





















CALDESI, BLANFORD & CO PHOTO.

MILTON.

ÆTATIS SUÆ, CIRCA 1666.

*This Portrait is taken from the Drawing in Crayons formerly in the possession of  
J. Richardson, Senr. and Jacob Tonson.*

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*Buckfastleigh Abbey,  
South Devon 1861.*

*S. Leigh Colclough*



RAMBLINGS  
IN THE  
ELUCIDATION OF THE AUTOGRAPH  
OF  
MILTON.



SAMUEL LEIGH SOTHEBY, F.S.A.

“  
AUTHOR OF THE “PRINCIPIA TYPOGRAPHICA.”



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1801

MEMORIALS

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MAIN

GO FORTH, MY FANCY RAMBLINGS, TO THE GAZE  
OF KINDRED SPIRITS, AND TO CRITICS FIERCE  
WHO LOVE TO STORM; ALTHOUGH THEY OFTEN PROVE  
THE AUTHOR'S WARMEST FRIEND. SHEW ME THE HEART  
THAT LOVES NOT MILTON. PROVIDENCE HATH WELL  
ORDAINED: WHATE'ER THE PART HIS RESTLESS PEN  
IN ENGLAND'S CIVIL WARS SO BOLDLY TOOK,  
HIS MUSE,—HIS HEART'S BELOV'D,—SHOULD PROUDLY RAISE  
A MONUMENT ON MOUNT PARNASS, BESIDE  
OUR SHAKESPEARE,—ENGLAND'S TRUEST, GREATEST BARD.

S. LEIGH S.



# INTRODUCTION.

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WORK of above two hundred pages of type, printed in imperial quarto, on the AUTOGRAPH<sup>1</sup> OF MILTON! The height of absurdity, doubtless, in the opinion of the General Public,—and then, what a “*fanciful*” Title,—“RAMBLINGS” in its “ELUCIDATION.” Very truly it may be so, as the learned editor of a widely circulated Journal of Literature pronounced it. We are, however, quite content that the whole work should be looked upon as *fanciful*.

What a charming Theme is FANCY! What an amusing work might be written by such authors as Thackeray, Dickens, and others, on the Antiquarian, Archæological, Bibliographical, Biographical, Geological, Palæological, Philological, Physiological, Theological, and other Fancies of many learned authors! Was there ever an active mind that had not some *fancy* or *whim* that he dearly cherished? Many have fancies without any object or purpose. Others, like Hamlet in his feigned madness, display a degree of *method* for some good and intelligible object.

So likewise in our humble *fancy*, we hope there will be found

<sup>1</sup> AUTOGRAPH. When we make use of the word “*Autograph*,” we mean it to apply to the general handwriting of the person to whom it refers, and not to his mere *signature*, as is too frequently understood. Though *autograph* and *holograph* are synonymous in their general acceptance, the latter word is not used as applic-

able only to the signature of a person in the sense of *signed*, when subscribed to a document not in his own handwriting; while the words *autograph letter* would signify the fact of the whole being written by the person by whom it was signed, whether he uses the first or third person.

some little degree of *method* that may interest the reader to go on from page to page until he arrives at the conclusion of our Ramblings.

“What could induce you, Mr. Sotheby,” may argue some kind friends, “to announce a work in imperial quarto, upon a subject that might be compressed into an octavo sheet, or in an article in one of the volumes issued by the Royal Society of Antiquaries of London, of which you have the honour of being a Member. The one might be published for a few shillings; but the other plan would answer all your purpose, for the public care very little or nothing about the AUTOGRAPH of MILTON.”

We are very sorry to incur the displeasure of those who would have persuaded us to desist from a pursuit wherein we have endeavoured to invest the subject with somewhat more interest than might be expected, in the mere research as to whether certain existing documents and papers are in the autograph of the Poet, or written by his Amanuenses.

Apologising for this preamble, we desire, first, to make known the origin of these our *fanciful ramblings*; and then to show how, from one day's rambling to another, we journeyed over much ground, finding, as we daily progressed, a great accumulation of interesting gleanings, no portion of which we could, on any consideration, cast on the wayside, without materially affecting the successful gathering of the whole.

In 1858 our attention was drawn to a signature of Milton appended to the deed described at page 129 in the present work. That document was in the collection of Autographic Relics of the Departed Great, belonging to the late Mr. Singer; whose learning, elegant taste, and judgment in all matters connected with the early literature of the enlightened world, are well known and duly appreciated. The Relic had been in the possession of Mr. Singer for many years, and he prided himself as being the owner of one of the most interesting AUTOGRAPH SIGNATURES OF MILTON extant. The moment we saw it, we recognized the same hand as had been employed in the writing of the long lost manuscript work of the Poet's, “DE DOCTRINA CHRISTIANA”; of which, in 1815, the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Winchester had issued a translation, accompanied with some fac-similes of the original. The learned Mr. Singer, forgetting that the lately discovered work of Milton



was written long after he was totally blind, and, consequently, then unable to write, considered that the writing of that manuscript was in the *autograph* of the Poet; and, therefore, that it proved the signature to the document in his possession to be *autograph*,—an opinion strengthened, as he thought, from the fact of its being attached to a paper issued by an Office of Government with the words, “*Witness my hand this day, May, 1660.*”

Such was a very natural conclusion, the more so, when the circumstance that the Poet was at that time blind was overlooked; a conclusion which also for the time misled us. Mr. Singer was much chagrined at the idea of our disputing the *autographic* character of the signature. The result, therefore, was that, in his collection, dispersed that year, the document was sold as bearing the *genuine handwriting* of the Poet, nobody entertaining any other opinion, or, at least, if they did, they did not make the same known. They probably hesitated, in order, that, should it prove otherwise, they might claim the distinction of having always entertained a contrary view.

In 1859, there appeared in the sale catalogue of the collection of Manuscripts formed by the late Mr. Dawson Turner, what purported to be the autographic receipt of the Poet in 1669, for the payment of the third five pounds he had received from Simmons for the copyright of his *Paradise Lost*. When we saw the fac-simile of that document, we felt certain, that neither that nor the signature to the *Singer* document *could* be in the *autograph* of Milton.

We then entered into an investigation of all the known Manuscripts considered to be in the handwriting of the Poet, and soon discovered, that the well-known original document for the sale in 1667 of the *Paradise Lost* of Milton, preserved in the Manuscript Department of the British Museum, did not bear the *autograph* signature of Milton; the document itself being either an *attested copy*, or, if *the original*, the signature was subscribed by *procuration*, owing to the Poet being at that period totally blind.

This induced us to extend our inquiries, and to visit Oxford; where, through the kindness of the late Rev. Dr. Bandinel, we were enabled to increase our knowledge of the Poet's penmanship, so remarkably exemplified in the specimens preserved in the Bodleian Library, given in fac-simile, plate xvii.

So likewise at Cambridge: where through the kind aid of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, we were permitted to make use of that volume in which Milton had written the majority of his detached poems from the year 1631 until 1650; an amanuensis and friends, after that period, having been employed, owing to the failure of the sight of the poet.

Thus led on by the confiding manner in which all the existing manuscripts of Milton were placed in our hands; we found that we had accumulated materials, which, we thought, if digested in some kind of form, might make an interesting work. We had no desire to enter the field as an addition to the numerous Biographers of the Poet; but we saw that, in order to come to any satisfactory result touching the autograph of the Poet, it was absolutely necessary that we should become acquainted with all the details known of his eventful life. Accordingly, we perused the labours of his biographers, noting, by the way, everything that would at all tend to elucidate the subject upon which we were engaged. We soon found that there was very little original information in any of the Memoirs of Milton; the materials of all the labours of his biographers having been collected from the autobiography<sup>1</sup> of the Poet, though in most cases put forth as the result of research, the biographers merely enlarging and altering the language according to their abilities. Of course, we allude only to the minute biographical details, not at all entering into the views entertained by those learned authors of the character of Milton, or of the merit of his writings. However much we may agree in the general opinion of the injustice done to Milton by the Leviathan Johnson; no one can read the Memoir of the Poet from the pen of such a man, without being charmed with the elegant diction by which either his admiration or dispraise of the Poet is recorded. So likewise with the great Macaulay, and some few others of the Miltonian Biographers and Essayists. We much regret that we have not heard the essay on Milton so successfully delivered by the Rev. and Learned J. M. Bellevue, whose power of delineating character and whose beautiful language have been rarely surpassed.

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 26-31, where many interesting portions of it are given in full.



THE lamentable Shakesperian Controversy that has of late occupied the attention of the Literary World, has shown what a diversity of opinion arises respecting the age and genuineness of handwriting, even among those whose whole lives have been devoted to the study of Palæology.

If, when a question arises upon the identity of handwriting with that executed by the same person at an earlier period of his life, or, under circumstances which may have influenced the style of the writing, persons would take the trouble to refer to what must daily come before them, much of that remarkable red-tapeism and circuitous argument of the learned and professed Palæologist would be found superfluous.

The fact is one that may be exemplified by almost every person in the daily occurrences of life; but, it often happens, that the more simple the means of ascertaining causes by the use of a little common sense, the more frequently they are overlooked.

Comparatively, few persons adopt any other than the ordinary handwriting they use in their daily transactions. Their writing does not vary throughout their lives more than by its failure in precision and boldness, as their physical powers decay. Of this fact numerous instances might be illustrated by fac-similes; while, on the other hand, many examples might be given of the handwriting of eminent persons, the character of which is totally different at various periods of their lives. More remarkable instances could not be adduced than in the autograph of Queen Elizabeth and of Charles I.

The great reformer MELANCHTHON, on forwarding his transcript in Greek of a chapter in the Bible to a friend, has recorded, while stating<sup>1</sup> that "Erasmus, Budæus, Luther, painted letters in the best style, and Capnio (Reuchlin) who wrote beautifully, and loved the larger letters, excelled them all," he himself "could paint better" *at an earlier period of his life, when his hand was more free, and he had more leisure.*

<sup>1</sup> PRINCIPIA TYPOGRAPHICA. THE BLOCK-BOOKS, or Xylographic Delineations of Scripture History, issued in Holland, Flanders, and Germany, during the FIFTEENTH CENTURY, in connexion with the Origin of Printing. 3 vols. A work contemplated by the late Samuel Sotheby, and

carried out by his son, S. Leigh Sotheby. *Illustrated with one hundred and twenty large engravings, some in colours, in exact fac-simile of the very rare Original Block-Books.* Small folio. Lond., 1858.

Such is the inevitable consequence with all, as they draw near to their journey's end. No attempt to keep up the appearance of youth, in whatever way it may be exercised, succeeds. While the mind, as age creeps on, is blessed with a periodical renewal of strength, the body ordinarily ceases to receive that sustenance by which its physical power is developed in the prime of life. In no daily occupation is the want of that power more felt than in the use of the muscles of the fingers in the exercise of writing.



THE non-employment of common sense in all matters of daily occurrence is what cannot but be discernible to everybody. There are very few subjects that even the uneducated cannot, by the well directed use of what nature has bestowed upon them, be brought in some degree to comprehend. Few topics that have been discussed or written upon during late years are of more interest, than the Age of this Terrestrial Globe, and its marvellous disembowelled contents, that have been during the last forty years and are daily being discovered by Geologists.

We are, when children, taught to believe that the world was not called into existence until five ordinary days before the Creation of Man. That it was within the period of the twenty-four hours of five successive days, that all which the eye of mortal man is permitted to see was formed in the order as related by Moses.

As we grow up, and view all around us under the influence of feelings created by the discoveries Man has been allowed to make in connection with the formation of the earth, our common sense induces us to think, that the Sacred Historian in the two first chapters of Holy Writ, intended to embrace in the opening words, "IN THE BEGINNING," an amount of Heavenly and Terrestrial History, unnecessary for the benefit of Man to be revealed. Incalculable Periods appear to have been passed over, in order at once to arrive at the history of Mankind during the earlier part of that dispensation which Moses was inspired to record.

Many months have elapsed since these remarks were penned. It is therefore gratifying to notice the almost similar opinions of the learned Mr. J. O. Halliwell, who, in his *Note on the "Essays and*

*Reviews*", published in the first number, April, 1861, of *The St. James's Magazine*, writes, "If the writer of the Book of Genesis had commenced his account with a geological description of the world, consonant with modern discovery, nothing but the interposition of a continuous miracle, commencing from the time that book was promulgated until that in which such a description could have been understood, would have saved the work from destruction, and its human author from being considered as an impostor."

One simple fact alone in forming an opinion as to the Antiquity of the Inhabited World ought of itself to convince any thinking mind, that we are exceedingly ignorant upon that subject, and very properly so. That such was the intention of the Almighty, the silence of Our Saviour, the Prophets, and all the Inspired Writers of Holy Writ, sufficiently confirms. Beyond mentioning, in one or two instances, the "*round world*," few are the passages, either in the Old or in the New Testament, that bear on the subject in such a way as to enlighten the inquirer. The world is generally believed to have been created only about 5500 years ago. The Great Pyramid at Gizeh was built about 1080 years before Christ. It has stood the ravages of nearly 3000 years without sustaining the smallest injury, beyond the mere decay of its exterior coating, which, proportionably, is far less than the mere covering of cement over the bricks of a modern house receives in fifty years.

There the Pyramid stands, and there it will no doubt remain until the end of This Dispensation, as the most marvellous existing Monument of the Work of Man. Let the mind place side by side with that monster Sepulchre, one of the Mountains of the Pyrenees, rearing its head many thousand feet above the level of the sea—a mountain rising in the form of a Pyramid, and fundamentally composed of that granite which, forming, as universally allowed by all geologists, the basis of the earth, while its sides are coated with the several strata of deposit found to correspond in all their minutiae in almost every part of the globe. With these objects before his mind's eye, it will not require an intimate knowledge of the writings of the Great Geologists, to enable any man gifted with common sense, to arrive, by analogy, at a conclusion, that, if the GREAT PYRAMID, formed of perishable materials by the HAND of MAN, has thus stood uninjured,

the MOUNTAIN, as the PROGRESSIVE WORK of NATURE, may fairly claim an existence far beyond the limit assigned to its creation according to the literal interpretation of the Sacred Historian.

The more recent discoveries of the preservation of even some of the luxuries of civilization; such as the perishable ivory combs, used by ladies, from the excavations of Nineveh,—a city claiming a much higher antiquity than the Pyramids of Egypt,—may fairly be brought to bear upon the point advocated. The preservation of such materials no doubt depends upon their position and on the climate of the country. The most fragile objects that were placed four thousand years since in the Tombs of Egypt, into which the waters of the Nile have not penetrated, are found to be almost in their pristine state, while stone objects in the same country are, from the annual inundations, often in a state of decomposition. The perishable relics from Nineveh have been for the most part taken from the debris of the Palaces which were destroyed by fire, and therefore their preservation is more remarkable than that of the relics of civilization found in the Tombs of Egypt and Etruria.



IN connection with this subject, it is also remarkable, that while the Museums of Europe abound with almost all the manufactured works of early civilisation, yet in this country not one has ever been found in any way to prove the period when those marvellous Monoliths on the Plains of Salisbury were erected, or to throw a light upon the people who inhabited that and other parts of the world, where innumerable monuments of a similar character abound. All is a matter of speculation and controversy.

Many learned authors consider the relation of Historians respecting the DRUIDS as a MYTH. Providence having permitted us to make the country, around which there exist innumerable relics of the early inhabitants of this land, our residence; we cannot but take the greatest interest in all matters that in any way bear upon the elucidation of a PEOPLE of whose existence the monuments around record unmistakable evidence. On taking possession of this, our Homestead,

THE ABBEY of BUCKFASTLEIGH, SOUTH DEVON, we anticipate the greatest pleasure, ere long, of passing with a few Antiquarian Friends, a FORTNIGHT'S RAMBLING ON DARTMOOR; and, it will be hard,—even after the personal researches of so eminent a man as SIR JOHN GARDNER WILKINSON, the Egyptian Traveller and Historian,—if we cannot find something that will repay the more learned of our Companions in their Archæological Jottings, while our humble part will be to supply the comforts of life, aided by the Rod in the pursuit of Dartmoor Trout.

The learned Sir John Gardner Wilkinson has, in “the *Journal of the British Archæological Association*” for June 1860, given a most interesting article “*On the Rock-Basins of Dartmoor, and some British Remains in England.*” Having touched upon the fact of the existence of the DRUIDS being mythical, we cannot abstain from giving the opinion of so learned a man as Sir John Gardner Wilkinson on that point; an opinion in which he very properly brings common sense to bear. He writes:—

“The question may not be one of very great importance; but there is another which ought to interest us, and this is the name and religious rites of the people by whom the many ancient monuments in Britain were erected; and as some have doubted the very existence of Druids and their religion in this country, it may not be irrelevant to inquire on what authority those doubts have been raised. It is the tendency of the day to call in question whatever has been hitherto credited: some, therefore, not satisfied with doubting the antiquity of every ruin of early times, have affected to disbelieve the accounts handed down to us by Roman writers concerning the Britons, their priesthood, and their customs; though I must confess that such doubts amount to something more than mere scepticism, when we have numerous records of a people whose ortholithic circles still remain at Stonehenge, Abury, Stanton-Drew, Arbe-Low, and many places in Cornwall, Devonshire, Cumberland, and various parts of this country, as well as in Wales and Scotland, together with cromlechs and various monuments; and when similar records are found in France and other countries once inhabited by tribes professing the same religion, and offsets of the same race as the early Britons.

“If we are not to trust to the authority of Roman writers who

mention the Druids, what is to be our guide? And if History is to be unceremoniously put aside, on what are we to depend for any information respecting the inhabitants, the manners, and the religion of Britain and Gaul, or the state of any other country of Antiquity? We may at once cease to read history, if mere speculations are to take its place. We have circumstantial accounts of the existence of Britons and of Druids in our island, of the stand they made in defence of their sacred retreats, and of some of their ceremonies: at all events, they were in Britain when the Romans first landed, and when they afterwards conquered the country. And if not to them, to whom are these strange monuments to be attributed?"



TO return to the subject of Handwriting: the learned Palæologist occasionally avows,—unmindful of the well-known proverb of Solomon, which is daily verified,—that the origin and progress of writing during the several phases of its employment, can only be ascertained by the formation of particular letters. It will no doubt be considered very presumptuous in one, not brought up to the study of Palæology, even to venture a remark upon such a point. Experience has shewn how widely in all such matters the most learned differ in their opinions. The late W. Young Ottley—than whom there existed, as contemporary, no one possessing more general knowledge—devoted much labour in showing that a manuscript of ARATUS was written in the Second or Third Century, contrary to the opinion of almost all who examined the volume. Mr. Ottley was a man of a most determined character; one who, entering on any pursuit, followed it with enthusiasm, and, generally, with great judgment and accuracy. One of his last acts in connection with his worldly pursuits, when on his death bed, was to get the writer of these observations to examine some newly discovered *uncial letters* in the Manuscript Department of the British Museum, believing that they would confirm the views he had propounded in respect to the Manuscript of Aratus.






THOUGH one of the Lions at Cambridge is the MILTON VOLUME preserved in Trinity College Library, few, comparatively, are the persons who have minutely examined its contents; the visitors, and perhaps even many of the biographers of the Poet, and editors of his Works, being satisfied with a passing look at it in the glass case in which it is placed. It is a volume of surpassing interest, such as I could not view, without feeling a desire, that all who venerate the Poetic Genius of Milton,—and few are there who do not,—should have the opportunity of possessing fac-similes of the most interesting portions of the volume. Consequently, when my wish was met with so kind an acquiescence on the part of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, I could not satisfy myself, without having many of the pages most accurately taken in fac-simile, such as would of themselves have formed a most interesting work.

Those fac-similes will, we believe, bear the strictest examination. Fac-similes should be what they profess to be; otherwise, they are worthless for the purpose for which they were made. During the last few years there have been published “REPRODUCTIONS IN FAC-SIMILE,” by M. BERJEAU, of the BIBLIA PAUPERUM, and the CANTICUM CANTICORUM,—BLOCK-BOOKS. They are little more than tracings, not in any way shewing the merit of the Designs, or the skill of the Wood Engraver. They do not merit the name of fac-similes. As reproductions of the *contents* of the works they are most valuable; the more so, as the introduction of Mr. Berjeau prefixed to each work displays great bibliographical research, but not great liberality respecting the opinions of his fellow labourers. It is to be hoped, that in the event of M. Berjeau issuing a reproduction of the SPECULUM HUMANÆ SALVATIONIS, as announced, he will employ a *professional artist* to make the fac-similes of the work, instead of employing his own unskilled hand; contenting himself with enlightening his readers with a detailed description of the text of the work.

**H**AVING, in our early Ramblings, made fac-similes of ten pages from the Miltonian volume at Cambridge, we soon found other documents of interest, which led us, most unintentionally in the first instance, to extend our pursuit. To observe upon the assistance derived from the confiding manner in which the various documents were placed in our hands, would most certainly afford us a further opportunity of expressing our thankful acknowledgments offered in our work. We cannot, however, omit the opportunity of mentioning the joy we felt at being permitted to make use of the almost forgotten Miltonian Relic in the possession of William Baker, Esquire, of Bayfordbury, Herts. We allude to the Original Manuscript of the First Book of PARADISE LOST, which was forwarded to the Authorities, to be read previous to its being licensed for Printing. The history of that interesting manuscript is fully given at pp. 196-9, together with a fac-simile of a portion of it. But, in addition to this kindness of Mr. Baker, he has permitted us to call in the aid of Messrs. Caldesi and Blandford to present to the purchasers of this work a faithful photograph of the only really good portrait of Milton extant,—a portrait taken from the life, ere the features of the Poet had become changed by the inward sorrow of his later days.


But we must not forget the BUST OF MILTON, preserved at Christ's College, Cambridge, a bust taken from life about twelve years earlier. Here again we are called upon to offer our thanks to the Master, Dr. Cartmell, and to the Fellows of that College, for their kind permission in granting, for the first time, a photograph of that interesting Memorial of the Poet to be taken. We now avail ourselves of the opportunity of presenting to our readers an account of that interesting Bust, as also of the Portrait in the possession of William Baker, Esq., the Photographs from which precede the title of our work.

## THE BUST OF MILTON, TAKEN FROM LIFE, ABOUT 1652.

 R. Disney, in the first volume of the copy of the Prose Works of Milton, 4to., 1753, which he presented to the Library of Christ's College, Cambridge, has noted, among other interesting matter, the subjoined memorandum respecting the bust of Milton presented about forty-five years ago at his request to that College.

“ 3. A Bust in plaster modelled from, and big as life, now in the possession of Thomas Hollis of Lincolnshire, done soon after Milton had written his *Defensio pro Populo Anglicano*, as some think by one Pierce, a sculptor of good reputation in those times, the same who made the bust of Sir Christopher Wren, which is in the Bodleian Library; or as others by Abraham Simon. A print of this bust, very badly designed, is prefixed to Milton's Prose Works, published at London, 1753.”

The above is all the information that we are enabled to gather respecting the only authentic Bust of the Poet; with which, beyond the engraving by Vertue, from a bad design by J. Richardson, and another equally unsatisfactory engraving,<sup>1</sup> the public generally have hitherto been unacquainted.


 HE Bust bears evidence of having been the cast taken from the original mould<sup>2</sup>, without having been under the hand of a sculptor to spoil it, as is frequently the case. The flowing hair, which, at that time, formed a prominent feature in the portrait of Milton, was afterwards modelled and added to the bust cast from life. The usual portraits of the Poet do not indicate the appearance of any beard; but, there is in the bust the evident impress of the hair on the lower part of the face.

There is, in our humble opinion, no bust or portrait of the Poet

<sup>1</sup> One “drawn and etched, 1760, by J. B. Cipriani, a Tuscan, from a bust in plaster modelled from the life; now in the possession of Thomas Hollis, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.”

<sup>2</sup> The bust does not exhibit any appearance of having been afterwards *recast* for the purpose of multiplying it.

extant, that conveys the nobleness of his character so much as that we are now considering. There is in it a breadth and expression truly characteristic of a great man. It reminds one of the portrait of Cromwell engraved by Faithorne; a portrait expressive of a determined mind, which once set upon an object no earthly power could alter. While, however, the Bust exhibits the high characteristics of the Poet, there is a calmness about the features that renders it most pleasing, more particularly in the lips, which impart the expressive power to the human face. This feeling of fascination which the bust produces may be attributed in some degree to the period of life when it was taken, the Poet being at that time in his very prime, when he had not arrived at the age of fifty; whereas the Portrait engraved by Faithorne, prefixed to the History of Great Britain by Milton, represents him at the age of sixty-two. That portrait exhibits, no doubt, a very faithful likeness of the Poet as he then was, but it is most painfully interesting. There we have Milton, shewing in his very countenance the grief that had weighed down his then comparatively peaceful soul. There the remains of his determined spirit still are to be traced, but not in the firmness as displayed in the Bust taken when in the zenith of his life. The one commands admiration, while the other excites our sympathy.

“ PARAGRAPH in the *Athenæum* of 10th August, 1850,” notes Mr. John Fitchett Marsh, at the close of his interesting account of the Portraits of Milton, “mentions the purchase by Mr. Labouchere, for 200 guineas, of a marble bust of Milton, made, it is said, from the life, by an Italian sculptor during the Poet’s visit to Italy. Its history is not stated; but it is worthy of note, that Mr. Thomas Hollis was so far impressed with the belief, that there was somewhere in Florence a marble bust of Milton, as to be induced to make search for it in 1762, but without success. See *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis*, p. 167, and *Warton’s Poems*, p. 333, ed. 1791.”

Some years ago we had the pleasure of seeing a small marble bust of the Poet, brought from Italy by the Rev. Mr. Woodward. It was, we believe, pronounced by competent judges to be a work of the

period. On inquiry, we learn that it is now in the possession of Lord Taunton.

In the will of Alexander Pope, printed at the close of his Biography by Owen Ruffhead, edition 1769, pp. 544-550, the Poet records, "I desire Mr. Lyttleton to accept the busts of Spencer, Shakespear, Milton, and Dryden, in marble, which His Royal Highness the Prince was pleased to give me." We are not aware of the present locality of the bust of Milton here mentioned.

#### THE PORTRAITS OF MILTON.



It is very gratifying, when employed upon a work which one feels will not be considered of much interest to the general public, to find that there are other fellow-labourers who are not disheartened by such a feeling, but, on the contrary, follow up their researches with a determined spirit, thinking that their pursuit cannot fail to be of the same interest to the whole world as to themselves. Without such a feeling,—call it enthusiasm or what you will,—certain it is, that unless an author devotes his whole energy, and heartily "loves his love," he is little more than one of the evanescent employers of that most useful piece of mechanism, usually lying upon the library table.

Whatever may be the matter of inquiry, whether historically important or curious in bygone or modern literature; or touching politics, religion, or the amusements of life; or what would appear, at first sight, of useless inquiry, the actively minded enthusiast will not fail to invest *his subject* with an interest that irresistibly leads his reader to the end of it.

We have an example now before us in a brochure<sup>1</sup> "*On the Engraved Portraits and the Pretended Portraits of Milton.*" By John Fitchett Marsh, Esq., a gentleman decidedly fond of early literature and its concomitants. Who would suppose that since the death of Milton there have been considerably above 150 portraits engraved of

<sup>1</sup> It is printed in "*The Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*," vol. xii. Read 3rd May, 1860.

him? With great assiduity Mr. Marsh has succeeded in obtaining impressions of nearly all of them; and in describing them has most successfully traced from whence they have been taken.

PORTRAITS IN OIL; FROM LIFE.



F the numerous paintings and drawings that may exist as representing Portraits of Milton, there are only two that may be considered as authentic.

FIRST. The Portrait of the Poet when ten years old. It is the work of Janssen, and is now in the possession of Mr. Disney. It was engraved by Cipriani, and copied by others.

SECOND. The Portrait at the age of twenty-one, which was "purchased from the executor of Milton's widow by Speaker Onslow." It is unknown by whom it was painted. It has been frequently engraved.

The portrait which appeared in the "*Gentleman's Magazine*," 1787, vol. LVII, p. 759, may have been genuine. It is there stated to have been taken from a drawing made when the Poet was twelve years of age. As there was no note to whom the original belonged, and its merest whereabouts being unknown, it can only be recorded as a memorial, now lost.

PORTRAITS IN CRAYONS, ETC.; FROM LIFE.



FIRST. The drawing made by FAITHORNE, either before or in 1670, from which, in that year, he engraved the Portrait prefixed to Milton's History of Great Britain, 4to., published in the same year.

Whether this drawing is still in existence is a matter of doubt. There is no trace of it after having been in the possession of Messrs. Tonson.

SECOND. The Drawing in crayons, which was, in and before 1734, in the possession of John Richardson, sen., etched several times by Richardson, and engraved, with variations, by others subsequently.

THIRD. The Drawing by Robert White, engraved by Simon.

Mr. Marsh has most satisfactorily shown, that it is from the three above-mentioned drawings, that the greater portion of the ENGRAVED PORTRAITS of Milton have their origin. Very many of the numerous

existing engraved portraits of the Poet are made up, some with a greater degree of truthfulness than others, but there are very few deserving of much commendation for their design or execution.

The *First* Engraved Portrait that appeared was taken from life. It was executed by Marshall, from, we presume, a drawing made by himself; but whether the fault lay with the design or with the engraver, certain it is, that when the portrait appeared in 1645, as a frontispiece to the first edition of the Poems of Milton, so unsatisfactory was the likeness considered, that the Poet recorded its unfaithfulness in a Greek Epigram, intitled "*In effigiei ejus sculptorem.*"

The *Second* Engraved Portrait was the work of the celebrated FAITHORNE. It appeared, as stated, in 1670, and was inscribed as having been done "*ad vivum,*" which, if taken in that year, was only four years before the death of the Poet. The engraving was specially<sup>1</sup> made to be prefixed to the work in which it appeared.



HAT the ORIGINAL DRAWING by FAITHORNE, whence, in 1670, he executed his engraving, was in existence in 1760, is proved by the inscription to the *Cipriani* Portrait,— "*Drawn and etched MDCCLX, by J. B. Cipriani, a Tuscan, at the desire of Thomas Hollis, from a Portrait in crayons, now in the possession of Messrs. Tonson, Booksellers in the Strand, London.*" The engraving by Cipriani corresponds more with that engraved by Faithorne, than with the Richardson Portrait. In the Memoirs of Thomas Hollis, p. 619, the one from which Cipriani made his engraving is described as "*A drawing in crayons, by William Faithorne.*"

Strutt, in his *Biographical Dictionary of Engravers*, 1785, *Ed. 1*, p. 283, states, that Faithorne "painted portraits from the life, in Crayons, which art he learned of Nanteuil, during his abode in France."

<sup>1</sup> It was first used for "*The History of Britain,*" by John Milton; published in small 4to., 1670. It is inscribed, "*Gul. Faithorne ad Vivum Delin. et sculpsit. Joannis Miltoni effigies, ætat. 62, 1670.*" That such was the case is proved by the portrait and the title-page forming the same half of the folio sheet of paper. I am in the

possession of a copy of the work in the original binding, in which the paper-mark, the Royal Arms, appears in part on *both leaves*. That copy was presented to me by Mrs. Holland, as a memorial of my kind friend, the late Lancelot Holland, Esq., of Beekenhams, Kent, whose library was sold in Wellington-street, July 1860.

Vertue, in his *Catalogue of Engravers*, records, that Faithorne “made crayon drawings after 1680, when he had returned to Printing-House-Yard, Blackfriars.” He died in 1691.

In the Print Room of the British Museum, among the Cracherode Collection of British Portraits, is one of Sir Orlando Bridgman, by Faithorne. It is delicately executed in pencil, slightly washed with Indian ink. The drapery is in Indian ink and well drawn, but rather coarse. There is also an Engraving by Faithorne of the same portrait. It, however, is of a larger size, and though evidently engraved from the drawing, Faithorne has varied the expression of the face, as also the costume. The drawing is the only one by Faithorne in the British Museum, and, consequently, as it is not in *crayons*, we are not enabled to obtain any guide as to the character or touch of Faithorne’s style of such work.



THE DRAWING IN CRAYONS, which was, in or before the year 1734, in the possession of J. Richardson, sen., was etched by him on several occasions, with some slight variations, according to his fancy. He was a great lover of Works of Art and an Amateur Engraver. In the introduction to the “*Explanatory Notes and Remarks on Milton’s Paradise Lost*,” published in 1734, he states: “The print prefixed shows the face of him who wrote *Paradise Lost*, the face we chiefly desire to be acquainted with; ’tis done from a picture which I have reason to believe he sat for not long before his death, I have therefore given a little more vigour to the print, and but a little. The complexion must be imagined as of one who had been fair and fresh coloured. Toland says, he was ruddy to the last; my picture, and other information, does not tell us that, but that he might have been so not long before. The colour of his eyes inclined to blue, not deep; and though sightless, they were, as he says himself, ‘clear, to outward view, of blemish or of spot.’ He was told so, and ’tis certain the *gutta serena*, (which was his case), does not appear to common eyes, and at a little distance; but blindness, even of that kind, is visible in the colour, motion, and look of the eye which has the sad unhappiness of being extinguished by it. ’Tis wonderfully expressed in the picture from whence this print was made, as well as



the sett of the mouth, and the rest of the air. I have imitated it as well as I could in a way of working which I never practised but on a few plates, and those in my youth, except an attempt on one or two near twenty years ago. The laurel is not in the picture, the two lines under it are my reasons for putting it there, not what otherwise would have been imagined. All the world has given it him long since."

Mr. Marsh has had a copy of this portrait engraved, No. 70, in his brochure, the inscription to which is: *J. R.* [Richardson] *sen. f. From an excel. orig. (crayon) in his collection.*" Following, is another portrait etched by Richardson, described as No. 74, "*J. Richardson, F.*" at the foot of which are some verses signed "*J. R. Jun.*" Then occurs, No. 75, another Portrait, "*An Etching, in Richardson's manner, and so described by Granger.*" The latter may have been one of the etchings alluded to, as executed by J. Richardson many years previously. It matters, however, very little, whether the etching was executed by the senior or younger Richardson; the important fact is, that, with the exception of the drapery being reversed, and a want of expression in the face, it is a correct copy of the drawing in crayons now in the possession of William Baker, Esq., of Bayfordbury.



THE ORIGINAL DRAWING, by White, as stated in the engraving made from it by J. Simon, inscribed "*ad vivum delin.*" Robert White was an engraver who drew portraits in black chalk, as stated in Vertue's Catalogue of Engravers. In the Cracherode Collection of British Portraits in the Print Room of the British Museum, are many executed by R. White. They are, however, all in pencil, delicately executed, more as sketches than finished drawings, for the purpose of engraving from. There is not one in *black chalk*, so that we can form no opinion as to the style of his portraits in chalk.

