is a passage so minutely concurring with Milton's observations on the same subject, as might almost lead the reader to admit the justice of the remarker's designation. " ' The nature of Man being depraved by the fall

¹ Jus Populi, pp. 42, 43. Compare Milton's reflection on the political union of the fallen Angels, *Par. Lost*, B. ii. 496.

" O flame to Men ! Devil with Devil damn'd
 " Firm concord holds; Men only disagree
 " Of creatures rational, though under hope
 " Of heavenly grace: and, God proclaiming peace,
 " Yet live in hatred, enmity, and strife,
 " Among themselves, and levy cruel wars,
 " Waiving the earth, each other to destroy;

of Adam, miferies of all forts broke in upon us in throngs, together with fin; infomuch that no creature is now fo uncivill and untame, or fo unfit either to live with or without focietie, as Man, Wolves and beares can better live without wolves and beares, than Man can without Man; yet neither are wolves nor beares fo fell, fo hoftile, and fo deftructive to their own kinde, as Man is to his. In fome refpects, Man is more eftranged from politicall union than Devils are: for by reafon of naturall difparitie, the reprobate Angels continue without diffolution of order, and fhun that confufion amongft themfelves which they endeavour to promote amongft Men. But amongft Men, nothing but curfed enmitie is to be feen." However, in a preceding page, the favourite topick of Milton's literary employment in 1644 is mentioned in fuch a manner as at once deftroys the poffibility of his having written the treatife. The author is fpeaking of *divorce and repudiation*; " ^B And that," he fays, " feemes difcountenanced by our Saviour, except in cafe of Adultery." This was not the doctrine of Milton.

There is in the Library of Trinity College Dublin a volume of Milton's pamphlets, in the * underwritten

" As if (which might induce us to accord)

" Man had not hellifh foes enow beides,

" That, day and night, for his de ruction wait."

"Jus Populi, n.31.

1. Of Reformation touching Church Difcipline, &c.
2. Of Prelaticall Epifcopacy.
3. The Reafon of Church Government, &c.
4. Animadverfious upon the Remonftrants Defence, &c,
5. An Apology againft a Pamphlet, &c

order, which he had presented to the learned Patrick Young, Charles the first's librarian; to whom he has prefixed a brief address concluding with an expression similar to that in *Paradise Lost*, of^y finding fit; audience, though few;—" ^z *paucis hujusmodi lectoribus contentus*". Whether Milton's avowal of content with a few readers, such as Young, may be thought to favour Mr. ^a Warton's opinion that the prose-works of Milton were never popular, I leave to the reader's decision. But I do not conceive that these prose-works experienced so much contemporary neglect, - as we have hitherto been led to believe. I find the diction, by which they are distinguished, thus concisely but strongly commended in 1650: "' In truth it is very hard to write good English: and few have attained its height, in this last frie of books, but Mr. Milton."

To these anecdotes of Milton's Prose-works, I may be permitted to subjoin the opinion which, generally

6. The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce.
7. The Judgement of Martin Bucer.
8. Colasterion.
9. Tetrachordon.
10. Areopagitica.

^y Par. Lost, B. vii. 31.

^z The address is written on the margin of the first title-page in the volume, part of which has been cut off in the binding, Mr. Cooper Walker who communicated to me the notice of this curiosity, informs me also that, at the top of the page, it written the name of a former possessor, Matt. Pilkington, Stamford, 1693.

• In his concluding note on Milton's (Me to Roufe.

^b An Introduction to the Teutonic Philosophie, . By C. Hotham, Fellow of Peter House, Englished by D. F. 12mo. 1650. Preface,

speaking, I entertain of them. Mr. Warton ' has treated the prose of Milton, both English and Latin, with almost unrelenting severity; conceding only to the *Tractate on Education* and the *Areopagitica* the meed of commendation.

To such decisions I cannot subscribe. At the same time I reproach not the dislike, and deprecate only the acrimonious opposition, of others, to my own opinion; persuaded, however, that I shall not want the support of numbers, when I assert that there are various passages in Milton's prose, besides the *Tractate on Education* and the *Areopagitica*, which seem entitled to the praise of the most impressive eloquence; and that, in his Latin performances, there are abundant examples of pure as well as animated style. The accurate scholar rarely ceases indeed to be visible either in the politician, in the controversialist, or in the secretary. Perhaps his English style is, in an acute critic's, that, " ⁴ if we allow to Hooker and Milton occasional majesty and strength, and sometimes a peculiar felicity of expression, it must yet be admitted, that, though using pure English words, the elaboration and inversion of their periods are such as to create, in the mere English reader, no small difficulty in the comprehension of their meaning; a fault purely of the most serious nature, and ever productive of aversion and fatigue." Of his *History of England* Warburton has said, that " it is written with great simplicity, contrary to his custom

^c In his note, ut supra.

^d Drake's *Essays*, &c, of English Style, vol. ii. p. 39.

in his prose-works; and is the better for it. But he sometimes rises to a surprising grandeur in the sentiment and expression, as at the conclusion of the second book, *Henceforth we are to fter, &c.* I never saw any thing equal to this, but the conclusion of Sir Walter Raleigh's History of the World." That Milton may be found virulent in these civil and religious speculations, will not, perhaps, be denied: His pen, dipped as it sometimes is, in the gall of puritanism, hurries him into the violence of rage; and he then condemns without mercy, as he judges without candour. But, at other times, his pages breathe the sweetest language of sensibility; the abusive spirit, which the turbulence of the times excited, links into calmness; and, without subscribing to his political sentiments, we are led to admire the uncommon felicity of his expression.

The hand of Milton may be often discovered in the publication of his nephew, Edward Phillips, entitled "*Theatrum Poetarum Anglicanorum, or A compleat Collection of the Poets, especially the most eminent, of all ages, &c. Lond 1675.*" Among many criticisms in this volume, which must be attributed to Milton, those on Shakespeare and Marlow are eminently conspicuous. " ' Such criticisms," Mr. Warton remarks, " were not common after the

' Kennet, in his Register, mentions this work as published in 1660, p. 321. See also Dr. Farmer's Catalogue, p. 178, where a copy of this date also occurs. But the Imprimatur for Phillips's work is dated Sep. 14. 1674. And therefore the date of 1660 cannot belong to this book.

Hist. of Eng. Poetry, vol. iii. p. 440.

Milton appears. But of Milton not a single line will be found in this collection. The Index indeed mentions " Directions to a Painter, (concerning the Dutch War,) said to be written by Sir John Denham, but believed to be written by Mr* Milton, p, 24." But, when we turn to the page, we find the poem, worthy only the lowest poetaster, ascribed simply, but doubtless as unjustly, to Denham. Fenton, the editor of *Paradise Lost* in 1725, has printed in a Miscellany which he published, called *The Oxford Miscellany and Cambridge Poems*, a loose epigram under the name of Milton, which had long before appeared among the poems of Lord Rochester. On slender grounds Peck has attributed to Milton the translation of Buchanan's *Baptistes*, which appeared in 1641, with the following title: " Tyrannical Government anatomized, or, A Discourse concerning evil Counsellors; being the Life and Death of John the Baptist, and presented to the King's most excellent Majesty, by the author." Aubrey and Wood, from different motives, would not have forbore to notice so remarkable a production, if it had proceeded from the pen of Milton. This translation has been supposed, with great probability, to have been intended at a hint, to Charles the first, of the danger he then incurred from the counsels of some about him: and the history of the Baptist, who lost his head by the instigation of Herodias, seems figuratively to glance at the death of Lord Strafford, and at the influence of the Queen. Peck might have noticed a

political pamphlet,^a published in the following year, "by J. M.:" of which the royal counsellors are the principal theme. From numerous examples I will cite one: "It is the Kings crown that is aimed at, and not onely fo, but even the very dethroning of him, and his whole posterity; and in truth fo it is, but by *hi* Majefties evill Councellors*; who, to magnifie themselves, intend the ruin of the Commonwealth: And is not that in effect a dethroning of his Majefty? All that I fhall fay is but this: No Government more blest or happie, *if not abused by the advice of vile and malignant Counfellours*, p. 3. From the following passage some readers may suspect J. M., the author of this pamphlet, to be Milton: "Freedom, as it is a great mercy, fo it ought of temporal blessings, next to our lives, to receive the greatest estimate; the slavery of the body is the usher to the thraldome of conscience; and it we foolishly surrender up this, the other will not be long after! p. 12." But, in p. 50, there is sufficient proof, that Milton could not have written it: "What have we to do with Aristocracy, or Democracy? God be blessed, we nor know, nor desire, *any other government than that of Monarchy*!" Peck, therefore, if he had seen this pamphlet, found that, notwithstanding it harmonized in a considerable degree with the subject of the poetical translation, it could not be rendered subservient to his hypothesis. Milton, in the account he gives of himself, appears indeed to have been no

^a Entitled, "A Reply to the Answer (printed by his Majesty's command at Oxford) to a printed Booke intituled 'Observations upon some of his Majesties late Answers and Expresses.' By J. M. London, printed for M. Walbancke, 1642." 4°.

friend to tranflations: " I never could delight in long citations, much lefs in whole traductions; whether it be natural difpofition or education in me, or that my mother bore me a fpeaker of what God made mine own, and not a tranflator ." He is faid to have declined tranflating Homer,

Of literary affiftance, afforded by Milton to literary friends, we have no anecdotes. I conjecture, however, that the younger Lawrence, to whom he has addreffed an excellent Sonnet, had at leaft profited by his difcourfe; for Lawrence has given to the world a treatife on a fubject, of which Milton was particularly fond : " Of our Communion and Warre with Angels. Printed in 1646." The Sonnet records their friendly vifits. Lawrence lived in the neighbourhood of Horton. To Lawrence, as to Milton, the "^P *Tufcan* long" feems to have been a principal delight. We may reafonably then fuppofe, that they fometimes converted upon the remarkable effufions of the "^Q *Tufcan* mufe, (among other authorities,) on the guardianship of Angels; that Milton perhaps acknowledged the hints he had derived from his beloved poetry; and that the converfation encouraged Lawrence in his defign,

^Q profe-Works, vol. i. p. 407, ed. 1698.

P See the Sonnet, ver. 12, and the note on the Sonnet.

^Q The Addreffes of the Italian Mufe *All' Angela Cyftode* are frequent. See " Rime del M. A. M. Negrifoh, Vineg. 1552," p. 129, and " Sonetti di Diverfi Accademici Sanefi, Sien, 1608," pp. 136, 200, 239, &c. I might alfo add the frequent introduction of a *Spirit* or *Angel* as the annunziatore to the early Italian dramas. See Milton's Verfes addreffed to Leonora Baroni, his prologue to *Comus*, and the fame poem throughout.

The remains of Milton were attended to the grave by " ^r all his learned and great friends in London, not without a friendly concourse of the vulgar." He was buried next his father in the chancel of St. Giles, Cripplegate. In August, 1790, the spot, where his body had been deposited, was opened; and a corpse, hastily supposed to be his, was exposed to public view. A Narrative of the disinterment of the coffin, and of the treatment of the corpse, was published by Philip Neve, Esq. The Narrative was immediately and ably answered in the St. James's Chronicle, in Nine Reasons why it is improbable that the coffin, lately dug up in the Parish Church of St. Giles, Cripplegate, should contain the reliques of Milton. Mr. Neve added a Postscript to his Narrative. But all his labour appears to have been employed in an imaginary cause. The late Mr. Steevens, who particularly lamented the indignity which the nominal ashes of the poet sustained, has intimated in his ^s manuscript remarks on this Narrative and Postscript, that the disinterred corpse was supposed to be that of a *female*, and that the minutest examination of the fragments could not disprove, if it did not confirm, the supposition. Mr. Loft, noticing the burial of the poet in St. Giles's church, has eloquently censured " ' the fordid mischief committed in it, and

^r Toland's Life of Milton, prefixed to the edition of Milton's Prose-works, printed (not at Amsterdam as asserted in the title-page,) but at London, in 1698, fol. p. 46.

^s Now in the possession of James Bindley, Esq; by whom I have been favoured with the perusal of them.

^t Preface to his edition of the first book of Paradise Lost, 1792, p. xxx.

the market made of the eagerness with which curiosity or admiration prompted persons to possess themselves of his supposed remains, which, however, there is reason to believe, far from being Milton's, were the bones of a person *not of the same age or sex*. It were to be wished that neither superstition, affectation, idle curiosity, or avarice, were so frequently invading the silence of the grave. Far from honouring the illustrious dead, it is rather outraging the common condition of humanity, and last melancholy state in which our present existence terminates. Dust and ashes have no intelligence to give, whether beauty, genius, or virtue, informed the animated clay. A tooth of Homer or Milton will not be distinguished from one of a common mortal; nor a bone of Alexander acquaint us with more of his character than one of Bucephalus. Though the dead be unconcerned, the living are neither benefited nor improved: decency is violated, and a kind of instinctive sympathy infringed, which, though it ought not to overpower reason, ought not without it, and to no purpose, to be superseded. But whether the remains of that body which once was Milton's, or those of any other person were thus exposed and set to sale, death and dissolution have had their empire over these. The spirit of his immortal works survives invulnerable, and must survive. These are his best image, these the reliques which a rational admiration may cherish and revere !"

It has been observed that the original stone, laid on the grave of Milton, was " removed not many

years after his interment. Nor were his remains honoured by any other memorial in Cripplegate church, till the year 1793; when, by the munificence of the late Mr. Whitbread, an animated marble bust, the sculpture of Bacon, under which is a plain tablet, recording the dates of the poet's birth and death, and of his father's decease, was erected in the middle aisle. To the Author of *Paradise Lost* a similar tribute of respect had been paid, in 1737, by Mr. Benfon; who procured his bust to be admitted, where once his name had been deemed a profanation, into Westminster Abbey. And the reception of the monument into this venerable edifice became immediately the theme of the muses^x.

Milton, in his youth, is laid to have been extremely^y handsome. He was called the Lady of his

^z By the spirited lines of Dr. George, which are referred to, at the close of vol. 7, and which have been also ascribed, as I have been informed, to the Hon. Thomas Townshend, father of the late Lord Sidney: and by the elegant verses of Vincent Bourne, noticed in the same volume, which were supposed to be written by Mr. Keith, but which will be found in the edition of Bourne's Poems printed in 1772, though in an earlier edition which I have seen, I do not meet with them.

^y The first published portrait of Milton was that by Marshall, prefixed to the edition of (his) juvenile poems in 1645. With the palpable dissimilitude of this portrait Milton was justly displeased. See the Note *In Effigiei Sculptorem*, vol. vii. p. 303. In the year 1670, there was another plate, by Faithorne, from a drawing in crayons by Faithorne, prefixed to his *History* of Britain, with this legend; "Gal. Faithorne ad vivum delin. et sculpsit. Joannis Miltoni effigies, Ætat. 62. 1670." It is also prefixed to the edition of his *Prose Works* in 1694. It has been observed, that this engraving is not in Faithorne's best manner. The print has

College; an appellation which Mr. Hayley says he

been several times copied. By an ingenious young artist a new drawing was taken from Faithorne's picture, (supposed to be the best likenesses extant of the poet, and for which he sat at the age of sixty-two,) by the kind permission of William Baker, Esq. in whose possession it now is; from which an engraving was made for my first edition of Milton's poetical works. From the same picture the neat engraving in the present edition is also made. Faithorne's print is copied by W. Dolle, before Milton's *Logick*, 1672. Dolle's print is likewise prefixed to the second edition of *Paradise Lost*. Faithorne was also copied afterwards by Robert White, and next by Vertue. Mr. Warton has given many other particulars of paintings and engravings of Milton.

"There are four or five original pictures of our author. The first, a half length with a laced ruff, is by Cornelius Janfen, in 1618, when he was only a boy of ten years old. It had belonged to Milton's widow, his third wife, who lived in Cheshire. This was in the possession of Mr. Thomas Hollis, having been purchased at Mr. Charles Stanhope's sale for thirty one guineas, in June, 1760. Lord Harrington wishing to have the lot returned, Mr. Hollis replied, 'his lordship's whole estate should not repurchase it.' It was engraved by J. B. Cipriani, in 1760. Mr. Stanhope bought it of the executors of Milton's widow, for twenty guineas. The late Mr. Hollis, when his lodgings in Covent-garden were on fire, walked calmly out of the house with this picture by Janfen in his hand, neglecting to secure any other portable article of value. I presume it is now in the possession of Mr. Brand Hollis. Another, which had also belonged to Milton's widow, is in the possession of the Onflow family. This, which is not at all like Faithorne's crayon-drawing, and by some is suspected not to be a portrait of Milton, has been more than once engraved by Vertue; who in his first plate of it, dated 1731, and in others, makes the age twenty-one. This has been also engraved by Houbraken in 1741, and by Cipriani. The ruff is much in the neat style of painting ruffs, about and before 1628. The picture is handsomer than the engravings. This portrait is mentioned in Aubrey's manuscript Life of Milton, 1681, as then belonging to the widow. And he says, 'M E M, Write his name in red letters on his pictures which his widow hat, to preserve them.*

could not relish; and I may add that he might be

Vertue, in a Letter to Mr. Christian the steel engraver, in the British Museum, about 1720, proposes to ask Prior the poet, whether there had not been a picture of Milton in the late Lord Dorset's Collection. The dukes of Portland has [had] a miniature of his head, when young; the face has a stern thoughtfulness, and, to use his own expression, is *severe in youthful beauty*. Before Peck's *New Memoirs of Milton*, printed 1744), is a pretended head of Milton in exquisite mezzotinto, done by the second J. Faber: which is characteristically unlike any other representation of our author I remember to have seen. It is from a painting given to Peck by Sir John Meres of Kirkby-Belers in Leicestershire. But Peck himself knew that he was imposing upon the publick. For having asked Vertue whether he thought it a picture of Milton, and Vertue peremptorily answering in the negative, Peck replied, ' I'll have a scraping from it, however; and let posterity fettle the difference.' Besides, in this picture the left hand is on a book, lettered *Paradise Lost*. But Peck supposes the age about twenty-five, when Milton had never thought of that poem or subject. Peck mentions a head done by Milton himself on board: but it does not appear to be authenticated.