There is no date to the engraving by Simon. Robert White died in 1704; and as it is hardly probable that he would have consented to any other engraver but himself executing a work from his own design, we may consequently presume, that the engraving by Simon was not done until after the death of White in 1704. Simon died in 1753.



WHEN Mr. Marsh proposed to himself the pleasure of recording a note of all the Engraved Portraits of Milton he had collected together, he found that a great many of them had their origin from what had been generally known as "*The Crayon Drawing*" taken from the *Life* by Faithorne ; but which had been by many of the Biographers of the Poet "*confounded*" with another drawing in crayons possessed by J. Richardson, Sen.

On referring to the various authors who had mentioned these drawings, Mr. Marsh discovered, what is usually the case, that when an author, whose name carries with it authority, happens to make a mistake, that mistake is continued on by each successive author when writing upon the same subject, "*each adopting and adding to the mistakes of his predecessors ;*" so as, says Mr. Marsh, p. 3, "*to produce an amount of confusion from which it is my hope to assist in extricating the subject.*"

We have previously stated that there were taken, at probably about the same period, three Portraits of Milton from the *Life* : one by Faithorne ; another, the "Richardson" Drawing, in crayons ; and one by White.

That the Drawing by Faithorne, and also the "Richardson" crayon drawing, were in the possession of Messrs. Tonson, the Booksellers,<sup>1</sup> in 1760, is proved, *first*, by the fact of Cipriani having made a copy of the Faithorne Drawing previous to etching it ; and, *secondly*, by the portrait engraved by Miller from the "Richardson" crayon drawing being prefixed to Baskerville's edition of *Paradise Lost*, printed at Birmingham in 1759, edited by Bishop Newton, and published by the Tonsons.

Mr. Marsh (p. 8, in his Brochure) considers Bishop Newton to have added to the confusion that has occurred, in distinguishing the Faithorne and the "Richardson" Drawings.

<sup>1</sup> There are differences in the design of the Faithorne and Richardson Portraits. The engraving by Cipriani corresponds, as stated, p. xix, more with that engraved by Faithorne ; and as the inscription beneath it states it to have been copied from a drawing in crayons in the possession of Messrs. Tonson, we may fairly presume

that they possessed the Faithorne as well as the Richardson Drawing. It may, however, turn out that the Richardson Drawing is really by Faithorne ; and if so, the confusion would be accounted for by the dress having been slightly altered by Faithorne in his engraving in 1670.

When, in 1759, Bishop Newton edited the edition of *Paradise Lost* to which was prefixed a Portrait of the Poet, engraved by Miller for "*Tonson's Baskerville edition*," he stated in his life of Milton :

"There are two pictures of greater value than the rest, as they are undoubted originals, and were in the possession of Milton's widow : the first was drawn when he was about twenty-one, and is at present in the Collection of the Right Honourable Arthur Onslow, Esq., Speaker of the House of Commons : the other, in crayons, was drawn when he was about sixty-two, and was in the Collection of Mr. Richardson, but has since been purchased by Mr. Tonson. Several prints have been made from both these pictures, and there is a print done, when he was about sixty-two or sixty-three, after the life, by Faithorne, which, tho' not so handsome, may yet, perhaps, be as true a resemblance as any of them. It is prefixed to some of our author's pieces, and to the folio edition of his prose works, in three volumes, printed in 1698."<sup>1</sup>

It is here seen that Bishop Newton, who was no doubt employed by Messrs. Tonson, makes mention of the "Richardson" Drawing in "crayons" quite unconnected with the name of Faithorne, whose engraved portrait, executed in 1670, he merely notices, but does not allude to the existence of any original drawing. That Messrs. Tonson were in the possession of the Faithorne Drawing in 1760, is clearly shown ; and it is therefore singular, that Bishop Newton should not have mentioned that original drawing. It may have been, however, that Bishop Newton never saw it. He was not engaged in writing a history of the various portraits that had been taken of the Poet. His notice of the portraits was merely incidental in his biography of the Poet. He may have only casually seen the "*Richardson*" drawing whence the portrait was engraved for the edition of *Paradise Lost* on which he was then occupied.

We do not think that there is any confusion in the statement made by Bishop Newton. He merely notes the bare fact of the "Richardson" crayon drawing being then in the possession of "Mr. Tonson." That the "Richardson" drawing was that recognised by Deborah, the youngest daughter of the Poet, is quite clear.

<sup>1</sup> The Works of Milton, edited by Bishop Newton. 5th edition, 1761. Vol. i., p. lxvi.

“The elder Richardson,” observes Mr. Marsh, p. 6, in his ‘*Explanatory Notes and Remarks on Milton’s Paradise Lost*,’ published in 1734, “inserted an etching ‘from an excellent original in crayons’ in his possession, and which he states in his introduction (p. ii.) he had reason to believe Milton sat for not long before his death. In a subsequent passage (p. xxxvi.) he relates, as an evidence of Deborah Clarke’s tender remembrance of her father, that, ‘this picture in crayons was shewn her after several others, or which were pretended to be his. When those were shewn, and she was asked if she could recollect if she had ever seen such a face, ‘No, no ;’ but, when this was produced,—in a transport—‘Tis my father ! ’tis my dear father, I see him ! ’tis him !’ and then she put her hands to several parts of her face,—‘Tis the very man,—here ! here!’”

Here is a plain fact recorded in 1734 by J. Richardson, Sen., the then possessor of the Crayon Drawing, which drawing was afterwards, as stated by Bishop Newton, purchased by “Mr. Tonson” from the collection of Mr. Richardson ; and which was, in 1759, in the possession of Mr. Tonson, from whose family it descended as an Heir-loom to William Baker, Esq., of Bayfordbury, Herts,—Grandfather of the present William Baker, Esq., of Bayfordbury, in right of his mother, the great niece of Jacob Tonson.

The circumstance of the “Richardson” crayon drawing having been shown to Deborah Clarke, does not in any degree affect the statement as recorded (p. 619) in the “*Memoirs of Thomas Hollis*,” of the *original drawing* by Faithorne, in the possession of “Messrs. Tonson,” having been also taken about the year 1725 to Deborah Clarke by Vertue, the engraver ; nor does that fact invalidate the relation<sup>1</sup> by Vertue, of his having taken, in 1721, several engraved portraits of the Poet to his Daughter, as also a picture, but whether in oil or crayons, is not recorded. It may have been the original Drawing made from life by Robert White, who died in 1704, and Vertue may have possessed it after it had been engraved by Simon.

There is most undoubtedly a great similarity between the design of the Richardson and White portraits, such as one can only suppose could have arisen by their having been taken at about the same period. That such was the case we are warranted in believing, as Vertue

<sup>1</sup> Marsh on the Engraved, etc., Portraits of Milton. 1860 ; pp. 5, 6.

inscribed that engraved by him in 1725 "*Ætat.* 62, A.D. 1670," the same year as that engraved by Faithorne.

Had Mr. Peter Cunningham, when he edited "*Johnson's Lives of the Poets*," taken the trouble of seeking an introduction to Mr. Baker to obtain a personal inspection of the "Richardson" Drawing, he would not have followed in the wake of the confusion made by Archdeacon Todd, Mr. Keightley, and others, between the Faithorne and the Richardson Drawings, by stating, "*Faithorne's* original drawing is preserved with other portraits belonging to Tonson, including the Kit-Kat collection, at Bayfordbury, near Hertford, the seat of Mr. Baker."



IT is very evident that the Richardson Portrait, which we shall in future designate the "*Baker-Drawing*," has been very little seen by any of the biographers and persons who have edited the works of the Poet, though most of them, more or less, make mention of it. When we had the pleasure of first seeing it at Bayfordbury, July 1860, we were inclined to the same opinion as we now entertain; namely, that there is no evidence, by way of style, to justify our considering it to be by the hand of Faithorne. But it is a Work of Art of much merit. It certainly appears to us to have been taken at a period a little earlier than the one engraved by Faithorne. On examining it more carefully a second time in November,—consequent on the very interesting brochure issued by Mr. Marsh,—we were led to consider whether it could have been an earlier drawing by Faithorne, from which, when he made the engraving in 1670, he took another copy for that purpose, *altering the form of the dress, and giving a different expression to the countenance*; in the same way as he did with regard to the portrait of Sir Orlando Bridgman previously noticed.

It is related of the Poet, that his visitors, unless made acquainted with the fact of his being totally blind, could not have discovered that he was afflicted with so sad a calamity. That so noble a face should have been deprived of the use of its most intellectual feature, and yet have all the appearance of its full possession, is remarkably shewn in the characteristic drawing under consideration.

The Baker drawing, as stated, note, p. xxii,—differs very mate-

rially from the engraved Portrait by Faithorne : which, though giving a living expression to the eyes, presents a distressing degree of sternness in the general character of the face, such as no description of the personal appearance given by any of his contemporaries leads us to think was the case ; whereas, in the Baker drawing, a charming placidity, yet melancholy thoughtfulness, pleasingly pervades the whole of his features.

We may with confidence assert that no satisfactory engraving has been made of the crayon drawing now in the possession of Mr. Baker. That prefixed to the edition of the Baskerville edition of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, issued in 1759, represents the head not only in a different position, but it is altogether a bad representation of the original. That engraved by J. Baker from a drawing specially made by a young artist named Simpson, for Todd's edition of the *Poetical Works of Milton*, published in 1801, is very fairly executed, but fails to embody the pleasurable expression of the original ; while the engraving by Vertue prefixed to the fifth edition of *Paradise Lost*, edited by Bishop Newton, in 1761, carries with it a wildness in the features totally uncharacteristic of Milton.



**D**URING the Progress of our Pursuit, we have had much pleasure in availing ourselves of the very ingenious and really marvellously effective PROCESSES OF THE ELECTRO PRINTING BLOCK COMPANY, in giving in our text fac-similes of autograph Documents connected with Milton, in lieu of adopting the usual course of employing a Wood-engraver, in order that such illustrations should more conveniently be intermixed with the type. Independent, however, of those appliances of the Processes of the Invention ; namely, the making of *surface blocks* for the purpose of working them with type by the ordinary printing press, we have availed ourselves of the very important and most useful part of the Patent obtained by the company, namely, the POWER of REDUCING<sup>1</sup> any Design to any desired size. Accordingly, when we came to the consideration of the binding of this work, we found that our very talented

<sup>1</sup> The ENLARGEMENT of any Design is most effective, many hundreds having been done with the greatest success ; and the fine work of the


small one, however much it may be enlarged, will still be preserved.

friend and sculptor, Mr. J. L. Tupper, had made his elegant Designs for the exterior of the Binding *too large*. What was to be done? To ask a Sculptor, who had, *con Milton-amore*, kindly made the designs, to alter them, was rather more than we could expect he would do. It was not likely that he would so mechanically employ his pencil. He had, at our particular request, made his designs in transfer-ink, in order to avoid the necessity of employing (we mean no disrespect) an artist of inferior kind, to copy them; the designs being at once transferred to the stone. In this Dilemma, we had recourse to the Processes of the Electro Printing Block Company; and, accordingly, to the ultimate satisfaction of Mr. Tupper, his Designs, which were at that time on the Lithographic Stones, were *reduced* about *half an inch* in *breadth*, and a *quarter of an inch* in *length*, in order that they might occupy the space allotted to them on the exterior of the binding of the work. To do this, with regard to the designs *proportionately*, was a matter that required some skill. When the designs were reduced in breadth, the figures became *too much lengthened*, in consequence of the reduction of the *breadth* not being in the same proportion as the reduction in length. In order to remedy this, the centre figures in each design were taken out, and, after having been mathematically reduced, they were re-transferred on the stone; and thus, as on the exterior covers of the binding, the Two designs have been, by this marvellously effective and yet most simple Patented Process of the Electro Printing Block Company, made available for the purpose for which they were intended, without the aid of the Artist by whom they were designed. In order further to exhibit the illimitable power of the Invention, we have, in lieu of the usual plain or marbled paper on the interior of the covers of the binding of this work, given of each Design *Three Further Reductions*. They speak for themselves. They are most interesting, as at once showing the Marvellous Power of the Application of this Mechanical Invention to Works of Art—a Power that our pen is quite unable to circumscribe—a power that is so great as not to be at first comprehended by even those whose whole lives have been devoted to Art. The consequence has been, that a prejudice has arisen against the Invention. Many Persons suppose that the adaptation of this ingenious process would materially affect the business of the Wood-engraver, and also of the Lithogra-

pher. To a certain extent it may affect the Wood-Engraver, inasmuch as a *surface-block of Electro-plate* can be made from any original design without the necessity, as was hitherto the case, of having it cut in wood, in order to be worked, intermixed with type, by the ordinary printing press. With respect, however, to the Lithographer, his employment is immeasurably increased, because there is no limit to the reemployment of all description of works, for republication in either *enlarged* or *reduced* forms. Series of Views or Maps, and all kinds of Engravings which may have been published fifty years ago, of a large size, say *two feet or more square*, can be now made again available, reduced from that size to *six inches square*. So likewise may the smaller works be enlarged in the same proportion. Suffice it to state, that the text of any folio, octavo, or duodecimo work, can be transferred and enlarged to an *Imperial folio*; or an Imperial folio work can be reduced to a *duodecimo*, in the same perfect manner as the smaller reductions of the Designs on the inner covers of this volume have been.

We feel the greatest interest in the wide extension of the employment of this mechanical application to Works of Art; not merely because we are on the Direction of the Company, but because we are convinced that it is a most remarkable and most useful invention.

ART-MECHANISM competing with the RAILWAY-PACE OF THE AGE.

N concluding our introductory, though somewhat rambling, observations, we desire to offer our hearty thanks to the many kind friends who have rendered us their co-operation in our pursuit; and though last, not least, we have to acknowledge the aid of our old Friend and Tutor, Mr. Walter M'Dowall, M.A., in the compilation of the "Biographical Notices," which we have been induced to add to our "fanciful" RAMBLINGS,—Ramblings that have afforded us the greatest pleasure, a pleasure only to be increased by the hope, that those who may be induced to ramble through this volume will leniently criticize its contents.

BUCKFASTLEIGH ABBEY,  
SOUTH DEVON, JUNE 1, 1861.



RAMBLINGS  
IN THE ELUCIDATION OF  
THE AUTOGRAPH OF MILTON.

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LITERATURE IS AN AVENUE TO GLORY, EVER OPEN FOR THOSE  
INGENIOUS MEN WHO ARE DEPRIVED OF HONOURS OR WEALTH."

Thus does the learned D'ISRAELI, the father of that author who by the versatility of his talent has raised himself to the highest offices of the State, open the twenty-fourth chapter of "THE LITERARY CHARACTER; or the History of Men of Genius."

After the Decline of Literature and Art in Greece, Rome, and other Countries, the brutal power of man prevailed, and revelled in the destruction of what Centuries had created. Intellectuality took flight to seek repose until the lawless spirit of barbarism had exhausted itself. During the eclipse that spread partial darkness over the mouldering remains of high cultivation, the few labourers that survived, stored their produce in monastic repositories, apart from the gaze of ruthless ignorance.

The GREAT CHARLEMAGNE would have delayed the advance of his army,<sup>1</sup> to have welcomed the arrival of a Man of Letters. The learned ALCUINE was esteemed by Charlemagne as inferior to none in his kingdom. The native of York, and disciple of Bede, was a companion and tutor, not only to his Royal Patron, but also to his Sons.

In later days, amidst even the conflicts of religious wars, PHILIP DUKE OF BURGUNDY, one of the most powerful Princes of Europe, took special pains in adorning his court with the presence of the most learned and artistic men of his

<sup>1</sup> "SPINOSA, when he gained an humble livelihood by grinding optical glasses at an obscure village in Holland, was visited by the first Generals

of Europe, who, for the sake of this philosophical conference, suspended the march of an army."  
"The Literary Character," I. D'Israeli, chap. xxiv.

country; a country, one of the first to take the lead in the cultivation of the intellectual faculties of man, after the period of darkness and barbarism that had for so many centuries almost universally prevailed. To the Burgundian Court was CAXTON, our first printer, indebted for support; and to that patronage do we owe the introduction of the Art of Printing into this country.

So likewise POPE LEO THE TENTH, before whom no potentate of his time could take precedence, intuitively as a Medici, encouraged Literature and Art. He did so to such an extent as almost to peril, not only his own resources, but those of the country over which he held sway.

Following the example of the Roman Emperors, when carrying their Eagles to all parts of the globe, THE GREAT NAPOLEON deemed the presence of the most Scientific, Literary, and Artistic Men he could procure, as one of the means for transmitting his name to future ages, and raising France to that state of intellectual cultivation to which at no period of its previous history had it arrived.

Even amidst defeat, as in Egypt, Napoleon never lost sight of that object; and however much he may have transgressed the Laws of Nations by the transportation to his Capital, of what he considered he had a right, as Conqueror, to possess, the Imperial Will was rewarded by the assiduity with which his beloved people imbibed that taste for Science, Literature, and Art, which now, under the extraordinary reign of the EMPEROR LOUIS NAPOLEON, forms so prominent a feature in the character of that nation. The small but significant bit of *red silk* attached to the left button-hole is, in that country, never despised! Rare indeed are the instances in which it has been abused. It is a passport for respect on all occasions. It is the pride, as much of the working classes, as of the first officers of the State.

In the history of the world, the brighter side reflects the shadows that are cast around. Men of Science and Invention in all ages are to be found, whose long-cherished hopes of reward for their discoveries have been blighted, either by the neglect of their country, or by the wickedness, jealousies, or covetousness of their neighbours, of which numerous instances, even in these enlightened days, might be enumerated. The following, among many in modern times, may serve as an example. THOMAS CROMPTON, the son of a farmer near Bolton, was the inventor of the *mule spindle*, by which the *Arkwrights*, the *Peels*, and others, have realized enormous fortunes; while the inventor, with the utmost difficulty, after many years of incessant application, could only obtain the paltry sum of £5,000. Well might Mr. Bright, the philanthropic member of Parliament, a short time ago exclaim: "We should relapse into barbarism if Crompton's spindle carriage was taken away." "The Cromptons," wrote *The Athenæum* a few months since, while reviewing *The Life and Times of Samuel Crompton*, by Gilbert J. French, "were of gone down people of good origin; the 'Clan' tracing back as far as Henry the Third, and declared by the College of Heralds entitled to use armorial bearings at the visitation of Dugdale in 1664."

So likewise of Men of Letters, and equally so of Artists. Sorrowful indeed would be the task to enumerate the sufferings, the disappointments, the mournful and the untimely end, of many of the most celebrated and learned men of all countries,—men preeminent in those branches of science to which the whole world is mainly indebted for its civilization.



MILTON being the subject of our thoughts, we naturally cast our eye over the Position of the Poets of England up to about the period of his time. In doing so we omit the mention of other professions, and consequently the names of men distinguished in the annals of Science, Literature, and Art: men of far greater importance than those whose imaginative Muse has tended more to the luxury of cultivated minds than to the general utility of mankind.

Since penning these few preceding lines, we have read with much delight a leading article in one of the most instructive and yet amusing periodicals<sup>1</sup> of the day. It touches on the very subject to which our thoughts have been incidentally drawn:

“From the earliest ages of the world, poetry has wielded so wide a power, poets have held so high a place, that the subject before us invites the deepest interest on the part of those to whom it is an enjoyment and a source of profit; and not only this, but it demands the consideration of the few who profess to be beyond its reach, above or below its influence. And yet it is not an uncommon thing to hear men scoff at poetry. They who term it the idle production, the unprofitable amusement of weak minds, would do well to be silent when they see nation after nation, from age immemorial until now, all raising above them their poetry and their poets as the matter and the men who are to establish their claims to greatness, as far as regards intellectual influence and superiority, in the eyes of their contemporaries and posterity. Such scoffers must surely wonder when they see the objects of their contempt receiving the homage of the highest intellect and the noblest genius of mankind. It cannot be an unmeaning fanaticism that makes the whole civilized world look back reverentially over the tracks of eventful centuries to the light that still burns undimmed round old Homer; that makes Italy deify her Dante; and raises England above all the nations of time past and present, by the name of William Shakespeare. And yet these men, and with them a thousand other glorious, though ‘lesser lights,’ were the agents of no great deeds that saved a country or made a name; they were the originators of no invention that helped to broaden the path of civilization, and to distinguish an age. Save incidentally, they were not historians, they were not warriors, nor orators, nor statesmen; and yet they exercised then, and they retain now, a prodigious influence as the priests of mysteries, the beauty of which, though it is granted to many to love and reverence, it is given but to few to impart and to proclaim.”

Such is the beautiful and powerful language used by way of introduction to an essay upon “POETRY, THE POET, AND THE POETIC PRINCIPLE,” in one of the Penny Periodicals of the day! Those who are desirous, now-a-days, of enjoying the beauties

<sup>1</sup> “THE FAMILY HERALD,” No. 851. The proprietor of this work—Mr. George Biggs—died a few months since, leaving a very large fortune,

the reward of the admirable manner in which this Journal was conducted.

of the English language, must peruse the Public Journals. Such language as is met with in the leading articles of the daily papers, as well as in the weekly and monthly periodicals, is nowhere else to be found. The proprietors of those publications employ the highest talent that can be procured, and reward it by salaries equal to those of many of the chief appointments under the Government of the country.

Beautiful also are the words of COLERIDGE in the preface to his Poems :

"I expect neither profit nor general fame by my writings; and I consider myself as having been repaid without either. Poetry has been to me its own exceeding reward; it has soothed my afflictions; it has multiplied and refined my enjoyments; it has endeared solitude; and it has given me the habit of wishing to discover the good and the beautiful in all that meets and surrounds me."



CHAUCER, "the Father of English Poetry," a man of high education, was received at Court, rewarded by government appointments, and on his death, in 1400, was buried in Westminster Abbey.<sup>1</sup> Oeleve, the disciple of Chaucer—Lydgate—Skelton—Howard, Earl of Surrey—Sir Thomas Wyatt—Sir Thomas More—and other noble Poets of the fifteenth and early part of the sixteenth centuries, were specially honoured by their Sovereigns.

The REIGNS of ELIZABETH, JAMES, and CHARLES, were remarkable for the extent and variety of poetic talent. Elizabeth was distinguished for her literary abilities. James<sup>2</sup> possessed the *cacoethes scribendi* to a great extent, and considered himself a no mean poet; while his son Charles, though fondly patronizing Literature and the Fine Arts, was too much absorbed with the unhappy state of his country to devote much time to the cultivation of letters.

<sup>1</sup> The mention of Westminster Abbey as the resting place of the mortal remains of many of the most celebrated men in this country, induces us here to record the language of "*The Times*," Oct. 24th, 1859, on the occasion of the funeral of the late SIR ROBERT STEPHENSON :

"But death opens the portals of greatness, and the realities of honour begin. There is, indeed, something more than striking; something grand, affecting, and sublime, in the uplifting of the curtain which admits the great Engineer to sleep with the kings of England, with her great warriors, statesmen, poets, and men of renown. The change is sudden from the rigid jealousy of custom and etiquette, which dealt out so parsimonious a tribute in life, to the overwhelming generosity of the grave, which knows no bound or stint in what it has to give, and receives the hero of science with all its honours. A burial in Westminster Abbey is the

first honour of the grave, its proudest heraldry and highest patent of nobility. 'A peerage, or Westminster Abbey,' said Lord Nelson before the battle of the Nile. The nations of the old world buried their great men by themselves. 'All the kings of the nations, even all of them, lay in glory, every one in his own house.' We bury our great men side by side. Wellington by Nelson, and Stephenson by Telford; and our Generals, Admirals, and Engineers, by the side of Statesmen and Poets."

<sup>2</sup> D'ISRAELI, in his "Character of James the First," does justice to the great powers of mind of that monarch, who, when viewing the Bodleian Library, is recorded to have exclaimed: "Were I not a king, I would be an university man; and if it were so that I must be a prisoner, I would have no other prison than this library, and be *chained together* with all these goodly authors."

Sir Philip Sidney—Spenser—Sir J. Davies—Daniel—Sir W. Davenant—and many others who adorned the Court in those reigns, received appointments in the various departments of the State.

Though Pageants, Masques, and Entertainments, then formed the great feature in the daily occupation of the Court, it becomes a question, how far the working Dramatic Poets came in for a portion of the more substantial rewards bestowed upon their more wealthy and courtly brethren. Such men as Heywood, Marlowe, Dekker, Jonson, and even Shakespeare, as also many others, formed part and parcel of the Company of Players to which they specially belonged. It was therefore with them, principally in their professional capacity, that they received any Court favour. They never had any substantial mark of distinction conferred upon them; for though Jonson—“*Rare Ben*”—was made Poet Laureate in his old age, the previous years of his life had not met with much consideration. He, like many others of his class, was, it is stated, an improvident man. Hence the cause of his poverty, and probably of his apparent neglect.

While many of the ennobled and wealthier Poets proudly dedicated their productions to Royalty; those, whose resources were dependent on the success of their labours, availed themselves of Patrons who suffered not their names to be the only indication of their support. Accordingly, we find that SHAKESPEARE sought the protection of the EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON, to whom, in 1593,<sup>1</sup> he dedicated his celebrated poem, VENUS AND ADONIS, the first effusion of his Muse.

There is something so peculiarly interesting in the *début* of a great author, that we cannot withstand the opportunity of here inserting the charmingly modest language used by Shakespeare on that occasion:

“Right Honourable, I know not how I shall offend in dedicating my vnpolisht lines to your lordship nor how this world will censure me for chvvsing so strong a proppe to support so weake a burthen, onely if your Honour seeme but pleased, I account my selfe highlie praysed, and vow to take aduantage of all idle houres, till I haue honoured you with some grauer labour. But if the first heyre of my inuention proue deformed, I shall be sorry it had so noble a god-father: and never after eare so barren a land, for feare it yeeld me still so bad a haruest, I leave it to your hearts content, which I wish may alwayes answere your owne wish, and the worlds hopefull expectation.

“Your Honors in all dutie

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A copy of this Poem, bearing date 1593, is in the Malone Collection bequeathed to the Bodleian Library, Oxford. We believe it to be the only copy known. In it occurs the subjoined memorandum, in the autograph of Edmund Malone:

“Bought of Mr. William Ford, bookseller, in Manchester, in August 1805, at the enormous price of twenty-five pounds.

“Many years ago I said that I had no doubt

an edition of Shakespeare’s ‘Venus and Adonis’ was published in 1593; but no copy of that edition was discovered in the long period that has elapsed since my first notice of it; nor is any other copy of 1593, but the present, known to exist.  
E. MALONE.”

<sup>2</sup> We do not desire to enter into the never-ending controversy as to the correct mode of spelling the name of the Poet. We merely ask

Though as an actor and dramatic author, Shakespeare received that kind of royal patronage usually bestowed upon those who afford pleasure to the Court, there is no authenticated record of his ever having had any personal attention or honour bestowed upon him.

The "amicable" letter<sup>1</sup> stated to have been written to Shakespeare by James I., has been lost! The player had, it is supposed, offended his King, whose tastes were not of the most refined quality, or perhaps not in accordance with the views of Shakespeare. Davies, in his *Scourge of Folly*, p. 76, alludes, no doubt, in the sub-joined lines, to that fact:

*"Had'st thou not plaid some kingly parts in sport,  
Thou hadst bin a companion for a king."*

of these most learned disputants, whether it is likely that Shakespeare would have allowed his *first*, and *nearly all* the other early productions of his Muse, to appear in print with *his name incorrectly spelt*? Surely he must have superintended the printing of the first editions of his poems and plays which all bear his name,

SHAKESPEARE OR SHAKE-SPEARE!

We are quite aware of the fact, that in many works the names of the authors are wrongly printed. Thus we find in the early editions of Dramatic Pieces, the names *Mermion*, *Maryion*, *Sucklin*, *Messenger*, *Deker*, *Dickers*, in lieu of *Marmion*, *Suckling*, *Massinger*, *Dekker*. We might enumerate many others. Sir Walter Raleigh, like Philip Melanchthon, must have had a *penchant* for varying the orthography of his name, as may be seen by referring to Documents in the British Museum.

In the "Unpublished Documents, Marginal Notes, and Memoranda, in the Autographs of Philip Melanchthon and Martin Luther," by S. Leigh Sotheby, published in 1840, are enumerated sixty different ways in which Melanchthon signed his Name. If all the documents bearing his autograph signature were examined,

we believe, that, in lieu of sixty varieties in the spelling of his name, nearly one hundred might be found.

Of Shakespeare, the Rev. Joseph Hunter records: "There has been endless variety in the form in which this name has been written. I can vouch for the following forms, all taken from writings of nearly the poet's own age; and those not the mere scrawls of rude and uneducated persons, but for the most part traced by the pens of uniformity of orthography as any of their neighbours. But, in truth, uniformity in the orthography of proper names was in those times not thought of, nor aimed at."

<i>"Schaksper</i>	<i>Shaxespere</i>	<i>Shakesper</i>
<i>Schakesper</i>	<i>Shakspere</i>	<i>Shakespere</i>
<i>Schakespeyr</i>	<i>Shaksphear</i>	<i>Shakesper</i>
<i>Shagspere</i>	<i>Shakspeere</i>	<i>Shakyspere</i>
<i>Shaxper</i>	<i>Shackspeare</i>	<i>Shakespire</i>
<i>Shaxpere</i>	<i>Shackspere</i>	<i>Shakespeire</i>
<i>Shaxpeare</i>	<i>Shackspere</i>	<i>Shakespear</i>
<i>Shaxsper</i>	<i>Shakspeyr</i>	<i>Shakuspeare.</i>
	<i>Shaxspere."</i>	

<sup>1</sup> The Works of Shakespeare, edited by J. O. Halliwell, F.R.S., etc. Fol. 1853. Vol. i. p. 130.



VERY common error, one which has gained credence from generation to generation, exists, that in this country PLAYERS were always looked upon by the State as "*Rogues*" and "*Vagabonds*," and consequently as men totally unfit to receive any mark of distinction. How far such prejudice has been permitted to take possession of the Minds of Royalty, from the time when men of high intellectual qualities were invited to adorn the court by the representation of their works, and the development of high mental powers, so as to have precluded them from participating in the honours bestowed upon others around them, remains doubtful. Certain it is that at no period, has an Actor, whatever may have been his position by birth or education, received a distinction such even as has been frequently awarded to the *ordinary tradesman* when employed upon the *intellectual labour of carrying up some congratulatory address!*

Interludes and Plays, from the earliest ages, have been adopted as the popular means of representing the feelings of a nation. We leave the exemplification of this fact, if necessary, in the hands of the more learned. Suffice it for us to allude to the representations of Mysteries that prevailed during the latter part of the fifteenth and in the sixteenth centuries, in all parts of Italy:<sup>1</sup> representations intended to act upon the minds of the people in respect chiefly to religion.

So it was as regards the Early Drama of this country. When QUEEN MARY ascended the throne in July 1553, she found that the Players were sapping the very foundations of the religion she advocated; therefore "little more than a month elapsed before she issued a proclamation, the object of which was, among other things, to prevent the performance of plays calculated to advance the principles and doctrines of the Reformation."<sup>2</sup> Consequently, "some proceedings in the north of England caused the interference of the Star-Chamber, in the spring of the year 1556, for the total suppression of dramatic amusements;" the result of which was that the Earl of Shrewsbury was required to seek out certain players who represented themselves to be "servants unto Sir Francis Leek," who had performed "certain plays and interludes containing very naughty and seditious matter touching the King and Queen's Majesties and the state of the realme, and to the slander of Christ's true and catholic religion;" and "upon a repetition of their offence, to punish them as *Vagabonds*."

<sup>1</sup> It is believed that in Italy the mind of Milton was first imbued with those sublime ideas that carry his name to posterity.

<sup>2</sup> *Annals of the Stage*, by J. Payne Collier, F.S.A. 3 vols. 1831. Vol. i. p. 156.

The condemnatory mandate of QUEEN MARY, in 1553, did not prevent the growth of the Company of Players. Indeed, to such an extent had they increased,

“Enrolling themselves as the retainers of the nobility, and travelling all over the country, that it was found requisite to pass a statute for their regulation and controul.”

Accordingly, in the year 1572, ELIZABETH passed an edict of protection, ordering

“All fencers, bearwards, common-players in interludes and minstrels, not belonging to any Baron of this realm or towards any other honorable personage of greater degree, &c., &c., [*who*] shall wander abroad and not have the licence of two justices of the peace at least, shall be deemed, and dealt with, as ‘ROGUES and VAGABONDS.’”<sup>1</sup>

Here, then, we may presume, is the foundation of that vulgar error, assigning to the profession of an Actor the undesirable cognomen of “*Rogue*” and “*Vagabond*.”

In 1574, QUEEN ELIZABETH, through the influence of the Earl of Leicester, granted the Royal Patent<sup>2</sup> unto John Perkyn and others as his licensed players,

“To use, exercise, and occupy the ART and FACULTIE of playeing Comedies, Tragedies, Enterludes, Stage-playes, and such like,” &c., &c., “as well w<sup>th</sup>in our City of London and Liberties of the same, as also w<sup>th</sup>in the liberties and freedoms of any our Cytyes, townes, Borowghes, &c., whatsoever, as w<sup>th</sup>out the same, throughout our Realme of England.”

It is here seen that the occupation of the Players, in this Royal Patent, came under the denomination of “ART” and “FACULTIE.” The only restriction made, was

“That the saide Comedies, Trajedies, Enterludes and Stage-playes be by the M<sup>r</sup> of our Revills (for the tyme being) before seen and allowed, and that the same be not publisshed, or shewen in the tyme of common prayer, or in the tyme of great and common plague in our sayd City of London.”

Equally might the denomination of “ROGUES” and “VAGABONDS” have been, *morally*, applied to Physicians and other professional men practising their *art* and “*facultie*” without their Licenses or Diplomas. There are Gradations in all Professions!

“The right conceded to the players of the Earl of Leicester”, writes Mr. Collier, “was strenuously opposed by the Lord Mayor and Corporation of London.” Accordingly an “Order from the Common Council was issued, Dec. 6, 1575, forbidding the performance of plays, interludes, &c., under pain of fine and imprisonment; and that no play shall be performed in the city which has not first been ‘perused and allowed’ by persons appointed by the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen; that the licence of the Lord Mayor shall be necessary before every public exhibition; and that half the money taken shall be applied to charitable purposes.”

In this Act of the Common Council,<sup>3</sup> not one word occurs touching the patent granted to the Players of the Earl of Leicester. That patent was ceded with the express proviso that no plays, or such like, should be “shewen in the tyme of common prayer, or in the tyme of great and common plague in our said City of London;” and it is not likely, nor is it apparent, that the Players of the Earl of Leicester would, or did, transgress against the privileges conferred upon them. It is

<sup>1</sup> Annals of the Stage, by J. P. Collier, F.S.A. 3 vols. 1831. Vol. i. p. 203.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., vol. i. pp. 211-12.

<sup>3</sup> The Order is printed in full in “*The Annals of the Stage*,” by J. P. Collier, F.S.A. Vol. i. p. 214.



very evident that the companies of Players of every denomination endeavoured to maintain their position against the monopoly then granted. The Corporation of London must have had good cause,—without at all acting with disrespect to the order of their Queen, inasmuch as that interdiction was not directed against any particular company of performers,—for the issuing of their “Order,” the preamble of which states:

“Whereas hartofore sondrie greate disorders and inconvenyces have bene found to ensewe to this Cittie by the inordynate hauntynge of great multitudes of people, speciallye youths, to playes, enterludes and shewes; namelye occasion of frayes and quarrelles, cavil practizes of incontynenye in greate Innes, having chambers and secret places adjoyninge to their open stagies and gallyries, invcyglynge and allewrynge of maides, speciallye orphanes, and good citizens children under age, to previe and unmete contracts, the publishinge of unchaste, uncomelye, and unshamefaste speeches and doynge, with drawinge of the Queenes Majesties subjects from dyvyne servyce on Sondaies and holydaies, at which tymes such playes were chefully used, unthriftye waste of the moneye of the poore and fond persons, sondrie robberies by pyckinge and cuttinge of purses, utteringe of popular, base and sedycious matters, and manie other corruptions of youthe, and other enormyties; besydes that allso soundrye slaughters and mayeminges of the Queenes subjectes have happened by ruines of skaffoldes, fframes and stagies, and by engynes, weapons and powder used in plaies.”

A corporate body like that of London would not have issued an order to put a stop to the open immorality occasioned by the performances of Plays, etc., without reason; and in all such cases, the innocent must suffer with the guilty. Accordingly, we find “*Her Ma<sup>ties</sup> poor Players*”,—no doubt the players of the Earl of Leicester, as there was at that time no company known as “*The Queen’s Players*,”<sup>1</sup>—petitioning the Privy Council to have the letter of License previously granted, confirmed. The result of all these proceedings was the construction of three places set apart for dramatic representations. “*Her Majesties Poore Players*” settled themselves at one, that of Blackfriars, the site of the then lately dissolved monastery.

Sunday was rather a favourite day for the representation of dramatic pieces before the Court of Elizabeth. Hence the renewal, in 1581, of the dispute between the City of London and the Privy Council, the latter then yielding, and forbidding the performance of plays on the Sabbath Day; a general order to that effect, from the Privy Council, being afterwards issued in 1583. In 1587, however, the Council had again to interfere, though not with much effect, as “in 1592 plays were still performed on Sundays.”<sup>2</sup>

To such a state of demoralization had the drama been debased by the conduct of the lower order of players, that the University of Cambridge applied for and obtained power to put down all interludes and plays within a circumference of five miles of that seat of learning; nevertheless, in the same year, an order was sent to the University to prepare a comedy to be represented there before the Queen<sup>3</sup> during Christmas, in pursuance of a desire on the part of the Queen to uphold the “*art and*

<sup>1</sup> The History of English Dramatic Poetry to the Time of Shakespeare, and Annals of the Stage, by J. P. Collier, F.S.A. Vol. i. p. 220.

<sup>2</sup> Annals of the Stage, etc., vol. i, page 279.

<sup>3</sup> Annals of the Stage, etc., vol. i. pp. 294-5.

*facultie*" of the higher drama. Subsequently, in 1594, "*certain comedies and one tragædie*" were performed there; Thomas Neville, the Vice-Chancellor, soliciting the loan of the royal robes in the Tower for that purpose.

The number and companies of players having considerably increased during the latter part of the reign of Elizabeth, King James, though particularly partial to theatrical amusements, found it necessary, on succeeding to the throne, to annul the protection of players acting only on the license of *one* of the nobility, rendering them, on doing so, liable to the pains and penalties enacted against *vagrants*. That Act did not, however, as supposed by Mr. Kingsley,<sup>1</sup> denominate the licensed and royal players as "*rogues and vagabonds*," or forbid *their* performances as "*unlawful pastime*;" nor did the Act of Charles I., an Act directed specially against performances on Sundays, such frequently having taken place before the Court during the latter part of the reign of James. The ordinances issued by the Parliament during the Rebellion, denouncing all players and actors as "*incorrigible rogues*," can only be looked upon as one of the many fanatical acts of the day.



HATEVER may have been the feelings of Milton with regard to Dramatic Representations, when in 1634 he wrote his *Comus*, he did not, in 1644, entertain an exalted opinion of the merit of Dramatic Authors generally.

In his singularly remarkable and dogmatic treatise "*Of Education*," addressed "*to Master Samuel Hartlib*," and issued in that year, Milton recommends

"Choise Histories, *Heroic Poems*, and Attic Tragedies," to the special study of youth, together with the aid of Logic and Rhetorick, adding, "To which Poetry would be made subsequent, or indeed rather precedent, as being less subtle and fine, but more simple, sensuous and passionate. I mean not here the prosody of a verse, which they could not but have hit on before among the Rudiments of Grammar; but that sublime Art which in *Aristotle's Poetics*, in *Horace*, and the *Italian Commentaries of Castelvetro, Tasso, Mazzoni*, and others, teaches what the laws are of a true *Epic Poem*, what of a

<sup>1</sup> "The city of London, in 1580, had obtained from the queen the suppression of plays on Sunday; and not long after, 'considering that playhouses and dicing-houses were traps for young gentlemen and others,' obtained leave from the queen and privy council to thrust the players out of the city, and to pull down the playhouses, five in number; and, paradoxical as it may seem, there is little doubt that, by the letter of the law, 'stage-plays and interludes' were even to the end of Charles the First's reign, 'unlawful pastime,' being forbidden by 14 Eliz., 39 Eliz., 1 Jacobi, 3 Jacobi and 1 Caroli, and the players subject to severe punishment as 'rogues and vagabonds.' The Act 1 Jacobi seems even to have gone so far as to repeal the clauses which,

in Elizabeth's reign, had allowed honourable persons of greater degree; who might 'authorize them to play under his hand and seal of arms.' So that the Puritans were only demanding of the sovereigns that they should enforce the very laws which they themselves had made, and which they and their nobles were setting at defiance. Whether the plays ought to have been put down, and whether the laws were necessary, is a different question; but certainly the court and the aristocracy stood in the questionable, though too common, position of men who made laws to prohibit to the poor amusements in which they themselves indulged without restraint."—"Miscellanies," by Charles Kingsley. 2 vols. 1859. Vol. ii, p. 87.

*Dramatic, what of a Lyric, what Decorum is, which is the grand master-piece to observe. This would make them soon perceive what despicable creatures our common Rimers and Play-writers be, and shew them, what religious, what glorious and magnificent use might be made of Poetry both in divine and humane things. From hence and not till now will be the right season of forming them to be able Writers and Composers in every excellent matter, when they shall be thus fraught with an universal insight into things."*

It is generally believed that Sir William D'Avenant was, about the time when the preceding observations were written, one of the most intimate friends of Milton. It therefore seems extraordinary that Milton should have written of the dramatic authors and poets of the day as being "*despicable creatures.*" He makes no distinction beyond the word "*common;*" so that his language was as applicable to his friend Sir W. D'Avenant, and to all the then distinguished dramatic authors and poets, as it might be to street-balladmongers and itinerant play-writers.

Milton was a man of strong religious feelings: one who, no doubt, openly expressed his views upon the immorality of the existing Drama; and more especially upon the conduct of the Court in making Dramatic Representations, and all such like amusements, the principal occupation of Royalty on the Sunday. Though Milton did not consider that that day,<sup>1</sup> more than any other day of the week, should be denominated "*The Lord's Day,*" yet, in accordance with the general feeling and practice of those even with whom he differed, he was known to devote the Sunday specially to the study of the Scriptures.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> SUNDAY. The Seventh Chapter in the Second Book of Milton's "*Treatise on Christian Doctrine,*" is specially devoted to "*The Time for Divine Worship; wherein are considered The Sabbath, Lord's Day, and Festivals.*" The views of Milton on this subject are most comprehensive and learned. He considered the Sabbath an ordinance of the Mosaic Law, since repealed; and he therefore argues "that no particular day of worship has been appointed in its place,[as] is evident from the same Apostle (St. Paul), Rom. xiv. 5: *One man esteemeth one day above another: another esteemeth every day alike: let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind.* For since, as was observed before, no particular place is designated under the gospel for the public worship of God, there seems no reason why time, the other circumstance of worship, should be more defined. If Paul had not intended to intimate the abolition of all sabbaths whatever, and of all sanctification of one day above another, he would not have added, in the following verse, *he that regardeth not the day, to the Lord he doth not regard it.* For how does he *not regard the day to the*

*Lord,* if there be any commandment still in force by which a particular day, whether the Sabbath or any other, is to be observed?"—Page 605.

<sup>2</sup> SUNDAY. "Aubrey and others, who obtained their information from his widow, have related that as long as he lived it was his custom to begin the day with hearing a portion of the Hebrew Scriptures, which a person was employed to read to him; and *during every period of his life his Sundays were wholly devoted to theology.* The importance which he attached to these pursuits is further confirmed by what Birch relates of the system pursued by him with his pupils. The *Sunday's* work for his pupils was for the most part to read a chapter of the Greek Testament, and hear his exposition of it. The next work after this was to write from his dictation some part of a system of divinity which he collected from the most eminent writers upon that subject, as Amesius, Wollebius, etc."—Extract from the preface of Bishop Sumner to the "*Treatise on Christian Doctrine,*" by Milton, 1825, 4to., pp. xx-xxi.

There is no record of Milton having written against the Drama, or that he had any participation in advising the Ordinance of the Parliament, in 1642, "*for the suppression of public stage-plays throughout the kingdom during these calamitous times;*" an ordinance followed, in 1647, by others subjecting all Players and Actors infringing the order to be punished as "Rogues."



MILTON does not appear to have derived any pecuniary advantage from his labours as a Poet. His juvenile productions, and a few other minor pieces, were published for the first time<sup>1</sup> in 1645. His Poems were evidently at that period not more esteemed than many of the contemporaneous poetical volumes of similar character. If we may judge from the fact of those poems being issued without any of those commendatory verses,—the tribute of praise so generally accorded by way of introduction to the effusions of a brother poet,<sup>2</sup>—we may fairly come to the conclusion that Milton was, at that period, comparatively little known in the poetical world.

Unlike also the works of other poets of the day, those of Milton are not inscribed to any patron, but are merely introduced to the public by an address from Humphrey Moseley the publisher. The volume bears no indication that it had been even published under the superintendence of the author. The Poems are arranged without much attention to their chronological order; and some of the Sonnets are without the headings that occur in the originals in the Trinity College Manuscript. Besides this, several of the Sonnets written before 1645, are omitted, as also other of his early poetical productions. As we do not find the address of Moseley reprinted in any of the later editions of his Poems, we do not hesitate to present it to our readers as an example of the singular style of the writing of that day.

#### "THE STATIONER TO THE READER.

"It is not any private respect of gains, gentle Reader, for the slightest Pamphlet is now adayes more vendible than the Works of learnedest men; but it is the love I have to our own language that hath made me diligent to collect, and set forth such Peeeces both in Prose and Verse, as may renew the wonted honour and esteem of our English tongue: and its the worth of these both English and Latin Poems, not the flourish of any prefixed encomiums than can invite thee to buy them, though these are not without the highest commendations and applause of the learnedst Academiicks, both domestick and forrein. And amongst those of our own countrey, the unparallel'd attestation of that renowned Provost of Eaton, Sir Heury Wootton: I know not thy palat how it relishes such dainties, nor how harmonious thy soul is; perhaps more trivial Airs may please thee better. But howsoever this opinion is spent upon these, that incouragement I have already

<sup>1</sup> Except his *Comus*, published in 4to., 1637, and his *Lycidas* in 1638.

<sup>2</sup> The poems of William Cartwright issued by

H. Moseley in 1651, were preceded by the effusions of above *fifty* of the most eminent Poets and learned men of the day.

received from the most ingenious men in their clear and courteous entertainment of Mr. WALLERS late choice Peeeces, hath once more made me adventure into the World, presenting it with these ever-green, and not to be blasted Laurels. The Authors 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 it self which way it will, I shall deserve of the age, by bringing into the Light as true Birth as the Muses have brought forth since our famous SPENCER wrote; whose Poems in these English ones are as rarely imitated, as sweetly excell'd. Reader, if thou art Eagle-eied to censure their worth, I am not fearful to expose them to thy exactest perusal.

“Thine at command,

“HUMPH. MOSELEY.”



ENRY LAWES, Royal Musician, and the friend of Milton, had, as stated on the title of the edition of the poems of Waller, issued by H. Moseley in 1645, just previous to those of Milton, set “All the Lyrick Poems” of the former to music. Authors and publishers, in those days, were at least as much, and perhaps more, intimately connected in social life than at the present time. Edmund Waller, though he had not at that period openly declared against Charles the First, was decidedly opposed to the Royal Measures; and consequently coincided, to a certain extent, in the views of Milton.

Unlike Milton, however, Waller was not true to the opinions he had declared. He forsook his party,—he betrayed his friends,—he played false to his King,—he truckled to Cromwell,—he turned Royalist,—he became a Member of Parliament under James II, and established himself as one of the favourites of the Court. Thus was the political life of Edmund Waller one of great success, while his poetical talents are now comparatively as much obscured as those of Milton are elevated to the highest pinnacle of poetic fame.

The *Arcades* of Milton,—his *Comus*,—his *Lycidas*,—his *Outline of Paradise Lost*, as a sacred drama,—his notes of “*Other Tragedies*,” and his *Sketches of Dramas* illustrative of English History, forcibly point out the early bent of his mind. There must have been some great change in his views in regard to the Drama, to have induced him to lay aside all his once cherished dramatic schemes, so carefully outlined in the Trinity College Manuscript.

On entering the University of Cambridge, it was his intention to have embraced the Church as his profession. That idea was abandoned by him soon after the age of twenty-three, as shewn in a letter<sup>1</sup> written to a friend in Cambridge. In that beautiful letter Milton does not express any feelings indicative of those opinions which he entertained at a later period; nor had he at that time decided on his future course of action. He thus defended his then life of retirement and “*love of learning*.”

“Or if it be to be thought a natural proneness, there is against that a much more potent inclination inbred, which about this time of a man’s life solicits most,—the desire of house and family of his

<sup>1</sup> Two autograph drafts of this letter are in the Trinity College Manuscript. The letter is

given in full by Dr. Masson in his “*Life of Milton*,” vol. i. pp. 289-92.

own; to which nothing is esteemed more helpful than the early entering into creditable employment, and nothing hindering than this affected solitariness. And though this were enough, yet there is another aid, if not of pure, yet of refined nature, no less available to dissuade prolonged obscurity,—a desire of honour and repute and immortal fame, seated in the breast of every true scholar; which all make haste to by the readiest ways of publishing and divulging conceived merits,—as well those that shall, as those that never shall obtain it. Nature, therefore, would presently work the more prevalent way if there were nothing but this inferior bent of herself to restrain her. Lastly, the love of learning, as in the pursuit of something good, it would sooner follow the more excellent and supreme good known and prescribed, and so be quickly diverted from the empty and fantastic chase of shadows and motions, to the solid good flowing from due and timely obedience to that command in the Gospel set out by the terrible feasting of him that hid the talent.”

In confirmation of the views thus expressed, Milton takes the opportunity of adding a Sonnet which he had previously written, “*on his being arrived at the age of twenty-three,*” touching upon the very subject on which his friend had remonstrated with him. Milton precedes it by observing,

“Yet that you may see that I am suspicious of myself, and do take notice of a certain belatedness in me, I am the bolder to send you some of my nightward thoughts some while since, because they come in not unfitly, made up in a Petrarchian stanza, which I told you of.”

How soon hath Time the subtle thief of Youth  
 Stolen on his wing my three & twentieth years  
 my hasting days fly on with full career  
 but my late spring no bud or blossom shewth  
 Perhaps my semblance might deceive ye youth  
 that I to manhood am arriv'd so near  
 & inward ripeness doth much less appear  
 than some more timely-happie spirits indueth  
 yet be it less or more, or sooner or slow  
 it shall be still in strictest measure even  
 to that same lot—however mean or high  
 toward which Time leads me, & the will of Heaven  
 all is if I have grace to use it so  
 as it is in my great masters eye.

“By this I believe you may well repent of having made mention at all of this matter; for if I have not all this while won you to this, I have certainly wearied you of it. This, therefore, alone may be a sufficient reason for me to keep me as I am, lest having thus tired you singly, I should deal worse with a whole congregation, and spoil all the patience of a parish.”

The Sonnet is one of considerable interest, and was composed on or before December 8, 1631, that being the day it was intended to commemorate. In lieu of giving it in type, we give it in fac-simile<sup>1</sup> from the original in the Trinity College

<sup>1</sup> Here our readers are presented with a Fac-simile of the Autograph of the Poet; not impressed from an engraved wood-block, or a metal cast from the wood-block, which were the only

means hitherto practised in order to make the fac-simile available to be printed simultaneously in the same page with type; but obtained by the marvellous application of Mechanical Skill in

Manuscript, as a good specimen of the ordinary cursive handwriting of the Poet at that early period of his life.

*conjunction with Science.* Before this discovery, in order to obtain a fac-simile of any writing or design,—excepting by the use of Photography,—it was first necessary to employ an artist to *trace* or *copy* it. That tracing or copy was then transferred to a wood-block, and cut by the graver of a second skilful artist; and were he one of first-rate talent, the cost of his artistic work would almost equal that of a leading line-engraver. Yet with all the skill and care of the most practised wood or other engraver, the original idea of the artist, and character of the writing, would be impaired. We venture to assert, that very rare are the instances in which an artist can convey, in a *copy*, the same artistic feeling that exists in an original. The mind of the artist cannot be transferred to the mechanic. We mean no disrespect to, nor do we undervalue, the services of the wood-engraver, for many are of the highest talent in their knowledge of design.

To the processes, however, of the invention to which we refer, we are indebted for the extremely perfect fac-simile of the Autograph of Milton as it here appears intermixed with type. The original has been merely traced by a most careful Artist; and by the accurate Processes of THE ELECTRO PRINTING BLOCK COMPANY, the tracing has been formed into an *Electro-surface-block without the intervention of a Wood-Engraver*.

From the Electro surface-block innumerable impressions may be taken by the *ordinary printing press*, either separately, or intermixed with type; while the *matrix*, whence the Electro surface-block has been made, can be preserved, like the negative of a photograph, for repetition to any extent.

One of the most distinguished and deservedly popular authors of the present day is gifted with such artistic powers that his sketches can be exceeded by few. In the illustrations, however, of his works, the effective touch of his pencil loses much of its power by passing through the hands of the engraver.

By the Processes of this most interesting invention, to which there is no limit of its applicability, an artistic author may not only have the illustrations of his pencil, but also his autograph, turned simultaneously into pages of Electro surface-blocks, and thus avoid all the expense of having his manuscript set up in type! How interesting would be such a work from the pencil and pen of THACKERAY!

THE ELECTRO PRINTING BLOCK COMPANY,—duly incorporated under the Joint-Stock Companies' Act, with limited liability,—has been formed for the purpose of bringing into practical operation certain Patents for the CHEAP reproduction, on an enlarged or reduced scale, of Original Drawings and existing Engravings, Maps, and Prints, and for making therefrom Electro-blocks for surface printing, either at the Hand or Steam Press. Its application to MAPS and PLANS has proved most useful and marvellously successful.

The *correctness, expedition, and economy*, with which Original Pen and Ink Drawings, existing Copper or Steel Engraved Plates, or Impressions therefrom, Stereotypes, Wood-blocks, or Lithographic Stones, can be *equally, or eccentrically, partially or entirely enlarged or reduced* in size, or converted into Electro-blocks, without the intervention of the Engraver, give to the inventions a value which can scarcely be overstated.

It is equally applicable for Lithographic printing, and every description of drawings upon stone can be enlarged or reduced, and made available for printing any number of copies in three or four hours. By a process peculiar, we believe, to this Company, portions of the Ordnance or other maps can be transferred to stone and metal and enlarged to any scale, so that the proprietor of an estate desiring a knowledge of it, or a surveyor requiring a plan of a district, can, by the means of this Company, obtain them at a very small cost indeed, and with a celerity perfectly astonishing.



THOUGH we do not enter largely into biographical details, the subjoined passage, touching the ambition of Milton, is interesting as expressive of his feelings in 1657, when writing to CARLO DIODATI, a most intimate friend, whom he always addressed with the utmost freedom and affection.

“But if my disposition or my destiny were such that I could without any conflict or any toil emerge to the highest pitch of distinction and of praise, there would nevertheless be no prohibition, either human or divine, against my constantly cherishing and revering those, who have either obtained the same degree of glory, or are successfully labouring to obtain it. But now I am sure that you wish me to gratify your curiosity, and to let you know what I have been doing, or am meditating to do. Hear me, my Deodati, and suffer me for a moment to speak without blushing in a more lofty strain. Do you ask what I am meditating? By the help of Heaven an immortality of fame.

“But what am I doing? *πτεροφυῶ*. I am letting my wings grow, and preparing to fly; but my Pegasus has not yet feathers enough to soar aloft in the fields of air. I will now tell you seriously what I design: to take chambers in one of the inns of court, where I may have the benefit of a pleasant and shady walk; and where with a few associates I may enjoy more comfort when I choose to stay at home, and have a more elegant society when I choose to go abroad. In my present situation, you know in what obscurity I am buried, and to what inconveniences I am exposed.”<sup>1</sup>

On his return,<sup>2</sup> in 1639, from the continent, Milton devoted himself to the education of the two sons of his sister, Mrs. Phillips; at the same time taking charge of a few other boys, the sons of his friends, by which he doubtless obtained an addition to his pecuniary resources. He, however, who could write of *a desire of honour and immortal fame*, was not very likely long to submit to the daily drudgery of a pedagogue's life, or to be looked upon by the uneducated and purseproud simply as a “*schoolmaster*,”—an occupation worthy of the man of the highest intellectual ability. The chief Positions in the Universities are the reward of tutorial pre-eminence; stepping-stones to the Bishoprics of the Land.

Accordingly, though at the same time continuing his scholastic duties,<sup>3</sup> Milton sought in the Political and Religious Drama of the Times a relief congenial to his active mind. He did not allow much time to elapse, ere he entered the Arena of

<sup>1</sup> Extract from a letter to “Carlo Diodati,” dated from London, Sept. 23, 1637.—“*Familiar Letters*,” No. VII.

<sup>2</sup> Milton went to Italy in 1638, and “immediately after his return he took a lodging at Mr. Russell's a taylor in St. Bride's Churchyard, and took into his tuition, his sister's two sons, Edw. and John Philips, y<sup>e</sup> first 10 and the other 9 years of age.”—“*Letters of Aubrey*,” vol. ii, p. 446.

<sup>3</sup> The circumstance of Milton being persuaded

to take some additional pupils to educate with his Nephews, placed him in the position of a schoolmaster,—a title which some of his biographers assert was most distasteful to his feelings. Dr. Johnson most ungenerously alludes to the scholastic occupation of Milton, forgetting that the very elements of education had been the source whence his own fame had sprung. Milton was a man of peculiarly fine feeling; a man of a totally different character from that of Johnson, whose prejudices rendered him in many cases a most partial critic and censorious biographer.



Polemical Controversy; while even as late as 1647, when he had removed to Holborn, Milton received a few scholars.<sup>1</sup>

In 1641 he issued no less than three treatises on the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church. In one, "*The Reason of Church Government, urged against Prelaty*," those latent feelings which existed in his unsettled mind when at Cambridge, were openly avowed. "The Church," he wrote, "to whose service, by the intentions of my parents and friends, I was destined from a child, and in mine own resolutions; till, coming to some maturity of years, and perceiving what tyranny had invaded the Church,—that he who would take orders must subscribe slave, and take an oath withal, which unless he took with a conscience that would retch, he must either straight perjure, or split his faith;—I thought it better to prefer a blameless silence before the sacred office of speaking, bought and begun with servitude and forswearing. Howsoever thus Church-outed by the prelates, hence may appear the right I have to meddle in these matters, as before the necessity and constraint appeared."

From this time Milton became a public man. He openly and honestly avowed the cause he espoused; but domestic circumstances unhappily occurred which induced him to employ his powerful pen in writing a treatise "*On the Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*." In 1643 he married MARY, the eldest daughter of Mr. Richard Powell. The marriage turned out unhappily, the lady within a few weeks returning to her parents. The political views, the literary tastes, and the sedentary occupations of Milton, did not, it is presumed, quite agree with her previous convivial enjoyments. Her father was a Royalist, and she had been accustomed to mix in a great deal of society, more particularly among military men. She became disgusted with the too much "*love of learning*" of her husband, and consequently left him. He, in return, felt himself grossly insulted, and consoled himself for the loss of his wife by writing his celebrated "*Treatise on Divorce*," impetuously issued by him, with the utmost rancour of feeling, in the same year.

Political events, and the Battle of Naseby, July 1645, brought about a reconciliation with his wife, whose father and family sought the aid of the then republican Milton, who received them into his house. The result of the reunion of Milton with his wife, was the birth of his daughter ANNE, July 29, 1646; followed by that of MARY, October 25, 1648; a son, March 16, 1650; and in May 1652, by DEBORAH. His wife died in the same year. His son also died in its infancy.

It appears extraordinary that Milton, after reconciliation with his wife, should have so strenuously continued the controversy upon a subject, which, in the judgment of even his admirers and friends, met with almost general condemnation. That he entertained the same feelings on the "*Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*," up to a late period of his life, is evident from the fact of his closing the tenth chapter of his most learned "*Treatise on Christian Doctrine*" with a recapitulation of the arguments

<sup>1</sup> Life of Milton, by Todd. Works, vol. i. p. 63.

he had brought forward in support of his views,—views which, if entertained by the generality of mankind, would be almost sufficient to annul the very bonds of social happiness. In that chapter Milton sums up all his arguments by considering, *that in the event of the tastes and feelings of the wife turning out not to be congenial to the husband, that fact alone is sufficient to justify divorce.*

In a little volume, published in 1649, intitled "*Cases of Conscience Practically Resolved*," the author, JOSEPH HALL, Bishop of Norwich, one of the most learned and pious men of the day, strongly condemns, in "*Case II.*," the opinions of the Poet.

"I have heard too much of, and once saw, a licentious Pamphlet thrown abroad in these lawlesse times, in the defence and encouragement of Divorces (not to be sued out, that solemnity needed not, but) to be arbitrarily given by the disliking husband, to his displeasing and unquiet wife; upon this ground principally, that Marriage was instituted for the help and comfort of man; where therefore the match proves such, as that the wife doth but pull downe a side, and by her innate peevishnesse, and either sullen, or pettish and froward disposition brings rather discomfort to her husband, the end of marriage being hereby frustrate, why should it not, saith he, be in the Husband's power (after some unprevailing means of reclamation attempted) to procure his own peace, by casting off this clog, and to provide for his own peace and contentment in a fitter Match?"

"Woe is me, To what a passe is the world come that a Christian pretending to Reformation, should dare to tender so loose a project to the publique? I must seriously profess when I first did cast my eye upon the front of the book, I supposed some great wit meant to try his skill in the maintenance of this so wild, and improbable a paradox; but ere I could have run over som of those too welpenned pages, I found the Author was in earnest, and meant seriously to contribute this peece of good counsel in way of Reformation to the wise and seasonable care of superiors; I cannot but blush for our ages, wherein so bold a motion hath been, amongst others, admitted to the light: what will all the Christian Churches through the world, to whose notice those lines shall come, think of our wofull degeneration in these deplored times, that so uncouth a designe should be set on foot amongst us?"

The circumstances connected with the first marriage of Milton having been so partially mentioned and distorted by some of his learned biographers,<sup>1</sup> we are induced to enter fully into the statement of the facts so interestingly detailed by his nephew and earliest biographer, EDWARD PHILLIPS, in the Memoir of the Poet prefixed to the "*LETTERS OF STATE*"<sup>2</sup> published in 1694.

<sup>1</sup> WARTON appears to have considered that Milton was actually divorced from his wife. "*Poems of Milton*," p. 338, note.

J. A. ST. JOHN, the editor of the Prose Works of Milton, published by our indefatigable friend Mr. Henry Bohn, omits in his Preface (p. xiii) all note of the reconciliation of the Poet to his Wife.

LAMARTINE, the French Historian, in his "*Memoirs of Celebrated Characters*," vol. ii. p. 7, writes that Milton had "obtained his divorce, and was ready to marry a second time." It is extraordinary how often the most learned foreigners misinterpret, or are careless in correctly ascer-

taining, the facts connected with English History. There must be a something in the English Language that is insurmountable to the understanding of Foreigners.

<sup>2</sup> "*Letters of State*, Written by Mr. John Milton, To most of the Sovereign Princes and Republicks of Europe. From the year 1649 Till the year 1659. To which is added, An Account of his life. Together with several of his Poems; And a Catalogue of his works, never before Printed." London. Printed in the year 1694. 12mo.

The Poems mentioned in the title to the "*Letters of State*," consist only of Four Sonnets, being those addressed "*To Oliver Cromwell*," "*To my Lord Fairfax*," "*To Sir Henry Vane*,"—and "*To Mr. Cyriac Skinner upon his Blindness*,"—sonnets purposely omitted in the edition of the Poems of Milton previously issued in 1673. Though Milton maintained his opinions, he was not the man to insult, or to be ungrateful to the Monarch to whose clemency he owed his life. Hence the omission of the Sonnets in the Second Edition of his Poems, 1673.

The "*Letters of State*," believed to have been "surreptitiously obtained," were issued in 1676, in Latin, in which language they were originally written by Milton, thus intitled, "*Litteræ Pseudo-Senatus Anglicani, Cromwellii, Reliquorumque Perduellium, nomine ac jussu conscriptæ à Joanne Miltono. Impressæ anno 1676.*"

The English Translation of 1694<sup>1</sup> was accompanied with the most authentic particulars of the Life of the Poet that had appeared. It was preceded by an anonymous address, no doubt from the pen of Edward Phillips, the editor of the volume.

"To the Reader:"—thus closing,—“Then, for the Honour of these People, who had in those times successively vsurp'd the Supreme Authority of the Nation, nothing more plainly discovers it then the different Style of the ensuing Letters: for Mr. Milton is not to be thought to have Written his own sense, but what was dictated to him by his Superiours. The Language of the Long Parliament was more Imperious and downright. *Oliver's* Vein was more full of Cants; and where he concluded with Threats, he began with Godly Expostulations. In the last place, to question the Truth of those Transactions to which these following Letters have Relation, would be a Solecism which Ignorance it self would be ashamed to own. The Dates, the Subscriptions, Superscriptions, render every thing Authentick. So that were it only their Character of Truth which must be allow'd 'em, that alone is sufficient to recommend 'em to Posterity; at least to those who may be ambitious to be the English *Thuanus's* of succeeding Ages, to whom the Verity of these Letters will be a useful Clue, so far as it reaches, to guide them through the Labyrinth of forgotten story. *Hony soit qui mal y pence.*"

As we shall have occasion at the close of our Ramblings to refer to the delicate position held by Edward Phillips in connexion with Milton his uncle, we will only here observe, that it was not likely that his nephew, who entertained political opinions of a totally opposite character, would write in either strong laudatory or condemnatory terms of the public conduct of his deceased uncle.

Edward Phillips was a royalist, and continued so to his death; yet withal, he is not sparing, in the opening of the Memoir of his Uncle, of language most encomiastic, worthily transmitting the fame of Milton, as an Historian, to all posterity. He writes:<sup>2</sup>

"Had his Fame been as much spread through *Europe*, in *Thuanus's* time as now it is, and hath been for several Years, he had justly merited from that Great Historian, an Eulogy not inferiour to the highest, by him given to all the Learned and Ingenious that liv'd within the compass of his History. For we may safely and justly affirm, that take him in all respects, for Accuracy of Wit, Quickness of Apprehension, Sagacity of Judgment, Depth of Argument, and Elegancy of Style, as

<sup>1</sup> In the Preface to the prose works of Milton, published by Henry Bohn, Mr. St. John, the editor, states, p. xl, that the edition in English of the "*Letters of State*," 1694, "appeared, no doubt,

under the care of Toland." On what authority Mr. St. John grounds his opinion we know not.

<sup>2</sup> Familiar Letters—Memoir—p. iii. 1694.

well in *Latin* as *English*, as well in Verse as Prose, he is scarce to be parallel'd by any the best of Writers our Nation hath in any Age brought forth."

While here paying the highest tribute of respect to his uncle, the writer in no way compromises himself as to his own views of the part Milton had taken in the political drama of the latter part of the Reign of Charles I. Very different was the conduct of his younger nephew, John Phillips; who, after having for many years held similar opinions to those of his uncle, even assisting him in his controversial writings, turned royalist, and wrote against those views which his uncle had firmly and conscientiously maintained.