" The Richardsons, and next the Tonsons, [before Mr. Baker,] had the admirable crayon-drawing above-mentioned. About the year 1725, Vertue carried this drawing, with other reputed engravings and paintings of Milton, to Milton's favourite daughter Deborah, a very sensible woman, who died the wife of Abraham Clark a weaver in Spitalfields, in 1727, aged 76. He contrived to have them brought into the room as if by accident, while he was conversing with her. At seeing the drawing, taking no notice of the rest, she suddenly cried out in great surprise, ' O Lord, that is the picture of my father ! How came you by it ? And, stroking down the hair of her forehead, added, ' Just so my father wore his hair.' She was very like Milton. Compare Richardson, *Explan. Notes*, p. xxxvi. This head, by Faithorne, was etched by Richardson the father about 1734, with the addition of * laurel-crown to help the propriety of the motto. It is before the *Explanatory Notes on the Paradise Lost*, by the Richardsons. Lond. 1734. 8vo. The busts prefixed to Milton's *Prose-Works* by Birch 1738, and by Baron 1753, are engraved by Vertue from

lefs inclined to be pleafed with the title, as, at that period,

a bad drawing made by J. Richardfon, after an original caft ia plaifter about fifty. Of this caft Mr. Hollis gave a drawing by Cipriani to Speaker Onflow in 1759. It was executed, perhaps on the publication of the *Defenſio*, by one Pierce an artift of ſome note, the ſame who did the marble buft of fir Chriſtopher Wren in the Bodleian library, or by Abraham Simon. Mr. Hollis bought it of Vertue. It has been remodelled in wax by Goffet. Richardfon the father alſo etched this buft for *Tie Poem* and Critical Effays* of S. Say, 1745, 4to. But, I believe, this is the ſame etching that I have mentioned above, to have been made by old Richardfon 1734, and which was now lent to Say's editor, 1745, for Say's *Effays*.

" There is, however, another etching of Milton, by Richardfon, the younger, before he was blind, and when much younger than fifty, accompanied with fix bom baſt verſes. ' Authentick Homer, &c.' The verſes are ſubſcribed ' J. R. jun.' The drawings, as well as engravings of Milton by Cipriani, are many. There is a drawing of our author by Deacon: it is taken from a proof-impreſſion on wax of a ſeal by Thomas Simon, Cromwell's chief mint-maſter, firſt in the hands of Mr. Yeo, afterwards of Mr. Hollis. This, a profile, has been lately engraved by Ryland. Mr. Hollis had a ſmall ſteel puncheon of Milton's head, a full front, for a ſeal or ring, by the ſame T. Simon, who did many more of Milton's party in the ſame way. The medal of Milton ſtruck by Tanner, for auditor Benfon, is after the old plaifter-buſt, and Faithorne's crayon-piece, chiefly the latter. So is the marble buſt in the Abbey, by Ryfbrack, 1737. Scheemaker's marble buſt, for Dr. Mead, and bought at his ſale by Mr. Duncombe, was profeſſedly and exactly copied from the plaifter-buſt. Faithorne's is the moſt common repreſentation of Milton's head. Either that, or the Onflow picture, are the heads in Bentley's, and Tickell's, and Newton's editions. All by Vertue. Milton's daughter Deborah above-mentioned, the daughter of his firſt wife, and his amanuenſis, told Vertue, that " her father was of ft fair complexion, a little red in his cheeks, and light brown lank hair." *Letter to Mr. Chriftian*, ut ſupr. MS. Br. Muſ.

" Since theſe imperfect and haſty notices were thrown together, fir Joſhua Reynolds has purchaſed a piſture of Milton for one.

the appearance of effeminacy was attacked from the

hundred guineas. It was brought to Sir Jofhua, 1784, by one Mr. Hunt, a printfeller and picture-dealer, who bought it of a broker; but the broker does not know the person of whom he had it. The portrait is dressed in black, with a band; and the painter's mark and date are 'S. C. 1653.' This is written on the back. 'This picture belonged to Deborah Milton, who was her father's amanuensis: at her death was sold to Sir W. Davenant's family. It was painted by Mr. Samuel Cooper, who was painter to Oliver Cromwell, at the time Milton was Latin Secretary to the Protector. The painter and poet were near of the same age; Milton was born in 1608, and died in 1674, and Cooper was born in 1609, and died in 1672, and were companions and friends till death parted them. Several encouragers and lovers of the fine arts at that time wanted this picture; particularly Lord Dorset, John Somers esquire, Sir Robert Howard, Dryden, Atterbury, Dr. Aldrich, and Sir John Denham.' Lord Dorset was probably the lucky man; for this seems to be the very picture for which, as I have before observed, Vertue wished Prior to search in Lord Dorset's collection. Sir Jofhua Reynolds says, 'The picture is admirably painted, and with such a character of nature, that I am perfectly sure it was a striking likeness. I have now a different idea of the countenance of Milton, which cannot be got from any of the other pictures that I have seen. It is perfectly preserved, which shows that it has been (hut up in some drawer; if it had been exposed to the light, the colours would long before this have vanished.' It must be owned, that this miniature of Milton, lately purchased by Sir Jofhua Reynolds, strongly resembles Vandyke's picture of Selden in the Bodleian library at Oxford: and it is highly probable that Cooper should have done a miniature of Selden as a companion to the heads of other heroes of the commonwealth. For Cooper painted Oliver Cromwell, in the possession of the Frankland family; and another, in profile, at Devonshire house: Richard Cromwell at Strawberry-hill: Secretary Thurloe, belonging to Lord James Cavendish: and Ireton, Cromwell's general, now or late in the collection of Charles Polhill esq. a descendant of Cromwell. The inference, however, might be applied to prove, that this head is

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Pulpit: " ^z We live in an age," fays bifhop Lake,
" wherein it is hard to fay, whether in cloathes *men grow*

Cooper's miniature of Milton. *It has been copled by a female artift, in a flyle of uncommon elegance and accuracy."*

The genuinenefs of this miniature, as the portrait of Milton, has been both afferted, and denied, with confiderable warmth. See the Gentleman's Magazine for 1791, pp. 399, 603, 806. The difputants are Lord Hailes and Sir Jofhua himfelf. Molt connoiffeurs are inclined to believe the portrait to be that of Selden. Sir Jofhua Reynolds, who dièd in 1792, makes the following bequeft, however, in his Will, to the Rev, William Mafon: "*The miniature of Milton by Cooper.*" See Malone, Life of Sir J. Reynolds, prefixed to the Works of Sir J. R. vol. i. p. cxviii, 2d edit.

Two miniatures of the poet, and of his mother, were fold, at the fale of the Portland Mufeum in 1786, for 34l. See Gent. Mag. 1786, p. 527. In 1792 Mr. Elderton fubmitted to the publick the outlines of a fuppofed miniature of the poet in his poffeffion. See Gent. Mag. 1792, p. 17. In 1797 a mafterly engraving, from an original picture in the poffeffion of Capel Lofft efq. believed alfo to be that of Milton, was made by G. Quinton. At Weft Wycombe Manor-houfe, in Buckinghamfhire, there is a fine portrait of Milton, fuppofed to be an original. See Langley's Hift. and Antiq. of the Hundred of Defborough, C^o-of Bucks, 1797, p. 417. I have been indebted to the kindnefs of the late John Charnock jun. efq. of Greenwich, for an excellent original painting, affirmed by fome to have been a portrait of Milton, by Dobfon, but conjectured by others to have been a performance of Riley, who lived rather too late to delineate Milton. Some have fuppofed it may be a head of his brother Chriftopher. It is, however, remarkable, that Mr. Greenflade, a collector of paintings, who refides in Bond-ftreet, London, has a copy of this very painting, which has been called a portrait of the poet. Mr. Waldron is in poffeffion of a painting, which exhibits a likenefs of the poet in his middle age. To the modern engravings of the poet may be added an interefting one by Mr. Silvefler Harding, from a painting in the poffeffion of the late Lord Orford.

² Sermons preached at Wells by bifhop Lake, fol. 1629, p. 67.

more womannifh, of women more mannifh !" Milton had a very fine (kin and frefh complexion. His hair was of a light brown; and, parted on the foretop, hung down in curls upon his fhoulders. His features were regular; and when turned of forty, he has himfelf told us, he was generally allowed to have had the appearance of being ten years younger. He has alfo represented himfelf as a man of moderate ftature, neither too lean nor too corpulent; and fo far endued with ftrength and fpirit, that, as he always wore a fword, he wanted not, while light revived his eyes, the fkill or the courage to ufe it. His eyes were of a greyifh colour; which, when deprived of light, did not betray their lofs: At firft view, and at a fmall diftance, it was difficult to know that he was blind. The teftimony of Aubrey refpecting the perfon of Milton is happily expreffed: " His harmonicall and ingeniofe foul did lodge in a beautiful and well proportioned body." Milton's voice^a was mufically fweet, as his car was mufically correct. Wood defcribes his deportment to have been affable, and his gait erect and manly, befpeaking courage and undauntednefs. Of his figure in his declining days Richardfon has left the following fketches. "^b An ancient clergyman of Dorfetfhire, Dr. Wright, found John Milton in a fmall chamber hung with rufty green, fitting in an elbow chair, and dreffed neatly in black, pale but not cadaverous, his hands and fingers gouty and with chalk ftones.—He ufed alfo to fit in a gray coarfe cloth coat, at the door of his houfe near Bunhill-fields, in warm

^a Aubrey fays that " he had a delicate tunable voice," and that " he pronounced the letter R very hard."

^b Life of Milton, 1734, p. iv.

funny weather, to enjoy the fresh air; and so, as well as in his room, received the visits of people of distinguished parts as well as quality."

His domestic habits were those of a sober and temperate student of wine, or of any strong liquours, he drank little. In his diet he was rarely influenced by delicacy of choice. He once delighted in walking and using exercise; and appears to have amused himself in botanical pursuits: but, after he was confined by age and blindness, he had a machine to swing in for the preservation of his health. In summer he then rested in bed from nine to four, in winter to five. If, at these hours, he was not disposed to rise, he had a person by his bedside to read to him. When he first rose, he heard a chapter in the Hebrew Bible, and commonly studied till twelve; then used some exercise for an hour; then dined; ^c afterwards played on the organ or bass-viol, and either sung himself or made his wife sing, who, he said, had a good voice but no ear. It is related that, when educating his nephew, " ' he had made them *songsters*, and sing from the time they were with him." No poet, it may be observed, has more frequently or more powerfully commended the charms of music than Milton, He wished perhaps to rival, and he has successfully rivalled, the

^c See his own observation, in his treatise *Of Education*. " The interim of unwearied themselves regularly, and convenient rest before meat, may both with profit and delight be taken up in recreating and composing their travailed spirits with the solemn and divine harmonies of music heard or learned, &c *The like also would not be unexpedient after meaty* to assist and cherish nature in her first concoction, and send **their** minds back to study in good tune and satisfaction."

' Aubrey's MS.

fweeteft defcriptions of a favourite bard, whom the melting voice appears to have often enchanted; the tender Petrarch. After his regular indulgence in mufical relaxation, he ftudied till fix; then entertained his vifitors till eight; then enjoyed a light fupper; and, after a pipe of tobacco and a glafs of water, retired to bed.

It has been obferved by Dr. Newton that all, who had written any accounts of the life of Milton, agreed that he was affable and inftructive in converfation, of an equal and cheerful temper; " yet I can eafily believe," fays the learned biographer, " that he had a fufficient fenfe of his own merits, and contempt enough for his adverfaries." Milton acknowledges his own " honeft *haughtinefs* and *felf-eftem*" with which, however, he profeffes to have united a becoming " *modejly* ^c." Aubrey notices that he was " fatyrical."

His literature was immense. Of the Hebrew, with its two dialects, and of the Greek, Latin, Italian, French, and Spanifh languages, he was a mafter. In Latin, Dr. Johnson obferves, his fkill was fuch as places him in the firft rank of writers and criticks. In the Italian he was alfo particularly fkillful. His Sonnets in that language have received the higheft commendations from Italian criticks, both of his own and of modern times ^f. If he had written generally in Italian, it has been fuppofed, by the late lord Orford, that he would have been the moft perfect poet in modern languages; for his own ftrength of thought would have condenfed and hardened that fpeech to a

^c *Profe-Works*, vol. i. p. 177. ed. 1698.

^f See alfo Algarotti's ingenious criticifm on his works, *Opere del Conte Algarotti*, Ven. 1794, tom. x. P. 39, &c.

proper degree. The Academy Delia Crufca confuted him on the critical niceties of their language. In his early days indeed he had become deeply enamoured of "the two famous renowners of *Beatrice* and *Laura* ^g." It has been rightly remarked, that he read almoſt all authors, and improved by all: He relates himſelf, that his "round of ſtudy and reading was ceafeleſs."

His favourite book was the Book of God. To Milton, when a child, Revelation opened not her richeſt ſtores in vain. To devotional ſubjects his infant ſtrains were dedicated; and never did "his harp forget" to acknowledge the aids which he derived from the Muſe of ſacred inſpiration. The remark of Gibbon that ^h the ſublime genius of Milton was cramped by the ſyſtem of our religion, and never appeared to ſo great an advantage as when he ihook it a little off, will be admitted by few. It is a juſt and admirable obſervation of Mr. Hayley, that, "if ſome paſſionate admirers of antiquity ſeem to lament the fall of paganiſm, as fatal to poetry, to painting, and to ſculpture, a more liberal and enlightened ſpirit of criticiſm may rather believe, what is very poſſible, I apprehend, to demonſtrate, that Chriſtianity can hardly be more favourable to the purity of morals, than it might be rendered to the perfection of theſe delightful arts. Milton himſelf may be regarded as an obvious and complete proof, that the poſition is true as far as poetry is concerned." The *Meffiah* of Klopſtock, and particularly the *Calvary* of Cumberland, may be added as fine examples of the connection between

^g *Proſe-Works* vol. i. p. 177, ed. 1698.

^h *May on the Study of Literature*, 1764, p. 24.

true religion and poetry. When modern Republicanism pretends to confider Milton as her auxiliary, let her remember, with shame, the sanctity of manners which his pages breathe, and the Christian lessons which they inculcate. To *kirn* "fight more detestable," than the object; of her hopes could not possibly be presented. The designs of the crafty sensualist, and of the befotted ungrateful atheist, it was his constant endeavour, not to promote, but to overthrow, "It must gratify every Christian to reflect," says Mr. Hayley, "that the man of our country most eminent for energy of mind, for intenseness of application, and for frankness and intrepidity in asserting whatever he believed to be the cause of truth, was so confirmedly devoted to Christianity, that he seems to have made the Bible, not only the rule of his conduct, but the prime director of his genius,—Nor should I omit his own manly anticipation of applause: "¹ Hoping that his name might deserve to appear, not among the mercenary crew of false pretenders to learning, but the free and ingenuous sort of such as evidently were born for study, and love learning for itself, not for lucre, or any other end but the service of God and truth, and perhaps that lasting fame and perpetuity of praise which God and good men have consented shall be the reward of those whose published labours advance the good of mankind."

The classical books, in which he is presented to have most delighted, were Homer, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and Euripides. The first he could almost entirely repeat. Of the last he is said to have been

¹ In his *Areopagitica*,

a reader, not only with the taste of a poet, but with the ^k minuteness of a Greek critic. His Euripides, in two volumes, Paul Stephens's quarto edition of 1602, with many marginal emendations in his own hand, is now the property of Mr. Cradock of Gumly in Leicestershire. Of these notes some have been adopted by Jolhua Barnes, and some have been lately printed by Mr. Jodrell. In the first volume, page the first, is the name of John Milton, with the price of the book at 12s. 6d., and the date of the year 1634. I have to notice the existence of another treasure, bearing also the same date, the price 3s., and the name of John Milton, written by himself on the blank page opposite the title; his copy of Lycophron, with his own marginal observations. Of this remarkable curiosity I received my information from Mr. Walker, by whom it had been 'inspected in the library of Lord Charlemont. From Milton himself we learn, that "the divine volumes of Plato and his equal Xenophon" were principal objects of his regard; and that he preferred Sallust to all the Roman historians. Demosthenes has been supposed, by Lord Monboddo and Mr. Hayley, to have been studied by him minutely and successfully. On contemporary authors Milton has bestowed little praise. Dr. Newton notices that he has condescended, 'more than once, to applaud Selden; but that he seems disappointed to censure, rather than commend, the rest. He has

^k See Warton's 2d edit, of the *Smaller Poems*, p. 568, And Jodrell's *Illustrations of Euripides*, 1781, pp. 34, 336.

¹ My friend, the Rev. Mr. Meete, has since been favoured with the use of this volume. And it is to be hoped, that his 'excellent version of Lycophron, accompanied with his own acute remarks, as well as Milton's marginal observations, on this author, will soon be presented to the publick.

extolled however, in his *Areopagitica*, the merits of Lord Brooke, who had lately fallen in the service of the Parliament, and had written a treatise *against the English episcopacy*, and *against the danger of Sects and Schisms*, in terms of superabundant eulogy. He has also spoken of John Cameron, a learned divine and commentator, in terms of high respect; calling him "a late writer, much applauded," as also "an ingenious winter and in high esteem."

His political principles were those of a thorough republican; which have been ascribed, by Dr. Johnson, to a native violence of temper, and to a hatred of all whom he was required to obey. The frequent asperity of this eminent biographer towards Milton, has been repeatedly noticed, by Mr. Hayley, with reprehension and regret; and in the following instance, with all the eloquence and dignity of sublime instruction.

"There can hardly be any contemplation more painful, than to dwell on the virulent excesses of eminent and good men; yet the utility of such contemplation may be equal to its pain. What mildness and candour should it not instil into ordinary mortals to observe, that even genius and virtue weaken their title to respect, in proportion as they recede from that evangelical charity, which should influence every man in his judgement of another.

"The strength and the acuteness of sensation, which partly constitute genius, have a great tendency to produce virulence, if the mind is not perpetually on its guard against that subtle, insinuating, and corrosive passion, hatred against all whose opinions are opposite to our own. Johnson professed, in one of his letters, to love a good hater; and, in the Latin correspondence of Milton, there are words that imply a familiarity of sentiment; they both thought there might be a sanctified bitterness, to use an expression of Milton, towards

political and religious opponents; yet surely these two devout men were both wrong, and both in some degree unchristian in this principle. To what Angular iniquities of judgement such a principle may lead, we might, perhaps, have had a most striking, and a double proof, had it been possible for these two energetick writers to exhibit alternately a portrait of each other. Milton, adorned with every graceful endowment, highly and holily accomplished as he was, appears, in the dark colouring of Johnson, a most unamiable being; but could he revisit earth in his mortal character, with a wish to retaliate, what a picture might be drawn, by that sublime and offended genius, of the great moralist, who has treated him with such excess of asperity. The passions are powerful colourists, and marvellous adepts in the art of exaggeration; but the portraits executed by love (famous as he is for overcharging them) are infinitely more faithful to nature, than gloomy (sketches from the heavy hand of hatred; a passion not to be trusted or indulged even in minds of the highest purity or power; since hatred, though it may enter the field of contest under the banner of justice, yet generally becomes so blind and outrageous, from the heat of contention, as to execute, in the name of virtue, the worst purposes of vice. Hence arises that species of calumny the most to be regretted, the calumny lavished by men of talents and worth on their equals or superiours, whom they have rashly and blindly hated for a difference of opinion. To such hatred the feivd and opposite characters, who gave rise to this observation, were both more inclined, perhaps, by nature and by habit, than Christianity can allow. The freedom of these remarks on two very great, and equally devout, though different writers, may possibly offend the partizans of both: in that case my consolation will be, that I have endeavoured to speak of them with that temperate though undaunted sincerity, which may satisfy the spirit of each in a purer state of existence."

By controversy, and by the indulgence of early prejudices, Milton was undoubtedly loured. But,

if the conceptions of his mind may be taken from his poetry, he will not be thought to have been by nature unamiable. Of Milton, however he might be miftaken in the means, the conftant aim and end was liberty. Yet with the love of liberty who will affert his attachment to Cromwell to have been confiftent? But he is ° fuppofed to have been deceived by the matchlefs hypocrify of that ufurper; and, in the uprightnefs of his mind, not to have fufpected the falfe diffempler as adverfe to his own fpirit of freedom. Still it may be wondered that he, who fo well knew the nature of *true liberty*, which

—————" always with right reafon dwells

" Twinn'd, and from her hath no dividual being;"

it may be wondered that he, I fay, fhould not have timely perceived the defigns of *the tyrant whom he ferved*. Influenced by his uprightnefs, however, he had before offered to Cromwell, with undaunted zeal, a fulemn and energetick ^p leffon of condu6t. Nor was Milton exactly that friend to the *majety of the people*, which the modern *illuminators* of the world have imagined. For, to that pretended fove-rcignty, what greater infult can be offered than the appellations, with which he has diftinguifhed *the people*, of a^q " herd confus'd, a mifcellaneous rabble !" The well-known expreffion of ^r Burke muft yield to thefe kindred phrafes.

° Soc the Note on *Par. Loft*, B. iii. 683.

P Def. See. *Profe-Works*, vol. hi. p. 109, ed. 1698.

^q *Par. Regained*, B. iii. 49.

^f See the Notes on *Par. Reg.* B. iii. 49. Burke, I may ob-fcrvc, was an ardent admirer of Milton. I learn, from Mr, Walker, that this great orator was a diftinguifhed member of a Literary Club, infiituted in Dublin in 1747, ia which he fome-

The theological sentiments of Milton are said to have been often changed; from Puritanism to Calvinism; from Calvinism to an esteem for Arminius; and finally, from an accordance with Independents' and

times held the secretary's pen, and sometimes filled the president's chair; and that, in the original minutes of this society, his early Miltonick taste is thus recorded. " Friday, June 5th. 1747, Mr. Burke, being ordered to speak the speech of Moloch, *receives applause for the delivery; it being in character*: Then the speech was read, and criticized upon; its many beauties illustrated; the chief judged to be its conformity with the character of Moloch :

_____. ' No; let us rather choofe,
' Arm'd with Hell-flames and fury, all at once
' O'er Heaven's high towers to force refiftlefs way/

The words ' all at once' (the metre not considered) seemed, to the whole assembly, to hurt the sentence by flopping the rapidity, and checking the fierceness, of it; making it too long and tedious. Then was Belial's speech read, to the great delight of the hearers; whose opinion was, that Homer only can be compared to Milton, not only for the beauties that shine in every verse, but likewise for the just and lively colours in which each character was drawn; for that none but Homer, like him, ever supported such spirit and exactness in the speeches of such a contrail and variety of persons." These notices will not seem tedious; for they suggest an opinion, that the fined oratory of modern times might owe its origin, and perfection, to the poetry of Milton.

See before, p. 64. Petit, in his *Vision of Purgatory*, published in 1685, introduces Milton in conversation with a Provincial of the Jesuits, to whom " the fanatical rebels of England" are described as " imps;" and, " because Milton was a man of singular eloquence," the author represents him, as spiritedly expostulating with the Provincial for being " denied the honour which is so easily granted to men vastly beneath my merits **and** deserts; for what can any man do for the promotion of *your interests* that I have not done ?" pp, 98, 99, &c

Anabaptists, to a dereliction of every denomination of Protestants. From any heretical peculiarity of opinion he was free. Dr. Newton considers him as a *Quietist*, full of the interior of religion, though he so little regarded the exterior. Dr. Johnson observes, that " he grew old without any visible worship; but, that he lived without prayer, can hardly be affirmed; his studies and meditations were an habitual prayer." From a remark of Toland, that, " in the latter part of his life, Milton frequented none of the assemblies of any particular sect of Christians, *nor made use of their particular rites in his family*" have arisen assertions without proofs, by other biographers, that " *he did not use any religious rite,*" and that " *he never used prayer in his family.*" I am inclined to believe that he, who, in his divine poem, so carefully describes the morning and evening Worship of our first parents, the first and last hours of the day employed in devotion, could hardly be negligent of reverence to God in his own household. I must not, however, withhold from notice a strange assertion of Milton, respecting prayer: " " I believe that God is no more moved with a prayer elaborately penned, than men truly charitable are moved with the penned speech of a beggar!" To his determination of associating with no Church we owe the masterly and judicious observation of Johnson: " To be of no Church is dangerous. Religion, of which the rewards are distant, and which is animated only by Faith and Hope, will glide by degrees out of the mind, unless it be in-

vigorated and reimpreſſed by external ordinances, by ſtated calls to worſhip, and the ſalutary influence of example." Of our liturgy, as of epiſcopacy, Milton has often expreſſed his contempt. He is ^x ſaid to have been a principal founder of the Calves-Head Club; a feſtival, which began to be held, during the ufurpation, on the thirtieth of January; *in oppoſition* to Dr. Hammond, and other divines of the Church of England, who met privately to lament that day, in ^y *a form of prayer*, little different from what we now find in the liturgy.

Milton's circumſtances were never very affluent. The eſtate left him by his father was but ſmall. In the civil war he ſuſtained the loſs of a conſiderable perſonal property, which he had lent to the Parliament. As Latin Secretary he enjoyed an annual ſalary of two hundred pounds, together with an eſtate of about fixty pounds a year which belonged to the plundered abbey of Weſtminſter. Of theſe revenues, as well as of two thouſand pounds which he had placed in the Excife-Office, he was deprived at the ^z Reſtoration,

^x See the Secret Hiſtory of the Calves-Head Club, 1709, p. 17.

^y See Kennett's Regiſter, p. 38. See alſo " Private Forms of Prayer, fitted for the late ſad times. Particularly, a Form of Prayer for the thirtieth of January, morning and evening. With Additions, &c. Lond. 1660." 12^{mo}. Dr. Hammond is ſuppoſed to be the author.

^z In 1791 died Jonathan Hartop, of the village of Aldborough near Borough-bridge in Yorkſhire, at the great age of **138**. He is ſaid to have "lent Milton fifty pounds, ſoon after **the** Reſtoration, which the bard returned him with honour, **though** not without much difficulty, as his circumſtances were **very low**. Mr. Hartop would have declined receiving it; **but**

He had before loft two thoufand pounds by entrusting it to a ferivener; and, in the fire of London, his houfe in Bread-ftreet was burnt. To Milton, however, the deficiency of wealth was little difappointment. He had thirfted more after intellectual riches. The paucity of his wants, and the frugal management of what he retained, enabled him to live without diftreffes. Of the property which he left, the publication of his Nuncupative Will has rectified the miftaken accounts of all his biographers before Mr. Hayley. If he fold his library before his death, as fome have afferted, he was perhaps compelled to it by the pillage it had already fuftained, and by the fear of its total plunder.

Of his family I fhall fubjoin a brief account. Altho his biographers notice his younger brother, Christopher, and his fifter, Anne. Of two other filters the exiftence has never been related. I have found, however, in the regifter of All-hallow's Bread-ftreet, the births of Sarah and Tabitha Milton, and

the pride of the poet was equal to his genius, and he fent the money with an angry letter, which was found among the curious poffeffions of that **venerable** old man." Eafon's *Human Longevity*, 8vo. Salifhury, 1799, pp. 241, 242. This **curious** anecdote of Milton had appeared in the *Wolverhampton Chronicle and Suffor dffhire Advertifer* of March 31, 1790, Mr. Hartop being then living, and the letter defended as extant.

² " The xvth daye of July 1612 was baptized SARA, the dawghter of John Mylton, fenvener. She was buried the vith of Auguft following in the church.

" The xxxth of January, 1613, [that is 1613-14,] was baptized TABITHA, the dawghter of Mr. John Mylton.

" The third daye of December 1615 was baptized CHRISTOPHER, the fomme of John Mylton of this pifhe, femenor.
Extracts from the Regifter.

the death only of Sarah, to be recorded. Christopher was a royalist, and became, long after his brother's death, a judge. Through his brother's interest, he had compounded for his estate, in the rebellion[^] at the easy price of ^k eighty pounds. Anne must have been elder than either of her brothers; for her birth is not to be found in the register already mentioned: She was probably the eldest child, and born before her father settled in Broadstreet Milton's Verses on her daughter, written in his seventeenth year, serve to corroborate this supposition. She was first married to Mr. Phillips, afterwards to Mr. Agar, a friend of her first husband, who succeeded him in the Crown-Office of the Court of Chancery. By her first husband she had two sons, Edward and John, whom Milton educated; by her second, two daughters. His brother, Christopher, had two daughters, Mary and Catherine; and a son, Thomas, who succeeded Mr. Agar in his office. Of Milton's children, who survived him, Mr. Warton's concluding Note on the Nuncupative Will gives a distinct account. The several branches of his family appear to be now extinct. I may here observe that the case of Deborah, the youngest, which Mr. Warton deploras with true sensibility, was ^c first noticed in a very feeling manner, in *Mist's Weekly Journal*, April 29, 1727, and commended her to part of the little patronage which she obtained. While it has been observed,

^k So recorded in the volume of *Compositions*, already mentioned, p. 60.

^c It is also printed in the *European Magazine* for 1787, p. 65.

that the Nuncupative Will of Milton presents indeed a melancholy picture of domeftick connections, -and that his conduct towards his daughters has been feelingly defended even by an eminent female pen; it has not been noticed, that part of the charge brought againft him, I mean his teaching his children to read and pronounce Greek and feveral other languages *without underftanding any but Englifh*, may be thought more ftrange and unaccountable, inafmuch as he appears to have been diftinguifhed for the eftimation in which he once held literary women; a circumftance which no biographer of Milton has hitherto recorded. Doctor Newton, indeed, facetiously tells us, that Milton ufed to fay that one tongue was enough for a woman ! But contemporary information will beft illuftrate this curious point in the hiftory of the poet. " ^d We believe," fays the anfwerer to his Doctrine and Difcipline of Divorce, "*you count no woman to due converfation acceffible, AS TO YOU, except fhe can fpeak Hebrew, Greek, Latine, and French, and difpute againft the Canon law as well as you, or at leaft be able to hold difcourfe with you.* But other gentlemen of good qualitie are content with meaner and fewer endowments, as you know well enough."—I now recur to the defence of Milton by the diftinguifhed lady, who fpeaking of the *modern revolutionary fpirit* in families, and elegantly enforcing the fubordination of domeftick manners, obferves " that, ^e among the faults with which

^d Anfwer to the Doct. and Difc. of Divorce, 4^{to}. 1644. p. 16.

^e Strictures on the Modern Syftem of Female Education, by Mrs. Hannah More, \ol. i. p. 147, 6th edit. 1799.

it has been too much the fashion of recent times to load the memory of the incomparable Milton, one of the charges brought against his private character (for with his political character we have here nothing to do) has been, that he was so severe a father as to have ^{*}compelled his daughters, after he was blind, to read aloud to him, for his sole pleasure, Greek and Latin authors of which they did not understand a word. But this is in fact nothing more than an instance of the strict domestic regulations of the age in which Milton lived; and should not be brought forward as a proof of the severity of his individual temper. Nor indeed in any case should it ever be considered as an hardship for an affectionate child to amuse an afflicted parent, even though it should be attended with a heavier sacrifice of her own pleasure than in the present instance."

From Milton's last wife, (whose good name also has been ^fcalumniated,) the early admirers of the poet learned that he used to compose his poetry chiefly in winter, and on his waking in a morning dictated to her sometimes twenty or thirty verses; that Spenser, Shakspeare, and Cowley, were his favourite English poets; and that he pronounced Dryden to be a rhymist rather than a poet. Dryden's best poems had not yet appeared. To Dryden, who often visited him, Milton acknowledged that Spenser was his original

From Aubrey's manuscript it appears that Milton's "familiar learned acquaintance" were Andrew Marvell, Cyriack Skinner, and Dr. Paget. I have

See Mr. Warton's notes, f and r, on the Nuncupative Will.

often wondered that Milton, who has affectionately recorded the good qualities of many friends, should have omitted to grace his pages with a tribute of respect to the name of Henry More, the celebrated Platonist, his fellow-collegian; by whom Mr. Warton supposes him to have been led to the study of the *divine philosophy*, and of whose poetry I am persuaded, he was an ^g attentive reader.

I must not close this humble account of the great poet, without venturing to observe, that Dr. Johnson, in ridiculing the notion that a writer should suppose himself influenced by times or seasons, has not only too hastily decided on the intellectual impulses of Milton, but has also ^h contradicted himself.

Nor can I here forbear to deplore the unwarranted asperity, with which the last biographer of Milton would consign to oblivion and contempt the critical labours of Milton's best commentator. " ¹ For borrowing two or three expressions from *II Penferoso* and the *Comus*" says Dr. Symonds, " Mr. Warton could thus speak of Pope: ' Pope was a gleaner of the old English poets; and he was here *pilfering* from *obsolete* English poetry without the least fear or danger of being detected.' A few years, however, will sweep this acute and candid detector of plagiarism to oblivion; and will leave the laurel of Eliza's poet without the vestige of a stain." It is

^g See the note on *Comus*, ver. 429.

^h " He [Johnson] here admits an opinion of the human mind being influenced by seasons, which he ridicules in his writings," Boswell's *Life of Dr. Johnson*, 3^d edit. vol. ii. p. 264.

¹ Life at Milton, 1806, p. 543.

not my intention, in defending Mr. Warton, to intimate that any " stain should be fixed on the laurel of Eloifa's poet;" nor is it my province here to illustrate the beautiful application of his borrowings; but I will not hesitate to allure the learned biographer and the world, that the obligations of Pope to our elder poetry, and especially to the poetry of Milton, are more numerous than have hitherto been noticed.

THE
NUNCUPATIVE WILL
OF
JOHN MILTON.
WITH NOTES,
BY THE REVEREND T. WARTON, B.D.



MEMORANDUM, that JOHN MILTON, late of the parith of St. Giles Cripplegate in the Countie of Middlefex Gentleman, deceafed, at feveral times before his death, and in particular, on or about the twentieth day of July, in the year of our Lord God 1674, being of perfect mind and memorie, declared his Will and intent as to the difpofall of his eftate after his death, in thefe words following, or of like effect: " The portion due to me from Mr. Powell, my former wife's father, I leave to the unkind children I had by her, having received no parte of it: but my meaning is, they fhall have no other benefit of my eftate than the faid portion, and what I have belidch done for them; they having been very uudu* tifull to me. All the refiduc of my eftate I leave to [the] difpofall of Elizabeth my loving wife." Which

* [From Mr. Warton's 2d edit, of *Milton's Smaller Poems*, 1791.]

^a As propounded in the Prerogative Court.

words, or to the same effect, were spoken in the presence of CHRISTOPHER MILTON.^b

X [Mark of] ELIZABETH FISHER^c
Nov. 23, 1674^d.

1.

*The Allegation propounding the Will, on which
Allegation the Witnesses be examined*.*

Negotium Testamentarium, five probacionis Testamenti nuncupative five ultimae Voluntatis, JOHAN-

^b JOHN MILTON'S younger brother: a strong royalist, and a professed papist. After the civil war, he made his composition through his brother's interest. Being a practitioner in the law, he lived to be an ancient Bencher of the Inner Temple: was made a judge of the Common Pleas, and knighted by king James the second; but, on account of his age and infirmities, he was at length dismissed from business, and retired to Ipswich, where he resided all the latter part of his life.

* A fervant-maid of JOHN. MILTON.

^d Registr, Cur. Prærog. Cant. This Will was contested by Mary, Deborah, and Anne Milton, daughters of the poet's first wife Mary, daughter of Mr. Richard Powel, of Forethill in Oxfordshire. The cause came to a regular sentence, which was given against the Will; and the Widow, Elizabeth, was ordered to take Administration instead of a Probate. I must add here, that this cause, the subject of which needed no additional lustre from great names, was tried by that upright and able statesman, Sir Leoline Jenkins, Judge of the Prerogative Court, and Secretary of State; and that the depositions were taken in part before Or. Trumbull, afterwards Sir William Trumbull, Secretary of State, and the celebrated friend of Pope. As a circumstantial and authentic history of this process, the following instruments, which were otherwise thought too curious to be suppressed, are subjoined.

^e Viz, Christopher MILTON, and JOHN MILTON'S two fervant-maids Elizabeth and Mary Fisher. Witnesses on the part of the widow.

NIS MILTON, nuper dum vixit parochiæ S. Ægidii Cripplegate London generosi, defuncti, habent, &c. promotum per Elizabetham MILTON ' Relictam, et Legatariam principalem nominatam in Testamento nuncupativo, five ultima Voluntate, dicti defuncti, contra Mariam, Annam, et Deboram MILTON, filias dicti defuncti.

THOMPSON. CLEMENTS.

f This was his third wife, Elizabeth Minfhull, of a gentleman's family in Chefhire. He married her at the recommendation of his friend, and her relation, Dr. Paget, about the year 1661, and in his fifty-fourth year, foon after he had obtained his pardon from the reftored king; being now blind and infirm, and wanting fome more conftant and confidential companion than a fervant to attend upon his perfon. The elder Richardfon infinuates, that this lady, being no poet or philofopher like her hufband, ufed frequently to tease him for his careleffnefs or ignorance about money-matters, and that (he was a *termagant*. He adds, that foon after their marriage, a royal offer was made to Milton of the refumption of his old department of Latin Secretary, and that, being ftrongly preffed by his wife to an acceptance, he fcornfully replied, " Thou art in the right; you, as other women, *would ride in your Coach*. My aim is to live and die an *honeft man*." LIFE, &c. p. xcix. feq. edit. 1734. From thefe papers, however, it appears, that the confulted her hufbands humours, and treated his infirmities with tendernefs. After his death in 1674, fhe retired to Namptwich in Chefhire, where fhe died about 1729. Mr. Pennant fays, her father, Mr. Minfhull, lived at Stoke in that neighbourhood. W. Tour, and Gough's *Camden*, Chefhire, p. 436. The third edition of Paradife Loft was published in 1678 : and this is the poet's widow, to whom the copy of that work was then to devolve by original agreement, but who fold all her claims to Samuel Simmons, his bookfeller, for eight pounds, according to her receipt given Decemb. 31, 1680.