Touching the First Marriage of Milton, his nephew, Edward Phillips, relates that

"About *Whitsuntide* it was, or a little after, that he took a Journey into the Country; no body about him certainly knowing the Reason, or that it was any more than a Journey of Recreation: after a Month's stay, home he returns a Married-man that went out a Batchelor; his Wife being *Mary* the Eldest Daughter of Mr. *Richard Powell*, then a Justice of Peace, of *Forresthill*, near *Shotover* in *Oxfordshire*; some few of her nearest Relations accompanying the Bride to her new Habitation; which by reason the Father nor any body else were yet come, was able to receive them; where the Feasting held for some days in Celebration of the Nuptials, and for entertainment of the Bride's Friends. At length they took their leave, and returning to *Forresthill*, left the Sister behind; probably not much to her satisfaction as appeared by the sequel; by that time she had for a Month or thereabout led a Philosophical Life,—after having been used to a great House, and much Company and Joviality—Her Friends, possibly incited by her own desire, made earnest suit by Letter, to have her Company the remaining part of the Summer, which was granted, on condition of her return at the time appointed, *Michalemas*, or thereabouts. In the mean time came his Father, and some of the foremention'd Disciples. And now the Studies went on with so much the more Vigour, as there were more Hands and Heads employ'd; the Old Gentleman living wholly retired to his Rest and Devotion, without the least trouble imaginable: Our Author, now as it were a single man again, made it his chief diversion now and then in an Evening to visit the Lady *Margaret Lee*, Daughter to the — *Lee*, Earl of *Marlborough*, Lord High Treasurer of *England*, and President of the Privy Counsel to King *James* the First. This Lady being a Woman of great Wit and Ingenuity, had a particular Honour for him, and took much delight in his Company, as likewise her Husband Captain *Hobson*, a very Accomplish'd Gentleman; and what Esteem he at the same time had for Her, appears by a Sonnet he made in praise of her, to be seen among his other Sonnets in his Extant Poems. *Michalemas* being come, and no news of his wife's return, he sent for her by Letter, and receiving no answer sent several other Letters, which were also unanswered; so that at last he dispatch'd down a Foot-Messenger with a Letter, desiring her to return; but the messenger came back not only without an answer, at least a satisfactory one, but to the best of my remembrance, reported that he was dismissed with some sort of Contempt; this proceeding, in all probability, was grounded upon no other Cause but this, namely, That the Family being generally addicted to the Cavalier Party, as they called it, 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 repent 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, when ever that Court should come to Flourish again; however, it so incensed our Author, that he thought it would be dishonourable ever to receive her again, after such a repulse; so that he forthwith prepared to Fortify himself with Arguments for such a Resolution, and accordingly wrote two Treatises, by which he undertook to maintain, That it was against Reason, and the enjoyment of it not proveable by Scripture, for any Married Couple disagreeable in Humour and Temper, or having an aversion to each, to be forc'd to live yok'd together all their Days. The first was, His Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce; of which there was Printed a Second Edition, with

some Additions. The other, in prosecution of the first, was styled, *Tetrachordon*. Then the better to confirm his own Opinion, by the attestation of others, he set out a Piece called the Judgement of *Martin Bucor*, a Protestant Minister, being a Translation, out of that Reverend Divine, of some part of his Works, exactly agreeing with him in sentiment. Lastly, he wrote in answer to a Pragmatical Clerk, who would needs give himself the Honour of Writing against so great a Man, His Colasterion or Rod of Correction for a Sawcy Impertinent. Not very long after the setting forth of these Treatises, having application made to him by several Gentlemen of his acquaintance, for the education of their sons, as understanding haply the Progress he had infused by his first undertakings of that nature, he laid out for a larger House, and soon found it out; but in the interim before he removed, there fell out a passage, which though it altered not the whole Course he was going to Steer, yet it put a stop or rather an end to a grand Affair, which was more than probably thought to be then in agitation: It was indeed a design of Marrying one of *Dr. Davis's* Daughters, a very Handsome and Witty Gentlewoman, but averse as it is said to this Notion; however, the Intelligence hereof, and the then declining State of the King's Cause, and consequently of the Circumstances of Justice *Powell's* Family, caused them to set all Engines on Work, to restore the late Married Woman to the station wherein they a little before had planted her; at last this device was pitched upon. There dwelt in the Lane of *St. Martin's Le Grand*, which was hard by, a relation of our Author's, one *Blackborough*, whom it was known he often visited, and upon this occasion the visits were the more narrowly observ'd, and possibly there might be a Combination between both Parties; the Friends on both sides concentrating in the same action though on different behalfs. One time above the rest, he making his usual visit, the Wife was ready in another Room, and on a sudden he was surprised to see one whom he thought to have never seen more, making Submission and begging Pardon on her Knees before him; he might probably at first make some shew of aversion and rejection; but partly his own generous nature, more inclinable to Reconciliation than to perseverance in Anger and Revenge, and partly the strong intercession of Friends on both sides, soon brought him to an Act of Oblivion, and a firm League of Peace for the future; and it was at length concluded, That she should remain at a Friend's house, till such time as he was settled in his New house at *Barbican*, and all things for her reception in order; the place agreed on for her present abode, was the Widow *Webber's* house in *St. Clement's* Church-yard, whose Second Daughter had been Married to the other Brother many years before; the first fruits of her return to her Husband was a brave Girl, born within a year after, though, whether by ill Constitution, or want of Care, she grew more and more decrepit. But it was not only by Children that she encreas'd the number of the Family, for in no very long time after her coming, she had a great resort of her Kindred with her in the House, viz. her Father and Mother, and several of her Brothers and Sisters, which were in all pretty numerous; who upon his Father's Sickning and Dying soon after went away. And now the House lookd again like a House of the Muses only, though the accession of Scholars was not great. Possibly his proceeding thus far in the Education of Youth may have been the occasion of some of his Adversaries calling him Pædagogue and Schoolmaster; whereas it is well known he never set up for a Publick School to teach all the young Fry of a Parish, but only was willing to impart his Learning and Knowledge to Relations, and the Sons of some Gentlemen that were his intimate Friends; besides, that neither his Converse, nor his Writings, nor his manner of Teaching ever favour'd in the least any thing of Pedantry; and probably he might have some prospect of putting in Practice his Academical Institution, according to the Model laid down in his Spirit of Education. The Progress of which design was afterwards diverted by a Series of Alterations in the Affairs of State; for I am much mistaken, if there were not about this time a design in Agitation of making him Adjutant-General<sup>1</sup> in *Sir William Waller's* Army; but the new modelling of the Army soon following, prov'd an obstruction to that design;

<sup>1</sup> This fact is omitted to be noticed by many of the biographers of the Poet. Archdeacon Todd, in his last edition of the works of the

Poet, 1842, notes, in his "*Life of Milton*," p. 62, "This perhaps may be doubted, when it is considered that Waller was esteemed a leader of

and Sir William, his Commission being laid down, began, as the common saying is, to turn *Cat in Pan*."

In quoting the biographical language of nearly two centuries ago, respecting one whose life as a poet is only in interest exceeded by that of Shakespeare, we are reminded that some learned author or intellectual spirit of the press designates the "*Literary Antiquary*" as a "*bore*". That such may be the case, we do not attempt to deny; but we must remind our learned critic, that, without the dogged researches of the Antiquarian Author, many of the works of the most eminent men of the present day would be of no authority. In no other Memoir of Milton do we find facts so impartially represented. Unlike the biography of many distinguished men of the present time, written frequently when the over-excited pen is scarcely dry from the relation of the painful details of their last illness, death, and funeral ceremonies, the chief events in the Life of Milton are, in the little unostentatious volume quoted, so modestly related, that they carry with them evidence of unexaggerated truth.

Mr. Marsh,<sup>1</sup> while referring to the few existing manuscripts in the Autograph of Milton, very justly remarks :

"This circumstance, while it enhances the pecuniary value of those curiosities which have been preserved, accounts for the paucity of the materials of which his biographers have been able to avail themselves, in illustrating his private and domestic history. The MS. Notes of Aubrey are perhaps trustworthy so far as relates to facts within his knowledge, and possess a peculiar value as the impartial evidence of one who was in habits of some familiarity with Milton himself; but, as they consist of mere memoranda, it is not fair to expect from them such a picture of the private life and circumstances of the Poet as would have been the result of the regular Biography for which they were intended as materials. This want is, to a considerable extent, supplied by the Memoir of Edward Phillips, which has been pronounced 'a monument of sober affection and veneration, such as the world has seldom witnessed in a case of such general interest:' and yet there are points, in which it has been shewn by the light of subsequent discovery, that even he was not wholly impartial, and that his uncle's memory has suffered from the nephew's perhaps unconscious participation in the sentiments of his cousins, whose testimony is now found to have been wholly unworthy of credit. The result has been that, while the biographies above alluded to, and those of Toland, Wood, Birch, Richardson, Peck, Newton, and Johnson, enabled us to form a tolerably accurate view of the public and literary character of Milton, and the leading incidents of his personal history, his domestic circumstances were lamentably misrepresented. The Poet himself was pictured as a morose domestic tyrant, who, while 'with a Turkish contempt of females,' he degraded his daughters by a mean and penurious education, compelled them to minister to his service by the most irksome attendance on his studies, and the intolerable drudgery of reading to him in languages which they did not understand: and his wife was represented as a termagant,—the oppressor of her husband's children, and the disturber of his own domestic comfort."

Sir Egerton Brydges, than whom no one has been more careful, and few more elegant, in the style in which he has conveyed the pith of the memoir by Phillips to

the Presbyterians against the designs of the Independents. Milton, in his military capacity, could not have served cordially under a general so disposed." We see no reason to doubt the assertion of the nephew of Milton in this rela-

tion more than in any other portion of the biography of his Uncle.

<sup>1</sup> Papers connected with the affairs of Milton and his Family. "*Cheetham Miscel.*," i. 1851, p. 3.

his readers, honestly tells them in the preface to his biographical sketch of Milton, that "The foundation of all the Memoirs of the Poet is that which was written by his nephew, Edward Phillips: his personal knowledge of the bard gives authenticity to all he relates; but it is a piece of biography brief and bare."<sup>1</sup>

"*Brief and bare*" as that Memoir is, it is far more interesting than many of the subsequent lives that have been written. Our astonishment is, that Sir Egerton Brydges, one of the most enthusiastic and diligent poetical antiquaries of his time, did not reprint it entire.<sup>2</sup> The biography of the Poet by Toland, Aubrey, Birch, Todd, Symmons, and others, does not contain many facts of importance in respect to the private or public life of Milton, beyond those which are related by Phillips. Each biographer avails himself of the opportunity of expressing, some in more elegant language than others, his own theological, political, and critical views; thus, in some instances, giving their biography more the character of an Essay on the religion and politics of the period, than of the life of the Poet.

In making these observations we do not include the recent and progressing labours of the learned DAVID MASSON, M.A. His arduous undertaking professes to give the life of Milton "*narrated in connexion with the Political, Ecclesiastical, and Literary History of his Time.*" As such, his work will rank as one of the most comprehensive and valuable histories of the period; while it will no doubt embody every particular that can be obtained to illustrate the polemical, political, and domestic life of the Poet.

TOLAND, whose life of Milton appeared<sup>3</sup> only four years after the memoir by Phillips, does not seem to have been personally known to Milton. He closes the few introductory lines to his memoir by stating:

"The amplest part of the materials I had from his own books, where, constrain'd by the diffamations of his enemys, he often gives an account of himself. I learnt some particulars from a person that had bin once his amanuensis, which were confirm'd to me by his daughter now dwelling in London, and by a letter written to one at my desire from his last wife, who is still alive. I perus'd the papers of one of his Nephews; learn't what I could in discourse with the other, as, after the best inquiry, I was able to discover."

It would have been very satisfactory had the learned Toland named who was the person who acted as Milton's Amanuensis. Certain it is, that, had he been any one connected by relationship with Milton, Toland would not have omitted to have noticed so important a point.

<sup>1</sup> Poetical Works of Milton, edited by Sir Egerton Brydges. 6 vols. 1835. Vol. i. p. xix.

<sup>2</sup> Godwin, in his Lives of Edward and John Phillips, had reprinted the whole of the Memoir as an "Appendix" to his work. It was published in 4to., 1815; but, as the work of Godwin was written principally with a view of propounding

his own political views, few of those who have sought for the particulars of the life of Milton may have seen it.

<sup>3</sup> The first edition was prefixed to the Amsterdam edition of Milton's Prose Works, 1698. Again, separately, in 2 vols. 8vo., 1699; and in 1 vol. 8vo., 1761.

The learned and Rev. Dr. Hawkins, in the preface to his variorum edition of the Poetical Works of Milton, while reviewing the various memoirs of the Poet, considers that the Memoir by Phillips "is often inaccurate, apparently from the carelessness of the writer, who was an author by profession; and it does not afford so many particulars of Milton's private life as might have been expected from one who knew him so intimately. Bishop Newton has incorporated, in his life of Milton, almost everything that is most valuable in Phillips, and usually in the very words of the author."

Milton died in 1674. The year after, his nephew, Edward Phillips, issued his "*Theatrum Poetarum Anglicanarum*," a work on which he had, no doubt, had the assistance of his Uncle. In the very fine lines he has in that work devoted to Milton, he does not give any biographical information; and when alluding to his *Paradise Lost*, and other poems, modestly adds, "it will better become a person less related than myself to deliver his judgment."

It must be borne in mind that when Milton died, he was, and had been for many years, a fallen and neglected man. The world had forgotten him. His party had temporarily passed away. Save now and then the visits of respect, and perhaps of curiosity, from Foreign Princes, few thought about him. There are no records of his domestic life, of such importance as to lead us to think his Nephew considered the melancholy scene of his declining years of sufficient public interest to be related with the same *minutia* as that of one who was surrounded with the comforts of life, an affectionate family, and the esteem of the public. Milton had no dutiful son to tell the happy scenes of the early and last days of his Father. Edward Phillips might, no doubt, have added much more of interest to the Memoir of his Uncle. It is only astonishing, that, as he declined expressing an opinion on the merits of the poetical productions of Milton, he should have given so much biographical information, which, though perhaps occasionally faulty, has been the foundation, more or less, of nearly all the biographies of Milton, though by some not acknowledged.

It is remarkable that none of his biographers should have noticed two singular errors that occur in the Memoir referred to,—errors so likely to be made by an author and a relation. Phillips,—p. xxxviii,—states, that when Milton was living in the Artillery Walk leading to Bunhill Fields, he there "Finisht his noble Poem (*Paradise Lost*) and publish't it in the year 1666. The first Edition was Printed in Quarto by one *Simons* a Printer in *Aldersgate-Street*, the other in a large Octavo by *Starkey*, near *Temple-Bar*, amended, enlarg'd, and differently dispos'd as to the Number of Books, by his own hand, that is, by his own appointment."

The first error in this statement is in the date of the first edition of *Paradise Lost*, which did not appear until 1667; and the second, in stating that the second edition was published by *Starkey*. The First Edition of *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes* was issued by John Starkey in octavo in 1671, and again in 1680.

It may be interesting here to notice that in the first edition of *Paradise*



*Regained*, 1671, the Imprint runs thus: "*Printed by J. M. for John Starkey.*" The initials J. M. were no doubt intended for those of the author, denoting that the volume was printed by him, *i.e.*, at his expense, and merely published for sale by *John Starkey*. As, however, we shall have occasion to enter more fully upon the points touching the printing and publishing of *Paradise Lost*, we close the subject of the preceding remarks by observing, that, in respect to the two singular errors made by Phillips, we doubt whether any author,—and authors are very frequently most indifferent on such minor points,—would not be liable to make similar mistakes; more particularly so, when the circumstances are recorded by a relative.



HAVING gained some little information by departing from the more beaten roads whence the Biographers of Milton have obtained their materials, we were induced to wander into the more secluded lanes, hoping, that perchance the reapers might have thought the way-side crop hardly worth their attention.

We had not rambled very far, ere we had the gratification of meeting with

AS CHARMING A PIECE OF AUTOBIOGRAPHY AS WAS EVER PENNED.

We found, however, that the sickles of Toland and Symmons, more vigorous among the many Miltonic reapers than others, had carried away some little portion of the self-sown crop; but which, however, being intermingled with that previously stored, only added to its bulk, with little chance of its superior quality being discernible.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MILTON that we here introduce, is to be found in his "*Second Defence of the People of England*,"<sup>1</sup> issued in 1654, being an answer to the "*Regii Sanguinis Clamor ad Cælum adversus Parricidos Anglicanos*," written by the celebrated PETER DU MOULIN, and published at the Hague in 1652.

Both of these works were written in the Latin Language, and though the one by Milton is to be found in the collected editions of his Prose Works, yet those portions of personal details which it contains, have evidently been overlooked, to a great extent, by most of his biographers.

The learned Dr. Symmons considers the "*Second Defence of the People of England*," by Milton, to be the most interesting, if not the most striking of all his prose compositions; and that it contains biographical "materials of peculiar value, as

<sup>1</sup> "Joannis Miltoni Angli, pro Populo Anglicano Defensio secunda contra infamem libellum Anonymum cui titulus, Regii Sanguinis Clamor ad Cælum adversus Parricidas Anglicanos." 12mo., Lond., 1655.

Our extracts are taken from the translation by the Rev. Robert Fellowes, of Oxford, of the Prose Works of Milton. 6 vols. Published by Henry G. Bohn. Vol. i. pp. 235-40, 253-59.

they cannot be obtained in any other place, and as their authenticity cannot be doubted."<sup>1</sup>

The fact, therefore, of this most interesting piece of AUTOBIOGRAPHY never having appeared at length in any of the many Lives of the Poet, may warrant its insertion in our RAMBLINGS. It is connected with the ELUCIDATION OF HIS AUTOGRAPH, inasmuch as Milton there enters more fully than elsewhere upon the subject of his blindness, an affliction that deprived him of the personal use of his pen for above twenty years previous to his decease, during which time the energies of his ever active mind were called into almost incessant occupation, rendered doubly and painfully laborious, owing to his being obliged *to dictate, word by word, aye sometimes letter by letter, to those who acted as his Amanuenses.*

"Let us now," wrote Milton, "come to the charges which were brought against myself. Is there anything reprehensible in my manners or my conduct? Surely nothing. What no one, not totally divested of all generous sensibility, would have done, he reproaches me with want of beauty and loss of sight.

"'A monster huge and hideous, void of sight.'

"I certainly never supposed that I should have been obliged to enter into a competition for beauty with the Cyclops; but he immediately corrects himself, and says, 'though not indeed huge, for there cannot be a more spare, shrivelled, and bloodless form.' It is of no moment to say anything of personal appearance, yet lest (as the Spanish vulgar, implicitly confiding in the relations of their priests, believe of heretics) any one, from the representations of my enemies, should be led to imagine that I have either the head of a dog, or the horn of a rhinoceros, I will say something on the subject, that I may have an opportunity of paying my grateful acknowledgments to the Deity, and of refuting the most shameless lies. I do not believe that I was ever once noted for deformity, by any one who ever saw me; but the praise of beauty<sup>2</sup> I am not anxious to obtain. My stature certainly is not tall; but it rather approaches the middle than the diminutive. Yet what if it were diminutive, when so many men, illustrious both in peace and war, have been the same? And how can that be called diminutive, which is great enough for every virtuous achievement? Nor, though very thin, was I ever deficient in courage or in strength; and I was wont constantly to exercise myself in the use of the broadsword, as long as it comported with my habits and my years. Armed with this weapon, as I usually was, I should have thought myself quite a match for any one, though much stronger than myself; and I felt perfectly secure against the assault of any open enemy. At this moment I have the same courage, the same strength, though not the same eyes; yet so little do they betray any external appearance of injury, that they are as unclouded and bright as the eyes of those who most distinctly see. In this instance alone I am a dissembler against my will. My face, which is said to indicate a total privation of blood, is of a complexion entirely opposite to the pale and the cadaverous; so that, though I am more than forty years old, there is scarcely any one to whom I do not appear ten years younger than I am; and the smoothness of my skin is not, in the least, affected by the wrinkles of age. If there be one particle of falsehood in this relation, I should deservedly incur the ridicule of many thousands of my countrymen, and even many foreigners to whom I am personally known. But if he, in a matter so foreign to his purpose, shall be found to have asserted so many

<sup>1</sup> Life of John Milton, by Charles Symmons, D.D., of Jesus College, Oxford. 8vo. 1810.

<sup>2</sup> "In his youth he is said to have been extremely handsome; and while he was a student

at Cambridge, he was called 'The Lady of Christ's College;' and he took notice of this himself in one of his public Prolusions before that University. '*A quibusdam audivi nuper domina,*'" etc.—*Life of Milton*, by Birch.

shameless and gratuitous falsehoods, you may the more readily estimate the quantity of his veracity on other topics. Thus much necessity compelled me to assert concerning my personal appearance. Respecting yours, though I have been informed that it is most insignificant and contemptible, a perfect mirror of the worthlessness of your character and the malevolence of your heart, I say nothing, and no one will be anxious that anything should be said. I wish that I could with equal facility refute what this barbarous opponent has said of my blindness; but I cannot do it; and I must submit to the affliction. It is not so wretched to be blind, as it is not to be capable of enduring blindness. But why should I not endure a misfortune, which it behoves every one to be prepared to endure if it should happen; which may, in the common course of things, happen to any man; and which has been known to happen to the most distinguished and virtuous persons in history. Shall I mention those wise and ancient bards, whose misfortunes the gods are said to have compensated by superior endowments, and whom men so much revered, that they chose rather to impute their want of sight to the injustice of heaven than to their own want of innocence or virtue? What is reported of the Augur Tiresias is well known; of whom Apollonius sung thus in his Argonauts:

“To men he dar'd the will divine disclose,  
Nor fear'd what Jove might in his wrath impose.  
The gods assigned him age, without decay,  
But snatched the blessing of his sight away.”

But God himself is truth; in propagating which, as men display a greater integrity and zeal, they approach nearer to the similitude of God, and possess a greater portion of his love. We cannot suppose the deity envious of truth, or unwilling that it should be freely communicated to mankind. The loss of sight, therefore, which this inspired sage, who was so eager in promoting knowledge among men, sustained, cannot be considered as a judicial punishment. Or shall I mention those worthies who were as distinguished for wisdom in the cabinet, as for valour in the field? And first, Timoleon of Corinth, who delivered his city and all Sicily from the yoke of slavery; than whom there never lived in any age, a more virtuous man, or a more incorrupt statesman: next Appius Claudius, whose discreet counsels in the senate, though they could not restore sight to his own eyes, saved Italy from the formidable inroads of Pyrrhus: then Cœcilius Metellus the high priest, who lost his sight, while he saved, not only the city, but the Palladium, the protection of the city, and the most sacred relics, from the destruction of the flames. On other occasions Providence has indeed given conspicuous proofs of its regard for such singular exertions of patriotism and virtue; what, therefore, happened to so great and so good a man, I can hardly place in the catalogue of misfortunes. Why should I mention others of later times, as Dandolo of Venice, the incomparable Doge; or Boemar Zisca, the bravest of generals, and the champion of the cross; or Jerome Zanchius, and some other theologians of the highest reputation? For it is evident that the patriarch Isaac, than whom no man ever enjoyed more of the divine regard, lived blind for many years; and perhaps also his son Jacob, who was equally an object of the divine benevolence. And in short, did not our Saviour himself clearly declare that that poor man whom he restored to sight had not been born blind, either on account of his own sins or those of his progenitors? And with respect to myself, though I have accurately examined my conduct, and scrutinized my soul, I call thee, O God, the searcher of hearts, to witness that I am not conscious, either in the more early or in the later periods of my life, of having committed any enormity which might deservedly have marked me out as a fit object for such a calamitous visitation. But since my enemies boast that this affliction is only a retribution for the transgressions of my pen, I again invoke the Almighty to witness that I never, at any time, wrote anything which I did not think agreeable to truth, to justice, and to piety. This was my persuasion then, and I feel the same persuasion now. Nor was I ever prompted to such exertions by the influence of ambition, by the lust of lucre or of praise; it was only by the conviction of duty and the feeling of patriotism, a disinterested passion for the extension of civil and religious liberty. Thus, therefore, when I was publicly solicited to write a reply to the Defence of the royal cause, when I had to contend with the pressure of sickness, and with the apprehension of soon losing the sight of my remaining eye, and

when my medical attendants clearly announced, that if I did engage in the work, it would be irreparably lost, their premonitions caused no hesitation and inspired no dismay. I would not have listened to the voice even of Esculapius himself from the shrine of Epidauris, in preference to the suggestions of the heavenly monitor within my breast; my resolution was unshaken, though the alternative was either the loss of my sight, or the desertion of my duty; and I called to mind those two destinies, which the oracle of Delphi announced to the son of Thetis:

“Two fates may lead me to the realms of night:  
 If staying here, around Troy's wall I fight,  
 To my dear home no more must I return;  
 But lasting glory will adorn my urn.  
 But, if I withdraw from the martial strife,  
 Short is my fame, but long will be my life.”—*Il.*, ix.

I considered that many had purchased a less good by a greater evil, the meed of glory by the loss of life; but that I might procure great good by little suffering: that though I am blind, I might still discharge the most honourable duties, the performance of which, as it is something more durable than glory, ought to be an object of superior admiration and esteem; I resolved, therefore, to make the short interval of sight, which was left me to enjoy, as beneficial as possible to the public interest. Thus it is clear by what motives I was governed in the measures which I took, and the losses which I sustained. Let then the calumniators of the divine goodness cease to revile, or to make me the object of their superstitious imaginations. Let them consider, that my situation, such as it is, is neither an object of my shame or my regret, that my resolutions are too firm to be shaken, that I am not depressed by any sense of the divine displeasure; that, on the other hand, in the most momentous periods, I have had full experience of the divine favour and protection; and that, in the solace and the strength which have been infused into me from above, I have been enabled to do the will of God; that I may oftener think on what he has bestowed, than on what he has withheld; that, in short, I am unwilling to exchange my consciousness of rectitude with that of any other person; and that I feel the recollection a treasured store of tranquillity and delight. But, if the choice were necessary, I would, sir, prefer my blindness to yours; yours is a cloud spread over the mind, which darkens both the light of reason and of conscience; mine keeps from my view only the coloured surfaces of things, while it leaves me at liberty to contemplate the beauty and stability of virtue and of truth. How many things are there besides which I would not willingly see; how many which I must see against my will; and how few which I feel any anxiety to see! There is, as the apostle has remarked, a way to strength through weakness. Let me then be the most feeble creature alive, as long as that feebleness serves to invigorate the energies of my rational and immortal spirit; as long as in that obscurity, in which I am enveloped, the light of the divine presence more clearly shines, then, in proportion as I am weak, I shall be invincibly strong; and in proportion as I am blind, I shall more clearly see. O! that I may thus be perfected by feebleness, and irradiated by obscurity! And, indeed, in my blindness, I enjoy in no inconsiderable degree the favour of the Deity, who regards me with more tenderness and compassion in proportion as I am able to behold nothing but himself. Alas! for him who insults me, who maligns and merits public execration! For the divine law not only shields me from injury, but almost renders me too sacred to attack; not indeed so much from the privation of my sight, as from the overshadowing of those heavenly wings which seem to have occasioned this obscurity; and which, when occasioned, he is wont to illuminate with an interior light, more precious and more pure. To this I ascribe the more tender assiduities of my friends, their soothing attentions, their kind visits, their reverential observances; among whom there are some with whom I may interchange the Pyladean and Thesean dialogue of inseparable friends:—

“OREST. Proceed, and be rudder of my feet, by shewing me the most endearing love.”—*Eurip. in Orest.*

And in another place,—

“Lend your hand to your devoted friend,  
 Throw your arm round my neck, and I will conduct you on the way.”

This extraordinary kindness, which I experience, cannot be any fortuitous combination; and friends, such as mine, do not suppose that all the virtues of a man are contained in his eyes. Nor do the persons of principal distinction in the commonwealth suffer me to be bereaved of comfort, when they see me bereaved of sight, amid the exertions which I made, the zeal which I shewed, and the dangers which I run for the liberty which I love. But, soberly reflecting on the casualties of human life, they shew me favour and indulgence, as to a soldier who has served his time, and kindly concede to me an exemption from care and toil. They do not strip me of the badges of honour which I have once worn; they do not deprive me of the places of public trust to which I have been appointed; they do not abridge my salary or emoluments; which, though I may not do so much to deserve as I did formerly, they are too considerate and too kind to take away; and, in short, they honour me as much as the Athenians did those whom they determined to support at the public expense in the Prytaneum. Thus, while both God and man unite in solacing me under the weight of my affliction, let no one lament my loss of sight in so honourable a cause. And let me not indulge in unavailing grief, or want the courage either to despise the revilers of my blindness, or the forbearance easily to pardon the offence. I return to you, sir, whoever you may be, who, with a remarkable inconsistency, seem to consider me at one time as a giant, and at another as a dwarf. You end with expressing your wish that the United Provinces may, with as much ease and as much success, put an end to this war as Salmasius will put an end to Milton. To which wish, if I were cheerfully to assent, I think that I should not omen ill, nor ill implore for our success, or for the English interest."

In another part of his defence, Milton again refers to his personal history, adding to the previous interesting details, very many particulars of his early life.

"I must, therefore, crave the indulgence of the reader if I have said already, or shall say hereafter, more of myself than I wish to say; that, if I cannot prevent the blindness of my eyes, the oblivion or the defamation of my name, I may at least rescue my life from that species of obscurity, which is the associate of unprincipled depravity. This it will be necessary for me to do on more accounts than one; first, that so many good and learned men among the neighbouring nations, who read my works, may not be induced by this fellow's calumnies to alter the favourable opinion which they have formed of me; but may be persuaded that I am not one who ever disgraced beauty of sentiment by deformity of conduct, or the maxims of a freeman by the actions of a slave; and that the whole tenor of my life has, by the grace of God, hitherto been unsullied by enormity or crime. Next, that those illustrious worthies, who are the objects of my praise, may know that nothing could afflict me with more shame than to have any vices of mine diminish the force or lessen the value of my panegyric upon them; and, lastly, that the people of England, whom fate, or duty, or their own virtues, have incited me to defend, may be convinced, from the purity and integrity of my life, that my defence, if it do not redound to their honour, can never be considered as their disgrace. I will now mention who and whence I am. I was born at London, of an honest family; my father was distinguished by the undeviating integrity of his life; my mother, by the esteem in which she was held, and the alms which she bestowed. My father destined me from a child to the pursuits of literature; and my appetite for knowledge was so voracious, that, from twelve years of age, I hardly ever left my studies, or went to bed before midnight. This primarily led to my loss of sight. My eyes were naturally weak, and I was subject to frequent head-aches; which, however, could not chill the ardour of my curiosity, or retard the progress of my improvement. My father had me daily instructed in the grammar-school, and by other masters at home. He then, after I had acquired a proficiency in various languages, and had made a considerable progress in philosophy, sent me to the University of Cambridge. Here I passed seven years in the usual course of instruction and study, with the approbation of the good, and without any stain upon my character, till I took the degree of Master of Arts. After this I did not, as this miscreant feigns, run away into Italy, but of my own accord retired to my father's house, whither I was accompanied by the regrets of most of the fellows of the college, who shewed me no common marks of friendship and esteem. On my father's estate, where he had determined to pass the remainder of his days, I enjoyed an interval of uninterrupted

leisure, which I entirely devoted to the perusal of the Greek and Latin classics; though I occasionally visited the metropolis, either for the sake of purchasing books, or of learning something new in mathematics or in music, in which I, at that time, found a source of pleasure and amusement. In this manner I spent five years till my mother's death. I then became anxious to visit foreign parts, and particularly Italy. My father gave me his permission, and I left home with one servant. On my departure, the celebrated Henry Wootton, who had long been King James's ambassador at Venice, gave me a signal proof of his regard, in an elegant letter which he wrote, breathing not only the warmest friendship, but containing some maxims of conduct which I found very useful in my travels. The noble Thomas Scudamore, King Charles's ambassador, to whom I carried letters of recommendation, received me most courteously at Paris. His lordship gave me a card of introduction to the learned Hugo Grotius, at that time ambassador from the queen of Sweden to the French court; whose acquaintance I anxiously desired, and to whose house I was accompanied by some of his lordship's friends. A few days after, when I set out for Italy, he gave me letters to the English merchants on my route, that they might shew me any civilities in their power. Taking ship at Nice, I arrived at Genoa, and afterwards visited Leghorn, Pisa, and Florence. In the latter city, which I have always more particularly esteemed for the elegance of its dialect, its genius, and its taste, I stopped about two months; when I contracted an intimacy with many persons of rank and learning, and was a constant attendant at their literary parties; a practice which prevails there, and tends so much to the diffusion of knowledge, and the preservation of friendship. No time will ever abolish the agreeable recollections which I cherish of Jacob Gaddi, Carolo Dati, Frescobaldo, Cultellero, Bonomatthai, Clementillo, Francisco, and many others. From Florence I went to Siena, thence to Rome, where, after I had spent about two months in viewing the antiquities of that renowned city, where I experienced the most friendly attention from Lucas Holstein, and other learned and ingenious men, I continued my route to Naples. There I was introduced by a certain recluse, with whom I had travelled from Rome, to John Baptista Manso, marquis of Villa, a nobleman of distinguished rank and authority, to whom Torquato Tasso, the illustrious poet, inscribed his book on friendship. During my stay, he gave me singular proofs of his regard: he himself conducted me round the city, and to the palace of the viceroy; and more than once paid me a visit at my lodgings. On my departure he gravely apologized for not having shewn me more civility, which he said he had been restrained from doing, because I had spoken with so little reserve on matters of religion. When I was preparing to pass over into Sicily and Greece, the melancholy intelligence which I received of the civil commotions in England made me alter my purpose; for I thought it base to be travelling for amusement abroad, while my fellow-citizens were fighting for liberty at home. While I was on my way back to Rome, some merchants informed me that the English Jesuits had formed a plot against me if I returned to Rome, because I had spoken too freely on religion; for it was a rule which I laid down to myself in those places, never to be the first to begin any conversation on religion; but if any questions were put to me concerning my faith, to declare it without any reserve or fear. I, nevertheless, returned to Rome. I took no steps to conceal either my person or my character; and for about the space of two months I again openly defended, as I had done before, the reformed religion in the very metropolis of popery. By the favour of God, I got safe back to Florence, where I was received with as much affection as if I had returned to my native country. There I stopped as many months as I had done before, except that I made an excursion for a few days to Lucca; and, crossing the Apennines, passed through Bologna and Ferrara to Venice. After I had spent a month in surveying the curiosities of this city, and had put on board a ship the books which I had collected in Italy, I proceeded through Verona and Milan, and along the Leman lake to Geneva. The mention of this city brings to my recollection the slandering more, and makes me again call the Deity to witness, that in all those places in which vice meets with so little discouragement, and is practised with so little shame, I never once deviated from the paths of integrity and virtue, and perpetually reflected, that, though my conduct might escape the notice of men, it could not elude the inspection of God. At Geneva, I held daily cou-

ferences with John Deodati, the learned professor of Theology. Then pursuing my former route through France, I returned to my native country, after an absence of one year and about three months; at the time when Charles, having broken the peace, was renewing what is called the episcopal war with the Scots, in which the royalists being routed in the first encounter, and the English being universally and justly disaffected, the necessity of his affairs at last obliged him to convene a parliament. As soon as I was able, I hired a spacious house in the city for myself and my books; where I again with rapture renewed my literary pursuits, and where I calmly awaited the issue of the contest, which I trusted to the wise conduct of Providence, and to the courage of the people. The vigour of the parliament had begun to humble the pride of the bishops. As long as the liberty of speech was no longer subject to control, all mouths began to be opened against the bishops. Some complained of the vices of the individuals, others of those of the order. They said that it was unjust that they alone should differ from the model of other reformed churches; that the government of the church should be according to the pattern of other churches, and particularly the word of God. This awakened all my attention and my zeal. I saw that a way was opening for the establishment of real liberty; that the foundation was laying for the deliverance of man from the yoke of slavery and superstition; that the principles of religion, which were the first objects of our care, would exert a salutary influence on the manners and constitution of the republic; and as I had from my youth studied the distinctions between religious and civil rights, I perceived that if I ever wished to be of use, I ought at least not to be wanting to my country, to the church, and to so many of my fellow-Christians, in a crisis of so much danger; I therefore determined to relinquish the other pursuits in which I was engaged, and to transfer the whole force of my talents and my industry to this one important object. I accordingly wrote two books to a friend concerning the reformation of the Church of England. Afterwards, when two bishops of superior distinction vindicated their privileges against some principal ministers, I thought that on those topics, to the consideration of which I was led solely by my love of truth, and my reverence for Christianity, I should not probably write worse than those who were contending only for their own emoluments and usurpations. I therefore answered the one in two books, of which the first is inscribed, Concerning Prelatical Episcopacy, and the other, Concerning the Mode of Ecclesiastical Government; and I replied to the other in some Animadversions, and soon after in an Apology. On this occasion it was supposed that I brought a timely succour to the ministers, who were hardly a match for the eloquence of their opponents; and from that time I was actively employed in refuting any answers that appeared. When the bishops could no longer resist the multitude of their assailants, I had leisure to turn my thoughts to other subjects; to the promotion of real and substantial liberty; which is rather to be sought from within than from without; and whose existence depends, not so much on the terror of the sword, as on sobriety of conduct and integrity of life. When, therefore, I perceived that there were three species of liberty which are essential to the happiness of social life—religious, domestic, and civil; and as I had already written concerning the first, and the magistrates were strenuously active in obtaining the third, I determined to turn my attention to the second, or the domestic species. As this seemed to involve three material questions, the conditions of the conjugal tie, the education of the children, and the free publication of the thoughts, I made them objects of distinct consideration.”