[Among the letters of Mr. G. Grey to his brother Dr. Zuch. Grey, is the following notice of this lady's death, which has

secundo Andreas, A. D, 1674. Quo die — Thomfon, nomine, procuratione, ac ultimus procurator legitimus, dictæ Elizabethæ MILTON, omnibus melioribus et effectualioribus [efficacioribus] via, modo, et meliori forma, necnon ad omnem juris effectum, exhibuit Teftamentum nuncupativum dicti JOHANNIS MILTON defuncti, fic incipiens, " MEMORANDUM, that JOHN MILTON, late of the parifh of S. Giles, Cripplegate. &c." Which words, or words to the fame effect, were fpoken in the prefence of Chriftopher MILTON, and Elizabeth Fifher; et allegavit confimiliter, et dicens prout fequitur. I. Quod præfatus JOHANNES MILTON, dum vixit, mentis compos, ac in fua fana memoria exiftens,___ Teftamentum fuum nuncupativum modo in hoc negotio exhibitum___tenoris fEheduke___teframentariæ condidit, nuncupavit, et declaravit; cæteraque omnia et fingula dedit, donavit, reliquit, et difpofuit, in omnibus, et per omnia, vel fimiliter in effectum, prout in dicto Teftamento nuncupativo continetur, ac poftea mortem obiit: ac Principalis Pars ifta proponit conjunctim, divifim, et de quolibet. II. Item, quod tempore conditionis, declarations, nuncupationis Teftamenti, in hoc negotio exhibiti, præfatus JOHANNES MILTON perfecta fruebatur memoria; ac proponit ut fupira ^{z.}

been obligingly communicated to me by J. Nichols, Efq. from the original in his poffeffion: There were three widow Miltons there, (at Nantaich) viz. the poet's widow, try aunt, and another. The poet's widow died laft fummer." Dated July 30. 1731. Topp.]

Regifer. Cur. Prærog. Cam, ut fupra.

II.

Interrogatories addreffed to the Witneffes examined upon the Allegation.

Decemb. 5, 1674. Interrogatoria miniftrata et miniftranda ex parte Annæ, Mariæ, et Debora MILTON, teftibus ex parte Elizabethan MILTON produ&is five producendis fequuntur.

Imprimis, Afke each witneffe, what relation to, or dependance on, the producent, they, or either of them, have; and to which of the parties they would give the victory were it in their power? Et interrogatur quilibet teftis conjunctim, et divifim, et de quolibet.

2. *Item*, Afke each witneffe, what day, and what time of the day, the Will nuncupative was declared; what pofitive words did the deceafed ufe in the declaring thereof? Can you pofitively fwear, that the deceafed did declare that hee did leave the refidue of his eftate to the difpofall of his wife, or did hee not not fay, " I will leave the refidue of my eftate to my wife? *Et fiat ut fupra*.

3. *Item*, Upon what occafion did the deceafed declare the faid Will? Was not the deceafed in, perfect health at the fame time? Doe you not think, that the deceafed, if he declared any fuch Will, declared it in a prefent paffion, or fome angry humour againft fome or one of his children by his former [firft] wife? *Et fiat ut fupra*.

4. *Item*, Afke each witneffe, whether the parties miniftrant were not and are not greate frequenters of the Church, ^k and good livers; and what caufe

^h Hero frems to be an infination, that our poets's difpleafure againft thofe three daughtets, arofe partly from their uclhtucc

of difpleafure bad the deceafed againft them? *Et fiat ut fupra.*

5. *Item*, Afke Mr. [Chriftopher] MILTON, and! each other witneffe, whether the deceafed's Will, if any fuch was made, was not, that the deceafed's wife fhould have £1000, and the children of the faid Chriftopher MILTON the refidue; and whether (he hath not promifed him that they fhould have it, if fliee prevailed in this Caufe? Whether the faid Mr. MILTON hath-not fince the deceafed's death confeffed foe much, or fome part thereof? *Et fiat ut fupra.*

6. *Item*, Afke each witneffe, whether what is left to the miniftrants by the faid Will is not reputed a very bad or altogether desperate debt ¹? *Et fiat ut fupra.*

to thofe principles; which, in preference to his own, they had* received, or rather inherited, from their mother's family, who were noted and active royalifts. Afterwards, the description *good livers* is not to be underftood in its general and proper fenfe, which could not have offended Milton; bat as arifing from what went before, and meaning much the fame thing, that is, *regular in their attendance on the eftablifhed worfhip.*

¹ That is, the marriage portion, promifed, but never paid, to JOHN MILTON, by Mr. Richard Powell, the father of his firft wife; and which the faid JOHN bequeathed to the daughters of that match, the miniftrants, Anne, Mary, and Deborah. They were married in 1643. I have now before me an original " Inventorie of the goods of Mr. Richard Powell of Forreththill, in the county of Oxon, taken the 10th of June, A. D. 1646." This feems to have been taken in confequence of a feizuro of Mr. Powell's Houfe by the rebels. His diftreffes in the royal caufe probably prevented the payment of his daughter's marriage portion. By the number, order, and furniture of the rooms, he appears to have lived as a country gentleman, in a very extenfive and liberal ftyle of houfe-keeping. This I mention to confirm

7. Afke the faid Mr. MILTON, whether he did not gett the faid Will drawn upp, and inform the writer to what effect he fhould draw it? And did he not enquire of the other witneffes, what they would or could depofe ? And whether he hath not folicted this Caufe, and pay'd fees to the Pro&our about it? *Et fiat ut fupra.*

8. *Item*, Alke each witneffe, what fortune the deceafed did in his life-time beftowe on the miniftrants? And whether the faid Anne MILTON is hot lame, and almoft helpleffe ? ^k *Et fat ut fupra.*

9. *Item*, Afke each witneffe, what value is the deceafed's eftate of, as neare as they can guels? *Et fiat ut fupra.*¹

II

Depofitions and crofs-examinations of the faid witneffes.

Elizabetha MILTON, Relicta et Legataria principalis JOHANNIS MILTON defuncti, contra Annam, Mariam, et Deborah MILTON, filias ejufdem de-

what is faid by Phillips, that Mr. Powell's daughter abruptly left her husband within a month after their marriage, difgufted with his fpare diet and hard ftudy, " after having been ufed at home to a great houfe, and much company and joviality, &c." I have alfo feen in Mr. Powell's houfe at Forethill many papers, which (how the adive part he took in favour of the Royalifts; With fome others relating to the Rangerhip of the Shotover foraft bearing his fignature.

^k She was deformed, and had an impediment in her fpeech. His grand-daughter Elizabeth Fofter by the third daughter Deborah, often fpoke of his harftmefs to his daughters, and that he refufed to have them taught to write.

¹ Regiftr, Cur. Prærog. Cant, ut fuprà.

functi. Super Allegatione articulata et Teftamento nuncupativo JOHANNIS MILTON defuncti, ex parte Elizabethæ MILTON predictæ, in hoc negotio, fecundo Andrea, 1674, dato^m et exhibitis.

Quinto Decembris 1674. Chriftopherus MILTON villæ Gipwici in com. Suffolciæ ortus infra parochiam Omnium Sanctorum *Bredftreete*, London, ætat. 58 annor. aut eo circiter, teftis, &c. Ad omnes articulos dictæ Allegationis, et ad Teftamentum nuncupativum JOHANNIS MILTON, generofi, defuncti, in hoc negotio dat et exhibit, deponit et dicit, That on, or about the twentieth day of July, 1674, the day certaine he now remembreth not, this deponent being a practicer in the Law, and a Bencher in the Inner Temple, but living in vacations at Ipfwich, did ufually at the end of the Terme vifit JOHN MILTON, his this deponent's brother the Teftator articulate, deceafed, before his going home; and foe at the end of Mid-fummer Terme laft palt, he this deponent went to vifit his faid brother, and then found him in his chamber within his owne houfe, fcituate on Bunhillⁿ within the

^m Sic, ut et infra, pro *Milton*.

ⁿ Sometimes called the *Ailery-walk*, leading to Bunhill fields. This was his laft fettled place of abode, and where he lived longeft. Richardfon calls this houfe a "fmall houfe, where he died about fourteen years after he was out of publick employ." Ubi fupr. p. xciii. It was here that he wrote or finifhed *Paradife Loft*, *Paradife Regained*, and *Samfon Agonifies*. But in 1665, when the plague broke out in London, he retired to Chalfont Saint Giles, where his friend Elwood, a quaker, had taken a houfe for him; and the next year, when the danger was over he came back to Bunhill-fields. The houfe at Chalfont, in which he refided in this fhort fpace of time, and where he planned or began *Paradife Regained*, is ftill ftanding, fmall, but

parish of S. Giles, „Crepelgate, London: And at that tyme, he the said Testator, being not well, (*and* this deponent being then going into the country,) in a serious manner, with an intent, (as he believes,) that what he then spoke should be his WILL, if he dyed before his this deponent's coming the next time to London, declared his Will in these very words as ncarie as this deponent can now call to mynd. Viz. " Brother, the porcion due to me from Mr. Powell, my former [first] wife's father, I leave to the unkind children I had by her: but I have received noe part of it, and my Will and meaning is, they shall have noe other benefit of my estate, than the said porcion and what I have besides don for them: they haveing been very undutifull to me. And all the residue of my estate I leave to the disposal of Elizabeth my loving wife." She, the said Elizabeth his the deceased's wife, and Elizabeth Fyther his the deceased's then maid-servant, was [at the] same tyme going up and downe the roome, but whether she then heard the said deceased, so declare his will as above or not, he knoweth not.

pleasantly situated. See Ellwood's *Life of Himself*, p. 246. Who calls it " a pretty box."

[Mr. Dunster, in the additions to his edition of *Paradise Regained*, remarks that the house is not pleasantly situated. " The adjacent country is indeed extremely pleasant; but the immediate spot is as little picturesque or pleasing as can be well imagined. Immediately in front of the house, a grass field rises so abruptly as completely to exclude all prospect and the common road of the village passes by the gable end, adjoining to which is the end of a small dwelling, which runs behind that inhabited by Milton." TODD.]

And the faid teftator at the premifes was of perfect
 d and memory and talked and difcourfed fenfibly
 and well, *et aliter nefcit deponere*.

CHU, MILTON

AD INTERROGATORIA.

Ad 1* Interr. *refpondet*, that the party producent
 in this Caufe was and is the relict of the faid deceafed,
 who was his this repondent's brother; and the parties
 ininiftring thefe interrogatories were and are in re-
 pute, and foe he beleeveth his the laid deceafed's
 children by a former wife: and for his part, he
 wifheth right to take place, and foe would give it if
 in his power; and likewife wifheth that his brother's
 Will might take effect

Ad 2 Interr. *refpondet*, that on what day of the
 moneth or weeke the faid deceafed declared his Will,
 as is above depofed, he now remembreth not pre-
 dfeiy; but well remembreth, that it was in a fore-
 noone, and on the very day he this deponent was
 goeing in the country in [the] Ipfwich coach, which
 goeth not out of towne till noone or thereabout: and
 he veryly beleeveth in his confeience, that the refidue
 of his eftate he did then difpofe of in thefe very
 words, viz " And all the refidue of my eftate I leave
 to the difpofall of Elisabeth my loving wife;" or he
 ufed words to the felfe fame effect, *et aliter referendo*
fe ad pre-depof. nefcit refpodere.

Ad 3 Interr. *refpondet*, that the faid deceafed was
 then ill of the goute, and what he then fpake touching
 his Will was in a very calme manner; only [he] com-
 plained, but without paffion, that his children had

been unkind to him, but that his wife had been very kind and careful of him; and he believeth the only reason induced the said deceased at that time to declare his Will was, that he this deponent might know it before his going into the country, *et aliter referendose ad pre-deposita nescit respondere.*

Ad 4^m Interr. *respondet*, that he knoweth not how the parties ministring these interrogatories frequent the church, or in what manner of behaviour of life and conversation they are of, they living apart from their father four or five years last past, and as touching his the deceased's displeasure with them, he only heard him say at the time of declaring of his Will, that they were undutiful and unkind to him, not expressing any particulars; but in former times he hath heard him complain, that they were careless of him being blind, and made nothing of deserting him, *et aliter nescit respondere.*

Ad 5^m Interr. *respondet*, that since this respondent's coming to London this Michaelmas Terme last past, this respondent's sister, the party now proponent in this cause, told this respondent, that the deceased his brother did after his this respondent's going into the country in Trinity vacation last summer [say,] that, if (he should have any overplus above a 1000/. come to her hands of his the deceased's estate, she should give the same to this respondent's children: but the deceased himselfe did not declare any such thing to this respondent at the time of his declaring his Will, the time above deposited of.

Ad 6^m Interr. *respondet*, that he beteeveth that what is left to the parties ministring these interrogatories by the said deceased's Will, is in the hands of

perſon's of ability abell to pay the fame, being their grandmother and uncle; and he hath ſeen the grandfather's Will, wherein 'tis particularly directed to be paid unto them by his executors, et aliter neſcit reſpondere.

Ad 7^m Interr. *reſpondet*, that he this reſpondent did draw upp the very Will executed in this cauſe, and write it with his owne hand, when he came to this court, about the 23d. of November laſt paſt, and at that tyme this reſpondent did read the fame all over to Elizabeth Fiſher, the ſaid deceaſed's late maid ſervant, and ſhe ſaid ſhe remembered the fame, and in confirmation whereof ſet her marke thereto in manner as on the fame Will executed in this cauſe is now to be ſeen. And this reſpondent waited on the ſaid deceaſed's widdow once at Doctor Exton's chambers about this ſuite, at which tyme ſhe wanted ſome halfe crownes, and this reſpondent lent her then two halfe crownes, but more he hath at noe tyme paid either to Doctor or Proctor in this cauſe.

Ad 8^m Interr. *reſpondet*, that he knoweth of noe fortune given by the ſaid deceaſed to the parties miniſtring theſe interrogatories, beſides the portion which he was promiſed with his former wife in marriage, being a 1000 l. which is ſtill unpaid beſides the intereſt thereof for about twenty yeares, ſaveing his charges in their maintenance and breeding, *et aliter neſcit reſpondere*, ſaveing that Anne Milton interr. is lame and helples.

Ad ult. reddit cauſas ſcientiæ fuæ ut ſupra.

Die prid.

Repeit. cor. Doctore

CHE. MILTON.

Lloyd Surrog,

Milton con.
Thompson.

Milton et Milton
Clements.

Sup. All^{ais}-artic. et Tef-
tamento nupcupativo
Johan. Milton defuncti
ex parte Elizabethæ
Milton in hujufmodi
Cauſa dat et admiff,
examinat.

15°. Dec. 1674.

Maria Fifher foluta famul. domeſtica Johan. Batten
habitan. in vico vocat Bricklane in Old Streete
ubi moram fecit per Spacium ſex hebdomadarum
aut eo circiter, antea cum Benjamino Whitcomb
Mercatore habitan. in vico vocat. Coleman
Streete London per Spacium 3m. Menſium,
antea cym Guſjdon Culcap infra locum vocat
Smock Alley prope Spittlefields per Spacium
unius anni, aut eo circiter, antea cum Johanne
Bayley infra Oppidum Milton in Com. Stafford
per Spacium duorum annorum, antea cum Jo-
hanne Baddily infra parochiam de Milton præd.
per Spacium trium annorum, et antea cum
quodam Rogers Hargrave infra parochiam de
Milton præd, per Spacium duorum annorum
aut eo circiter, orta infra parochiam de Norton
in Com. Stafford prod, ætatis 23 aut eo circiter,
teſtis, &c.

Ad omnes articulos dictæ Allals et ad teſtamentum
nuncupativum Johan Milton teſtatoris in hac cauſa
defuncti in hujufmodi neg' dat et exhibit *depenit et*
dicit, that this deponent knew and was well ac-

N

quainted with the articulate John Milton the teItatOr
iN this caufe deceafed, for about a twelve moneth
before his death, who dyed about a moneth fince to
the beft of this deponent's remembrance; And faith,
that on a day hapning about two moneths fince, as
neare as this deponent can remember, this deponent
being then in the kitchen of the houfe of the forefaid
John Milton fcituate againft the Artillery Ground
neare Bunhill Fields, and about noone of the fame
day, the faid deceafed and the producent Elizabeth
his wife being then at dinner in the faid kitchen, hee
the faid deceafed amongft other difcourfe then had
betweene him and his laïd wife, did then fpeake to
his faid wife and utter thefe words, viz. " Make
much of mee as long as I live, for thou knoweft I
have given thee all when I dye at thy difpofal;" there
being then prefent in the faid kitchen this deponent's
fifter and *contefi* ° namely Elizabeth Fyiher. And
the faid deceafed was at that time of perfect mind
and memory, and talked and difcourfed feniibly and
well, and was very'merry, and feemed to be in good
health of body, *et aliter nefcit*.

Signum

MARIÆ FISHER.

AN INTERROGATORIA.

Ad primum Intcrr. *refpondet*, that this refpondent
hath noe relation or dependaunce on the producent
Elizabeth Milton, that it is indifferent to this refpon-

i. e, Fellow-witnefs, Con-Teftis.

dent which of the parties in this fuite obtaine, and would give the victory in this caufe if in her power to that party that hath moft right; but which party hath moft right thereto this refpondent knoweth not, *et aliter nefcit*.

Ad fecundum Interr. *refpondet*, that this refpondent doth not remember the day when the deceafed declared the words by her pre-depofed, but remembreth that it was about noone of fuch day that the words which hee then declared were thefe, viz. " Make much of mee as long as I live, for thou knoweft I have given thee all when I dye at thy difpofail;" then fpeaking to his wife Elizabeth Milton the party producent in this caufe, *et aliter nefcit*.

Ad tertium Interr. *refpondet*, that the deceafed, when hee declared the words pre-depofed, was then at dinner with his wife the party producent and was then very merry, and feemed to be in good health of body ; but upon what occafion hee fpoke the faid words fhee knoweth not, *et aliter nefcit*.