To inquire into the number of the biographies of Milton, would be almost as great a waste of time as to calculate the amount of useless mental occupation which has been imposed upon themselves by Men, distinguished in the world of Literature, who, when employed in detailing the more interesting particulars of the life of the Poet, have, in order to give an appearance of originality to their biographies, endeavoured, in their relations, to make their readers suppose that the materials were collected from docu-

ments until then unknown. Far better would it have been, had all the Biographers of Milton been content to have depicted the prominent features of his life, as delineated by himself. What has been added even by the most learned biographer of the Poet to that which we have quoted from his own Pen? Nothing,—aye, worse than nothing; for in many instances, they have so embellished the facts detailed in the Autobiography, as to render their illustrations more fit for a novel than an honest narrative of the life of the Poet.

What biographer of Milton is there, that could have defended the controverted passages of the life of the Poet with so much effect as he himself has done? Milton commences the Memoir of his life, as it were, from a boy. From boyhood he carries his readers to his rooms at College; thence to the varied scenes of his Continental Tour, taken, as is customary in the present day, by the young man to improve his mind, and fit him for the duties of his future worldly career. Home again, the Poet enters into the causes which induced him to take an active part in the political and polemical discussions in which the leading men of his country were then engaged. He honestly states the views he had espoused, and leaves it to the world to judge how far he had acted otherwise than as an honest man. Milton was an honest man, if ever honest man there was! We are not bound to coincide with his views; yet, without adopting them, we may venerate his character. He was a Man of the Times; and to the power of his pen are we indebted for the upholding of Protestantism, which, in his time, was in such a state of decline, as to have made it almost a matter of chance, whether this country would become subject to the authority of the Pope, or succumb to the gloomy rule of the Fanatics and Ultra-Puritans.

How charming it is to read of a man, totally bereft of sight, acknowledging the consolation derived by the constancy of his friends. While alluding to the fact of his services having been rewarded by the pecuniary emoluments they merited, he expressed a full feeling of confidence in the Master he had served; not then dreaming that a time might arrive, when adverse circumstances might render it necessary for his Master to curtail those acts of generosity and gratitude which had previously distinguished his character. This is placing the public position of Cromwell in the most favourable light. Had he so many claimants, however, upon his privy purse for services of a darker and a more reproachable nature, in procuring the condemnation of his King, that he was necessitated to forget his former friend and pen-worn agent?

While posterity, though differing in opinion, will render justice to the character of Milton, it may still admire the rigid sternness of the Usurper, without overlooking his want of all other feeling but self-exaltation. In all his actions, the Usurper had only Cromwell in his view;—while Milton, with all his faults, sought no more than the Independence of his Countrymen.





Y supporting the views and acts of the great reformer LUTHER, the learned and powerful pen of MELANCHTHON contributed far more to the Reformation of the Church than did the exertions of the belligerent and boisterous adherents of Luther. So likewise did the pen of the accomplished scholar MILTON aid the revolutionary schemes of OLIVER CROMWELL; not personally in the actual transactions of the day, but most effectually by the zeal and learning he displayed in support of the doctrines he had publicly avowed in 1641.

"Cromwell, who at that time personified in himself the citizens, the people, the army, the fervour of religious zeal, the national pride and privileges," writes Lamartine,<sup>1</sup> "became the Maccabæus of Milton's imagination. The poet attached himself to the fortunes of the Protector, as to his own and his country's destiny; he saw in him the champion of the people, the uprooter of monarchs, and a new judge of Israel: we find these exact expressions in his political writings of the period,—Cromwell was the sword, while Milton wished to be the tongue of independence. Cromwell, who spoke much, but always badly, and had neither time nor leisure to write, hailed with eagerness the vigorous, eloquent, and imaginative talent which sought to place itself at his service."

The published works of Milton between the years 1643 and 1649 are not so extensive as to account for the general occupation of his mind during that period; nor do we gather from his numerous biographers any information upon that point. We may therefore conclude that his services were then required by the Parliament.

The destruction, at the time of the Restoration, of the greater portion of the Official Documents of the Government during the period of the Civil War and the Commonwealth, precludes us from ascertaining the precise period when Milton was first employed by the Parliament. His pen could not have been at that time laid up!

The Order Books of the Council of State prove that Oliver Cromwell gave him the appointment of Latin Secretary, at a salary of nearly 300*l.* a year, in March 1648;<sup>2</sup> the period when his mind was employed in the composition of his answer to the *Icon Basiliké*, followed almost immediately by his *Defensio pro Populo Anglicano*, in refutation of the *Defensio Regia* of Salmasius.

Mr. Keightley, in his biography of the Poet, pp. 47-8, refers to the statement made of Milton having received 1,000*l.*<sup>3</sup> for that celebrated rejoinder, observing,

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs of Celebrated Characters*, by A. de Lamartine. 2 vols. 1855. *Milton*. Vol. ii. p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> The entry in the Order-Book is dated Mar. 15.

<sup>3</sup> "MILTON was rewarded with a thousand pounds for this performance."—"*Life of Milton*,"

by Toland, p. 89. Toland asserts this as a fact; we may, therefore, presume that to have then been the general opinion. The matter is not touched upon by E. Phillips. Toland is the earliest biographer who mentions it; and, apparently, with authority. Dr. Johnson, in his life of the Poet, adopts the same views.

"Of this," he writes, "there is no proof, neither is it very likely, as the Council, which was by no means noted for liberality, probably looked upon it merely as a part of the duties of his office; in fact, he himself denies it. 'Tunc scito illas opimitates atque opes, quas mihi exprobras, non attigisse, neque eo nomine, quo maxime accusas, obolo factum ditiozem.'—*Defensio Secunda*. They, however, gave him what cost them nothing,—their thanks. In the Council Book may be seen as follows: '1651 June 18. Ordered that thanks be given to Mr. Milton, on the behalfe of the Commonwealth, for his good services done in writing an answer to the booke of Salmasius, written against the proceedings of the Commonwealth of England.' This, however, is cancelled, as well as three lines following, in which a grant of money is made to him: and then comes a regular, uncanceled entry in these words: 'The Councell takeing notice of the manie good services performed by Mr. John Milton, their Secretarie for Forreigne Languages, to this State and Commonwealth, particularlie for his booke in vindication of the Parliament and People of England against the calumnies and invectives of Salmasius, have thought fit to declare their resentment and good acceptance of the same, and that the thanks of the Councell bee returned to Mr. Mylton, and their sense represented in their behalfe.'"

Mr. Keightley has omitted the important part of the order following the first vote of thanks: "*And it is ordered that y<sup>e</sup> summ of — hundred poundes bee given unto him as a reward for his good services of writeing in answer to Salmasius.*" Perhaps he never saw the original. His notice of the transaction appears to have been compiled from that given by Archdeacon Todd.

The six lines subjoined are from a letter of the late Robert Lemon, Esq., F.S.A., to The Very Reverend the Lord Bishop of Winchester, dated from the State Paper Office, May 1825, the period when Bishop Sumner was occupied in editing the *DE DOCTRINA CHRISTIANA*, then just discovered.

"A blank space, in the original, is left between the words 'of' and 'hundred;' and the word 'tenn' has been filled up by another hand. A debate appears to have ensued on this, and the grant of money was cancelled. Then the whole of the original entry of thanks was also cancelled; and two pages after, just before the close of the business of the Council of State on that day, the formal and enlarged vote of thanks was speedily entered."

We are much indebted to the present Mr. Lemon, of the State Paper Office, for this communication. We make use of it, because the late Mr. Lemon was indefatigable in his researches for the Venerable Archdeacon Todd and Bishop Sumner. It is here very evident that the late Mr. Lemon considered the sum voted to have been "tenn" hundred pounds. We have examined the original, and find that the sum named has been so carefully obliterated, as to render "it impossible to say for certainty whether it be *tenn*, *two*, or *one*." We are inclined to think that so small a sum as one hundred pounds would not have been offered to such a man as Milton; more particularly for such service as he at that time specially, and previously, had rendered to the government.

Toland mentions the *thousand pounds* as having been received by Milton, without any remark; and Lamartine, considering the authority of Toland to be a guarantee for the fact, writes: "Salmasius had received *one hundred* pieces of gold from the King of France for blackening the murderers of the King of England. Milton

received from Cromwell *one thousand* pieces for justifying the act." Though deeply admiring and upholding Milton for his patriotism, Lamartine remarks: "Every phrase of Salmasius smelt of the lamp; every sentence of Milton perspired with blood."<sup>1</sup>

Since the preceding was set up in type, we have thought it would be more satisfactory to present to our readers a faithful fac-simile of the several passages referred to in the Order Book, preceding them with the entry, 1648-9, March 22, appointing Milton as Secretary; and with that of January 8, 1649-50, ordering him to prepare an answer to Salmasius. Mr. Tupper, our very intelligent artist, has accordingly, in plate A, executed them with the same ability as he has displayed in many of the subsequent pages of fac-similes in the Illustrations of the Autograph of the Poet.

We give the subjoined letter from Mr. Tupper, on transmitting a proof of the fac-similes, in preference to any observations we can make upon the subject, except stating, that the fac-simile No. 3\* shews what Mr. Tupper considers *would be the original, had it not been marked over with the view of obliterating it*. It is there seen that Mr. Tupper considers the sum to have been *two* hundred pounds. We are inclined to the opinion of the late Mr. Lemon, because we do not think it would have been reported and believed to have been *ten* hundred, had there not been some grounds for such an opinion. One can hardly suppose that so small a sum as *two* hundred pounds would have been offered to Milton for such special service.

"South Lambeth, Surrey. 30 June 1860.

"DEAR SIR,

"I have traced the lines which appear to me to have constituted the writing in the obliterated portion of the cancelled Order in Council of 18 June 1651, and think it might form a not uninteresting addition to the plate of fac-simile of that Order.

"I need scarcely say that this tracing is the result of most careful scrutiny; and I was extremely sorry to find, on subsequent comparison, that there were many differences between my reading and that of Mr. W. D. Hamilton, as printed in his recent work on the Milton State Papers. This, of course, induced another examination; but I was unable to amend anything. And on submitting my reading to Mr. Hamilton, he most generously and courteously admitted his belief in its correctness; remarking on the only really debateable point, viz., the word 'two' (two hundred pounds), that I was the first person who had read it so: some having read it 'one,' and others 'ten.' But he believed I was right. Since this, I have again examined the original with a still more powerful glass, and am further confirmed in my opinion.

"Whilst on this subject, it might be noted that in the State Paper Office there

<sup>1</sup> Memoirs of Celebrated Characters, by A. de Lamartine. 2 vols., 1854. *Milton*. Vol. ii., p. 12.

are *two sets* of Books of Orders of the Council of State. One set is the rough, or 'Draft' Order Books, in which the Orders appear to have been written at the moment they were made. This set seems to be complete, and reaches from 1648-9, when the Council was established, to 21 March, 1656. The other set of 'Fair' Order Books, copied fairly from the former, is very imperfect, but commences at the same time as the former, and extends to October, 1659. One hiatus in this set occurs from April to December 1651: hence we have no fair copy of the Orders of 18 June in that year; but even if we had, the one of which I have been speaking would not have appeared, inasmuch as it was evidently cancelled during the *séance* of the Council, and the subsequent Order, No. 5 on plate, substituted.

"As far as I have examined, the fair copies appear to have been made *verbatim*, but the differences in spelling are numerous. Archdeacon Todd seems to have printed from the fair copies, but is not very accurate. For the sake of uniformity, and other reasons, I have taken all the fac-similes from the Drafts.

"I remain, dear sir, very truly yours,

"G. I. F. TUPPER.

The entries in the Book of Orders of the Council of State during the Usurpation, prove that Milton was appointed to do *other work* than that which belonged to the duties of "Secretary for Foreign Tongues." As early as March 26, 1649, he was requested "to make some observations upon a paper lately printed, called "*Old and New Chains*," of which John Lilburne was the author. Again, on the 28th of the same month, he was appointed "to make observations upon the complication of interest which is now amongst the several designers against the peace of the Commonwealth." Then again in May he was desired to "examine the Papers of *Pragmaticus*," a periodical,—the "*Mercurius Pragmaticus*,"—which first appeared in 1607. On January 8, in the following year, he was requested to "confer with some printers or stationers concerning the speedy printing of this booke, and gave an accompt of what he had done therein to the Councell." The "booke" was one for the "composing" of which, in the entry previous, of the same date, Mr. Thomas Waring was rewarded with one hundred pounds; and contained "severall examinations of the *Bloody Massacre in Ireland*." Whether Milton ever saw the said book through the press, is not known; nor is its existence recorded elsewhere than in the Order Book, wherein, on the day referred to, it is also ordered that Milton "doe prepare something in answer to the booke of Salmasius; and when he hath done itt, bring itt to the Councell."

That Milton was employed in the exercise of his pen, to aid the Commonwealth, wherever it could be brought to bear, is very evident. It would appear from an Order, February 2, 1650, that the "Publique Papers belonging to the Commonwealth," then in the hands of Mr. Weckerlyn, the former Secretary, and others, be "deliver(ed) to Mr. Milton."

. 1 .

That M<sup>r</sup>. John Milton bee employ'd as Secretary  
for fforaigne tongue to his Councell And that hee  
have y<sup>e</sup>. same Salarie which M<sup>r</sup>. Northelyne formerly had  
for y<sup>e</sup>. said service

. 2 .

That M<sup>r</sup>. Milton doe prepare something in Answer to the booke  
of Salmatius & when hee hath done it bring it to y<sup>e</sup>. Councell.

. 3 .

M<sup>r</sup>. Goodwyn & M<sup>r</sup>. Cowley

~~That thanks bee given to M<sup>r</sup>. Milton on y<sup>e</sup>. behalfe of y<sup>e</sup>  
Commonwealth for his good service done in writing an answer  
to y<sup>e</sup>. Booke of Salmatius written against y<sup>e</sup>. proceedings  
of y<sup>e</sup>. Commonwealth of England; ~~and that the sum  
of two hundred pounds bee given unto him as a reward  
to him for his good service for writing in answer to Salmatius~~~~

. 3 .

And it is ordered that y<sup>e</sup>. sum  
of two hundred pounds bee given unto him as a reward to  
him for his good service for writing in answer to Salmatius

. 4 .

The Councell taking notice of y<sup>e</sup>. many good services performed  
by M<sup>r</sup>. John Milton their Secretary for fforaigne languages  
to this State and Commonwealth particulerly of this booke in  
Vindication of y<sup>e</sup>. Parll<sup>t</sup>. and people of England against the  
calumnies and invectives of Salmatius, have thought fitt to  
declare their resentment and good acceptance of y<sup>e</sup>. same  
and that the thanks of y<sup>e</sup>. Councell bee returned to M<sup>r</sup>.  
Milton, and their sense represented in that behalfe.



June 22, 1650, Milton was appointed to go "To the Committee of the Armie," and desire them to send to this Councill the Booke of Examinations taken about the risings in Kent and Essex." He was further, on the 25th of the month, ordered to "peruse the Examinations taken by the Army concerning the insurrections in Essex; and that he doe take heads of the same, to the end the Councill may judge what is to be taken into consideration." This was, no doubt, the employment of Milton that was considered to have fitted him for his projected appointment of "*Adjutant-General in Sir William Waller's Army.*" That the Council highly estimated the abilities of the Poet, is most certain; for on the following day he was ordered to translate the "Declaration of the Parliament against the Dutch" into Latin.

Whether the sum originally proposed to be given to Milton was *ten, two, or one*, is not of very great moment. Certain it is that Milton rejected the proffered special payment. How it ever could have been stated otherwise, is astonishing, as the very fact of cancelling the order at the time it was drafted, removes all doubt upon the question. It must be borne in mind that Milton had been, in his official capacity, specially requested<sup>1</sup> by the Council of State to write an answer to the work of Salmasius. It was not likely, therefore, that he would consent to receive payment for that work. The alteration in the vote of thanks was no doubt made at his own instigation, and probably on his own dictation. Whether Milton was in the private employ of the Government previous to his appointment as Latin Secretary, is not known. It has, we believe, been so stated. If so, he no doubt received some emolument for his services. The question naturally arises as to whether he,—for he was a poor man, and working hard with his pupils as a means of living,—received any consideration for the treatises written by him, and published before the appearance of "*The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates,*" which was of so revolutionary a tendency that it has been omitted in nearly every edition of his works. It is worthy of notice that Milton afterwards saw reason to qualify the opinions therein expressed; for in Chapter XVII., Book II., of his "*Treatise of the Christian Doctrine,*" there occurs an extraordinary remark, one totally at variance with his previous views. It relates to the "*Obedience towards Magistrates.*" Milton there affirms, "*That it may be the part of prudence to obey the commands even of a tyrant in lawful things; or, more properly, to comply with the necessity of the times, for the sake of public peace, as well as of personal safety, I am far from denying.*" On this Bishop Sumner observes: "This is a remarkable passage, considering the prominent part taken by the author, not only against the monarchy, but against the monarch himself. It is evident that his experience of the miseries caused by the civil disturb-

<sup>1</sup> His Nephew, Edward Phillips, when referring to this fact, as also that of Milton's answer to the "*Icon Basilike,*" states significantly that

his Uncle was "*obliged*" to answer the two works. *Memoir*, 1694, p. xxxi.

ances of those evil times had taught him that a regard to the general good might sometimes render a temporary sacrifice of abstract rights not inconsistent with the sincerest love of political or religious liberty."

Wonderfully great must have been the mental powers and resources of Milton. Though blind for several years previous to his retiring from public life, he fulfilled the duties of Latin Secretary with the same untiring zeal which characterized his early life. "*The Letters of State to most of the Sovereign Princes and Republics of Europe during the Administration of the Commonwealth and the Protector Oliver and Richard Cromwell,*" the production of Milton from 1649 to May 1659,<sup>1</sup> are remarkable records of his political talent, composed as they were, for the most part, when totally bereft of sight.

Not one man in ten thousand would have had the moral courage to bear up against such an overwhelming affliction. Few could have exclaimed, as Milton so submissively and hopefully did, in the well-known sonnet<sup>2</sup> to his beloved friend, CYRIAK SKINNER,—a sonnet written after the first three years of his blindness:

—————"Yet I argue not  
Against Heav'n's hand or will, nor bate a jot  
Of heart or hope."————

It is generally believed, that, at the period of the Restoration, Milton was reduced almost to poverty; and, also, that had it not been for the powerful influence of Sir William Davenant,<sup>3</sup> one of the special favourites of Charles II, he would in all probability have shared the fate of those who had taken a far less prominent part against their sovereign. With the view of proving the pecuniary distress of the Poet at that period, it is related<sup>4</sup> that

"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 the pride of the poet was equal to his genius, and he sent the money with an angry letter, which was found among the curious possessions of that venerable old man. This curious anecdote of Milton had appeared in '*The Wolverhampton*

<sup>1</sup> They were, for the most part, composed after 1652, when Milton was totally blind.

<sup>2</sup> The sonnet is given in fac-simile in the illustration of the Trinity College MS., towards the close of this work.

<sup>3</sup> "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 saved by Milton's interest; and who now, in grateful return for so signal an obligation, interceded for the life of Milton. This story has been related by Richardson upon the authority of Pope, who received it from Betterton, the protégé of Davenant. Anbrey, in his manuscript *Life of Davenant*, ascribes his safety, without mention of Milton, to two Aldermen of York."—"Poetical Works of Milton," by Todd. Vol. i., pp. 101-2.

<sup>4</sup> Easton's *Human Longevity*. 8vo. Salisbury. 1799. Pp. 241-2.



*Chronicle and Staffordshire Advertiser* of March 31, 1790; Mr. Hartop then being living, and the letter described as extant."<sup>1</sup>

It must, however, have been some years after the Restoration when Milton borrowed the money alluded to; because, if J. Hartop died in 1791, being one hundred and thirty-eight years old, he would have been at that time only seven years of age!

Upon Milton's then pecuniary position, we avail ourselves of what Mr. Keightley has compiled from the various statements made by the biographers of the Poet.

"With respect to the worldly circumstances of this great man, little is known with certainty. It is evident that during his travels, and after his return, the allowance made him by his father was liberal. It was adequate, we may see, to the support of himself and his two nephews; for it was not likely that his sister paid him anything for them. He must also have considered himself able to support a family without keeping school, when he married Miss Powell. He of course inherited the bulk of his father's property; but of the amount of it we are ignorant: all we know is that it included the interest in his house in Bread-street. His losses were not inconsiderable. A sum of £2,000, which he had invested in the Excise Office, was lost at the Restoration, as the Government refused to recognize the obligations of the Commonwealth. According to the account of his granddaughter, he lost another sum of £2,000, by placing it in the hands of a money scrivener; and he also lost, at the Restoration, a property of £60 a year out of the lands of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, which he very probably had purchased. His house in Bread-street was destroyed by the great fire. The whole property which he left behind him, exclusive of his claim on the Powell family for his first wife's fortune, and of his household goods, did not exceed £1,500, including the produce of his library, a great part of which he is said to have disposed of before his death."<sup>2</sup>

The learned Biographer here states that the marriage of Milton with Miss Powell made him an independent man: but he forgot that Milton never received the 1,000*l.* he was to have had with his wife. The Nuncupative Will Papers prove that.

There is a current report that Milton, on the first outbreak of popular feeling against the Regicides, felt it necessary to conceal himself for a time, and have it given out that he was dead! We have read the majority of the lives of the Poet, and find that this circumstance is occasionally noticed, but evidently without much credence, by some of his biographers.

"His removal," relates his nephew, "was by the advice of those that wisht him well and had a concern for his preservation, into a place of retirement and abscondence, till such time as the current of affairs for the future should instruct him what farther course to take; it was a friend's house in *Bartholomew-Close*, where he liv'd till the Act of Oblivion came forth; which it pleased God prov'd as favourable to him as could be hop'd or expected, through the intercession of some that stood his friends both in Council and Parliament; particularly in the House of Commons, Mr. *Andrew Marvel*, a Member for *Hull*, acted vigorously in his behalf, and made a considerable party for him; so that, together with *John Goodwin* of *Coleman-street*, he was only so far excepted as not to bear any office in the Commonwealth."<sup>3</sup>

To the plain facts related by Phillips are the biographers of Milton mainly indebted for their information; but we suspect that few of them have ever read the original. As is generally the case, they have contented themselves with the perusal

<sup>1</sup> Poetical Works of Milton, by Todd. 6 vols. 1842. Vol. i., p. 161.

<sup>2</sup> Life of Milton, by Keightley, p. 75.

<sup>3</sup> Letters of State, 1694, pp. xxxvii. and xxxviii.

of what the most recent biographers of their time have written, and have produced their memoirs from the facts their predecessors have collected together. There are very few biographies that do not exhibit party feeling. The man to whose judgment the acts of Milton should be referred, ought to be perfectly unbiassed, weighing, as a judge, the evidence on all sides impartially. There is no period in English history more imperfect, or more barren of truth, than that during the Rebellion. Hence the difficulty of a just decision. In all the accounts of that eventful time, Historians, according to their own particular views, omit the notice of, or pass slightly over, facts that would materially affect their partizanship.

LAMARTINE, than whom no man, as an honest republican, is more respected, appears to have been fully persuaded of the truth of the incident referred to; and accordingly we find it again recorded in his Memoir of the Poet, together with other subsequent particulars, for the authority of which he unfortunately gives no reference.

“The restoration of Charles the Second,” writes Lamartine, “surprised him in the midst of his labours, rendered nugatory by the treason of the army, which first conquered, and then sold their country. Charles was not by nature vindictive; he was only thoughtless. He extended amnesty to all, even to the regicides; but his return called back the Royalists to Parliament; and they, like all partizans, were implacable. They outraged the natural gentleness of the young king, and demanded from him heads and proscriptions. Milton, who had steeped, if not his hands, at least his pen, in the blood of the late monarch, and the massacres of Ireland, more atrocious than those of September 1792, hastened to hide himself in the hope of being forgotten. He resigned his office, and retired into an obscure suburb of London, to allow time for the vengeance of his enemies to pass away. After a short interval, to efface his name effectually from the remembrance of the Royalists, he gave out that he was dead; and while still in existence, superintended the ceremony of his own funeral. To this subterfuge he was indebted for his life. He was not discovered until the first fury of reaction had become satiated, and in some measure exhausted by indulgence. From his own windows he had beheld the body of Cromwell dug up by the common executioner, paraded through the streets of London, and exposed to the insults of the populace.”

“Charles the Second heard of the retreat of Milton, and pretended to believe in the reality of his death. He had no desire to stain the commencement of his reign with the execution of one of those men destined to immortality, whose blood would cry for vengeance through future ages.”

“He even offered to reinstate him in his office of Government Advocate, if he would devote his talents to the cause of monarchs. His second wife intreated him to comply with this proposal. ‘You are a woman,’ replied Milton, ‘and your thoughts dwell on the domestic interests of our house: I think only of posterity, and I will die consistently with my character.’ By this time his affairs had declined into poverty, approaching to indigence. His eyes, ever weak, had almost entirely lost their light.<sup>1</sup> When he ventured out, he was supported by the arm of one of his daughters. Charles the Second, one day when taking a ride, met him in St. James’s Park, and inquired who was that handsome, blind old man. He was told it was Milton. He approached, and addressing the ancient secretary of Cromwell in a tone of bitter irony, said, ‘Heaven, sir, has inflicted this chastisement on you, for having participated in the murder of my father!’ ‘Sire,’ replied the aged sufferer with manly boldness, ‘if the calamities which befall us here, are the punishment of our faults, or of the sins of our parents, your own father must have been very culpable, for you yourself have endured much misfortune.’ The king passed on silently, and expressed no offence at the answer.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lamartine here forgets that Milton was totally blind at that period.

<sup>2</sup> Memoirs of Celebrated Characters, by Alphonse de Lamartine. 2 vols.: 1854. *Milton*. Vol. ii., pp. 14-15.



THE PARDON OF MILTON, by KING CHARLES II. was one of those remarkable and fortuitous acts that occasionally occur in the History of Nations; an intervention, as it were, of special Providence. While every effort of the Government was being made for the apprehension and punishment of the Regicides, and even within a few months after the revolutionary works of Milton<sup>1</sup> had been condemned to be "publicly burned by the common hangman,"<sup>2</sup> the heart of the King was softened towards their author. But for that act of royal magnanimity,<sup>3</sup> JOHN MILTON, as a Poet, would have been now only known as the author of a few juvenile and minor productions!

On the retirement of Milton into private life, the design of his "immortal" poem, PARADISE LOST, was resuscitated. "THEN," as that elegant and deeply read Historian, HALLAM, most powerfully and most enthusiastically writes :

"THE REMEMBRANCE OF EARLY READING CAME OVER HIS DARK AND LONELY PATH LIKE THE MOON EMERGING FROM THE CLOUDS. THEN IT WAS THAT THE MUSE WAS TRULY HIS; NOT ONLY AS SHE POURED HER CREATIVE INSPIRATION INTO HIS MIND, BUT AS THE DAUGHTER OF MEMORY, COMING WITH FRAGMENTS OF ANCIENT MELODIES; THE VOICE OF EURIPIDES AND HOMER AND TASSO,—SOUNDS THAT HE HAD LOVED IN YOUTH, AND TREASURED UP FOR THE SOLACE OF HIS AGE."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On the 12th of August a Royal Proclamation appeared for the suppression of Milton's Answer to Salmasius and to the *Icon Basilike*, as also of a work by Goodwin, ordering the same to be burned. The Proclamation recites: "And whereas the said John Milton and John Goodwin are both fled, or so *obscure themselves* that *no endeavours* used for their apprehension can take effect, whereby they might be brought to legal tryal, and *deservedly receive condign punishment* for their treasons and offences."

<sup>2</sup> "Likewise how wondrously was Mr. John Milton, who writ the seditious Antimonarchical Book against the king, in answer to Learned Salmasius, stricken blind soon after, and could never since by any art, or skill, either recover his sight, or preserve his Books from being burned by the hands of the common Hangman."—"The Traytor's Perspective Glass," by J. T., Gent. 4to., 1662.

WINSTANLEY, a contemporary of Milton, and author of "*England's Worthies*," 1660, and of

"*The Lives of the English Poets*," is much more severe than the preceding author, J. T., by some thought to be John Taylor the Water-Poet. Winstanley devotes only a few lines to the life of Milton, observing: "But his fame is gone out like a Candle in a Snuff, and his Memory will always stink, which might have ever lived in honourable Repute, had he not been a notorious Traytor, and most impiously and villainously bely'd that blessed Martyr King Charles the First."—"Lives of the English Poets." 1687. 8vo., p. 195.

<sup>3</sup> The Return of Charles II. was at first marked by many noble acts; but, at a later period, his feelings of gratitude, to those who really had served him in his exile, were not much overburdened. Yet withal, as Dr. Johnson observes in the Life of Milton, the world has had no other example of such lenity as that shewn by the King towards the Poet.

<sup>4</sup> Introduction to the Literature of Europe. Vol. iv., chap. v.



RE we proceed to the ELUCIDATION OF THE AUTOGRAPH OF MILTON, we are led, consequent on our RAMBLINGS in the preceding pages, to the consideration of the position of Scientific and Literary Men and Artists in this country during the last hundred years.

It is now just about a century since OLIVER GOLDSMITH, one of the popular writers and poets of his day, when struggling under difficulties rarely exceeded in the life of his contemporaries, issued anonymously, in 1759, the second production of his pen, "*An Enquiry into the Present State of Polite Learning.*" In that Essay he devotes the tenth chapter to the subject "*Of rewarding Genius in England.*" Those who read the works of that eminent author without being aware that the one in question was almost the first he had written, would naturally consider that the opinion of such an author ought to be regarded with much respect. Goldsmith, however, was at that time just emerging from the drudgery of his apprenticeship to Literature; and seeing no prospect of realizing a position among the distinguished men around him, he resolved on returning to the Medical Profession, to which his first studies had been devoted. He had been appointed, in 1758, a Physician to one of the Factories in India; and in order to obtain the means for his equipment, he had recourse to publishing by subscription the Essay above mentioned,—written under the feeling of disappointed ambition. Accordingly he opens the chapter alluded to by deplorably stating :

"There is nothing authors are more apt to lament, than want of encouragement from the age. Whatever their differences in other respects, they are all ready to unite in this complaint, and each indirectly offers himself as an instance of the truth of his assertion.

"The benefited divine, whose wants are only imaginary, expostulates as bitterly as the poorest author. Should interest or good fortune advance the divine to a bishopric, or the poor son of Parnassus into that place which the other has resigned, both are authors no longer: the one goes to prayers once a day, kneels upon cushions of velvet, and thanks gracious Heaven for having made the circumstances of all mankind so extremely happy: the other batters on all the delicacies of life, enjoys his wife and his easy chair, and sometimes, for the sake of conversation, deplores the luxury of these degenerate days.

"All encouragements to merit are therefore misapplied, which make the author too rich to continue his profession. There can be nothing more just than the old observation, that authors, like running horses, should be fed, but not fattened. If we would continue them in our service, we should reward them with a little money and a great deal of praise, still keeping their avarice subservient to their ambition. Not that I think a writer incapable of filling an employment with dignity. I would only insinuate, that when made a bishop or statesman, he will continue to please us as a writer no longer; as, to resume a former allusion, the running horse, when fattened, will still be fit for very useful purposes, though unqualified for a courser.

"No nation gives greater encouragements to learning than we do; yet at the same time none are so injudicious in the application. We seem to confer them with the same view that statesmen have been known to grant employments at court, rather as bribes to silence than incentives to emulation.

“The poet's poverty is a standing topic of contempt. His wanting for bread is an unpardonable offence. Perhaps of all mankind, an author in these times is used most hardly. We keep him poor, and yet deride his poverty. Like angry parents who correct their children till they cry, and then correct them for crying, we reproach him for living by his wit, and yet allow him no other means to live.”

After referring to the sad end of the Poet Collins, Goldsmith feelingly adds :

“It is enough that the age has already produced instances of men pressing foremost in the lists of fame, and worthy of better times, schooled by continued adversity in an hatred of their kind, flying from thought to drunkenness, yielding to the united pressure of labour, penury, and sorrow ; sinking unheeded, without one friend to drop a tear on their unattended obsequies, and indebted to charity for a grave.

“The author, when unpatronized by the Great, has naturally recourse to the bookseller. There cannot be, perhaps, imagined a combination more prejudicial to taste than this. It is the interest of the one to allow as little for writing, and of the other to write as much as possible ; accordingly, tedious compilations and periodical magazines are the result of their joint endeavours. In these circumstances the author bids adieu to fame, writes for bread, and for that only imagination is seldom called in. He sits down to address the venal Muse with the most phlegmatic apathy ; and as we are told of the Russian, courts his mistress by falling asleep in her lap. His reputation never spreads in a wider circle than that of the trade, who generally value him, not for the fineness of his compositions but the quantity he works off in a given time.

“A long habit of writing for bread thus turns the ambition of every author at last into avarice. He finds that he has written many years, that the public are scarcely acquainted even with his name, he despairs of applause, and turns to profit which invites him. He finds that money procures all those advantages, that respect, and that ease, which he vainly expected from fame. Thus the man who, under the protection of the Great, might have done honour to humanity, when only patronized by the bookseller becomes a thing little superior to the fellow who works at the press.”

Violent was the language of the disappointed author, written by him “in a wretched, dirty room, in which there was but one chair.” Yet, with all his sufferings, Goldsmith thought better than to proceed to India. Whether his appeal had any influence on improving his pecuniary condition, is not recorded, more than that soon after the publication referred to, “he removed to very decent lodgings in Wine Office Court, Fleet-street,” where he wrote his far-famed “*Vicar of Wakefield* ;” and for which, through the intervention of his neighbour, Dr. Johnson, he obtained from Newberry, the bookseller, the sum of sixty pounds. But for that circumstance Goldsmith would have been sent to prison, being then under arrest ! Thus was he relieved from his difficulties by the very hands of those he had so recently abused. The receipt of five hundred pounds from “honest” Tom Davies, the bookseller, a few years after, for his “*History of England*,” proved to Goldsmith that an author worthy of employment, though perhaps “*only patronized by the bookseller*,” could attain a position in society, rather than become “*a thing little superior to the fellow who works at the press*.”

DRYDEN the Poet was another among many of the self-made unhappy men of the day, who had not the prudence of reserving a portion of the produce arising from the successful labours of their pens as a provision for old age ; and accordingly, when reduced almost to abject penury, we are not surprised at his using very much the

same reproachful language as Goldsmith, when in similar circumstances, emphatically observing: "It will continue to be the ingratitude of mankind, that they who teach wisdom by the surest means, shall generally live poor and unregarded; as if they were born only for the public, and had no interest in their own well-being, but were to be lighted up like tapers, and wasted themselves for the benefit of others."

Numerous as were the celebrated Men in this country during the eighteenth century, there were few,—as compared with those of the preceding and present centuries,—who could have claimed a right to some special recognition of their talent. Now-a-days, the whole civilized world teems, as it were, with intellectual spirits. England takes precedence of all other countries in every branch of Science, Literature, and Art. Those pursuits are now adapted, not only to the intuitive and most refined tastes; but to those whose minds and whose eyes are at first incapable of appreciating the higher order, yet are soon enabled, by the progressively educational examples placed before them, to distinguish the different degrees of perfection.

Never, in the history of mankind, was the "*love of learning*" so universal as now.

"MANY SHALL RUN TO AND FRO; AND KNOWLEDGE SHALL BE INCREASED." "Let us see," writes DR. CUMMING, one of the most popular theologians of our day, "how literally descriptive these words are of the present moment. '*Knowledge shall be increased.*' A change has taken place amid the masses of mankind, immense and unmistakable. Never was the spread of knowledge so earnest a pursuit; never was the passion for it so ardent, enthusiastic, and universal. The folio that was of old written for the few, is now expanded into tracts for the many. The Libraries of Ptolemy, or of Alexandria, are now the circulating libraries in every neighbourhood. Systems of divinity and learning that were once banked up in Universities, have now burst their embankments, and millions slake their thirst where thousands sipped deliciously before. If ever in any age, it is in the present that knowledge has become almost universal. Not many years ago, 'provincial' meant a man who was barbarous in taste, deficient in learning. I venture to say that the provinces now contain as enlightened people as the metropolis. 'Unpolite' literally means living out of the city; and those men were called unpolite, or barbarous, or uncultivated, who were not citizens of no mean city. But now the people outside of London are at least as polite as those that are within the walls. Encouragement is now given to literature such as was never given before. I instance the enormous sums that Scott, Byron, and others have received for, in one respect, evanescent and ephemeral, though brilliant, productions. Compare with this the fact that Petrarch and Dante wrote their poems in exile; that Ariosto and Tasso lived in want, and one died in despair; that Cervantes had to beg his bread; that Galileo had to confess that, after all, the sun went round the earth, in order to gratify the prejudices of the Pope, and get bread, and escape imprisonment, and probably death. Milton sold his copyright of *Paradise Lost* for five pounds. At present half the Bench of Bishops consist of the sons of petty tradesmen and shopkeepers in England. The Lord Chief Justice at this moment is the son of a Scottish parish minister. And you will find that our highest nobility, instead of looking down with contempt and derision upon those who have won their way to the high and sunny levels of the world, rejoice, and hail them as successful candidates and brothers. The broad sheet, at the present day, is part of your breakfast table; and so dissatisfied are men with the present supply of it every day, in every town, that the House of Commons has passed a Bill for giving it, as they suppose, larger circulation, and spreading it with still greater facility. The distant transactions of east, west, north, south, are reflected day by day from the broad sheet. We have arrived, in this matter, at the maximum of possible attainments: we cannot go beyond them. Schools also of a higher order are springing up in every direction. A few years ago, if a man failed, and was unsuccessful as a shop-

keeper, he was pronounced good enough to be a schoolmaster. Now-a-days the schoolmaster occupies a dignified position ; he is trained and educated for his office ; and I question if one schoolmaster does not contribute as much to the well-being of the country as many a venerable and good bishop. Knowledge is increasing in all directions : the schoolmaster and the press—the latter an engine of tremendous power—are spreading far and wide that light which we do not fear but hail.”<sup>1</sup>

In an article<sup>2</sup> that appeared a few weeks since in the *Literary Gazette*, the writer very forcibly remarks upon the subject under consideration :

“We contend that there is no want of respect towards literature in this country : we are not so engrossed in the getting of wealth as to be indifferent to literary and artistic eminence. Would Macaulay have been a lord, or Scott, Davy, Lawrence, Alison, and Bulwer Lytton, baronets, had they not been distinguished in art, science, and literature ? Is he not frequently lifted far above his natural position, and not rendered the happier for it ? Would it have added to the comfort of Burns if he had every day ‘dinnered wi’ a lord’ ? Do we not habitually look for something like equality of social condition in our intimates ; and this for our own comfort, and without much regard to their ability or the want of it ? In short, *ceteris paribus*, do we not honour literary eminence as much as we can ? The man who has written a volume of essays is not, therefore, a more desirable companion for the great dignitary of the State, or the wealthy landed proprietor ; nor is the latter a more agreeable companion for the *littérateur*. If there be any sympathy of feeling between them, they will associate ; if not, companionship would be worse than useless.

“The complaint that literature is not respected, arises out of the mistake which we have exposed, that there is a literary class, and that the purveyors of light literature are its members. A great deal has been said of the way in which men of letters are honoured in France and Germany ; but there is little or no reason for it. There is more reading in both those countries than in our own ; and writers, therefore, are better paid. But as to social distinction, the case is very much as it is among ourselves. Germany had a Humboldt ; France has a Cuvier ; England has a Macaulay. If Lamartine were the head of a provisional government, Milton was a Secretary of State.<sup>3</sup> If Guizot, a Prime Minister, has written history ; so did Fox. Both were statesmen before all things ; and if we wish to make out claims for a literary class, as such, we shall assuredly fail. Those only deserve to be called ‘literary men,’ who, in their own day, give the world the fruits of careful study, as well as of original genius. These do not complain of the treatment they meet with ; nor have they, for the most part, reason to do so. They will represent the literature of the age when the age itself has passed away, and will be embalmed in the grateful memories of future generations.”

The Higher Branches of Intellectuality are the result of the progressive cultivation of the faculties graciously bestowed by the All-Wise Creator on the Human Race :

*“All heart they live, all head, all ear,  
All intellect, all sense,”*—

are words, in whatever sense they were used by Milton, which can be equally applied to Man and Animals that have come within the influence of educational power.

The End, by the Rev. John Cumming, D.D. 1856. Pp. 133-5.

<sup>2</sup> “The Literary Character.” *The Literary Gazette*, September 17, 1859.

<sup>3</sup> The author of this article here commits a mistake. Though there is no question that Milton virtually fulfilled the duties of Secretary of State, in addition to those of Latin Secretary to the Council, the latter was the only appointment officially held by him.

Wonderfully marvellous are the nice distinctions between *Intellect* and *Sagacity*,—*Reason* and *Instinct*.

As in the several Species of Animals there are various degrees of excellence in their nature, so with the Human Race. The Creator designed that Man should be dependent, as in all the other works of the Creation, upon his fellow man, involving, in the working of the whole, one system of perfection. Accordingly, as the various portions of the Globe became inhabited by the human race, man in each portion was, by Divine Providence, specially adapted to it. In the Aborigines of all nations there have always been found some exhibiting a greater degree of perfection, corporeally and mentally, than others. There will be seen, even among the most unenlightened and savage of Men, of some of whom it might be remarked, “How different that man is from all the others,—what noble bearing, and what an intellectual countenance!” And on inquiry it will perhaps be found, that that very man has some intuitive feeling of superiority over all his neighbours. Whence could such a feeling have arisen, but from the design of the Creative Power in permitting it to be specially distinguishable?

Thus the Origin of the Pride of Man,—Man, the Pride of His Creator! Unless by the introduction of foreign blood, the different species of the human race have not varied since the period of their first known existence. Civilization may alter their habits, and education may improve their intellectual powers; yet, as far as regards their variety, their nature is the same, however much it may appear to be altered.

“Blood” is as much discernible and traceable in Man as in the Horse, one of the higher order of animals. The aboriginal Arab horse that existed in the earliest days, remains in that country and other spots in the East, the same. Imported elsewhere, it mixes its blood with all other breeds, constituting varieties of excellence according to the nature of the animals with which it becomes associated. In a pair of perfectly pure Arab Horses bred in this country, the difference that is perceptible in their appearance arises only from the climate. Take the pair back to their native land, and their stock will be as before. What can be more remarkable than the purity of blood in the different and endless varieties of Dogs? What interesting anecdotes might be related of Setters having been produced by Pointers, and *vice versa*; the two varieties on either side not having had any connexion with each other, a cross having perhaps taken place several generations before.—Breeding back!

The distinctiveness exhibited in the races of men in different countries is so complete, that, whatever changes may take place in their social condition, there will always be found sufficient remaining of the original stock to mark their identity. That the general character of a particular race becomes materially altered by its intermixture with foreign blood, is most true; and nowhere is that more discernible than in England. If in this country we desire to seek examples of pure Saxon blood, we must not expect to find them among the wealthier classes of the community. We must visit the middle classes far deep in those parts of the land



where many families can trace their genealogies with much more correctness, centuries earlier, than any recorded in the Heralds' College. So likewise with those of Norman<sup>1</sup> descent, whence sprung what is termed the Aristocracy of the Country. You will seek in vain for pure examples in the greater portion of the Royal and Noble Personages of England. Their blood has been so intermixed with that of foreign nations, that very little trace of their original extraction is discernible. Their very nature, as it were, has changed; and few there are of such families, that, without their paraphernalia of external decoration, could be exhibited as presenting the noble character for which the Norman was celebrated in all parts of the world. There is no lack, however, of that blood even now-a-days. There are in the land of "the True Old English Gentleman,"—some in wealthier positions of society, and many in very humble life,—thousands, who, without having intermarried out of their own stock, can trace the same features, the same dispositions, the same pursuits, the same diseases, the same virtues, aye, and the same vices for centuries. In some one of each family such characteristics will be found to have descended, thus perpetuating the general character of the original stock. Many believe that the force of education and example is such, as that any person, selected from parents,—however low in position, and remarkable for their coarseness of body and general bearing,—if brought up with all the delicacies and tutorial care that could be bestowed upon him, would entirely lose the nature of his own parents, and would partake in every respect of all the characteristics of a high-bred man. It is a great mistake.

*"Naturam expelles furcâ, tamen usque recurret."*—HOR., Ep. i. 10.

It is also an absurdity to suppose that the offspring of those who have become celebrated as warriors, statesmen, poets, authors, architects, etc., should be equally distinguished. They would exhibit naturally but little of the same character, except as intuitively derived from their after intercourse with their parents; though many cases might be found in which the genius of the father has developed itself in the son without the smallest educational influence or even presence of the former. Such are the gifts of Nature, and as unfathomable to the mind of man as its spiritual existence within his own body.

Inscrutable is the wisdom of the Almighty in all the details of the Creation. That it has pleased God to bestow upon some men, in all countries, superiority over their fellows, is a fact that cannot but be allowed; and while raising men to such a distinction, a re-creative power may be exercised whereby the constitution of the being is altogether altered.<sup>2</sup> In the Government of the World, Man is destined to

<sup>1</sup> Pure Norman descent is nowhere more conspicuous than in the Channel Islands.

<sup>2</sup> We have often remarked that the characteristic physiognomy of the Jew becomes more

softened, and his general bearing considerably altered, after having embraced the Christian religion. The subject is one worthy of the consideration of Physiognomists and writers on Ethnology.

to take part according to the position allotted to him by the dispensation of Divine Providence; and the higher his position, the greater his responsibility. He was not empowered to tyrannize over his fellow creatures, nor to consider himself as of a distinct creation; forgetting that a time would come when those whom he had looked upon as of a quality inferior to his own, and below his notice, might be as much and more exalted than himself. It is the absence of common PHILANTHROPY in the hearts of many of those on whom Providence has lavishly bestowed the world's titles, riches, and luxuries, that produces so much unhappiness in this transitory life. It ever has been so, and will probably be so, as long as this dispensation continues. That detestable and worldly purse-proud feeling exhibited by some of the empty-headed wealthy landed proprietors, county families, and the richer men in all occupations, whether as servants of the public, professional, or in business, is only equalled by that most unhappy and most selfish Vanity which frequently takes root in the minds of those to whom the Almighty has been more than ordinarily bountiful in the expansion of their intellectual powers, as exhibited in the numerous branches of Literature, Science, and Art. It is melancholy to observe with what contempt some of those who have been more successful than others in obtaining the praise, the titles, and the emoluments of the world, look down upon their fellow labourers in the vineyard. If such Men could only be brought seriously to consider the humble position that their God and Saviour took upon himself in order to point out to them the folly and littleness of worldly pride, they would act somewhat differently towards their less fortunate brethren. The trade of a Carpenter, emblematical of the Creation of the Universe, was not considered beneath the dignity of the Divine Builder of the Temple,—the Corner Stone of our Faith. As in the Productions of Nature there are found many varieties of excellence, so are there gradations in the Productions of Intellect,—gradations equally fitted to be appreciated and to be respected. Let, therefore, none bow down their heads in the lowliness of their own estimation, but let them be thankful that whatever little good the increase of intellectuality allotted to them has enabled them to do, they are indebted solely to the influence of that Holy Spirit, the working of which "*passeth all understanding.*"

The Rewards and Honours that have been received by Men distinguished for the beneficial use of their Genius and Intellect, are far more extended in this than in any other country, though at the same time we cannot but join in the feeling that a plain and untitled "*Order of Merit*" would be unmistakably received as one of the most gratifying distinctions that could be awarded to those who either for pleasure or profit render themselves useful in the cultivation of the mind.

The Appendix at the close of this work will form, we hope, a not uninteresting record of the Honours bestowed during the last two hundred years on Men remarkable for their excellence in the use of their Intellectual Powers.

## THE JUVENILE AND OTHER POEMS OF MILTON.

AUTOGRAPH MANUSCRIPT IN TRINITY COLLEGE LIBRARY,  
CAMBRIDGE.



THOMAS WARTON, B.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford,—Poet Laureate,—author of “*The History of English Poetry*,” and many other learned works, may be said to be almost the only editor of the Poetical Works of Milton, who has given anything like a detailed account of this most peculiarly interesting Autographic Memorial of the Poet. Nearly all the Milton biographers and commentators make mention of it more or less. Very few of them appear to have examined it with any degree of care, and many of them not to have even seen it.

We must not, however, omit noticing that the very learned and Venerable Archdeacon Todd, in his “*Variorum*” edition<sup>1</sup> of the Poetical Works of Milton, has, at the close of the poems which occur in the Cambridge Manuscript, given, as Warton did, a careful collation of the alterations and erasures made by the author.

Warton, at the end of his edition of the Poems of Milton, has many pages devoted to “ORIGINAL VARIOUS READINGS,” taken from that Autograph Memorial which forms the basis of our present investigation, introducing it to his readers by the subjoined prefatory remark respecting the accidental discovery of the manuscript:

“In the Library of Trinity College Cambridge, is a thin folio manuscript, marked MISCELL. R. ii. 49. It is splendidly bound, and to the inside of one of the covers is pasted a paper with this inscription,<sup>2</sup> ‘*Membra hæc eruditissimi et pene Divini Poætæ olim miserè disjecta et passim sparsa, postea vero fortuito inventa, et in usum denno collecta a CAROLO MASON ejusdem Collegii Socio, et inter Miscellanea reposita, eâ quâ decuit, Religione conservare voluit THOMAS CLARKE, nuperrime hujusce Collegii nunc vero Medii Temple Londini Socius, 1736.*’

“Doctor Mason, above mentioned, who was also Woodwardian professor at Cambridge, found

<sup>1</sup> The Poetical Works of Milton, with Notes of Various Authors. To which are added Illustrations, and some Account of the Life and Writings of Milton. By the Rev. Henry J. Todd, M.A., F.A.S., Rector of Allhallows, Lombard-street, etc. 7 vols. 8vo., 1809.

Unless noting any of the new biographical and other particulars contained in the last edition of “*Todd’s Milton*,” 4 vols., 1842, our references will be made to the edition here quoted.

<sup>2</sup> The words, an insertion at a later period, stating that the sheets now forming the volume

were collected together by Dr. Mason, are within *parentheses*. Warton has not given the inscription with that accuracy we, as bibliographers, desire to see. The subjoined is a correct transcript of the original as contained in the volume: “*Lib. Trin. Coll. Cantabr. Membra hæc eruditissimi et pœne Divini Poætæ olim miserè disjecta et passim sparsa, postea verò fortuitò Inventa et in usum denuò collecta (a Carolo Mason ejus col. Socio et inter miscellanea reposita, deinceps) eâ quâ decuit, Religione Servari voluit Thomas Clarke, nuperrimè hujusce Collegii nunc verò Medii Templi Londini Socius, 1736.*”

these papers among other old and neglected Manuscripts belonging to Sir Henry Newton Puckering,<sup>1</sup> a considerable benefactor to the Library. Besides plans of PARADISE LOST, and sketches and subjects for poetry, all in Milton's own hand, they contain entire copies of many of our author's smaller poems, in the same hand, except in a few instances, exhibiting his first thoughts and expressions, and most commonly his own corrections of them according to the present text. All these variations, but imperfectly and incorrectly printed by Birch, are here given, with other notices, from a more minute and careful examination of the manuscript."

On the recto of the first leaf of the Manuscript, otherwise blank, is written in an old hand, "MILTON'S JUVENILE POEMS, &c., Liber. Trin. Coll. Cant., inter Miscel. <sup>R. 11, 49,"</sup> <sub>R. 3, 4.</sub>

"Except in a few cases," Warton considered the contents of the volume to be in the autograph of Milton; and accordingly, when referring to the variations in the text of the several productions contained in it, notes those portions that are *not* in the autograph of the Poet, coming to the conclusion that they are by the hands of *six* different persons,—*one* man and *five* females,—as stated by Warton in the "Original Various Readings," pp. 588-590, a conclusion hitherto uncontradicted.

The majority of those who profess their love for literature, care very little whether the original poems of Milton are handed down in the autograph of the author, or in those of his Amanuenses, male or female. They care little for the preservation of such a volume, and look at it as they would at an ordinary curiosity. Still there do exist not a few having the same enthusiastic feelings as ourselves, who love to see the contents of such a volume as that under consideration copiously recorded.

We have never despaired, nor do we despair, notwithstanding the more recent and continued researches of Antiquarian and Literary Societies, of some portion of the AUTOGRAPH WORKS OF SHAKESPEARE being discovered. The Original Manuscript of his Plays was, no doubt, destroyed at the time of their being printed. Not so, we think, all the Manuscripts of his Poems. They may still exist, as Milton's did, unknown and unheeded, in the form of a COMMON-PLACE BOOK. May we live to see it discovered; and may we then be permitted to write another work on the "ELUCIDATION OF THE AUTOGRAPH OF SHAKESPEARE,"—and in doing so, not to forget our family motto, "*Ou Bien ou Rien*," a motto we have endeavoured, in our present researches, to keep in view; and in our next amusement, THE AUTOGRAPH OF TASSO!

<sup>1</sup> SIR H. N. PUCKERING.—"He had so great an affection for this college, in which he had been educated, that in his eightieth year he desired to be readmitted: and residing there a whole summer, presented to the new library, just then finished, his own collection of books, amounting to nearly four thousand volumes. He was the son of Sir Adam Newton, tutor to Prince Henry; and many papers written by that Prince, or relating to him, are involved in the collection. Sir Henry took the name of Puckering in remembrance of his uncle Sir

Thomas Puckering of Warwickshire, a learned and accomplished man, brother-in-law to Sir Adam Newton, son of Lord Keeper Puckering, a companion of the studies of Prince Henry. Many of the books were presents to the Prince from authors or editors. In Dr. Duport's *HORÆ SUBSECIVÆ*, a poem is addressed to this preserver of Milton's Manuscripts, '*Ad D. Henricum Puckeringum, alias Newtonum, Equitem baronetum. Cantab.*, 1676, 8vo., pp. 222-223."—*Poems of Milton by Warton*, p. 578, note.

## AUTOGRAPH POEMS. PAGES 1, 2, AND 3.

## PLATE I. FAC-SIMILE OF PAGE I.



ARCADES. "PART OF AN ENTERTAINMENT"—"presented to the Countess Dowager of Derby at Harefield, by some noble persons of her family, who appear on the scene in pastoral habit, moving towards the seat of state with this song."<sup>1</sup>

Our fac-simile, plate I., No. 1, forms the chief portion of the first page of the Trinity College Manuscript. The page is in a sadly dilapidated state, the lower part being so injured as to render a fac-simile of it unsatisfactory. Much mutilated and repaired also is the second leaf, on the upper part of the recto of which *Arcades* closes, the rest of the page being blank.

It is there seen that when Milton commenced his *Arcades*, he had not ascertained where the dramatic entertainment was to be performed, the name of the place being left blank. It is also seen that Milton at first intitled his *Arcades* as "*Part of a Maske*;" but after writing the first two lines, he appears to have changed his plan. The alteration in the title was made at a subsequent time, the ink in which it is written being much darker than that of the poem itself. This interesting circumstance is not noticed by Warton, Todd, or any of the learned editors of the Poems.

It has been generally asserted that Milton wrote his *Arcades* in 1632, after he had left Cambridge. That this was not the case, is almost evident from the fact of the *Arcades*, which commences on the first page of the Trinity College Manuscript, being followed on pages 6 and 7 by the Letter and Sonnet on his attaining the age of twenty-three, written on or before December 8th, 1631. Warton considers that *Arcades* was composed at Horton;<sup>2</sup> but he gives no date. So also Todd.<sup>3</sup> Keightley assigns its composition to 1634, but without any observation as to his authority. Masson adopts this chronology, grounding his opinion upon the order of the poems as they occur in the editions of 1645 and 1673. The learned Masson, however, will find that there is no strict chronological plan adopted in the arrange-

<sup>1</sup> The whole of the page is, with the exception of the altered title, in a brown ink, as in our fac-simile.

<sup>2</sup> Poems by Milton. Ed. by Warton, 1791, p. 98, *note*.

<sup>3</sup> "Having taken the degree of M.A. in 1632, he left the university, and retired to his father's house in the country; who had now quitted

business, and lived at an estate which he had purchased at Horton near Colnebrook, in Buckinghamshire. Here he resided five years; in which time he not only, as he himself informs us, read over the Greek and Latin authors, particularly the historians, but is also believed to have written his *Arcades*, *Comus*, *L'Allegro*, *Il Penseroso*, and *Lycidas*."—*Poetical Works of Milton*, by Todd, vol. i. p. 18.

ment of the Poems in these or any subsequent edition: such points having been overlooked.

We can hardly suppose that Milton, in a volume designed as the first repository of his compositions, should have turned back and commenced his *Arcades* on p. 1; and, adopting the design of the Procrustian bed, should have taken care to curtail or enlarge it, so as with the Ode on pages 4 and 5 exactly to occupy the five pages left blank. This is a supposition too preposterous to be entertained; and therefore we think we are justified in coming to the conclusion that the *Arcades* was written before the Letter and Sonnet, and is to be dated anterior to December 8, 1631.

There is no authority as to the precise date when *Arcades* was represented at Harefield. Keightley,<sup>1</sup> following others, states that Henry Lawes, the friend of Milton, was at the time in the service of the Countess of Derby, and that he availed himself of the assistance of his young friend Milton, then residing at Horton, a few miles from Harefield. Now if *Arcades*, as is certainly shewn upon very fair argument, was written before or in 1631, it proves that the father of Milton was at that time resident at Horton. Masson<sup>2</sup> thinks that the vacation of 1631 was the "first" his son, the young Poet, spent there, but is doubtful as to the precise period when the father of Milton retired to the place.

It may be interesting to notice that Milton dates the fifth of his published *Familiar Letters* "From my Villa, Dec. 4, 1634." This letter is addressed to his old Schoolmaster, ALEXANDER GILL. It is so characteristic that we do not hesitate here to insert it.

"If you had made me a present of a piece of plate, or any other valuable which excites the admiration of mankind, I should not be ashamed in my turn to remunerate you, as far as my circumstances would permit. But since you, the day before yesterday, presented me with an elegant and beautiful poem in Hendecasyllabic verse, which far exceeds the worth of gold, you have increased my solicitude to discover in what manner I may requite the favour of so acceptable a gift. I had by me at the time no compositions in a like style which I thought at all fit to come in competition with the excellence of your performance. I send you therefore a composition which is not entirely my own, but the production of a truly inspired bard; from which I last week rendered this ode into Greek heroic verse, as I was lying in bed before the day dawned, without any previous deliberation, but with a certain impelling faculty, for which I know not how to account. By his help who does not less surpass you in his subject than you do me in the execution, I have sent something which may serve to restore the equilibrium between us. If you see reason to find fault with any particular passage, I must inform you, that, from the time I left your school, this is the first and the last piece I have ever composed in Greek, since, as you know, I have attended more to Latin and to English composition. He who at this time employs his labour and his time in writing Greek, is in danger of writing what will never be read. Adieu, and expect to see me, God willing, at London on Monday, among the booksellers. In the meantime, if you have interest enough with that Doctor who is the master of the college, to promote my business, I beseech you to see him as soon as possible, and act as your friendship for me may prompt.

"From my Villa, Dec. 4, 1634."

<sup>1</sup> Life of Milton, by Keightley, 1859, p. 278.

<sup>2</sup> Life of Milton by Masson. Vol. i., 1859, p. 534, note.

part of a masque

Look nymphs & shepherd's look here ends our quest  
 since at last ~~our~~ eyes are blest

Arcades  
 part of an Entertainment at

Look nymphs & shepherd's look  
 What sudden blaze of mystic  
 is that we see from hence descends  
 too divine to be mistook  
 this this is she  
 to whom our bowes & wishes bend  
 here our solemn search hath end

Fame that her high worth to raise  
 seem'd erst so lavish, & profuse  
 now seems guilty of abuse  
 and detraction from her praise  
 like this a half she hath express'd  
 entire bid ~~her~~ <sup>the rest</sup>

we may justly now accuse  
 of detraction from her praise  
 we had express'd

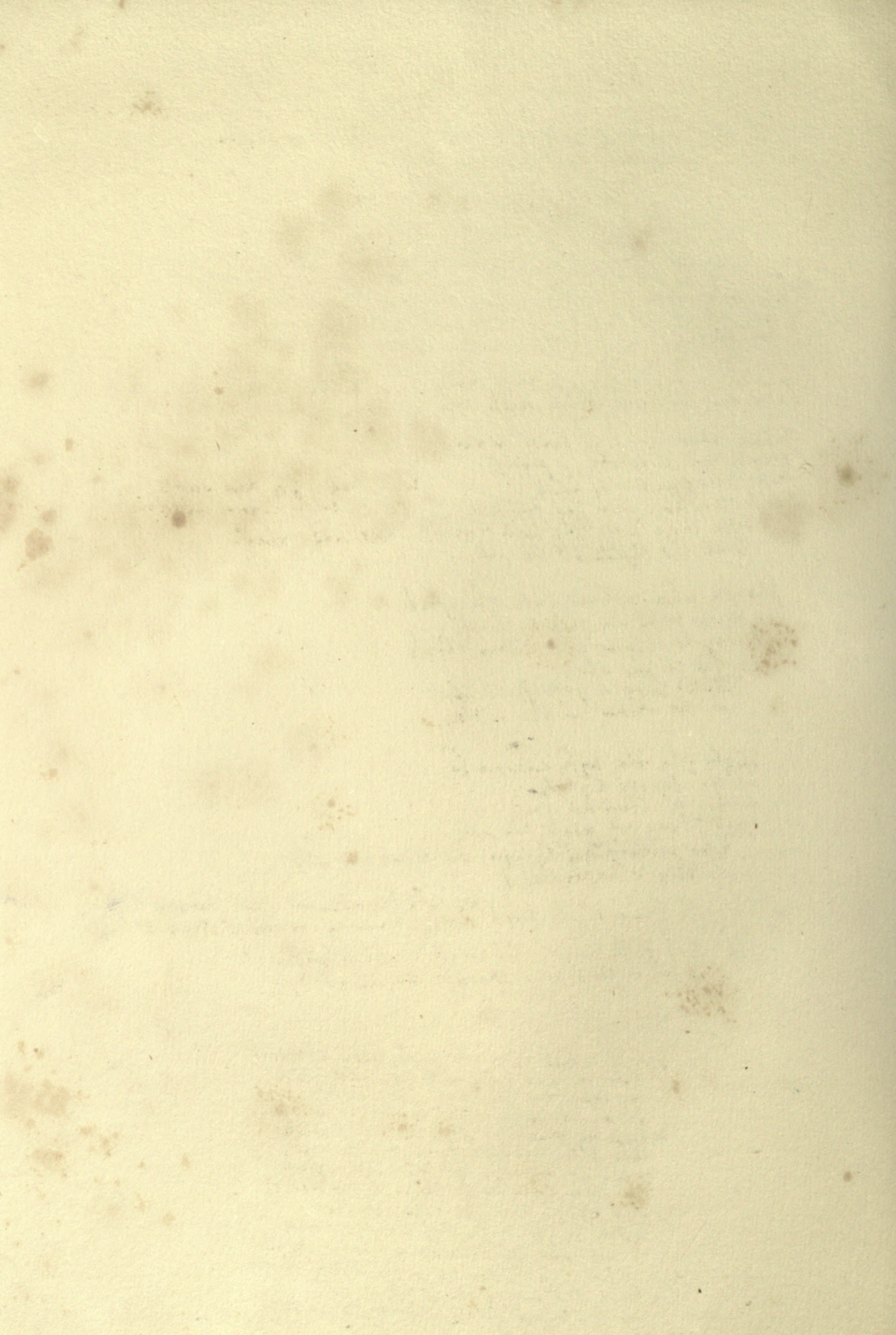
Mark what radiant state she spreads  
 in circle round her shining throne  
 shooting her beams like silver threads  
 this this is she alone  
<sup>sit</sup> ~~is~~ like a goddess bright  
 in the center of her light

might she the wife Latona be  
 or the tower'd Cybele  
 mother of a hundred gods  
~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~gods~~ <sup>gods</sup> ~~not~~ <sup>not</sup> ~~give~~ <sup>give</sup> her odds  
 who would ~~think~~ <sup>think</sup> this claim had hit  
 a deity so unparallel'd

The Genies of y<sup>e</sup> wave <sup>apparents</sup> ~~are~~ <sup>they</sup> ~~as~~ <sup>as</sup> ~~they~~ <sup>they</sup> ~~come~~ <sup>come</sup> forward  
 & turning towards them speakes

Gen Stay gentle swains, for though in this disguise  
 I see bright honour sparkle through yo<sup>r</sup> eyes

How soone hath Time the subtle thief of Youth  
 stolne on his roving my three & twentieth yeere  
 my hasting days fly on with full career  
 but my late spring no bud or blossom shewth  
 Perhaps my semblance might deceive yo<sup>r</sup> truth  
 that I to manhood am arriv'd so neere  
 & inward ripenesse loth much lesse appeare  
 than some more timely-happie spirits indueth  
 yet be it lesse or more, or soone or slow  
 it shall be still in strictest measure even  
 to that same lot - however meane or high  
 toward which Time leads me, & the will of Heaven  
 all if I have grace to use it so  
 as even in my great talk - maisters eye





In a letter to his friend Carlo Deodati, in 1626, Milton writes of his then residence "*suburbani nobilis umbra loci*." In the original of the letter to Alexander Gill, December 4, 1634, it is written "*E nostro suburbano*." The learned Masson<sup>1</sup> does not consider that the father of Milton had retired to Horton so early as 1626; but that the suburban villa mentioned by Milton "was some other place which the old gentleman may have had nearer London." From using, in 1634, the expression "*suburban*," as characteristic of the locality of his then residence, without any intimation of its having recently become the property of his family, and from other facts, we are much inclined to think the father of the Poet may have resided at Horton as early as 1626.

## PAGES 4 AND 5.



**A**N ODE. "AT A SOLEMN MUSIC." This Ode appears to have been very carefully considered by the Poet. He has on pages 4 and 5 made no less than three copies of it, each with important variations, which are given by Warton, Todd, and Keightley. The third copy, headed "*At a Solemn Musick*," is written, though coarsely, with considerable care in a smaller hand.

If we were to adopt the order of the Poems as they appeared when first published in 1645, as the chronological order in which they were written, this Ode, which takes precedence of the Sonnet on Shakespeare, dated 1630, must have been written either in that or an anterior year.