Ad quartum Interr. *refpondet*, that this refpondent knoweth neither of the parties miniftrant in this caufe laiving this refpondent once faw Anne Milton one of the miniftrants, *et nefcit refpondere per parte fua*.

Ad quintum Interr. nefcit refpondere.

Ad fextum Interr. nefcit refpondere.

Ad feptimum Interr. non concernit earn, et nefcit refpondere.

Ad octavum Interr. *refpondet*, that this refpondent once faw the Interr, Anne Milton but doth not remember whether fhee was lame or helpteffe, *aliter nefcit*.

Ad 9^m Interr. *reſpondet*, that this reſpondent knoweth nothing of the deceafed's eftate or the valuer thereof, *et aliter neſcit*.

Eodem Die

Signum

Repetit coram Doctore

MARINE FISHER,

Digby Surro, &c. pnte

Tho Welham, N. P.

Eodem Die

Elizabetha Fifher famula Domeſtica Elizabeths Milton ptis producentis in hac caufa cum qua et Johanne Milton ejus Marito defunclo vixit per Spacium 13 Menſium, antea cum quodam Thoma Adams apud Bagnall in Com. Stafford per Spacium trium annorum et fex Menſium, antea cum W^{me} Bourne Gen. infra parochiam de Woolftilftan in Com. Stafford precd. per Spacium duorum annorum, orta infra parochiam de Norton in Com. preed. aetatis 28 annorum aut eo circiter, teſtis, &c.

Ad otnhes articulos di6lae All^{nls} et ad teſtamentum nuncupativum Johan. Milton teſtatoris in hac caufa defuncti in hujufmodi negotio dat. exhibit et admiff *deponit* et *dicit*, that this deponent was fervant unto Mr. JOHN MILTON the teſtator in this caufe deceafed for about a yeare before his death, who died upon a Sttoday the * fifteenth of November laſt at night,

[She appears to have been miſtaken, a fingle week, in **her depoſitioin** See the Life, p. 125, 126. TODD*]

And faith that on a day hapning in the month of July laft, the time more certainly fhe remembereth not, this deponent being then in the deceafed's lodging chamber, hee the faid deceafed, and the party producent in this caufe his wife, being then alfoe in the faid chamber at dinner together, and the faid Elizabeth Milton the party producent having provided fomething for the deceafed's dinner which hee very well liked, ^p hee the faid deceafed then fpoke to his faid wife thefe or the like words as neare as this deponent can remember, viz. " God have mercy Betty, I fee thou wilt performe according to thy promife in providing mee fuch difhes as I think fitt whilst I live, and when I dye thou know eft that I have left thee all," there being noebody prefent in the faid chamber with the faid deceafed and his wife but this deponent: And the faid teftator at that time was of perfeft mind and memory, and talked and difcourfed fenfibly and well, but was then indifpofed in his body by reafon of the diftemper of the gout, which hee had then upon him. Further this deponent faith, that fhee hath fevrall times heard the faid deceafed, fince the time above depofed of, declare and fay, that hee had made provilion for his children in his life-time, and had fpent the greateft part of his eftate in providing for them, and that hee was refolved hee would doe noe more for them living or dyeing, for that little part which hee had left hee had given to his wife the articulate Elizabeth the producent, or he ufed words to that effect And likewife told this deponent that

^p His grand-daughter Elizabeth Fofter, by his third daughter Deborah, ufed to fay, that he was delicate, but temperate in his diet.

there was a thoufand pounds left in Mr. Powell's hands to be difpofed amongft his children hereafter. By all which words this refpondent verily beleeveth that the faid teftator had given all his eftate to the articulate Elizabeth his wife, and that fhee fhould have the fame after his deceafe, *et alittr nejat re-Jpondere*, faving that the faid deceafed was at the feveral times of declaring the words laft pre-depofed alfoe of perfect mind and memory.

Signum

ELIZAB. FISHER.

AD INTERROGATORS.

Ad primum Interr. *refpondet*, that this refpondent was fervant to the deceafed in his life time and is now fervant to the producent and therefore hath a dependency upon her as her fervant, that if the victory were in this refpondent's power fhee would give the deceafed's eftate equally to be fhared betweene the miniftrants and the producent, *et aliter nefcit*.

Ad fecundum Interr. *refpondet*, that this refpondent doth not remember on what day the deceafed declared the words firft by her afore depofed, but it was about noone of fuch day when he was at dinner that the precife words as neare as this refpondent can remember which the deceafed ufed at that time were thefe, viz. " Godliave mercy Betty (fpeaking to his wife Elizabeth Milton for foe hee ufually called her). I fee thou wilt performe according to thy promife in providing mee fuch difhes as I think fitt

whilst I live, and when I dye thou knowest that I have left thee all," *et aliter nescit*; faving that this respondent well remembreth that the deceased declared the words laft by her depofed to the articles of the allegation to this respondent once on a Sunday in the afternoone, but on what day of the month or in what month the faid Sunday then happened this respondent doth not remember.

Ad tertium Interr. *respondet*, that the occafion of the deceased's fpeaking of the words depofed by this respondent in her anfwer to the next precedent interrogatory was upon the producent's provideing the deceased fuch vittuals for his dinner as hee liked, and that he was then indifferent well in health, faving that fome time he was troubled with the paine of the gout, and that hee was at that time very merry and not in any paffion or angry humour, neither at that time fpoke any thing againft any of his children that this respondent heard of, *et aliter nescit*.

Ad quartum Interr. *respondet*, that this respondent hath heard the deceased declare his difpleafure againft the parties miniftrant his children, and particularly the deceased declared to this respondent that, a little before hee was married to Elizabeth Milton his now relift, a former maid fervant of his told Mary one of the deceased's daughters and one of the miniftrants, that fhee heard the deceased was to be married, to which the faid Mary replied to the faid maid fervant, that that was noe news to heare of his wedding, but if fhee could heare of his death that was fomething; and further told this respondent, that all his faid children did combine together and counfel his maid fervant to cheat him the deceased in her marketings,

and that his faid children had made away fome of his bookes and would have fold the reft of his bookes to the dunghill women; or hee the faid deceafed fpoke words to this refpondent to the felfe fame effeQ; and purpofe; that this refpondent knoweth not what frequenters of the church, or what good livers, the parties miniftrant or either of them are, *et aliter nefcit*.

Ad quintum Interr. *refpondet*, that this refpondent doth not know that the deceafed's wife was to have 1000/. and the interrogative children of Chriftopher Milton the refidue, nor doth this refpondent know that the faid Elizabeth, the deceafed's wife, hath promifed the interrogative Chriftopher Milton or his children any fuch thing in cafe fhee fhould prevaile in this caufe; that the faid Mrs. Milton never confeffed foe much in this refpondent's hearing, or to any body elfe that this refpondent knoweth of, *et aliter nefcit*.

Ad fextum Interr. *refpondet*, that this refpondent believeth that what is left the deceafed's children in the Will nuncupative in this caufe executed and mencioned therein to be due from Mr. Powell, is a good debt; for that the faid Mr. Powell is reputed a rich man, *et aliter nefcit*.

Ad feptimum Interr. *refpondet*, that this refpondent did voluntarily tell the interrogative Mrs. Milton, what fhee heard the deceafed fay which was to the effect by her pre-depofed, *et aliter nefcit*.

Ad octavum Interr. *refpondet*, that this refpondent knoweth not what the deceafed did in his life time beftow on the miniftrants his children, and that the interrogative Anne Milton is lame, but hath a trade

and can live by the fame, which is the making of gold and filver lace and which the deceafed bred her up to, *et alitor nefcit*.

Ad nonum Intern *refpondet*, that this refpondent knoweth not the deceafed's eftate, or the value thereof, *et aliter nefcit*.

Eodem Die

Signum

Itepetit coram Doctore

ELIZABETHS FISHER.

Trumbull Surro. &c.

Tho. Welham, N. P

JAMES TOWNLEY,
GEORGE GOSLING, } DEPUTY REGISTERS.
ROBERT DODWELL, }

IV.

Grant of Letters of Adminiftratioa to the widow
Elizabeth^r

Die 25^{to} - Februarii 1674/5.

JOHANNES MILTON. Viccimo	} ult. Jalii.
quinto Die Februarii ema-	
navit Commiurio Elizabeths	
MILTON Reliclae JOHANNIS	
MILTON nuper Parochise	
Sancti Egidii Cripplegate in	
Com. Mid. Defunfili hēntis,	
&c. ad Adminiltrand. bona,	
jura, et eredita difti defuncti,	
de bene &c. jurat, Tefta-	
niento Nuncupativo dict. de-	} ult. Dec.
funtti: aliter per antediftani	
Elizabetham MILTON Alle-	
gato, nondum Probato.	

GEORGE GOSTLING,	} DEPUTY REGISTERS.
JAMES TOWNLEY,	
ROBERT DODWELL,	

^r The reader will compare thefe evidences with the printed accounts of Milton's biographers on this fubject; who fay, that he fold his library before his death, and left his family fifteen hundred pounds, which his widow Elizabeth feized, and only gave one hundred pounds to each of his three daughters. Of this widow, Phillips relates, father raffhly, that me perfecuted his children in his life time, and *cheated* them at his death.

Milton had children, who furvived him, only by his firft wife, the three daughters fo after named. Of thefe, Anne, the firft, de-

formed in stature, but with a handsome face, married a mailer builder, and died of her first childbirth, with the infant. Mary, the second, died single. Deborah, the third, and the greatest favourite of the three, went over to Ireland as companion to a lady in her father's life-time; and afterwards married Abraham Clarke a weaver in Spital-fields, and died, aged seventy-six in August 1727. This is the daughter that used to read to her father; and was well known to Richardson, and Professor Ward : a woman of a very cultivated understanding, and not inelegant of manners. She was generously patronised by Addison ; and by queen Caroline, who sent her a present of fifty guineas. She had seven sons and three daughters, of whom only Caleb and Elizabeth are remembered. Caleb migrated to Fort Saint George, where perhaps he died. Elizabeth, the youngest daughter, married Thomas Foster a weaver in Spittle-fields, and had seven children, who all died. She is said to have been a plain sensible woman; and kept a petty grocer's or chandler's shop, first at lower Holloway, and afterwards in Cock-lane near Shoreditch church. In April, 1750, *Comus* was acted for her benefit: Doctor Johnson, who wrote the Prologue, says, " she had so little acquaintance with diversion or gaiety, that she did not know what was intended when a benefit was offered her." The profits of the performance were only one hundred and thirty pounds * ; although Doctor Newton contributed largely, and twenty pounds were given by Jacob Tonson the bookseller. On this trifling augmentation to their small stock, she and her husband removed to Islington, where they both soon died. So much greater is our taste, our charity, and general national liberality, at the distance of forty years, that I will venture to pronounce, that, in the present day, a benefit at one of our theatres for the relief of a poor and an infirm grand-daughter of the author of *Comus* and *Paradise Lost*, would have been much more amply and worthily supported.

THESE seem to have been the grounds, upon which Milton's Nuncupative Will was pronounced invalid. First, there was wanting what the Civil Law terms a *rogatio testium*, or a solemn bidding of the persons present, to take notice that the words he was going to deliver were to be his Will. The Civil Law re-

[* From the information of my friend, Isaac Reed, Esq., I am enabled to add, to Mr Warton's account, that the Receipts of the House were 147l. 14s, 6d, from which the Expenses deducted were 80l. 10s. 6d.]

quires this form, to make men's verbal declarations operate as Wills; otherwise, they are presumed to be words of common calling or loose conversation. And the Statute of the twenty-ninth of Charles the Second [c. iii.] has adopted this Rule; as may be seen in the 19th clause of that Statute, usually called the *Statute of Frauds*, which passed in the year 1676, two years after Milton's death. Secondly, the words, here attested by the three witnesses, are not words delivered at the same time; but one witness speaks to one declaration made at one time, and another to another declaration made at another time. And although the declarations are of similar import, this circumstance will not satisfy the demands of the Law; which requires, that the three witnesses who are to support a Nuncupative Will, must speak to the identical words uttered at one and the same time. There is yet another requisite in Nuncupative Wills, which is not found here; namely, that the words be delivered in the last sickness of a party: whereas the words here attested appear to have been delivered when the party was in a tolerable state of health, at least under no immediate danger of death. On these principles we may presume Sir Leoline Jenkins to have acted in the rejection of Milton's Will: although the three witnesses apparently told the truth in what they deposed. The Judge, deciding against the Will, of course decreed administration of the Intestate's effects to the widow.

For an investigation of these papers in the Prerogative Registry, for an explanation of their nature and purport, and of other technical difficulties which they present to one unacquainted with the records and more ancient practice of the prerogative court in testamentary proceedings, I must confess myself indebted to the kind attention and friendship of SIR WILLIAM SCOTT. There are other papers in the Commons belonging to this business: but as they are mere forms of law, as they throw no new light on the cause, and furnish no anecdotes of Milton and his family, they are here omitted. T. WARTON.

A LIST of such Editions of Milton's POETICAL WORKS as have hitherto been met with by the editor of these volumes.

I. A Maske presented at Ludlow Castle, 1634, &c. Printed for H. Robinfou, 1637. 4°. This is Lawes's edition of *Comus*.

II. *Lycidas*, in the Cambridge Verfes, 1638. 4to.

III. Poems by Mr. John Milton, both English and Latin, composed at several times. Printed by his true copies. His Songs were set in musick by Mr. Henry Lawes, gentleman of the King's Chappel, &c. Printed and published according to order. Loudon, Printed by Ruth Raworth for Humphrey Mofeley, &c. 1645. small 8°. with his portrait by Marfiall.

IV. The Sonnet to Henry Lawes, prefixed to Choice Psalms put into musick by H. and W. Lawes. Printed for H. Mofeley, 1648. 4°.

v. *Paradise Lost*, a Poem written in ten books, by John Milton. Licensed and Entered according to order. London, Printed and are to be sold by Peter Parker under Creed Church near Aldgate; And by Robert Boulter at the Turks Head in Bishopsgate-street; and Matthias Walker under St. Dunstons Church in Fleet-street. 1667. 4°. This is the first title page of the first edition. The poem immediately follows the title-page, without any arguments or list of errata.

2d Title-page, &c. *Paradise Lost*, a Poem in ten books. The Author J. M. Licensed and Entered according to order. London, Printed and are to be sold by Peter Parker, &c. [as before] 1668.

3d Title-page, &c. *Paradise Lost*, a Poem in ten books. The Author John Milton. London, Printed by S. Simmons, and to be sold by S. Thomfon at the Billhops-head in Duck-Jane, H. Mortlack at the White Hart in Westminster-Hall, M, Walker Under St. Dunstons Church in Fleet-street, and

R. Boulter at the Turks-Head in Bifliopfgate-ftreet, 1668. To thefe titles of 1668, the addrefs of *The Printer to the Reader*, and the Arguments of each book, immediately fucceed. A table of errata alfo precedes the poem.

4th *Title-page*, &c. Paradife Loft, a Poem in ten books. The Author John Milton. London, Printed by S. Simmons, and are to be fold by T. Helder at the Angel in Little Britain. 1669. With the addrefs of *The Printer to the Reader*, and the Arguments.

5th *Title-page*, &c. Paradife Loft, a Poem in ten books. The Author John Milton. London, Printed by S. Simmons &c. [as before] 1669, but without the fubfequent addrefs of *The Printer to the Reader*, yet not without the Arguments ; which appear to have been reprinted, as the two laft leaves of the poem feem alfo to have been, in *this fifth* typographical alteration.

Of this edition fome errata appear to have been corrected in fome flicets while they were paffing through the prefs. I will mention an inftance or two. Mr. Lofft obferves, that the 257th line of the fifth book " begins a new paragraph in his copy of 1667, and that of lf)ð\0, and has no comma after *cloud*: but in that of 1668 it continues unbroken; and has a comma after *cloud*."—I have two copies of 1668, one of which, (in its original binding,) begins a paragraph with this verfe, and has no comma after *cloud*. The other agrees with Mr. Lofft's ftatement. Again, the lift of errata to my copy of 1668 directs *in* to be fubftituted for *with*, in the penultimate line of the third book : *In* is printed in both my copies of 1668. I have a copy of, 1669 in which *with* remains. In the copies of 1668 and 1669 the number of this verfe alfo differs. Several variations of this kind might be pointed out. Perhaps fome leaves were cancelled.

VI. Paradife Regained, a Poem in IV books. To which 19 added Samfon Agoniftes. The Author John Milton. London, Printed by J. M. for John Starkey, &c. 1671. 8vo.

VII. Poems, &c. Upon several Occasions. By Mr. John, Milton: Both English and Latin, &c. Composed at several times. With a small Treatise of Education to Mr. Hartlib. London, Printed for Tho. Dring &c. 1673. small 8vo. To the English poems in this edition were first added, i. Ode on the death of a fair infant, ii. At a Vacation Exercise in the College, iii. On the new forces of conscience under the Long Parliament, iv. Horace to Pyrrha. v. Nine Sonnets, vi. All the English Psalms. To the Latin poems, i. Apologus de Rustico et Hero. ii. Ad Joannem Roum, &c. In this edition the epistle from Sir Henry Wotton is omitted.

VIII. Paradise Lost, a Poem in twelve books. The Author John Milton. *The Second Edition*, Revised and Augmented by the same Author. London, Printed by S. Simmons, &c. 1674. small 8vo. With his portrait by Dolle, and with the commendatory verses of Barrow and Marvell. In the Advertisement to the Glasgow editions of the first book of Paradise Lost in quarto, and of the whole poem in octavo, both printed in 1750, an edition of 1672 is mentioned as the standard edition, of which the text is in these editions adopted. After a very extensive and diligent inquiry, I have been unable, however, to meet with any copy bearing the date of 1672.

IX. Paradise Lost, &c. 3d Edition. 1678. small 8vo.

x. Par. Regained and Samson &c. 1680. 8vo.

XI. Par. Lost, 4th Edition. With his portrait by White, and other plates. Published by subscription. Lond. Printed by Miles Flesher for Richard Bentley, &c. 1688. Fol. To this edition the two following poems are usually, but not always, found adjoined.

XII. Par. Regained, Lond. Printed by R. E. and sold by Randal Taylor. 1688. Fol.

XII Samson Agonistes, Lond. Printed and sold by Randal Taylor. 1688. Fol.

XIV. Paradise Lost and Regained, with cuts. London. 1692. Fol.

XV. Paradise Loft. Lond. 1695- Fol. With Notes by P. Hume, and with a Table of the moſt remarkable parts of the poem, under the three heads of Defcriptions, Similies, and Speeches.