## PAGES 6 AND 7.



**L**ETTER AND SONNET. Two draughts of a letter written from Cambridge to an intimate friend, enclosing the very interesting Sonnet  
 "ON HIS BEING ARRIVED AT THE AGE OF 23."  
 Warton but slightly mentions this letter in a note appended to the Sonnet. The letter is printed in the *Life of Milton* by Masson, who thus introduces it in chapter v., under "*Church and Government*:"

"When Milton went to Cambridge, it was with the intention of entering the Church. Before he had taken his Master's degree, however, this intention had been entirely, or all but entirely, abandoned. There exists an interesting letter of his, written about the very time when his determination against the Church began to be taken; and in this letter he describes the reasons of his hesitation at some length. The letter, of which there are two drafts in Milton's handwriting, in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, must have been written in December 1631, or in the early part of 1631-2;

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Milton*, by Masson, vol. i., 1859, note, p. 525.

and it was clearly sent, or meant to be sent, to some friend at Cambridge, his senior in years, who had been remonstrating with him on his aimless course of life at the University."<sup>1</sup>

The Sonnet written by Milton on his twenty-third birthday, of which an Electro-Block Fac-simile is given at p. 14, and again, in lithography, plate I., No. II., was published for the first time in 1645. It occurs in the volume of his poems, of that date, p. 49, as Sonnet VII. It has there, however, no heading<sup>2</sup> or note stating the occasion of its composition. The letter wherein the Sonnet appears, Milton prefaces:

"Yet that you may see that I am something suspicious of myself, and do take notice of a certain belatedness in me, I am the bolder to send you some of my nightward thoughts some while since, because they come in not altogether unfitly, made up in a Petrarchian stanza, which I told you of."

## PAGE 8.

DES. "ON TIME. *To be set on a Clock-Case.*"

AND

"UPON THE CIRCUMCISION."

To the closing lines of the Ode "*On Time*:"

"When once our heav'nly-guided soul shall clime,  
Then all his earthly grossness quit.  
Attir'd with stars, we shall for ever sit,  
Triumphing over Death, and chance, and thee, O Time."

Warton<sup>3</sup> notes that "Milton could not help applying the most solemn and mysterious truths of religion on all subjects and occasions. He has here introduced the beatick vision, and the investiture of the soul with a robe of stars, into an inscription on a clock-case. Perhaps something more moral, more plain and intelligible, would have been more proper. John Bunyan, if capable of rhyming, would have written such an inscription for a clock-case. The latter part of these lines may be thought wonderfully sublime; but it is in the cant of the times. The Poet should be distinguished from the Enthusiast." Warton could have had but little real poetry in his soul, when he would desire to admit of no enthusiasm in the mind of a Poet. The Venerable Archdeacon Todd very justly adds to this feeble criticism, "Yet still

<sup>1</sup> The Life of John Milton: narrated in connexion with the Political, Ecclesiastical, and Literary History of his Time. By David Masson, M.A., Professor of English Literature in University College, London. Vol. i., 1608-1639. Cambridge, 1859, pp. 289-90.

<sup>2</sup> Masson states that the heading to the Sonnet occurs in the edition of 1645. Such is not the case, either in that or the second edition dated 1673. "*Life of Milton*," by Masson, p. 291, note.

<sup>3</sup> Poems of Milton, by Warton, p. 295, note.

I think Milton is here no enthusiast: the triumph which he mentions will certainly be the triumph of every sincere Christian."

As we shall have occasion to refer to an annotated copy by Milton, of *Britannia's Pastorals*, by *Browne*, we here notice the similarity of expression to the feelings of Milton in the annexed two lines of that Poem, *Book I., S. 4*:

"Her words, embalmed in so sweet a breath,  
That made them *triumph both on Time and Death.*"

## PAGE 9.



SONNET VIII. "ON HIS DORE WHEN Y<sup>E</sup> CITY EXPECTED AN ASSAULT,"  
or "WHEN THE ASSAULT WAS INTENDED TO Y<sup>E</sup> CITY, 1642." *Date*  
*subsequently erased.*

It is evident, that, after the preceding Odes, Milton purposely left pages 9 to 12 inclusive *blank*, intending most probably to fill them up with pieces he had previously perhaps composed, but omitted to insert, not then having the volume at hand.

The published Sonnets of Milton number twenty-three. Their numerical order differs in some of the later editions. We note them as numbered by Warton and Todd, those numbers being more in accordance with their order in the original MS., and in the two editions of the Poems<sup>1</sup> of the Author published during his life, 1645

<sup>1</sup> "POEMS OF MR. JOHN MILTON, both English and Latin, compos'd at several times. Printed by his true Copies. The Songs were set in Musick by Mr. Henry Lawes, Gentleman of the Kings Chappel, and one of his Maiesties Private Musick.

—————Baecare frontem  
Cingite, ne vati noceat mala lingua futuro.  
Virgil, Eclog. 7.

Printed and publish'd according to Order.  
*London, printed by Ruth Raworth for Humphrey Moseley, and are to be sold at the signe of the Princes Arms in S. Paul's Church-yard. 1645.*  
pp. 214. Small 8vo.

Prefixed is an oval portrait of Milton by Marshall, with an inscription in Greek, intended by the poet as a satire on the engraver. Following the poems, which are preceded by an epistle from the publisher, is the Masque of Comus,

with a distinct title, and dedicated by H. Lawes 'To the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Bracly, Son and Heir apparent to the Earl of Bridgewater, &c.' The poems end on rev. of H 4, p. 120. Then follows 'The copy of a Letter written by Sir Henry Wootton to the Author, upon the following Poem.' The Latin poems have a distinct title with fresh signatures and repaging, and close the volume on the recto of F 4, p. 87.

"POEMS, &c., Upon Several Occasions. By Mr. John Milton: Both English and Latin, &c. Composed at several times. With a small Tractate of Education to Mr. Hartlib.

*London, printed for Tho. Dring at the White Lion next Chancery Lane End, in Fleet-street, 1673.*  
pp. 292. 8vo.

"After the title to this edition, the second of the author's smaller poems, and the last pub-

and 1673.<sup>1</sup> With the exception of the first Sonnet, "*To the Nightingale*," those preceding No. VII. are in the Italian language. The second Sonnet is that "*On his having arrived at the Age of 23*." In the first edition of the Poems only ten Sonnets are printed; therefore this and the two following complete that number. The last four in that edition have no headings or notes specifying the subjects. Hitherto there has not occurred in the Trinity College Manuscript any other writing but the Autograph of Milton. On the upper part of page 9, however, we find a Sonnet in a totally different hand, as seen in the subjoined fac-simile,—another speci-

lished in his lifetime, is, 'The Table of English Poems,' followed by another of the Latin Poems, and note of Errata. The English Poems then begin on A, and finish on L 3, p. 165. The Latin ones next commence with a separate title on L 4, and re-paging. The Tribute to Education and catalogue of Books printed for T. Dring closing the volume on S 8."

<sup>1</sup> The edition of 1673, printed only the year before the death of Milton, contains many pieces not in the edition of 1645. It was published by Thomas Dring, and consequently the address from the previous publisher is omitted, as also the name of Henry Lawes on the title. It, like the edition of 1645, bears no indication of having been published under the direction of the author. It has no dedication, or Address to the Reader; and furthermore, the dedication by Lawes, and the letter of Sir Henry Wootton preceding the COMUS, are omitted.

We subjoin a note of the omissions and additions in the edition of 1673.

Date to the Poem, p. 1, "*On the Morning of Christ's Nativity*," omitted.

Poem, "*Anno atatis 17 on the Death of a fair Infant dying of a Cough*," added.

Headings to Sonnets VII., VIII., IX., and X., omitted, as in the first edition.

#### ADDITIONAL SONNETS.

XI. "*On the detraction which followed upon my writing certain treatises*." Heading omitted.

XII. *On the same.*

XIII. "*To Mr. H. Lawes, on his Aires*."

XIV. "*On the religious memory of Mrs. Catherine THOMSON, my Christian friend, deceased 16 Decembr. 1646.*"

XV. "*On the late Massacher in Piemont*."

XVI. "*On his BLINDNESS*." No heading.

XVII. "*To MR. LAWRENCE*." No heading.

XVIII. "*To CYRIAC SKINNER*." No heading.

The second Sonnet to Cyriac Skinner, commencing, "*Cyriack, this three years day these eys; though clean*," is omitted.

XIX. "*On his DECEASED WIFE*." Heading omitted.

Next follow "*The Fifth Ode of HORACE*" with the Latin version.

Poem, "*Anno Atatis 19, as a Vacation Exercise, &c., in the Colledge*," &c.

Lines "*On the new forciers of Conscience under the Long PARLIAMENT*."

ARCADES. Nothing occurs between Sonnet x. and *Arcades* in edition 1645.

LYCIDAS.

COMUS. This, in edition 1645, has a distinct title, a dedication by Henry Lawes to Viscount Braely, and "*The copy of a letter written by Sir Henry Wootton to the Author, upon the following Poem*."

PSALMS I. to VIII. inclusive, dated August 1653.

PSALMS LXXX. to LXXXIX. inclusive, headed "*April 1648, J. M. Nine of the Psalms done into Metre, wherein all but what is in a different Character, are the very words of the Text, from the Original*."

These conclude the English Poems in the edition of 1673; the Latin Poems being reprinted page for page until p. 71, and the additional Elegy on p. 71; as also the verses dated "*Jan. 23, 1646*," sent to JOHN ROUS, Librarian of the Bodleian Library, accompanied the copy of the first edition of his poems; the "*Tractate of Education*" closing the volume.

men executed by the *Electro Printing-Block Company* without the aid of an engraver.

~~On this done when y<sup>e</sup> City expected an assault~~  
~~When assault was intended to y<sup>e</sup> City~~  
 Captaine, or Colonnell, or knight in armes  
 Whose chance on these defenselesse Dores may cease  
 If ever deed of honour did thee please  
 Guard them, and him within protect from harmes.  
 He can requite thee, for he knows the Charms  
 That call Fame on such gentle acts as these  
 And he can spread thy name o're lands and seas,  
 What never clime the sun's bright circle warms.  
 Lift not thy speare against the Muses bowre,  
 The great Emuthian conquerour bid spare  
 The house of Pindarus when temple and towre  
 Went to y<sup>e</sup> ground: and the repeated air  
 Of sad Electra's foot had y<sup>e</sup> powre  
 To save th<sup>e</sup> Athenian walls from ruine bare

Warton, p. 336, states that the Sonnet was composed "when the King's army was arrived at Brentford, and had thrown the whole city into consternation." The writing, Warton, p. 588, considers to be "in a female hand." It is, in our humble opinion, very unlike the hand of a lady. It is in a round and not the ordinary hand of the writer. It does not bear the character of having been written upon the dictation of the author, but rather to be a copy of one dictated by Milton, and which, after being read by him, underwent an *autograph alteration* in the title, and the addition of the date 1642, subsequently erased, apparently by the author. Warton considers it as one of the best of the Poet's Sonnets.

The date, 1642, occurring on the ninth page, while the thirteenth bears that of 1634, shews that the intermediate pages were purposely left blank by Milton; who, though he may have originally intended to have filled those pages with other of his early productions, afterwards devoted them to his Sonnets.

There is no other writing in the volume, of a character similar to that employed in Sonnet VIII., nor have we any idea by whom it was executed.

## SONNET IX. TO A LADY.



IN the original, as seen in the subjoined fac-simile, executed by the Electro Printing-Block Company, the Sonnet is without any inscription. Such is also the case in the first and second editions of the Poems of Milton, 1645 and 1673.

Ladie, that in y<sup>e</sup> prime of Earliest youth  
 wisely hast shun'd y<sup>e</sup> broad way of y<sup>e</sup> green  
 and with those few out-eminently seen  
 that labour up y<sup>e</sup> hill of heavenly Truth  
 The better part with Marye with Ruth  
 chosen thou hast, & that y<sup>e</sup> between  
 and at thy blessing vertue fret their spleen  
 so angry find in thee, but pity of ruth.  
 Thy care is fixt, & zealously attends  
 to fill thy odorous Camp with deeds of light  
 & Hope that reaps not shame. Therefore be sure  
 thou when the Bridegroom with his feast full friends  
 opens the ~~door of Bliss, that house of night, posse~~ to this <sup>high</sup> ~~mid~~ <sup>mid</sup>  
 hast gain'd thy entrance, Virgin wife & pure.

It is remarkable that Warton, who professed great accuracy in his "Original Various Readings," when collating the text in his edition of the Poems with the Trinity College Manuscript, should have given to this Sonnet a title that does not exist in the original. Warton, p. 588, notes "Sonnet IX., fol. 9, Tit.—"To a Lady;" while in the body of the work he alters it, "To a vertuous young Lady," an inscription generally adopted in subsequent editions. The carelessness of learned men in such minutiae is much to be regretted. Warton, well known as a bibliographer, ought to have seen the importance of correctness upon such points. Had the leviathan Johnson made such a mistake, we should not have observed upon it, as he did not profess to be a "Literary Antiquary" or Bibliographer.

No editor of the Poetical Works of Milton, or any of his numerous biographers, have assigned the Sonnet to the Lady to whom we venture to assert it was addressed.

EDWARD PHILLIPS, the Nephew of Milton, relates,<sup>1</sup> that after he had been deserted by his wife, and after the publication of his Treatises on Divorce, his Uncle was persuaded to take more pupils; and that accordingly "he laid out for a larger house, and soon found it out; but in the interim, before he removed, there fell out a passage, which though it altered not the whole course he was going to steer, yet it put a stop, or rather an end, to a grand affair which was more than probably thought to be then

<sup>1</sup> Letters of State written by John Milton. 1694. *Life*. Pp. xxv-vi.

in agitation. It was indeed a design of marrying one of Mr. *Davis's* Daughters, a very Handsome and Witty Gentlewoman, but averse, as it is said, to this motion."

In the preceding extract from the only authentic biography of the Poet, we distinctly learn that the "*grand affair in agitation*" was the marriage of Milton with a Miss Davis, to whom, since his wife had left him, he had become much attached. Such was not, however, to be her destiny. She was well aware that the Poet was then a married man. His Wife was the young and beautiful daughter of a Royalist, who, under all the political troubles that surrounded him, was true to his King. She had lived among the Cavaliers, and was ill suited to become united to one whose "*love of learning*" made him a recluse, and whose political position could not have been otherwise than most distasteful to her. She had not learnt that it was the sacred duty of a woman to "*leave father and mother;*" and that, when joined to her husband, "*they two shall be one flesh.*"<sup>1</sup>

The "*passage*" that "*fell out,*" so as to prevent the consummation of the "*design*" of Milton, was the entire disapproval, by all parties, of the views he then publicly advocated, for the avowed purpose of altering the laws of the country on *Divorce*. He had calculated on obtaining a *legal* separation from his Wife, without which he could not induce the lady of his then re-impassioned soul even to listen to his suit. Great, therefore, was his disappointment on finding, that, not only were his recently promulgated ideas on the subject of *Divorce* almost unanimously condemned, but that the Lady of his Love was "*averse*" to the "*design*" contemplated.

Hence we venture to suggest that the "very handsome and witty gentlewoman" to whom the Sonnet is addressed, was the fair Miss Davis. Our first thoughts, therefore, turn to the period when the Sonnet was written. There is one preceding it, on the same page, bearing date 1642; while to that under consideration, and to another following it, there are no dates, though they are generally considered to have been written in or about 1644. We may, therefore, presume that the Sonnet "*To a Lady*" was composed about that period. The Sonnet is full of deep and personal feeling. The Lady in question had rejected the proffered love of the Poet; and in doing so, escaped the censure of her friends. She avoided the "*broad way that leadeth to destruction.*" Milton, most happily, had been averted from the sin he was about to commit. His acknowledgment of his error is in these lines apparent; and his resignation of all claim to a return of affection from one to whom he could not be *legally* united, was the only honourable course he could pursue. Therefore, while yielding to the Law, the Poet blamed not the object of his proffered affection, but claimed her forgiveness, as expressed in the following verse :

"*No anger find in thee, but pitty and ruth :*"

and exhorted her, that, as "*Virgin wise and pure,*" she should make "*sure*" that no stain should deprive her of that blessed "*hope that reaps not shame.*"

<sup>1</sup> The Epistle of St. Paul to the Ephesians, Ch. v., v. 31.

On referring to the fac-simile of the Sonnet, it is seen that in line seven, wherein Milton had first written *blooming*—and as a correction in the margin, the word “*prospering*,” which he afterwards erased, adding as an amendment, “*growing vertues*,”—he did not run his pen through the word *blooming*. These *minutiae* are not of any special importance; but they are very interesting as memorials of the great attention the Poet bestowed on every line he wrote.

SONNET X. “TO Y<sup>E</sup> LADY MARGARET LEY.”



WARTON, p. 537, considers that this Sonnet was “probably written about 1643, when Milton used generally to visit this Lady, the Daughter of Sir James Ley, the Earl of Marlborough;” to whom it is supposed he was much attached, it having been shewn that his affection was more than that of a friend.

PAGES 10, 11, AND 12, ARE BLANK.

These were probably left blank to enable Milton to insert other pieces which he had composed.

PAGES 13 TO 29.

PLATE II. FAC-SIMILE OF PAGE 13.



COMUS. “A. MASKE, 1634.” Presented at Ludlow Castle, before the Earl of Bridgwater, the President of Wales. It occupies nine leaves, pages 13 to 29 inclusive. Between pages 22 and 23 is an insertion of a piece of paper, in which Milton has written lines 673-705 inclusive, noting on the margin of page 23 the place where the addition is to come in. Some of the additional lines are written like prose, without any division of the lines or punctuation. The later pages shew much correction; and some of them are very coarsely written, particularly page 27. The last piece, as originally composed, on page 28, “*The Dæmon sings or says*,” consisted of *thirty-four* lines. It was afterwards recomposed, and most carefully written on page 29, where it extends, as in the printed copy, to *forty-eight* lines. This circumstance is not mentioned by Warton, and *consequently* is passed over by all subsequent editors of Milton.

Our fac-simile gives the first page of the second and most popular of the Dramatic Conceits<sup>1</sup> of the Poet. It is curious to notice that Milton, after the first

<sup>1</sup> COMUS. The first and only early edition of this Maske was published in 1637, under the subjoined title. Copies are of great rarity; one,

a very fine copy, having lately produced at a sale £11, the largest price ever paid for it.

“A Maske presented at Ludlow Castle, 1634:”



A maske

1634.

the first scene discovers a wild wood

A Guardian spirit, or Daemon

Before the starrie threshold of Joves court  
my mansion is, where those inostall shapes  
of bright aereall spirits live inspheard  
in regions mild of calme & serene air. ~~where that on firs~~  
amidst the garden ~~the garden~~, ~~on whose banks~~  
~~of small trees~~

bedew'd with nectar, ~~of celestiall songs~~ ~~that grow~~ ~~the~~  
aternall roses ~~of hyacinth~~  
& fruits of golden ~~and~~, on whose faire tree  
the scalie ~~harmes~~ ~~waschfull~~ dragon ~~keeps~~  
his ~~un~~ ~~charmed~~ ~~eye~~, & round the ~~beerge~~  
& sacred limits of this ~~isle~~ ~~blisfull~~ ~~blisfull~~  
the jealous ocean that old ~~river~~ winds  
his farre-extends armes till with steepe fall  
halfe his wast flood ~~the~~ wide Atlantique fills  
& halfe the slow unfedon'd ~~peats~~ ~~of~~ ~~stygian~~ pools

(wonder

~~I doubt~~ gently ~~marvellous~~ ~~things~~ ~~may~~ ~~be~~ ~~seen~~ ~~but~~ ~~soft~~ ~~I~~ ~~was~~ ~~not~~ ~~sent~~ ~~to~~ ~~court~~ ~~yo~~  
~~Drongs~~ ~~of~~ ~~flames~~ ~~to~~ ~~beard~~ ~~ambitious~~ ~~clim~~ ~~with~~ ~~distant~~ ~~worlds~~, ~~&~~ ~~strange~~ ~~remot~~ ~~clim~~.

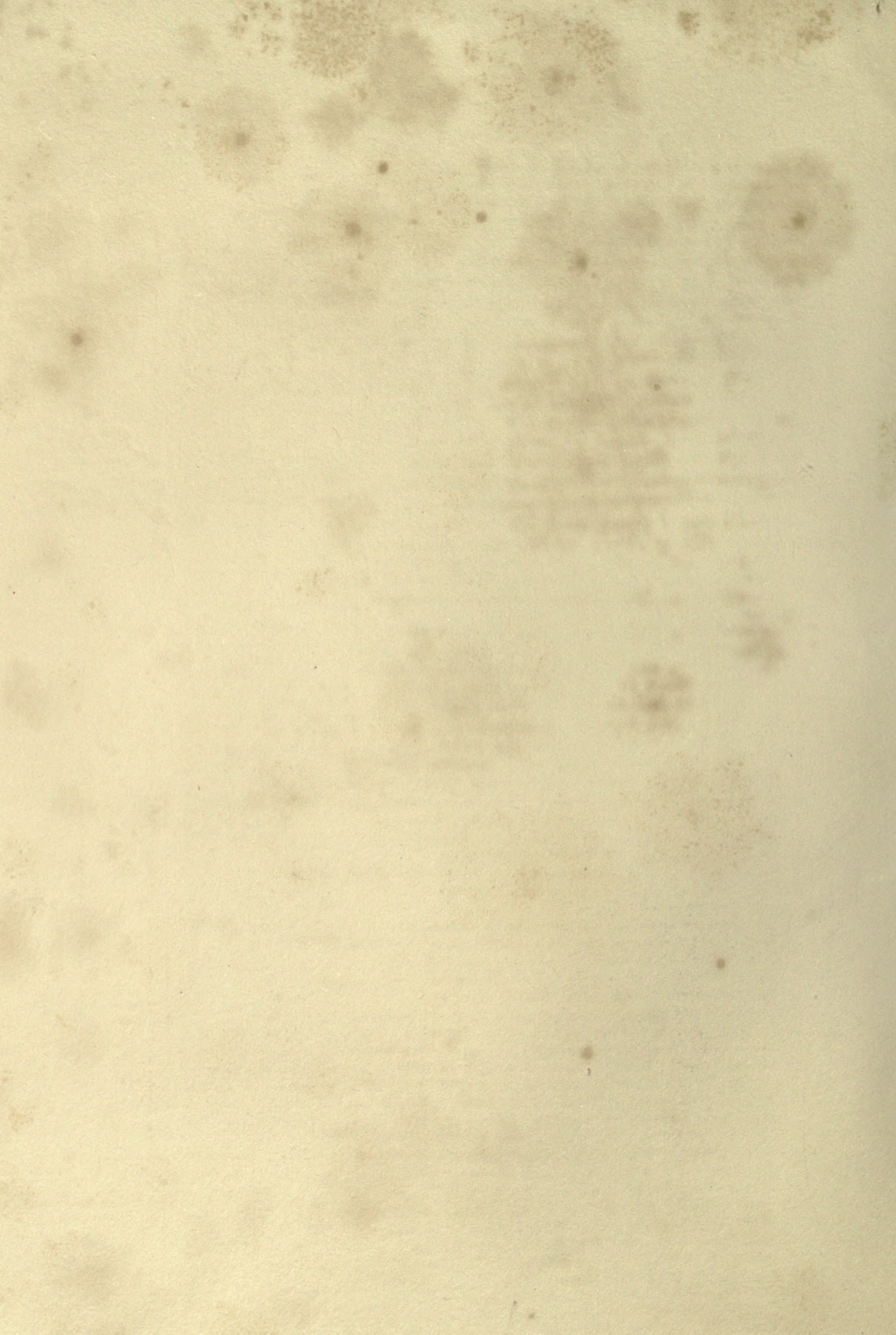
above yet thence I come and oft fro thence behold  
the smoke & stire of this dim ~~spot~~  
wh men call earth, & with low-thoughted care  
stire to keepe up a fraile & feabounish being  
beyond the written date of mortall change

1 Confid & pester'd in this pinfold here  
unmindfull of the crown that vertue gives  
after this mortall change, to her true servants  
amongst the enthroned gods, or sainted seats  
yet some there be that by due steps aspire  
to lay their just hands on that golden key  
that ~~shews~~ the palace of eternity \* open

to suck my errand is, & but for such  
I woud not soyle these pure ambrosiall weeds  
with the ~~vulgar~~ ~~vepoms~~ of this sin-worne mould  
but to my ~~un~~ ~~happy~~ ~~woe~~. Neptune ~~whets~~ ~~away~~ ~~beside~~ ~~the~~ ~~sway~~  
of every salt flood & each ~~robing~~ ~~stream~~  
tooke in by lot ~~twixt~~ ~~high~~, & ~~neather~~ ~~Jove~~

impiall

the rule ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~seagist~~ ~~isles~~  
that like to rich ~~gemmes~~ ~~inlay~~ & various gems inlay  
the unadorned bosome of ~~the~~ ~~deeps~~  
wch he to grace his tributari gods  
by course commits to severall government  
and give them leave to weave their saphire crowns  
and weild their little tridents, but this ~~isle~~  
the greatest & the best of all ~~the~~ ~~empire~~ the maine  
he quarters to his blue-haired disties  
and all this tract that fronts ~~the~~ ~~falling~~ ~~sun~~  
a noble piece of mickle trust & power  
has in his charge with temper'd awe to guide  
an old and haughtie nation proud in armes  
wher his faire of spring nurst in princely love  
are comming to attend their fathers state  
and new entrusted scepter. but their way  
lies through the perplext paths of this dreare wood  
the nodding horror of whose shade grows  
threats the forlorne & wandring passinger  
and heere their tender age might suffer perill  
but that by quick command from soveraigne Jove  
I was dispatched for their defence, & guard  
and listen why, for I will tell you now  
what never yet was heard in tale or song  
from by old or moderne Bard in hall, or bowre  
Bacchus that first from out the purple grape  
crusht the sweet poyson of mis-used wine  
after the Tufcains mainis transform'd



five lines, struck out the next fourteen, in which he had previously made many alterations. The omission of almost all punctuation and the quaint orthography used by the Poet, render the perusal of the original interesting, but occasionally difficult.

We do not attempt to follow the example of many authors, whose notices of the productions of Milton are really nothing more than reviews of the labours of their predecessors, varying only in the adaptation of the words; while in many instances the common honesty of acknowledging the author upon whose statement their views are grounded, is disregarded. We are not aware of any additional information having been discovered in connexion with the design of the celebrated Mask, *Comus*, and therefore do not hesitate here to make use of what the learned Keightley has composed on the subject: information to be found more or less combined in the editorial labours of Warton, Symmons, Todd, Brydges, Mitford, Masson, and others.

"The success of the *Arcades* probably inspired Lawes and the Egerton family with ideas of a bolder cast. The Earl of Bridgewater, head of that family, and son-in-law of the Countess of Derby, had been appointed, in 1631, Lord President of Wales and the Marches; but, from some cause or other, he did not take up his official residence at Ludlow Castle, in Salop, till the autumn of 1634,—the year, as we have seen, in which the *Arcades* was presented. Warton tells us, from a MS., he says, of Oldys', that 'on this occasion he was attended by a large concourse of the neighbouring nobility and gentry. Among the rest came his children, in particular Lord Brackley, Mr. Thomas Egerton, and Lady Alice. They had been on a visit at a house of their relations, the Egerton family, in Herefordshire; and in passing through Haywood forest were benighted, and the Lady Alice was even lost for a short time. This accident, which in the end was attended with no bad consequences, furnished the subject of a Mask for a Michaelmas festivity, and produced *Comus*. Lord Bridgewater was appointed Lord President, May 12, 1633. When the perilous adventure in Haywood forest happened, if true, cannot now be told: it must have been soon after. The Mask was acted at Michaelmas, 1634.' We must confess that we certainly feel inclined to regard this tale of the Children in the Wood, as somewhat apocryphal, and as being founded on *Comus*. At all events, it must have occurred, not in 1633, but a short time before the representation of the Mask, in the prologue to which it is said:

'...His fair offspring, nursed in princely lore,  
Are coming to attend their father's state  
And new-entrusted sceptre.'

This would seem to prove that it was their first visit to Ludlow; and it is most probable that the Mask had been prepared and learned by the young actors at Harefield, and was presented by them on their arrival at Ludlow Castle.

"The origin of *Comus* would appear to have been as follows. There was a 'pleasant conceited comedy,' by the unfortunate George Peele, named *The Old Wives Tale*, which Lawes probably had read; and it may have struck him that some of the incidents in it might be employed in the construc-

On Michaelmas night, before the Right Honourable John Earle of Bridgewater, Viscount Brackley, Lord President of Wales, And one of his Majesties most honorable Privie Counsell.

"Eheu quid volui misero mihi! floribus austrum  
Perditus"—

"London, Printed for Humphrey Robinson, at

the signe of the Three Pidgeons in Paul's Church-yard. 1637." 4to.: pp. 40.

The work is dedicated by H. Lawes, the Musician, and friend of Milton, to John Lord Brackley. It bears no indication of having been published under the special superintendence of the author. It was, no doubt, issued by and for Henry Lawes, who composed the music for it.

tion of the Mask to be written by Milton, at his request, and to be presented by himself and his young pupils at Ludlow. All, perhaps, that he proposed was, that, as the lady and her brothers were passing through a wood on their way, she should be lost, and fall into the power of an enchanter, from which she should be delivered by her brothers, and it may be by himself in the character of an attendant spirit. For all the rest, he trusted to the genius of his poetic friend; and well he might trust to it; for the noble poem that thence arose, must have amazed himself and every one that heard or read it. As Hallam most justly observes, it 'was sufficient to convince any one of taste and feeling, that a great poet had arisen in England, and one partly formed in a different school from his contemporaries.'

"If we allow ourselves to be guided by Warton and Todd, we shall detract considerably from Milton's powers of invention; for we shall find nearly all the incidents of *Comus* in *The Old Wives Tale*. But, on reading the Play itself, we shall be surprised to see how trifling and how unconnected these incidents are which he is accused of adopting. In fact, we almost doubt if Milton had read the Play at all, or knew any more of its contents than what Lawes told him, who may not even have mentioned it."<sup>1</sup>

## PAGE 30.

Originally left blank. It contains, however, some amended passages to *Lycidas*, following on the next opposite page.

## PAGES 31 TO 34.

## PLATE III. FAC-SIMILE OF PAGE 31.



YCIDAS. "Novemb. 1637. In this Monodie the author bewails a lerned friend unfortunately drowned in his passage from Chester, on the Irish seas, 1637."

The original occupies two leaves, pp. 31 to 34 inclusive. The lower part of the second leaf is deficient, and would appear to have been torn away abruptly by the Poet immediately after that beautiful line, the 165th of the Poem:

*"Weep no more, wofull shepherds, weep no more;  
For Lycidas y——"* . . . . .

Milton, however, finished the poem on the upper part of the next page, recommencing with the line, "*Weep no more,*" etc. It is curious here to notice that the piece added to the leaf is of the same paper, having a paper-mark of the same kind, a vase with the initial R. E. in the centre. Keightley thus records the untimely end of the subject of the "Monodie."

"One of Milton's most intimate friends at Cambridge had been Mr. Edward King, son of Sir John King, Secretary for Ireland under the reign of three successive monarchs. They belonged to the same college, Christchurch,<sup>2</sup> and appear to have been engaged at the same time in the study of divinity. In the beginning of August, 1637, King embarked at Chester, in a very crazy vessel, in

<sup>1</sup> Life of Milton, by Keightley, 1859, pp. 279-81.

<sup>2</sup> Christ College, not Christchurch, as here stated.

Naumb=1637.

(31)  
Seas 1637

In this Mopodie the author Lycidas  
betrails a learned freind unfortunately drowned in his passage from Chester on the frisk  
yet once more O yee Laurels, and once more.

Yee myrtle's browne with Ivis never sere  
I come to pluck yo' berries harsh and crude  
and with forc't fingers rude  
shatter yee leaves before the mellowing yeare.  
bitter constraint and sad occasion deare  
compells me to 'disturbe yo' season due  
for Lycidas is dead, dead ere his prime  
young Lycidas, and hath not left his peece  
who would not sing for Lycidas, he will know  
himselfe to sing, and built the lofty rime  
he must not flote upon his wat'ring beare  
unwept, and welter to the parching wind  
without the meed of some melodious teare

Begin then Sisters of the sacred well  
that from beneath the state of Iove doth spring  
begin, and somewhat lowly sweep the slirie  
hence with denial vaine, and coy excuse  
so may some gentle muse  
with luckie words, favour my deskin'd urne  
and as he passes turne  
and bid faire peace be to my sable shroud  
for wee were nurst upon the selfe same hill  
fed & same flock by fountains, shade, and rill

Together both ere the high haung appeared  
under the ~~gliding~~ eyelids of the moone opening  
wee drove afield, and both together heard  
what tyme the grey fly winds her sultrie horn  
batting our flocks with the fresh dews of night  
oft till the ~~coole~~ starre ~~light~~ that rose in Spring bright  
toward heaving descent had sloopt his ~~luminous~~ weele westring  
meane while the rurall ditties were not mute  
temp'd to th' oaten flute

rough Satyrs danc't, and fauns with cloven heele  
from the glad sound would not be absent long  
and old Damocles lov'd to heare our song

But O the heavie change now thou art gone gone  
now thou art gon, and never must returne  
thee shepherd, thee the woods and desert caves  
with wild Thyme, and the gadding vine ore grown  
and all thine Echo Echo's mourning  
the willows, and the hazel copses green  
shall now no more be seen

fanning thire joyous leaves to thy soft lay  
as killing as the canker to the rose  
or taint worme to the weanling heards that graze  
or frost to flowers that thire gay ~~attire~~ ~~wears~~ ~~wears~~ \*wardropes wears  
when first the white thorne blows

such Lycidas thy losse to shepherds eare  
where were yee nymphs when y' remorselesse deeps  
clos'd on the head of y' yare Lov'd Lycidas  
for neither were yee playing on the stape  
where y' dd barde the famous Druides lie  
nor on the shaggie top of Mona high  
nor yet where Deba spreads her wisard streame  
ay mee I fondly dream  
had yee bin there, for what could that have don?  
what could the golden haured Calliope  
for her inchanting son

\*whome universal nature  
might lament  
~~and heave an heldeat~~  
when his divine head down  
the streame was sent  
downe the swift Hebrus to  
lesbian shore.

when she beheld of (the gods) face in bed less  
his goetic scalp ~~roule downe the thracian lesse~~



order to pass over to Ireland to visit his family and friends ; but while the ship was still close to the English coast, it struck on a sunken rock, and all on board, it is said, perished. The fate of King, who was only twenty-five years old, excited great grief among his literary friends, which was exhibited in a manner usual at the time, by verses in his honour ; and in the following year there was published at Cambridge, a thin quarto volume<sup>1</sup> containing three Greek, nineteen Latin, and thirteen English poems, in honour of the deceased. An account of his life, etc., was prefixed ; probably from the pen of H. More, the Platonist, who wrote one of the Greek poems. Among the English poems is Milton's *Lycidas*. It stands last in the volume, for which ingenious reasons have been assigned ; while it may be, that, as it had to be transmitted from Horton, it did not arrive till after the other poems had been printed. According to the Trinity MS. it was written in November, 1637."<sup>2</sup>

It was the custom during the seventeenth century to record any remarkable events in the country,—such as the Progresses of Royalty, their Marriages, Victories, Deaths of Distinguished Men, and other circumstances,—by the publication, at Oxford and Cambridge, of the poetical effusions of the most eminent persons of the two Universities, and which were printed at the University Press. They were composed, for the most part, in Greek, Latin, and English ; each contribution generally of a dozen or more lines. These volumes are of very considerable interest, because they frequently contain the earliest productions of the greater portion of the most distinguished Poets, Historians, Artists, and other of the celebrated men in this country during that period. Accordingly, we find that Edward King, the college companion of Milton, contributed a copy of Latin verses in the volume issued at Cambridge, 1631, on the Birth of the Princess Mary. So likewise did he contribute Latin verses in several other volumes of a similar character issued in 1631, 1633, 1635, and 1637.<sup>3</sup>

Milton was not the only poet of the day who contributed to the Elegies upon his friend Edward King. We find the names of Joseph Beaumont and John Cleveland among other eminent men. No heading but that of "*Lycidas*" appeared to the poem by "J. M.," the addition to the heading, as it appears in the subsequently printed editions, "*And by occasion foretells the ruin of our corrupted clergy, then in their height,*" is not in the original manuscript.