XVI. Par. Regained, Samfon, and the Smaller Poems, were alſo printed, in folio for Tonfon, in 1695, and are moſt frequently found united with the Par. Loft of the ſame year.

xv n. The Poetical Works, in 2 vols, large 8vo. London. Printed for Tonfon, 1705.

xvi i l. The ſame, 2 vols. 8vo. 1707.

xix. Paradise Loft, for Tonfon, 12mo. 1711. This edition is much eſteemed. Tickell ſeems to have printed hi\$ edition from it. To this edition is added the index of the principal matters, which Dr. Newton ſuppoſed to have been firſt infered in Tickell's edition.

Xx. Par. Regained, Samfon, and the Smaller Poems, Lond. for Tonfon, 1713. 12mo. This edition is alſo valuable. It rectifies ſeveral errors of the text in the handſome, but incorreſt, editions of 1705 and 1707.'

This edition appeared with another bookſeller's name (W. Taylor) in the *general* title-page, and with the date of 1721 : But in the *ſeparate* titles of Samfon, and the Poems, the true date remains. It is unqueſtionably the edition of 1713 with a new title-page.

xx i. Paradise Loft, with Plates. Load. 1719- 12mo.

xx n. The Poetical Works, in 2 vols. 4to. for Tonfon, 1720, With Mr. Addifon's Criticiſm on the Par. Loft, and an Index of the principal matters. This is Tickell's edition. It is ſplendidly printed. A liſt of more than 300 ſubſcribers is prefixed to it.

XXin. The ſame, in 2 vols. 12mo With Mr. Addifon's Criticiſm. 1721.

XXIV. Paradise Loft, 8vo. Dublin, for G. Grierſon, 1724.

xx v. Paradise Loft, to which is prefixed an Account of the Life of Milton, 8vo. Lend. 1725. Fenton's edition.

XXVI. Par. Regained, Samfon, and the Smaller Poems, under the care alſo of Fenton, 8vo, 1725.

- XXVII. The Poetical Works, ft vols. 8vo. Lond. 1727.
Fenton's.
- XXVIII. The ferae, 8 vols. 8vo. Lond. 1730. Fenton's
- xxix. The fame, with Mr. Addifon's Criticifm, 2 vols.
12mo. Lond. 1731.
- xxx. Paradife Loft, 4to. 1732. Bentley's edition.
- xxx. i. Paradife Loft, 8vo. Lond. 1737.
- xxxn. The fame, 8vo. Lond. 1738.
- xxxiii. The fame, with Mr. Addifon's Criticifm, 8vo.
Lond. 1739.
- xxxiv. Paradife Loft, 8vo. Tonfon. Lond. 1741.
- xxxv. Par. Regained, Samfon, and the Smaller Poems,
beautifully printed, and on a fine paper, large 8vo. Lond.
1742.
- xxxvi. Paradife Loft, 8vo. Lond. 1746.
- xxxvn. Paradife Loft, in 2 vols. 12mo. Lond. For Tonfon.
1746.
- xxxviii. Par. Regained, Samfon, and the Smaller Poems,
in 2 vols. 12mo. Lond. For Tonfon, 1747. This and
the preceding edition are printed with great corre&nefe.
- xxxix. Paradife Loft, compared with the authentick edi-
tions, and revifed by John Hawkey, editor of the Latin
Clafkks. Dublin, printed by S. Powell for the editor.
1747, large 8vo. This edition, and the edition of Para-
dife Regained by the fame perfon, are very handfomely
printed, and are highly to be valued for their acc̄racy.
They are now extremely fcarce.
- XL. Paradife Loft, 4to. Dublin, 1747.
- XL I. The fame, "printed on Irifh Paper," 8vo. Dublin,
1748.
- XLII. Samfon, Poems upon feveral occafions, and Centus,
8vo. Dublin, 1748.
- XLIII. Paradife Loft, with Notes of Various Authors, by
Dr. Newton, in 3 vols. 4to. Lond. 1749.
- XLIV. Paradife Loft, Book the firft. 4to. Glaſgow, 1750.
With Notes; in which " are illuftrated the various allu-
fions to ancient mythology, feared and profane, which are

- fo frequent in the first took of this divine poem." Many passages too of the ancient poets are there remarked, of which Milton has so admirably availed himself, or, to say it more properly, which he has (so thoroughly made his own." *Advertifement*. This excellent publication has been attributed by some to Dr. Gillies, by others (more justly) to Mr. Callander. See the Preface to this edition.
- XLV. *Paradise Lost*, in twelve books. 8vo. Glasgow, 1750.
- XLVI. *Paradise Lost*, 2vols. 8vo. Lond. 1750. Newton's edition.
- XLVII. *Paradise Lost*, in 2 Vols, small 8vo. With Notes. By John Marchant, Gent. Lond. 1751.
- XLVIII. *Paradise Lost*, in 2 vols. 8vo. Dublin, printed for J. Exshaw. With Newton's Variorum Notes. 1751.
- XLIX. *Paradise Regained*, *Samson*, and the Smaller Poems, with Notes of Various Authors, by Dr. Newton, in one vol. 4to. Lond. 1752.
- L. *The Poetical Works*, 2 vols. 8vo. Dublin. 1752.
- LI. *The lame*, in 2 vols. 8vo. With a Glossary. Edinburgh. 1753.
- LII. *Paradise Regained*. With the other Poetical Works, [smaller Poems.] Compared with the best editions, and revised by John Hawkey, editor of the Latin Classics. 8vo. Dubl. 1752.
- LIII. *The same*, 18mo. Glasgow, 1752.
- LIV. *The Poetical Works*, 2 vols. 12mo. London, 1753.
- LV. *The Poetical Works*, by Dr. Newton, in 4 vols. 8vo. Lond. 1753.
- LVI. *The same*, in 5 vols. 4to. 1754.
- LVII. *The Poetical Works*, in 2 vols, small 8vo. With a Critique upon *Paradise Lost* by Mr. Addison, and a Preface in which are inserted characters of the several pieces: With a Glossary, and the Life of Milton. Edinburgh, 1755.
- LVIII. *The same*, 4 vols. 8vo. 1757. Newton's edit.
- LIX. *The Poetical Works* in 4 vols, large 8vo. Printed at Birmingham by Balkerville, in 1758.
- LX. *The same*, by Baikerville, in 2 vols. 4to. 1759.

LIST OF EDITIONS, 195.

- LXI. The fame, by Baikerville, ia 2 vols. 8vo, 1760. It is almost superfluous to say of Baikerville's editions that they are beautifully printed. They are now become scarce.
- LXII. Paradise Loft, Loud. Printed for Griffiths, 1760. 12mo.
- LXIII. The Poetical Works, in 2 vols. 12mo. Edinb. 1762.
- LXIV. The Poetical Works, 4 vols. 8vo. 1268, Newton's edit.
- LXV. Paradise Loft, edited by the famous John Wesley, M. A. and "curtailed of its fair proportion," but with a very good intention, for the following reasons. "Of all the poems which have hitherto appeared in the world, in whatever age or nation, the preference has generally been given, by impartial judges, to Milton's Paradise Loft. But this inimitable work, amidst all its beauties, is unintelligible to abundance of readers: The immense learning, which he has every where crowded together, making it quite obscure to persons of a common education.
- "This difficulty, almost insuperable as it appears, I have endeavoured to remove in the following Extract: First, By omitting those lines, which I despair'd of explaining to the unlearned, without using abundance of words: And, Secondly, by adding short and easy notes, such as I trust will make the main of this excellent poem clear, and intelligible, to any uneducated person of a tolerable understanding." *To the Reader.* 1763. 12mo,
- LXVI. The Poetical Works, 4 vols. 8vo. Lond. 1766. Newton's edit.
- LXVII. Paradise Loft, with Notes of various Authors, by John Rice, 8vo. Lond. 1766.
- LXVIII. The Poetical Works, in 2 vols. 12mo. Edinb. 1767.
- LXIX. The fame, 4 vols. 8vo. Lond. 1770. Newton's edit.
- LXX. Paradise Loft, folio. Glasgow. 1770.
- LXXI. Paradise Loft, 12mo. Lond. 1770.
- LXXII. Par. Regained, Samson, &c. 12mo, Edinb. 1770.
- LXXIII. The Poetical Works, with a Life, and a Glossary. in 2 vols, small 8vo. Edinb. 1772.
- LXXIV. The first six books of Paradise Loft* rendered into

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- grammatical construction: the words of the text being arranged at the bottom of each page, in the same natural order with the conceptions of the mind; and the ellipsis properly supplied, without any alteration in the diction of the poem. With Notes, &c. By the late James Buchtao, Author of the British Grammar, &c. The manuscript was left with Dr. James Robertson, Professor of Hebrew, who has published it for the benefit of Mr. Buchanan's widow. 8vo. Edinburgh. 1773.
- LXXV. The Poetical Works, 4 vols. 8vo. Lond. 1773. Newton's edit.
- LXXVI. The same, 4 vols. 12mo. Lond. 1773.
- LXXVII. Par. Regained, Samson, &c. 12mo Lond. 1773.
- LXXVIII. The Poetical Works, 4 vols. 12mo. Edinb. 1773.
- LXXIX. Paradise Lost, and Paradise Regained, in 2 vols. small 8vo. with Notes, translated from the French of the learned Raymond de St. Maur: and various critical remarks from Mr. Addison, Dr. Warburton, Dr. Newton, Dr. Pearce, Dr. Bentley, Mr. Richardson, and Mr. Hume. A new edition. Lond. 1775.
- LXXX. The same, 3 vols. 4to. Lond. 1775. Newton's edit.
- LXXXI. The same, 4 vols. 12mo. London, printed for Bell. 1776.
- LXXXII. Paradise Lost; 18mo. Glasgow, Foulis. 1776.
- LXXXIII. The same, 12mo. Lond. 1778.
- LXXXIV. The Poetical Works, 4 vols. 8vo. Lond. 1778. Newton's edit.
- LXXXV. The Poetical Works, 2 vols. 12mo. Lond. 1778.
- LXXXVI. The Poetical Works, in Johnson's edit, of the Poets of (Jr. Brit. 8 vols, small 8vo. 1779-
- LXXXVII. The same, 2 vols. 12mo. Edinb. 1779.
- LXXXVIII. The same, 3 vols. 18mo. Lond. Printed for Wenman, 1781.
- LXXXIX. Paradise Lost, 12mo. Lond. 1784.
- XG. Paradise Lost, 12mo. Lond. 1784.
- wie poems, &c. viz, Lycidas, L'Allegro, Il Penferoso, cycles; Comus, Odes, Sonnets, Miscellanies, English

Pfalms, Etegarum Liber; Epigrammatum Liber, Silvarum Liber. With Notes critical and. explanatory, and other Illuftrations. By. Thomas Warton, Fellow of Trinity College, and late Profeffor of Poetry at Oxford, 8vo. London. 1785.

XCII. The Poetical Works, 2 vols. 12mo Land, 1785.

XCIII. Paradife Regained, 12mo. Lond. 1785.

XCIV. Paradife Loft, illuftrated with Texts of Scripture, by John Gillies, D.D. One of the Minifters in Glafgow. Small 8vo. Loud. 1788.

xcv. The Poetical Works, 4 vols. 12mo. Lond. 1788. Bell,

XCVI. Pamdife Loft, 12mo. Land. Vernor. 1789.

xevu. The feme, 2 vols. 18mo. Lond. 1790.

XCVIII. The feme, 4 vols. 8vo. Loud. 1790. Newton's,

XCIX. Poems, &c. viz. Lycidas, [as before] the fecond edition by Mr. Warton, with many alterations and large additions. 8vo. Lond. 1791.

c. Paradife Loft, printed from the firft and fecond editions collated. The original fyftem of orthography reftored; the punctuation corrected and extended. With Various Readings; And Notes; chiefly rhythmical. By Capel Lofft, Efq; Book the firft. Bury St. Edmund's. 1792. Small quarto, of nearly the fame fize as the firft edition. A learned Preface, and an Appendix, are prefixed to this book. The fecond Book has been alfo publifhed,

ci. Paradife Loft, 2d edit, by Dr. Gillies, with additions. Small 8vo. Lond. 1793.

CII. Paradife Regained, 12mo. Alnwick. 1793.

ciii. The Ppeticai Works, 8 vols. 12mo. Lond. 1794. Wilkin.

civ. The fame, 3 vols, 12mo. with Tonfon's Text of 1711, &c. Newton's Notes. 1795.

cv. Paradife Regained. With Notes of Various Authors. By Charles Dunfter, M.A. 4to. lond. 1795.

CVI. The Poetical Works, in Dr. Anderfon's Britifh Poets, royal 8vo Lond. 1795.

CVII. The fame, in Cooke's Select Britifh Poets, with a Life of Milton, and Mr. Addison's Criticifm on the Par. Loft, 4 vols. 12mo. 1705.

CVIII. The ferae, in 2 vols. 8vo. elegantly printed by Benfley. Lond. 1796.

CIX. Par. Regained, Samfon, and the Smaller Poems, with felect Notes from Dr. Newton's, and Mr. Dunfter's editions. Loud. 8vo. 1797.

CX. The Poetical Works, with an excellent Life of the Author, by William Hayley, Efq. In three folio volumes, fioidel and Nicol. 1794—1797. This magnificent edition does honour to the tafte and abilities of thofe who were engaged in the production of it. It difplays every elegance of typographical execution; and is accompanied with molt beautiful Engravings from the defigns of Weftall. It is a monument indeed worthy of H I M , whofe works entitle him to that fupereminence among the poets of his country, which he has fo happily affigned to his own glorious " Ifle" among the " fea-girt" domains of Neptune, in his *Comus*, ver. 28.

" THE GREATEST AND THE BEST of all the main."

CXI. *Comus*, A Maik, &c. With Notes critical and explanatory by various commentators, and with preliminary illuftrations. To which is added a copy of the Maik from a Manufcript belonging to his Grace the Duke of Bridgewater. By the editor of thefe volumes. 8vo. Canterbury, 1798.

CXII. *Comus*, A Maik, &c. To which ate added L' Allegro and Il Penferofo, and Mr. Warton's Account of the Origin of *Comus*, [and the Account of Ludlow Cattle, with fome criticifms on the poem, taken from the preceding edition.] Lond. fmall 8vo. 1799-

cXIII. *Paradife Loft*, beautifully printed, with plates by Richter, 4to. Load. 1799-.

CXIV. *Paradife Loft*, to which is prefixed the celebrated Critique by Samuel Johnfoa, L L . b . with a Sketch of the life and Writings of Milton, by the Rev. John Evans, A . M . And with Engravings, royal 8vo. Lond. 1799.

- cxv. The Poetical Works, in 4 vols. With a Critical Effay, by J. Aikin, M. D. fmall 8vo. Lond. 1801.
- CXVI. The Poetical Works,, in 6 vols. With the principal Notes of various commentators. To which are added Illuftrations, with fome account of the life of Milton, by the Rev. Henry J. Todd, M. A. (the prefent editor.), 8vo. Lond. 1801..
- cxvii. Paradife Loft, 2 vols. 8vo. beautifully printed by Bentley, and embellished with fine engravings. Duroveray. Lond. 1802.
- cxviii. Paradife Loft, 8vo. with Heptinfall's plates. Vernor, &c. Lond. 1802.
- cXIX. The fame, in one vol. 18mo. Mawman, &c. 1804.
- cxx. Paradife Loft. Illuftrated with Texts of Scripture, by Dr. Gillies, 3d edition, 12mo. Mawman, &c 1804.
- CXXI. Paradife Loft, 8vo. Vernor, &c. Lond. 1804.
- CXXII. Paradife Loft, 12mo. Lond. 1805.
- cxixiii. Poetical Works, (in Johnfon's edition of the Britifh Poets,) with new Biographical and Critical Matter, by J. Aikin, M. D. 3 vols. 8vo. Kearfley. Lond. 1805.
- CXXIV. The feme, in 3 vols. 18mo. Kearfley Lond. 1805.
- cxix v. Poetical Works, by Thomas Park, 4 vols. 18mo. with beautiful engravings. Sharpe. Lond. 1805.
- CXXVI. The fame, in 2 vols. 32mo. Suttaby. Lond. 1806.
- cXXVII. Poetical Works, (in Johnfon's edition of the Britifh Poets,) 4 vols. 24mo. Bagfter, &c. Lond. 1807-
- cXXVIII. Paradife Loft, with Johnfon's Critique and life of Milton, 12mo. Lond. Tegg. 1807.
- cXXIX. Paradife Loft, with a Life of the Author, handfomely printed in poft 8vo. with many fine plates. Vernor, &c. Lond. 1808.
- cXXX. The fame, in one vol. 32mo. Walker, &c. 1808.
- CXXXI. Poetical Works, with a Critical Effay, by J. Aikin, M. D. and the prefent editor' text. 4vols. 8vo. Cadell, (1808.
- CXXXII. Latin and Italian Poems of Milton, trauflated into Englifh Verfe, with the Originals; and a Fragment of a Commentary on Paradife Loft, by the late William Cowper, Efq. 4to. Johnfon. Lond. 1808.

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Greek Tranſlations.

- I. In 1736, the celebrated Richard Dawes published propoſals for printing, by ſubſcription, " Paradifi AMiffi, & cl. Miltono conſcripti, liber primus, Græca verſione donatus, una cum annotationibus." Theſe propoſals were accompanied with a ſpecimen, which may be ſeen in the ſeventh volume of *The General Dictionary*, p. 587, and in the Preface to his *Mijcellanea Critica*, where he explains his reaſons for not proceeding in his undertaking, and very ingenuouſly points out the errors of his own performance. See Biograph. Brit. vol. 5. edit. Kippis, p. 20.
 - II. Paradifi Amiffi Liber primus Græce, cum celebri verſione Latina Rev. Gulielmi Dobſon, Oxonienſis, nuper defuncti. [Dedicated by the tranſlator, Dr. Stratford, to the then biſhop of Derry.] Dublin, 4to. 1770.
 - III. In the Gentleman's Magazine for 1779, p. 191, the following mention is made of a Greek tranſlation by " Thomas Denny, a literary itinerant, particularly ſkilled in Greek. Among the Roman poets, Horace and Virgil were his chief favourites, as Homer was of the Greek, whoſe ſtyle he has well imitated in a tranſlation of the firſt ſix books of Milton's Paradife Loſt into Greek; which, with a great number of detached pieces on various ſubjects, in that and Latin, were preferred by ſeveral gentlemen of his acquaintance."
 - IV. Johanis Miltoni Samſon Agoniſtes Greco carmine redditus cum verſione Latina. A Georgio Henrico Glaſſe, A. M. Ædis Chriſti nuper Alumno. Oxon. 8vo. 1788.
 - v. In the Gentleman's Magazine for 1791, p. 471, a ſpecimen of a Greek tranſlation, dated Hertford, May 11, 1791. by James Moore, Maſter of the Grammar School, is offered to the publick; according to which ſpecimen, " I purpoſe," ſays Mr. Moore, " publiſhing Milton's Paradife
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- VI. *Miltoms Poema, Lycidas, Græce redditum* [a Joanne Plumptre, tunc Canooico Vigornienti, nunc autem Decano Gloceft.] 4to. 1797.

Latin Tranflations.

- I. *Paradifus Amiffa, Poeraa Heroicura, quod a Joanne Miltono Anglo Anglice fcriptum in decern libros digeftum eft, nunc autem a viris quibufdam natione eadem oriundis ia Linguam Romanam transfertur. Liber primus.* Imprim. Nov. 18. 1685. 4to. Lond. Impends T. Bring, 1686. A dedication to Sir Thomas Mompeffon is prefixed, figned by J. C.
- II. *Johannis Miltoni Paradifi Amifli liber primus, ex Anglicana lingua in Latinain converfus.* 4to. Cantabrigite, 1691 The dedication is figned by T. P., who is faid to be Thomas Power, of Trin. Coll. Cambridge. He tranflated into Latin verfe the remaining books, which exift in manuſcript. See Peck's *Memoirs of Milton*, p. 68.
111. *Paraphraſis Poetica in tria Johannis Miltoni, viri clariffimi, Poemata, viz. Paradifum Amifiura, Paradifum Recuperatum, et Samfonem Agoniſten. Autore Gulielmo Hogaeo.* 8vo. Lond. 1690. And at Rotterdam, 1699

From the dedications of this ingenious and learned Scotchman, prefixed to his tranſlations of *Lycidas* and *Comus*, we learn that he experienced great diſtreſs. He had publiſhed in 1682 " *Paraphraſis in Jobum Poetica*;" and afterwards " *Satyra Sacra, five Paraphraſis in Eccleſiaſten Poetica*." To this publication he has prefixed a poetical account of himſelf. He appears to have been a native of Gowry in Perthſhire, and to have known only miſfortune ſince he came into England. He publiſhed alſo " *Liber primus Principis Arcturi* (a Rich. Blackmore, Eq. Aur.) *Latink red.* 1700," and ſeveral other Latin verſions of Engliſh poems. Of a perſon, who had thus contributed to extend the fame of Milton, theſe few notices may not ſeem improper. I wiſh I could add that his

declining days were comfortable. Part of his sacred poetry has* been reprinted in " *Poetarum Scotorum Mufæ Sacra*, S torn. Edinb. 1739:* of which William Lauder is the editor. Of his *Paradise Lost* Lauder basely availed himself. See vol. vi. p. 408.

IT. *Paraphrasis Latina in duo Poemata*, (quorum alteram i Miltono, alteram a Clivlando, Anglice scriptum fuit,) quibus deploratur mors juvenis præclari et eruditi, D. Edwardi King, qui nave, qua vectabatur, faxo illisa, in Oceano Hybernico submersus est. Autore Gulielmo Hogæo. London, printed for the author. 4to. 1694. There is another Latin translation of *Lycidas* in hexameters, presented in the Lambeth MSS. No. 841. 8.—I am also possessed of a Latin translation of *Lycidas* in manuscript.

v. *Lusus Amatorius*; five *Mufæi Poema* &c. Cui aliæ (tres scilicet) accedunt *nugæ poeticæ*. Authore C. B. Coll. Di. Jo. Bapt. Soc. The first of these " *nugæ poeticæ* " is *Fragmentum libri quinti Poematis vere Divini quod Paradisus Amiffa inscribitur*, &c. 4to. Lond. 1694. Peck was misinformed by Dr. Birch in dating this publication 1699.

VI. *Comœdia Joannis Miltoni, viri clarissimi*, (quæ agebatur in *Arce Ludenfi*,) paraphrastice reddita, a Gulielmo Hogæo. 4to. Lond. 1698.

VII. *Paradisus Amiffa*. Poema Anglice scriptum a Johanne Milton. Nunc autem ex Auctoris exemplari Latine redditum. Per M. B [old, Aul. Trin. Cantab. Soc] Liber primus. 8vo. Lond. 1702. The translator printed two other title-pages: viz. " *Paradisus Amiffa. Poema, Latino carmine redditum ex ipso Authore Johanne Milton, Lib. prim Lond. 1702.*" And " *Paradisus Amiffa Miltonia, Lat. carmine reddita. Lib. prim. Operis totius specimen. Lond. 1717*" Reprinted in 4to. 1736.

VIII. Peck relates that, in 1709, he was informed at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, that Dr. William Tilly, a learned fellow of that society, had translated a great part of the

- Paradise' Loft into Latin verse. See **Mem.** of Milton, p. 69.
- ix. Part of the fourth book of Paradise Loft, translated into Latin hexameters, by John Theobald, dedicated to Francis Douce, M. D. 4to. Lond. Printed by B. Milles. {Without date.] -
- x. In Dodfley's Publick Register for 1741, p. 85, there is a translation from 11 Penferofo into Latin hexameters, signed W. R.; and a second, from the same poem, into elegiacs, by the same person, in p. 86.
- xi. Miltoni Paradisus Amiffus, 2 vols, 4to. Dr. Trapp's translation. Vol. 1st. 1740, vol. 2d. 1744.
- XII. The beginning of the first book of Paradise Loft translated into Latin hexameters, by Mr. Samuel Say. Poems, 4to. Lond. 1745.
- XIII. The same, by L. de Bonneval, Gent. Mag. 1746, p. 548. The same number of lines is also extracted from the versions of Power, Bold, and Trapp, with the addition of another translation, signed I. C. p. 661.
- XIV. Translation from Comus in the Carmina Quadragefimalia, Oxon. 1748, vol. ii. pp. 25, 73.
- xv. A Latin version of L'Allegro, by Chriftopher Smart, Poems, p. 181. edit. 4to. 1752.
- XVI. The Ode on May Morning, translated into Latin hexameters, in Dodfley's Mufeum, vol. i. p. 217.
- XVII. Paradisus Amiffus Poema Joannis Miltoni, Latine redditum a Gulielmo Dobfon, LL.B. Nov. Coll. Oxon, Socio. £ vols. 4to. 1753. This admirable translation was encouraged by Mr. Benfon, who had erected in Westminster Abbey the monument to the poet. Oldys, in his manuscript notes on Langbaine's Dramatick poets, preserved in the British Mufeum, says that Dobfon's reward was to be a thousand pounds when the translation should be finished, with the interest of that sum while he was performing it.
- XVIII. Imitata a Miltoni L'Allegro Carmina. Dated Lichfield, Nov. 1, 1794. Gent, Mag. vol, 64, p. 1134.

Italian Translations.

- I. The celebrated Mr. Berkeley, afterwards bishop of Cloyne, had been informed in 1714, that, at Florence, Milton was then translated into Italian verse. See Mem. of bishop Berkeley, 2d edit p. 54. The younger Richardfon had also seen at Florence an Italian translation of Paradise Lost in manuscript by the Abbe Salvini, who, in 1715, published an Italian version of Addison's Cato. Whether this might be the translation, of which information had been given to Mr. Berkeley; or whether a translation of Milton's other Poems also had been made, cannot now be known. However, see the next article in this list of Italian translations. Wright, in his Travels through France, Italy, &c. in 1720, 1721, and 1722, notices Salvini's translation of Cato, which, he says, "Mr. Addison himself declared was the best translation he ever saw." And he adds, Salvini "showed us some parts of Milton's Paradise Lost, which he had occasionally turned into Italian; and they read admirably well in that harmonious language." Travels, &c. vol. ii. p. 425. Salvini's translation has not been published. The learned Abbé was extremely fond of English literature. He thus declares his love, in a letter to a friend, dated Nov. 18. 1713. "Or che pensate? ultimamente mi sono addato all' Inglese, e mi diletta, e mi giova assai. E gl' Inglesi, essendo nazione pensativa, inventiva, biszarra, libera, e franca, io ci trovo ne' loro libri di grande vivacità, e spirito, e la Greca, e l' altre lingue molto mi conferiscono a tenere a mente i loro vocaboli per via d' etimologie, e di similitudini di fuori." Lettere d' Uomini illustri, Venez. 4to. 1735, p. 167. It appears that Salvini translated also *The Fair Penitent*, and *June Short*, into Italian. Ibid, p. 322.
- II. *Paradiso Perduto*, primo libro, tradotto dal Conte Lorenzo Magalotti MS. See the Catalogue of Shefton's Papers, p. 117. Lot 691- The Conte Magalotti is thus described

in an Elegy by Henry Newton, entitled *Nemora Florentina*, 1709.

- " Sed cum cœlestem referat mirantibus orbem,
 " Miltonique comes, nobile furgit opus;
 " Tum fuperum redeunt acies, atque acta deorum;
 " Refque fimul fuperum, verba, modofque legunt."

See *Henrici Newton Epiflolæ, Orationes, et Carmina*, 4to. Lucæ, 1710. Carm. p. 31. This Henry Newton was the friend of Lord Somers, and Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of Tufcany. Poffibly Magalotti's verfion might be that of which Berkeley had received information.

III. Del Paradifo Perduto Poema Inglefe di Giovanni Milton Traduzione di Paolo Rolli. Londra, fol. 1735.

IV. Il Paradifo Perduto di Giovanni Milton, tradotto in Verfo Italiano da Felice Mariottini. With the Life of Milton, and Mr. Addifon's Criticifm; to both which, additions are fubjoined: And with copious annotations. The firft book only. Lond. 8vo. 1794.

v. Il Paradifo Perduto di Giovanni Milton, tradotto in Verfo Italiano da Felici Mariottini. [The whole Poem, in two parts.] Lond. 8vo. 1796.

vi. Mr. Walker, in his Hift. Memoir on Italian Tragedy, 1799, p. 229, relates that the learned Antonio Conti, a Venetian nobleman, who, with the affiftance of Lord Bolingbroke, had made a free verfion of the whole of Pope's Rape of the Lock, had tranflated part of Milton's Paradife Loft; which, however, is fuppofed not to have been publihed.

VII. Il Como, Favola Bofchereccia, trad, da Gaetano Polidori, 8vo, Lond. 1802.

VIII. L'Allegro, trad.da Gaetano Polidori, 12mo. Load. 1805. [In this and the preceding tranflation, many paffages are prefented in their foreign drefs with remarkable elegance and felicity; and both ftrongly evince the ability of Signor Polidori.]

IX. Como, Dramma con Mafchere di Milton, traduizione foftenuta ad litteram, 4to. Par. 1806. [Published with a

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French literal tranflation alfo of Comus. See the Lift of French Tranflations.]

French Tranflations,

- I. Voltaire, in a letter to Horace Walpole, dated 15 July, 1768, fays, " I was the firft that introduced Shakfpeare to the French; *forty year ago* I tranflated fome paffages from him, as well as from Milton, Waller, &c. See Hift. Memoirs of Voltaire, Lond. 8vo. 1777, p. 208.
- II. Le Paradis Perdu, &c. Avec les remarques de M. Addifon. Par Monf. Dupré de St. Maur In profe. 8 vols. 12mo. Paris, in 1729.
- III. Le Paradis Perdu, Le Par. Reconquis, Lycidas, Il Penferofo, et Cantique fur la fete de Noel, &c. 3 vols. 12mo. Hag. 1730. To this edition are added Differtation Critique de M. Conftantin de Magny, which is thought by fome to have been written by the Abbe Petlegrin, and La Chfite de l' Homme,, poeme Francois par M. Durand. Several paffages are reftored in this edition, which in that of Paris had been retrenched.
- IV, Traduction de Milton, Liv. i. ver. 242, &c. i. e. Difcours de Satan precipite du haut de Ciel a la vne de l'Enfer. [By Mr. Rumgold, a Student in the Jefuits College, at Paris. In French rhymes. Printed in *Poems by J. Whaley, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, 8vo. 1745.*]
- v. Traduction du Paradis Perdu, chargee de Notes. Par Louis Racine, en 3 vols. 8vo. " Elle eft, en quelques endroits, plus fidele que celle de M. Dupre de St Maur; mais on n'y fent point, comme dans celle-ci, l'enthoufiafme de l' Homere Anglois." Vid. Nouv. Dict. Hift. a Caen., *Racine*, (Louis.)
- VI *L'Allegro* et Le Penferofo de Milton. Traduit en vera François. Par Ribouville. 4tb. Lond. 1766.
- VII. M. de Beaulaton a fait paroître, en 1777 et 1778, une traduction en vers François de Paradis Perdu, laquelle oft*

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- des beautes et des defauts. See *Nouv. Dict. Hift*, a Caen, *Milton*, (Jean.)
- VIII. *Le Paradis Perdu*, &c. de St. Maur's edit 3 vols. 18mo. Geneve, 1777.
- IX. *Le Meme*, 3 vols. 8vo. Paris, 1782. To this edition, besides the *Lettres Critiques fur le Paradis Perdu*, et fur le *Paradis Reconquis*, are added feveral Notes on the text.
- x. *Le Pere de Mareuil*, Jefuite, a donn6 une traduction Françoife, in 12mo. de *Paradis Reconquis*. See *Nouv. Dict. *A Caen, Milton*, (Jean.)
- XI. *Le Paradis Perdu*, &c. 2 vols, large quarto, with fine engravings. A magnificent edition. Printed at Paris. 1792.
- XII. *Paradis Perdu*, trad, par M. Monneron.
- XIII. *Les Amours Epiques*, &c. [That is, tranflations of Epifodes on Love, compofed by the beft epick poets. Accordingly part of Milton's fourth book of *Paradife Loft* is here *very curioufly done into French!*] Trad, par P. Grandmaifon, 12mo. 1804.
- XIV. *Paradis Perdu*, trad, per Jacques de Lille, Paris & Lond. 1805.
- xv. *Comus*, Mafque de Milton, traduction litterale, 4to. Par. 1806. [This and the Italian tranflation of *Comus* in 1806 are ftated in a preface by the Hon. and Rev. Mr. Egerton to have been made by two perfons, whom he engaged in this employment, " dont les talens litt6raires font connus."]

Dutch and German Tranflations.

- I. Jo. Miltons verluftigte Paradies, &c. 8vo. Zerbft. 1682. [Of this book Vogt gives the following account: " Liber fumme quidem rarus, at immerito, cum verfio fit infulfa. Caufla raritatis procul dubio exinde derivanda, quia autor Eraft. Gottl. vom Berge propriis fumptibus excudendum curavit." *Catal. Lib. Rar.* ed Hamb. 1747, p. 467.
- II. *Milton Paradys Vaiooren*, 4to. Hari ,, 1728. In Dutch blank verfe. This is prefumed to be the tranflation by Mr. Theodore Haake, R. S. S., which, Aubrey fays, was highly approved by Fabricius.

III. Het Paradys Verlooren. Gefobetft nat Engeifch Hel-
dendicht van John Milton, door L. P. 8vo. Amfteldam,
1730; [In rhyme; with a few notes, tod a life of
Milton.]

iv. Jo. Miltons Verluft des Pardiefes, &c. 8vo. Franck. fund
Leipzig, 1732.

v. Milton's wiedereroberies Paradies, 8vo. Bafil, 1752.

vi.—verlohraes Paradies, von Zacharia, 2 bande, 8vo.
Altona, 1762.

vii. Daffelbe, von Bodmer. Zurich, 1769.

Yin, Daffelbe, von Bodmer, 2 bande, 8vo. Zurich, 1780.

This excellent German poet has alfo given a critical ana-
lyfis of the Paradife Loft. Of the high efteem, in which
the poetry of Milton wa9 held by Bodmer, and alfo by
Klopftock, fee proofs in " Caracteres des poetes les plus
diftingues de l' Allemagne. Par M. Pfenninguer. Zurich,
1789.

IX. Milton's Allegro und Penferofo, 8vo. Enriched with
beautiful head and tail-pieces* Germ, and Eng. Manheim,
1782.

X.—wiedereroberies Paradies, nebft feinem leben,
anch dramat. und flemen neuern Gedichten. 8vo. Deflau,
1788.

xi.—verl. Paradies, iibers. v. Burde, 2 Thle, 8vo.
Berlin, 1793.

Spanifh Tranflation.

I. In *Los Eruditos a Ia Violeta* by Don Jofeph Vafques,
published in 1772, part of the firft book of Paradife Loft
is quoted and tranflated. See the Appendix to Twit's
Travels through Portugal and Spain.

Portuguefe Tranflations.

1. Paraifo perdido, poema heroico de J. Milton, traduzido
em vulgar pelo P. Jofe Amaro da Silva, Prelbitere Vima-
renfe. Com o Paraifo reftaurado do mefmo author.
(With ftort Notes, and Mr. Addifon's Criticifm.) Em
Lifboa, 8 vols. 8vo. 1792.

Ruffian Tranflation.

T. Storch, in his *Picture of Peterfburg*, mentions a Ruffian Tranflation of Paradife Loft.

Englifh Tranflations.

- J. The Epigram on Salmafius, by Mr. Wafliington, 1692.
- il. The Verfes to Chriftina, in Toland's Life of Milton, 1698. They are afcribed to Fleetwood Shephard in a worthlefs book, entitled *Chorus Poetarum*, 8vo. 1684. They have lately been translated alfo in the Monthly Magazine.
- in. Milton's Italian Poems, tranflated and addreffed to a Gentleman of Italy. By Dr. J. Langhorae, 4to. 1776.
- iv. Some of the Italian Sonnets and the Canzone, have alfo appeared, either tranflated or freely paraphrafed, in Aaron Hill's Works, in the Gentleman's Magazine, the Lady's Magazine, the Annual Regifter, Fawkes and Woty's Poetical Calendar, the edition of the Poets in 1779, and in the Monthly Magazine by Capel Lofft Efq.
- y. Manfo; from the Latin of Milton; in Englifh heroicks. In Poems by the Rev. Jofeph Sterling, Lond. 8vo. 1789.
- vi. Nature not liable to decay. From Milton's Latin Poem, by the Rev Henry Boyd. Poet. Regift. for 1805, p. 32.
- vn. Many fpirited and elegant tranflations from the Latin poems, by the Rev. Dr. Symmons, in his life of Milton, J 806.
- viii. Latin and Italian Poems of Milton, tranflated into Englifh verfe, &c. By the late William Cowper Efq With a Preface by the Editor, [William Hayley, Efq.] 4to. Cbichefter, 1808. Several admirable tranflations from thefe Poems of Milton by Cowper, had appeared in Mr. Hayle/s Life of the great poet, in 1794.

Alterations of Milton.

- I. The State of Innocence, or the Fall of Man. An opera, in rhyme, by Dryden. 4to. 1674

- ii. Milton's *Paradise Lost* imitated in rhyme. In the fourth, fifth, and ninth books; containing *The Primitive Loves, The Battle of the Angels, The Fall of Man*. By Mr. John Hopkins. Lond. 8vo. 1699. This rhymist opens his Preface thus: "It has been the misfortune of *one of my name* to affront the sacred prose of David with intolerable rhyme; and 'tis mine, I fear, to have abus'd allmost as sacred verse!"—I am clearly of opinion, from a perusal of these rhymes, that John Hopkins is a true defendant of the *original John Hopkins*, and the worthy heir of his poetical fame. He was partly induced to *put Milton into rhyme*, according to his intimation in the Preface, in order to *oblige the ladies*!
- iii. A Paraphrase in verse, on part of the first book; of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, by W. Howard. 4to. London. Printed for the author, 1738. The title-page was varied. For the author, an aged and infirm man, in order to relieve his wants, circulated his paraphrase by printing on every title-page an address to some distinguished person. My copy is inscribed to the Dutchess of Bolton.
- iv. *Comus*, a Mask. Now adapted to the Stage. As altered from Milton's Mask. By Dr. Dalton. Lond. 12mo. 1735. This judicious and elegant alteration has been often reprinted, both in 12mo. and in 8vo. It was received with the highest applause on its first representation. The Songs were set to music by Dr. Arne.
- v. *Sabrina*, an Opera, Ital. and Eng. (the basis of which is professed to be the Mask of *Comus*) by Paul Rolli, 12mo. Lond. 1737.
- vi. *Le Paradis Terrestre*. Imité de Milton. Divertissement spirituel en un Acte. Exécute par l'Académie de Musique de Poitiers, le 23 de Mars 1736. See *Oeuvres Méliées de M. l'Abbi Nadal*, Paris. 1738.
- vii. *L' Allegro and II Penferoso*, with a third part, entitled *Moderation*, adapted to Handel's Music, 1739.
- viii. *Par. Lost*, attempted in rhyme, Book 1. 8vo. Lond. 1740. By A. Jackson, Bookfeller in Clare-Court, Drury Lane.

- ix. Samfon, altered, with the admiffion of many pafiagea from Milton's early poems, and adapted to Handel's Mufick, - 1742.
- X. The State of Innocence, and Fall of *Man*: Defcribed in Milton's Par. Loft. Render'd into profe. With Notes &c. From the French of Raymond de St. Maur. By a Gentleman of Oxford. Lond. Printed for Olborne, 1745. 8vo. Mr. Steevens ridicules Olborne for this publication, as being ignorant in what form or tauguage our Paradife Loft was written. Shakfpeare, vol. i. p. 72. edit. 1793.
- XI. Le Paradis Terreftre. Poeme Imite de Milton, en vi chants. Par Madame du Bocage. 8vo. Lond. 1748.
- XII. There is, in French alfo, La Chriftiade ou Le Paradis Reconquis, pour fervir de fuite au Paradis Perdu de Milton. With a large Difcours Preliminaire. In fix volumes, a Bruxelles, (or rather at Paris,) 1753.
- XIII. A New Verfion of Paradife Loft, &c. In which the meafure and verification are corrected and harmonifed; the obfcurities elucidated; and the faults, which the author ftands accufed of by Addifon and other of the criticks, are removed. With annotations on the original text, to fliew the reafonablenefs of this new Verfion!! By a Gentleman of Oxford. 8vo. 175(5. The name of this doughty reformer, (hrouding himfelf under a fictitious title, was Green. See Farmer's Effay on the Learning of Shakfpeare, 3d. edit. p. 27. Of this *New Verfion* only the firft book appeared. The performance indeed is a moft linking example of vanity and abfurdity united.
- xiv. Tanevot, a learned Frenchman, has been fuppofed to be indebted to Milton in his tragedy of Adam and Eve, which is publifhed with his other works in 1765. See Nouv. Dift. Hift. a Caen. *Tanevot*, (Alexandre.)
- XV. The Recovery of Man, or Milton's Paradife Regained, in Profe. After the maimer of the Archbiihop of Cambray, author of Telemachus. To which is prefixed the life of **the** Author. 12mo. f. 1. 1771.

- XVI. *Comus, A Maik.* Altered from Milton. By George Colman, Esq, 8vo. 1772. This alteration also has been frequently reprinted, and is the *Comus* which now pre-fervep its place upon the Stage.
- XVII. *Adam, or the Fatal Difobedience.* An Oratorio. In Poems of R. Jago. Lond. 1784.
- XVIII. *Le Paradis Reconquis: Poeme, imite de Milton, par L. R. Lafaye, Gradue en l' Univerfite de Paris Maitre de Langue Frangoife, en vi chants.* 12mo. Lond. 1789.

Detached Pieces of Criticjfm relating to Milton, his editors, &c.

- I. Annotations on Milton's *Paradise Lost*. Wherein the texts of Sacred Writ, relating to the Poem, are quoted; the parallel places and imitations of the most excellent Homer, and Virgil, cited and compared; all the obscure parts render'd in phrases more familiar; the old and obsolete words, with their Originals, explained and made; eafie to the English reader. By P[atrick] H[ume.] Φιλοσοφίας. Lond. Fol. 1695, [Usually, but not always, subjoined to Tonson's edit, of 1695.]
- II. *Milton's Sublimity asserted,* Lond. 8vo. 1709.
- in. Addison's Criticism on the *Paradise Lost*, [Separately printed.] 12mo. London. Printed for Tonson, 1719.
- IV. Voltaire's Essay on the epic poetry of the European nations, from Homer down to Milton, Lond. 8vo. 1727.
- v. Remarks upon M. Voltaire's Essay on the epic poetry of the European nations* By Paul Rolli. Lond. 8vo. 1728. [This writer is the translator of *Paradise Lost* into Italian verse. He defends Milton, with considerable acuteness, against several of Voltaire's preposterous criticisms.]
- vi. *Differtation Critique sur le Paradis Perdu Poëme Heroique de Milton, par M. Constantin de Magny, &c.* 12mo. Par. 1729. [See the preceding list of French Translations, No. III.]
- VII. Dr. Bentley's Emendations on the twelve books of *Milton's Paradise Lost*, 12mo. Load. 1732.

- VIII. Milton reftor'd, and Bentley depos'd. Containing i. Some obfervations on Dr. Bentley's Preface, ii. His various readings and notes on Paradife Loft, and Milton's text, fet in oppofite columns, with remarks thereon, iii. Paradife Loft, attempted in rime, Book the firft, addrefled to Dr. Bentley, from" Dean Swift. Numb. i. Lond. 8vo. 1732. [The pretended addrefs to Bentley from Dean Swift is printed in the fecond volume of this edition, p. 281, where a further account of this pamphlet is given. The addrefs is borrowed from Swift's Advice to a Young Poet.]
- ix. A friendly Letter to Dr. Bentley. Occafion'd by his new edition of Paradife Loft. By a Gentleman of Chrift-Church College, Oxon, Lond. 8vo, 1732. [The author feid to be Dr. Pearce.]
- x. A Review of the Text of the twelve books of Par. Loft, in which the chief of Dr. Bentley's emendations are confider'd, &c. [Firft printed in feparate parts.] Lond. 1732. [Complete.] Lond. 8vo. 1733. [By Dr. Pearce.]
- xi. Critical Differtation on Paradife Regained, by the Rev. Mr. Meadowcourt, Prebendary of Worcefter: Lond. 4to. 1732. Reprinted in 8vo. 1748.
- XII. Explanatory Notes and Remarks on Paradife Loft. By J. Richardfon, Father and Son. With the Life of the Author, and a Difcourfe on the Poem. By J. R. Sen. Lond. 8vo. 1734.
- xiii. Remarks on Spenfer's Poems, and on Milton, Lond. 8vo. 1734. [By Dr. Jortin.]
- xiv. Remarks on the three firft books of Par. Loft, by Mr. Warburton, in the Works of the Learned, 1739, &c.
- xv. Letters concerning Poetical Tranllations, and Virgil's and Milton's Arts of Verfe, &c. Loud. 8vo. 1739. [By William Benfon, Efq.]
- xvi. Explanatory and Critical Notes on divers paffages of Milton and Shakfpeare, with an examination of Milton's ftile, by Francis Peck, M. A. Priuted with his" New Memoirs of the Life &c. of Milton:' 4to. 1740,

- xviii. Effay on Milton's imitation of the Ancients, 8vo. **1741.**
- xviii. A complete Commentary, with etymological, explanatory, critical, and claffical Notes on Par. Loft. By James Paterfon, M.A., and Philologift. Lond. 8vo, **1744.**
- xix. Effay on the Numbers of Par. Loft. By Mr. Samuel Say, Printed with his Poems, 4to. 1745.
- xx. Lauder's Attack againft Milton, in the Gentleman's Magazine for January 1746-7, &c.
- xxi. Zoilomaftix: or a Vindication of Milton from all the invidious charges of Mr. William Lauder. With fome new Remarks on Paradife Loft. By R. Richardfon, B. A. late of Clare-Hall, Cambridge. 8vo. 1747.
- xxii Furius: or a modeft Attempt towards an hiftory of the life and furprifing exploits of the famous W[illiam] L[auder], Critick and Thief-Catcher, 8vo. 1748. [Said to be written by Mr. Henderfon, a bookfeller.]
- XXIII. An Effay on Milton's ufe and imitation of the Moderns, in his Par. Loft. By William, Lauder Lond. 8vo 1750. [With a Preface by Dr. Johnfon.]
- xxiv. Pandaeiponium: Or a New infernal Expedition, in- fcribed to a Being who calls himfelf William Lauder, **4to.** 1750.
- xxv. Milton vindicated from the Charge of Plagiarifm, brought againft him by Mr. Lauder, and Lauder himfelf convicted of feveral Forgeries and Impofitions on the Publick. By John Douglas, M. A, Rector of Eton Con- ftantine, galop. [Late Lord Biihop of Salisbury. J 8vo, 1760.
- xxvi. The Preface to the Sea-Piece, a Poem, [containing a defence of Milton againft Lauder.] By J. Kirkpatrick, M.D. 8vo. Lond. 1750.
- xxvii. Criticifm on Samfon Agoniftes, in the Rambler, ' No. 139, 140. [Dr. Johnfon.] 1750.
- xxviii. Criticifm on the Verification of Milton, in The fame. No. 86, &c.

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- xxix. A Letter to the Rev. Mr. Douglas, occasioned by his Vindication of Milton, &c. By William Lauder, A. M. 4to. 1751. [Written by Dr. Johnson.]
- xxx. An Apology for Mr. Lauder. In a Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury. 8vo. 1751.
- xxxi. Criticism on Blemishes in the Paradise Lost, in The Adventurer, No. 101. [Dr. J. Warton.] 1752.
- xxxii. King Charles I. vindicated from the charge of Plagiarism, brought against him by Milton, and Milton himself convicted of Forgery, and a gross Imposition on the Publick, &c. By W. Lauder, 8vo. 1754. [Of this impudent pamphlet, the title of which is a parody on Mr. Douglas's Vindication of Milton, see an account in *The Inquiry into the Origin of Par. Lost*, in the second volume of this edition.]
- xxxiii. Milton no Plagiary : or A Detection of the Forgeries contained in Lauder's Essay &c. By J. Douglas, &c. [As before, 2d edit, enlarged.] 8vo. 1756.
- xxxiv. Remarks upon Paradise Lost, historical, geographical, philological, critical, and explanatory. By W. Mafley. 12mo. 1761.
- xxxv. Il Taffo, a Dialogue: the Speakers John Milton, and Torquato Taffo. In which new light is thrown on their poetical and moral characters. 8vo. 1761.
- xxxvi. A familiar Explanation of the Poetical Works of Milton. To which is prefixed Mr. Addison's Criticism on Par. Lost. With a Preface. By the Rev. Mr. Dodd. Loud. 12mo. 1762.
- xxxvii A Letter concerning Epick Poems, taken from Scripture History, 8vo. Lond. 1764.
- xxxviii. Essays on Various Subjects of Taste and Criticism, 8vo. Lond. 1780. [In which is a Critique on the first book of Paradise Lost,]
- xxxix. Prefaces Biographical and Critical to the works of the most eminent English poets, by Dr. Johnson. 1781.
- x L. Criticism on Paradise Lost, by Dr. Blair, in his Lectures on Rhetoric, &c. 4to. 1781.
- XLI. Criticism on Samson Agonistes, in refutation of the

- cenfures of Dr. Johnfon, by Mr. Cumberland, in The Observer, 8vo. 1784.
- XLII . A Letter to the Rev. Mr. T. Warton, on his late Edition of Milton's Juvenile Poems. [Said to be written by Samuel Derby, M. A. Rector of Whatfield in Suffolk.] Lond. 8vo. 1785.
- XLIII. Critical Effay on Lycidas, By John Scott, Efq. Printed with his " Critical Effays on fome of the Poems of feveral Englifh poets." Lond. 8vo. 1785.
- XLIV. Elements of Punctuation, containing Remarks on an Effay on Punctuation, and Critical Obfervations on fome paffages in Milton. By David Steel, junior. 12mo. Lond. 1786.
- XLV. Imitations and accidental Refemblances of Milton, by T. H. W. (Thomas Holt White) Gent. Mag. 1786, 1787.
- XLVI. Mifcellaneous Remarks on Milton, by T. C. O. [the late ingenious and amiable Mr. Headley of Trinity College, Oxford.] Geut. Mag. 1786, 1787.
- XLVII, Criticifm on Samfon Agoniftes, in refutation of the cenfures of Dr. Johnfon. [By the late W. J. Mickle, Efq.] Europ. Mag. 1788.
- XLVIII. Curfory Remarks on fome of the ancient Englifh poets, particularly Milton. [By Philip Neve, Efq.] 8vo. 1789-
- XLIX. Remarks on the Greek Verfes of Milton, by Dr. Charles Burney, 1790.
- L. Conjectures on the Origin of Paradife Loft, by William Hayley, Efq. Printed in his 2d edit, of the Life of Milton, 4to. 1796.
- L I . The Similies of Homer, Virgil, and Milton, examined and compared, by J. A. Monthly Mag. 1796, 1797, 1798.
- LII. On Milton's Imitations, or Refcmlances, in Par. Loft, by the Rev. G. Wakefield. Monthly Mag. 1797, 1798.
- LIII. Preliminary Obfervations on Samfon Agoniftes, as adapted to the Sfcjge, in Critical, Poetical, and Dramatick Works, by John Penn, Efq. 8vo. Lond. 1798.
- LIV, Thoughts on the Origin of Paradife Loft. By Jofeph

Cooper **Walker**, Efq. Printed with his " Historical Memoir on Italian Tragedy." 4to. 1799.

L V. Considerations on Milton's early reading, and the primafamina of his Par. Loft; together with Extracts from a poet of the Sixteenth century, [Joihua Sylvefter.] In a Letter to William Falconer, M. D., from Charles Dunfter, M. A. 8vo. Lond. 1800.

L V I. Criticifm on Paradife Loft, by Mr. Barron, in his Leftures on Belles Lettres, &c. 8vo. Lond. 1806.

L VII. Fragment of a Commentary on Paradife Loft, by the late William Cowper, Efq. [Subjoined to the Latin and Italian Poems of Milton, tranflated into Englifh Verfe by Cowper, accompanied with a Preface by Mr. Hayley, and Notes of Various Authors.] 4to. Chichefter. 1808

VERBAL INDEX

TO THE

POETRY OF MILTON.

VERBAL INDEX.

THE FOLLOWING INDEX will be found applicable to every edition of Milton's Poetical Works, whether published as an entire or partial collection; the circumstance which respects *only the first edition* of *Paradise Lost*, its appearance in *ten* books and the subsequent division of those ten into *twelve*, being remembered.

The explanation of the letters and figures used in this Index is as follows. The figures i, ii, iii, &c. refer to the respective *books* of *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*. The figures 1, 2, 3, &c. refer to the *lines* of each book, or of each poem, according to their several descriptions. The letters thus.

THE ENGLISH POEMS.

<i>P. L.</i>	signify	———	<i>Paradise Lost.</i>
<i>P.R.</i>			<i>Paradise Regained.</i>
<i>S.A.</i>			<i>Samson Agonistes.</i>
<i>Lye.</i>			<i>Lycidas.</i>
<i>LAI.</i>			<i>L' Allegro.</i>
<i>Il Penf.</i>			<i>Il Penferofb.</i>
<i>Arc.</i>			<i>Arcades.</i>
<i>Com.</i>			<i>Co mus.</i>
<i>Son. i, ii. &c.</i>			<i>Sonnets.</i>
<i>Od. Nat.</i>			<i>Ode on the Morning of Christ's</i> <i>Nativity.</i>
<i>Od. Paff.</i>			<i>Ode on the Passion.</i>
<i>Od. Cir.</i>			<i>Ode on the Circumcision.</i>
<i>Od. D. F L</i>			<i>Ode on the Death of a Fair</i> <i>Infant.</i>

VERBAL INDEX.

<i>Od. on Time, fignify</i>	<i>Ode on Time.</i>
<i>Od. Sol. Muf.</i>	<i>Ode at a Solemn Mufick.</i>
<i>Ep. M. Win.</i>	<i>Epitaph on the Marchionefs of Winchejkr.</i>
>	
<i>Od. May-M.</i>	Ode or Song on May-Morning*
<i>Vac. Ex.</i>	<i>P'erfes at a Vacation Exercife.</i>
<i>Ep. W. Sh.</i>	<i>Epitaph on IV. Shalcfpeare.</i>
<i>Ep. Hobf. I, II.</i>	<i>The two Epitaphs on Hobfon.</i>
<i>Fore, of Con.</i>	<i>On the new Forcers of Confcience, &c.</i>
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<i>Brut.</i>	<i>Brutus, 8cc. Tranjlated from Ceoffry of Monmouth.</i>
 <i>Dante, I, II.</i>	<i>Tranflation of Dante.</i>
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<i>Eurip.</i>	<i>Tranflation of Euripides.</i>
<i>Soph.</i>	<i>Tranflation of Sophocles.</i>
<i>Sen.</i>	<i>Tranflation of Seneca.</i>
<i>Pf. i, ii, &c.</i>	<i>Tranflation of Pfalms.</i>

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