Between the composing of *Comus* and *Lycidas*, was an interval of nearly four years. *Comus*, in the original manuscript, ends on page 29, *Lycidas* commencing on page 31, page 30 containing only a few amended passages to the opposite first page of *Lycidas*. Very little is known of the occupation of Milton during the intervening period. In 1635 he had been incorporated as Master of Arts, at

<sup>1</sup> The Monody appeared as the last of the contributions in English: "Obsequies to the memorie of Mr. Edward King, Anno Dom. 1638:" which are placed, with a distinct title and new pagination, after the Latin Poems, of which the following is the title:

"Justa Edwardo King naufrago, ab Amicis mœrentibus, amoris et *μνείας χάριν*.

"Si rectè calculum ponas, ubique naufragium est.  
*Petr. Arb.*

"*Cantabrigiæ: Apud Thomam Buck, & Rogerum Daniel, celeberrimæ Academicæ typographos. 1638.*" 4to. ; pp. 72.

These Poems are occasionally found at the close of the 1638 Cambridge Edition of the Poems of Thomas Randolph.

<sup>2</sup> Life of Milton, by T. Keightley. 1859. p. 289.

<sup>3</sup> Life of Milton, by D. Masson. 1859. pp. 603-4.

Oxford, according to the custom then prevailing. That he was at Horton in 1634, is evident from the letter, December 4 of that year, to his old Tutor, Alexander Gill. That letter stands No. V. in his published "Familiar Letters." The next letter, VI., is to his friend Carlo Deodati, dated from London, Sept. 7, 1637. Here then, in the "Familiar Letters," is a period of above three years, during which time little or no information is given by the biographers of the Poet as to his movements. The learned Masson informs us<sup>1</sup> that the Mother of Milton was buried at Horton, April 3, 1637. At what period the Father of Milton left Horton, is not recorded. In 1643<sup>2</sup> he was living with his youngest son, at Reading; but went, in the same year, to reside with the Poet in Aldersgate-street, where he died in 1647.

It is very clear, that, when at Cambridge, Milton rebelled against the "Discipline of the Church,"—not publicly, but sufficiently to shew to his friends the bent of his mind at that early period of his life. His Muse was the mere pastime of his more serious studies in the ecclesiastical history of his country and its consequences.

In addressing Carlo Deodati from London, September 7, 1637, Milton regrets, that, owing to their mutual reluctance of writing, they hear so little from each other, adding,

"It makes also for my favour that I know your method of studying to be so arranged that you frequently take breath in the middle, visit your friends, write much, sometimes take a journey: my genius, however, is such, that no delay, no rest, no care or thought almost of anything leads me aside until I reach the end I am making for, and round off, as it were, some period of my studies."

On the 23rd of the same month, Milton again addresses his friend, who had evidently urged him to open his mind as to what course of life he intended to pursue. The desire of "fame" and "glory" reigned in the youthful soul of Milton; but how that desire was to be gratified and accomplished, was as yet withheld from him by an overruling Providence. The letter to Deodati is one of pure affection.

"It is impossible for me," writes Milton, "not to love men like you. What besides God has resolved concerning me, I know not, but this at least: *He has instilled into me, at all events, a vehement love of the beautiful.* Not with so much labour, as the fables have it, is Ceres said to have sought her daughter Proserpine, as I am wont day and night to seek for this *idea of the beautiful* (*hanc τοῦ καλοῦ ιδέαν*) through all the forms and faces of things (*for many are the shapes of divine things*), and to follow it leading me on as with certain assured traces. Whence it happens, that, whoso, scorning what the vulgar opine in their depraved estimation of things, dares to feel and speak and be that which the highest wisdom through every age has taught to be best, to that man I attach myself forthwith by a real necessity, wherever I find him. And if, either by nature or by my fate, I am so circumstanced that, by no effort and labour of mine, I can rise to such an honour and elevation, yet that I should always worship and look up to those who have attained that glory, or happily aspire to it, neither gods nor men, I think, have bidden nay."

"But now I know you wish to have your curiosity satisfied. You make many anxious inquiries—even as to what I am thinking of. Harken, Theodotus, but let it be in your private ear, lest I blush: and allow me for a little to speak big words to you! You ask what I am thinking of? So may the good Deity help me, of Immortality! But what am I doing? I am *pluming my wings* and meditating flight; but as yet our Pegasus raises himself on very tender pinions. Let us be lowly wise.

<sup>1</sup> Life of Milton, by D. Masson. 1859. p. 595.    <sup>2</sup> Life of Milton, by C. Symmons. 1810. pp. 244-5.



"I will now tell you seriously what I am thinking of:—of migrating into some Inn of the Lawyers, wherever there is a pleasant and shady walk; because there I shall have both a more convenient habitation among some companions, if I wish to remain at home, and more *suitable headquarters* if I choose to make excursions anywhere. Where I am now, as you know, I live obscurely, and in a cramped manner."<sup>1</sup>

Within two months after Milton had thus addressed his confidential friend, his restless and aspiring spirit was called into action. He most probably then gave up the idea of taking rooms in one of the Inns of Court. Had he ever lived there, that fact would have been recorded by his Nephew; and the place itself would, in after times, have become notorious as having been the residence of Milton; just as the staircase in No. 1, Inner Temple Lane, leading to the chambers of Dr. Johnson on the first floor, was inscribed with Johnson's name. This staircase, and the panelling of his room, were preserved by the Benchers when the building was lately pulled down, and presented by them to The Crystal Palace Company,—the site being now distinguished as "Dr. Johnson's Buildings."

The sudden and melancholy death of his dear college companion, EDWARD KING, awakened the polemical feelings the Poet had displayed, when at Cambridge, against the regulations of the Church, into which his deceased friend had intended to enter. In general, the Contributions to the Collections of University Poems were confined to contemporaries at College. The Monody sent by Milton is the last of those in English, it having been probably contributed by the Poet at the special request of his friends at Cambridge, after the other portion of the volume was in type.

Up to this period, Milton had published nothing indicative of the position he was about to take in the religious controversies of his country; but in the Elegy to the memory of his departed friend, Milton breaks forth in a strain of the severest satire against the Clergy. What language can be more piquant than the subjoined lines, 103 to 131 of the poem?

"Next Camus, reverend sire, went footing slow,  
His mantle hairy, and his bonnet sedge,  
Inwrought with figures dim, and on the edge  
Like to that sanguin flow'r inscrib'd with woe.  
'Ah! Who hath reft (quoth he) my dearest pledge?  
Last came, and last did go,  
The pilot of the Galilean lake;  
Two massy keys he bore of metals twain,  
(The golden opes, the iron shuts amain)  
He shook his miter'd locks, and stern bespake:  
'How well could I have spar'd for thee, young swain,  
Enow of such, as for their bellies sake,

<sup>1</sup> This and the preceding extract from the Letters of the Poet, are taken from the transla-

tion of Masson, vol. i. pp. 597-9. Masson dates the first letter, Sept. 2, in lieu of Sept. 7.

Creep, and intrude, and climb into the fold ?  
 Of other care they little reckoning make,  
 Than how to scramble at the shearers feast,  
 And shove away the worthy bidden guest ;  
 Blind mouths ! that scarce themselves know how to hold  
 A sheep-hook, or have learn'd aught else the least  
 That to the faithful herdsman's art belongs !  
 What recks it them ? What need they ? They are sped ;  
 And when they list, their lean and flashy songs  
 Grate on their scrannel pipes of wretched straw ;  
 The hungry sheep look up, and are not fed,  
 But swoln with wind, and the rank mist they draw,  
 Rot inwardly, and foul contagion spread :  
 Besides what the grim wolf with privy paw  
 Daily devours apace, and nothing sed :  
 But that two-handed engin at the door  
 Stands ready to smite once, and smite no more.'"

The last two lines here given have been considered by some as prophetic of the downfall of Archbishop Laud, who was then in the zenith of his power. It is more than probable that the contributions on these occasions were not published under the supervision of the authorities of the University. Had they been so, one can hardly suppose the Syndics could have been so dull as not to see that the 109th line, "*The Pilot of the Galilean Lake,*" was intended for St. Peter,—an expression which, as Dr. Symmons<sup>1</sup> observes, is "the most objectionable part of the composition."

Warton has always been esteemed a most careful editor. The few lines above given from the text of the Poet, are taken from that in his edition. On comparing the orthography and punctuation with that in the last, Mr. Keightley's edition, we find no less than *thirteen* variations. The fact that in the space of a few lines there are so many variations, seems to suggest the propriety of the hitherto published Text of the Poet undergoing revision. Far better would it be to give, as far as possible, the text with all its *quaintness* in *orthography* and *frequent absence of all punctuation*, from the existing original Manuscript in Trinity College, Cambridge, and from the first editions of his poetical productions, than a text which has been altered at the caprice of every New Editor.

<sup>1</sup> Life of Milton, by Charles Symmons. 1810. p. 109.

## PAGE 35.

## PLATE IV. FAC-SIMILE OF PAGE 35.



PARADISE LOST. Here we have the Original Design of a Sacred Drama, afterwards destined to become the sublime occupation of the mind of Milton, when, bereft of sight, he had bid adieu to the cares of public life, calmly awaiting the will of the Almighty to relieve him from the forlorn position to which the loss of Nature's most heavenly gift had reduced him. There is nothing to shew, beyond the three varying outlines of the Drama, here given in fac-simile, plate IV., from page 35, and the extended design on page 40, that Milton proceeded further with his intended labours before 1660; when, soon after that period, he may be supposed to have turned his thoughts to his long before cherished scheme, converting the plan previously laid down for representation in the form of a Drama, to that of an Epic Poem which, as a whole, is unsurpassed by the most sublime of ancient or modern times.

In making the preceding observation touching the period when Milton actually commenced the Poem with a view to its publication, we must not pass over the information conveyed by E. Phillips, who states in the Memoir of his Uncle, that, "in the fourth Book of the Poem there are ten verses, which, several years before the Poem was begun, were shewn to me, and some others, as design'd for the very beginning of the said Tragedy."

Subjoined are the lines. They occur in the opening of the fourth Book, lines 32 to 41, where Satan represents his own fallen state :

"O thou ! that, with surpassing glory crown'd,  
 Look'st from thy sole dominion like the God  
 Of this new World; at whose sight all the Stars  
 Hide their diminish'd heads; to thee I call,  
 But with no friendly Voice, and add thy name,  
 O Sun ! to tell thee how I hate thy Beams,  
 That bring to my Remembrance from what State  
 I fell; how glorious once above thy Sphere;  
 'Till Pride, and worse Ambition, threw me down,  
 Warring in Heav'n against Heav'n's matchless King."

Many of the greatest and most admired productions of Man are the successful result of a passing thought committed at the moment to paper, in its crude state, for

future working out; and however much the original plan may, when reconsidered, undergo alteration, the first idea is most frequently adopted, and found to be the best.

The *three outlines* of the Drama, as originally designed on page 35 in the Trinity College Manuscript, appear to have been written by Milton on the spur of the moment; and though the *first* sketch received additions in the *second* and *third*, as also afterwards on page 40 in the recapitulation of the design; it is remarkable that in the Poem, when composed many years after, Milton fell back on his original plan, then altering it from a five act Drama, or Tragedy, into an Epic Poem in Ten Books, extending it to Twelve Books in the second edition issued in 1674; the seventh book of the first edition there forming books seven and eight, and the tenth book the eleventh and twelfth.

In the *second outline*, Moses is substituted for Michael; Moses in the *third* taking a prominent part in the opening; while in the *fourth*, the subsequently reconsidered plan, at page 46, Gabriel is introduced in lieu of either. "The Persons," as originally designed in the *third* sketch for Act 1, are not introduced in the first three Books of the published Poem, other matter having been brought in as introductory to the chief subject of the Poem. Book IV. commences with Lucifer's description of his own state previous to his fall, of which the *ten* lines referred to by Phillips, form the twenty-second to the forty-first lines; the remaining portion of that Book, as also Books V., VI., VII., and VIII., embrace the contents of Act 3. At the close of the seventh Book, the "Chorus of Angels sing a hymne of the creation," as designed to close the end of Act 1. "Adam and Eve fallen," as intended to commence Act 4, is depicted in Book IX.; the remainder of the design for Act 4, and the contents of Act 5, are embodied in Books X., XI., and XII.

Though the learned DR. JOHNSON has not been over-abundant in his laudatory feelings towards Milton, in reference to the general productions of his pen and the moral conduct of his life, yet he does not in any way detract from the universal praise awarded to Milton as a Poet. In his Memoir, after introducing the sketches of the Poem in the Trinity College Manuscript, Johnson very justly observes :

"These are very imperfect rudiments of *Paradise Lost*; but it is pleasant to see great works in their seminal state, pregnant with latent possibilities of excellence; nor could there be any more delightful entertainment than to trace their gradual growth and expansion, and to observe how they are sometimes suddenly advanced by accidental hints, and sometimes slowly improved by steady meditation.

"Invention is almost the only literary labour which blindness cannot obstruct; and therefore he naturally solaced his solitude by the indulgence of his fancy, and the melody of his numbers. He had done what he knew to be necessarily previous to poetical excellence; he had made himself acquainted with seemly arts and affairs; his comprehension was extended by various knowledge, and his memory stored with intellectual treasures. He was skilful in many languages, and had by reading and composition attained the full mastery of his own. He would have wanted little help from books had he retained the power of perusing them."

The Persons

Michael. Heavenly Love  
 Chorus of Angels  
 Lucifer  
 Adam  
 Eve with the serpent }  
 Conscience  
 Death  
 Labour  
 Sickness  
 Discontent  
 Ignorance  
 with others }  
 Faith  
 Hope  
 Charity

other Tragedies  
 Adam in Banishment  
 The flood  
 Abram in Egypt.  
 mutes.

The Persons  
 Moses <sup>(Wisdom)</sup>  
 Justice Mercie  
 Heavenly Love  
 The Evening Starre Hesperus  
 Chorus of Angels  
 Lucifer  
 Adam  
 Eve  
 Conscience  
 Death  
 Labour  
 Sickness  
 Discontent  
 Ignorance  
 Feare  
 Death  
 Faith  
 Hope  
 Charity.

mutes

Paradise Lost

The Persons

Moses  
 Justice Mercie  
 Mercie }  
 Wisdome (hymn of creation)  
 Chorus of Angels sing  
 Act 2.  
 Heavenly Love  
 Evening Starre  
 Chorus sing the manage song and describe Paradise  
 Act 3.  
 Lucifer contriving Adams ruine  
 Chorus fears for Adam and relates Lucifers rebellion and fall.  
 Act 4.  
 Adam fallen }  
 Eve fallen }

recounting how he assum'd <sup>his</sup> true bodie, that it cometh not because of his with  
 god in the mount declares the life of Enoch and Enoch, besides the purity of place  
 that containe pure winds, dews, and clouds preserve it from corruption whence by  
 Heavenly Love he is to the right of god, tells they cannot see god and  
 in that state of innocencie by reason of sin their sin

Conscience cites them to Gods examination  
 chorus bewails and tells the good Adas hath lost  
 Act 5  
 Adam and Eve driven out of Paradise  
 presented by an angel with  
 Labour griefe hatred Envie, warre famine Pestilence  
 Sickness } mutes to whom he gives  
 Discontent } these names  
 Ignorance } likewise winter, heat Tempest &c.  
 Feare }  
 Death }  
 Faith } comfort him and instruct him  
 Hope }  
 Charity }  
 chorus briefly concludes



"I am now," writes Johnson, "to examine *Paradise Lost*: a Poem which, considered with respect to design, may claim the first place—and with respect to performance, the second—among the productions of the human mind."

The learned Critic then devotes many pages to the consideration of the Poem. The subjoined passages from such a pen cannot fail to interest all who desire to know the opinion of so great a man as Johnson upon the poetical merits of Milton.

"After the scheme and fabrick of the poem, must be considered its component parts: the sentiments, and the diction.

"The sentiments, as expressive of manners, or appropriated to characters, are, for the greater part, unexceptionably just.

"Splendid passages containing lessons of morality, or precepts of prudence, occur seldom. Such is the original formation of this poem, that as it admits no human manners till the Fall, it can give little assistance to human conduct. Its end is to raise the thoughts above sublunary cares or pleasures. Yet the praise of that fortitude with which Abdiel maintained his singularity of virtue against the scorn of multitudes, may be accommodated to all times; and Raphael's reproof of Adam's curiosity after the planetary motions, with the answer returned by Adam, may be confidently opposed to any rule of life which any poet has delivered.

"The thoughts which are occasionally called forth in the progress, are such as could only be produced by an imagination in the highest degree fervid and active, to which materials were supplied by incessant study and unlimited curiosity. The heat of Milton's mind might be said to sublimate his learning, to throw off into his work the spirit of science unmingled with its grosser parts.

"He had considered creation in its whole extent, and his descriptions are therefore learned. He had accustomed his imagination to unrestrained indulgence; and his conceptions, therefore, were extensive. The characteristic quality of his poem is sublimity. He sometimes descends to the elegant; but his element is the great. He can occasionally invest himself with grace; but his natural port is gigantick loftiness. He can please when pleasure is required; but it is his peculiar power to astonish.

"He seems to have been well acquainted with his own genius, and to know what it was that Nature had bestowed upon him more bountifully than upon others,—the power of displaying the vast, illuminating the splendid, enforcing the awful, darkening the gloomy, and aggravating the dreadful: he therefore chose a subject on which too much could not be said; on which he might tire his fancy without the censure of extravagance.

"The appearances of Nature, and the occurrences of life, did not satiate his appetite of greatness. To paint things as they are, requires a minute attention, and employs the memory rather than the fancy. Milton's delight was to sport in the wide regions of possibility; reality was a scene too narrow for his mind. He sent his faculties out upon discovery, into worlds where only imagination can travel; and delighted to form new modes of existence, and furnish sentiment and action to superior beings; to trace the counsels of hell, or accompany the choirs of heaven.

"But he could not be always in other worlds; he must sometimes revisit earth, and tell of things visible and known. When he cannot raise wonder by the sublimity of his mind, he gives delight by its fertility.

"Whatever be his subject, he never fails to fill the imagination. But his images and descriptions of the scenes or operations of Nature do not seem to be always copied from original form, nor to have the freshness, raciness, and energy of immediate observation. He saw Nature, as Dryden expresses it, through the spectacles of books; and on most occasions calls learning to his assistance."

"The defects and faults of *Paradise Lost*—for faults and defects every work of man must have—it is the business of impartial criticism to discover. As, in displaying the excellence of Milton, I have not made long quotations, because of selecting beauties there had been no end, I shall in the same general manner mention that which seems to deserve censure; for what Englishman can take delight

in transcribing passages, which, if they lessen the reputation of Milton, diminish in some degree the honour of our country?"

"But, whatever be the advantage of rhyme, I cannot prevail on myself to wish that Milton had been a rhymers; for I cannot wish his work to be other than it is; yet, like other heroes, he is to be admired rather than imitated. He that thinks himself capable of astonishing, may write blank verse; but those who hope only to please, must condescend to rhyme.

"The highest praise of genius is original invention. Milton cannot be said to have contrived the structure of an epic poem; and therefore owes reverence to that vigour and amplitude of mind to which all generations must be indebted for the art of poetical narration, for the texture of the fable, the variation of incidents, the interposition of dialogue, and all the stratagems that surprise and enchain attention. But, of all the borrowers from Homer, Milton is perhaps the least indebted. He was naturally a thinker for himself, confident of his own abilities, and disdainful of help or hindrance. He did not refuse admission to the thoughts or images of his predecessors: but he did not seek them. From his contemporaries he neither courted nor received support: there is in his writings nothing by which the pride of other authors might be gratified, or favour gained; no exchange of praise, nor solicitation of support. His great works were performed under discountenance, and in blindness; but difficulties vanished at his touch. He was born for whatever is arduous; and his work is not the greatest of heroic poems, only because it is not the first."



DO cast the slightest doubt upon the statements of so learned a Historian as MACAULAY, who has deservedly received the homage of all classes of readers for his deep research, general accuracy, and eloquent language, would be thought an act of such gross ignorance or impudence in any humble author who so presumed, as would place him beyond the pale of intellectual society. But it must be admitted that it frequently happens that men so highly gifted as Macaulay are occasionally led away by their oratorical powers to express themselves in language not quite in accordance with the truth of the circumstances they desire to impress upon the minds of their readers. The great Macaulay affords an instance of this in the third chapter<sup>1</sup> of his "*History of England*," in writing upon the "Immorality of the Polite Literature of England," while alluding to the verse of Waller, and also to that of "Cowley, distinguished as a loyalist and as a man of letters, [who] raised his voice courageously against the immorality which disgraced both letters and loyalty," where he observes:

*"A mightier poet, tried at once by pain, danger, poverty, obloquy, and blindness, meditated, undisturbed by the obscene tumult which raged all around him, a song so sublime and so holy that it would not have misbecome the lips of those ethereal Virtues whom he saw, with that inner eye which no calamity could darken, flinging down on the jasper pavement their crowns of amaranth and gold."*

The Noble Historian, when he penned this exquisitely beautiful piece of eulogy, must have forgotten that it was not until after the Restoration,—and then only

<sup>1</sup> The History of England, by Thomas Babington Macaulay. Vol. i., 1849, p. 399.



for a short time was the Poet in actual danger,—that Milton commenced his poem, *Paradise Lost*. Though reduced in circumstances, there is nothing to prove, that, after the Restoration was settled, Milton was in actual poverty, or that he suffered from any other very severe bodily calamity than his blindness. It was at that period, as the learned HALLAM so touchingly records, that

*“The remembrance of early reading came over his dark and lonely path like the moon emerging from the clouds. Then it was that the Muse was truly his; not only as she poured her creative inspiration into his mind, but as the Daughter of Memory, coming with fragments of ancient melodies; the voice of Euripides, and Homer, and Tasso; sounds that he had loved in youth, and treasured up for the solace of his age.”*



HOWEVER much we may admire the typographical execution of modern editions of the standard works of this country, and take advantage of any additional information obtained by the researches of the later editors of the works of distinguished men; yet, as valuable records, few of the modern editions can equal those which have been edited by Authors selected by the Booksellers of the past and early part of the present century. In those days, as no doubt with regard to some particular works at the present time, the associated Booksellers, having a mutual interest in the success of a book, employed, and paid most liberally, those whose abilities entitled them to have such editorial labours entrusted to their care; but in these days, persons with high-sounding titles often edit works, and write prefaces upon subjects of which they absolutely know nothing, beyond what may be easily acquired by a few hours study of an Encyclopædia.

Consequently, in our present researches touching the particular period when Milton is supposed to have conceived the idea of his *Paradise Lost*, we fall back to the standard edition of the works of that Author, as edited by the late Venerable Archdeacon Todd, combining the biographical and editorial labours of Toland, Birch, and others. We are quite aware that the more dashing and faster Scholars of the present period consider the Biography of Milton from the pen of Todd as “dull” and “prosy;” and that the text of *Paradise Lost*, in his edition, is too much “overladen” with notes and parallel passages from other Poets. With regard to the former, it will be found by those who desire to study the life of Milton, that Todd is an authority that will seldom lead them into error; and as to the latter, that subsequent editors have availed themselves of the choicest of his illustrations. In making these observations we do not mean to cast any slight upon the editorial merits of the later issues of the works of Milton. On the contrary, we have had occasion to acknowledge how much the inquirer is indebted to the labours of Hawkins,

Mitford,<sup>1</sup> Masson, and Keightley; as also to the Miltonian researches of Hunter,<sup>2</sup> Marsh,<sup>3</sup> and Hamilton.<sup>4</sup>

On referring to Todd, we find that the Venerable Archdeacon commences his "*Inquiry into the Origin of Paradise Lost*," by stating<sup>5</sup> that

"The earliest observation respecting the origin of *Paradise Lost* appears to have been made by VOLTAIRE, in the year 1727. He was then studying in England, and had become so well acquainted with our language as to publish an English Essay on epick poetry, in which are the following words: 'Milton, as he was travelling through Italy in his youth, saw at Florence a comedy called ADAMO, written by one Andreini,<sup>6</sup> a player, and dedicated to Mary de Medicis, Queen of France. The subject of the play was the Fall of Man: the actors, God, the Devils, the Angels, Adam, Eve, the Serpent, Death, and the Seven Mortal Sins. That topick, so improper for a drama, but so suitable to the absurd genius of the Italian stage, as it was at that time, was handled in a manner entirely conformable to the extravagance of the design. The scene opens with a Chorus of Angels; and a Cherubim thus speaks for the rest:

"A la lira del Ciel Iri sia l' arco,  
Corde le sfere sien, note le stelle,  
Sien le pause e i sospir l' aure novelle,  
E'l tempo i tempi à misurar non parce!"

*Let the rainbow be the fiddlestick of the heavens! Let the planets be the notes of our music! Let time beat carefully the measure, and the winds make the sharps, etc.* Thus the play begins, and every scene rises above the last in profusion of impertinence!

"Milton pierced through the absurdity of that performance to the hidden majesty of the subject; which, being altogether unfit for the stage, yet might be, for the genius of Milton, and his only, the foundation of an epick poem.

"He took from that ridiculous trifle the first hint of the noblest work which human imagination has ever attempted; and which he executed more than twenty years after."

<sup>1</sup> MITFORD. We believe that the learned and lamented Rev. John Mitford never saw the Trinity College Manuscript. Consequently, he derived all his information respecting it from the notices of his predecessors.

<sup>2</sup> HUNTER. Milton. A Sheaf of Gleanings after his Biographers and Annotators. I. Genealogical Investigation. II. Notes on some of his Poems. *Critical and Historical Tracts*, No. III. June, 1850.

<sup>3</sup> MARSH. Papers connected with the Affairs of Milton and his Family. Edited by John Fitchett Marsh, from the Original Documents in his possession. *Printed for the Chetham Society*. 1857. 4to.

<sup>4</sup> HAMILTON. Original Papers illustrative of the Life and Writings of John Milton, including sixteen Letters of State written by him; now

first published from MSS. in the State Paper Office. With an Appendix of Documents relating to his Connection with the Powell Family. Collected and edited, with the permission of the Master of the Rolls, by W. Douglas Hamilton, of H.M. State Paper Office, and University College, London; author of "*Outlines of the Constitutional History of England*." *Printed for the Camden Society*. M.DCCC.LIX.

<sup>5</sup> The Poetical Works of Milton. Rev. Henry J. Todd, etc. 1809. Vol. ii., pp. 210-11.

<sup>6</sup> L'Adamo, Sacra Rappresentazione, da Giovanni-Battista Andreini. *Milano: Geron. Bordini*. 1613. 4to.

This is the first edition of the work; and from the celebrity it has obtained from the relation of Voltaire, it is much sought for, and bears a high price. The text is illustrated with engravings, after the designs of Bocaccini.

During the latter part of the fifteenth, and throughout the sixteenth and the early part of the seventeenth centuries, the most popular productions of the press in Italy were the RAPPRESENTATIONE SACRE; Sacred Dramas or Mysteries,—Histories, etc., of which the *Adamo* of *Andreini* was an example.

Warburton,<sup>1</sup> as well as Johnson, ridiculed the preceding relation of Voltaire. Mickle, an enthusiastic admirer of Milton, doubted the existence of the *Adamo*; while Hayley thought it probable that Milton obtained a copy of it when in Italy. Milton went to Italy in 1638. The date of the *Lycidas*, as written on the first page of the original manuscript, is November 1637. Though the poems consecrated to the memory of Edward King did not appear until 1638, yet the volume may have been printed at the close of the preceding year, and the contribution of Milton revised by him in that year.

There are no positive data from which we may determine what month in 1638 Milton journeyed to Italy. That he did not leave England until after the 13th of April, 1638, is evident from a letter<sup>2</sup> written by Sir Henry Wootton upon the subject of his *Comus*; as in that letter Sir Henry Wootton gives advice to Milton upon the subject of his then intended travels. But the fact of the original design of a drama on the subject of *Paradise Lost*, commencing on page 34 in the Trinity College Manuscript, immediately after the *Lycidas*, proves that the design of the Epic Poem was not drawn until after November, 1637; and the date, February 9, 1645, to the Sonnet, page 43 in the same volume, addressed to Henry Lawes, satisfactorily proves that the drama was contemplated before that date. Milton returned to England in 1639;<sup>3</sup> but if he sketched that design in his Common-Place Book during the period of his stay in Italy, *Paradise Lost* may be fairly presumed to have been designed or commenced *twenty-eight years* before it appeared, the first edition bearing the date 1668. If he did not form his design before 1644, as would appear from the Manuscript, Milton, in that case, added nothing to his volume from November 1637, to February 1645; and, consequently, the date of that design would be only *twenty-three years* before *Paradise Lost* appeared.

With these data before us, as arrived at, without the smallest difficulty, from the examination of the Trinity College Manuscript, we are quite at a loss to imagine how so learned a literary investigator as Keightley could, with the volume before him, open his "Introduction to *Paradise Lost*" by stating, "It is probable that Milton early conceived the idea of writing an epic poem; *but we have no means of*

<sup>1</sup> Works of Milton, by Todd. Vol. ii., pp. 212-13.

<sup>2</sup> Works of Milton, by Todd. Vol. vi., pp. 179-186.

<sup>3</sup> The autograph inscription, dated June 10,

1639, by Milton, in the Album of the family of the Cardouins, at Geneva, proves the presence of Milton at Geneva at that time. Mr. Hunter, in "SHEAF OF GLEANINGS" concerning Milton, p. 23, notices: "It would seem that he was on his return to England, where he is said to have arrived in the month of August, 1639."

ascertaining the exact time, as there is no hint of such a design in any thing he wrote previous to his setting out on his travels."<sup>1</sup>

The fact that no proof exists of a *first idea* of such a poem having been conceived by Milton *before* he went to Italy, and the proof that it was conceived either while there, or immediately on his return, do not warrant the assertion of Mr. Keightley,—“*It is impossible now to ascertain when he first conceived the idea of making the Fall of Man the subject of a Poem.*”<sup>2</sup> Aubrey, in stating that *Paradise Lost* was not commenced until even 1658, may be correct as to the fact of Milton then only again taking up the subject of his intended Drama, and converting it into the Poem as published.

In the first design of the *Dramatis Personæ*,—see fac-simile, plate IV.,—Milton has recorded his original idea of “OTHER TRAGEDIES,—ADAM IN BANISHMENT,—THE FLOOD,—ABRAM IN EGYPT.” Thus it is very evident he contemplated a series of Sacred Dramas; with the view, no doubt, of shewing that such subjects could be treated, and represented on the stage, in a manner very different from that in which they are published or exhibited in Italy.

While, however, paying tribute to the editorial labours of Archdeacon Todd, we desire to observe, that, it sometimes happens, when distinguished and most learned men undertake the editing of any great work, they do not always condescend to enter sufficiently into those details which their readers may perchance consider of considerable interest; or they are content to depend upon others for information on points they do not esteem of sufficient importance to command their personal attention. Whether the Venerable Archdeacon Todd devoted any time to the examination of the Trinity College Manuscript, he does not state. He refers to it frequently, in the same way as other editors of the poetical works of Milton have done, taking for granted the faithful examination of the Manuscript by his predecessors.

<sup>1</sup> Life of Milton, by Keightley, p. 397.

<sup>2</sup> “As we have observed above, it is impossible now to ascertain when he first conceived the idea of making the Fall of Man the subject of a poem. Aubrey tells us that he commenced *Paradise Lost* in 1658; but he must have had the subject in contemplation long before that time. It is also uncertain whether he at first intended it to be an epic poem or a tragedy. Phillips tells us it was to have been the latter; and he mentions some verses of the commencement of Satan’s address to the Sun in the fourth book of *Paradise Lost*, ‘which,’ he says, ‘several years before the poem was begun, were shewn to him, and some others, as designed for

the very beginning of this tragedy.’ This account, we think, may be correct in the main; for in the Cambridge Manuscript there are two plans of a tragedy, or mystery, on the Fall of Man, in the second and more perfect of which ‘Lucifer appears after his overthrow, bemoans himself, seeks revenge upon Man;’ and this, though not the ‘very beginning of this tragedy,’ is Lucifer’s first appearance, and nothing could be more appropriate than that address to the Sun. It is probable however that the poet changed his mind before he made any progress in the drama, for if he had written any portion of the dialogue, it is likely that he would, in his usual manner, have preserved it.”—*Life of Milton*, by Keightley, pp. 399-400.

Accordingly, after enumerating *at the close of the Poem* the three original designs for the Tragedy or Mystery of *Paradise Lost*, as given accurately in fac-simile, plate IV., Archdeacon Todd states, "The next sketch, as Dr. Johnson has remarked, seems to have attained more maturity, and is entitled ADAM UNPARADIZ'D." Had the venerable editor seen or considered the original manuscript, he might have informed his readers, without quoting the authority of Dr. Johnson, that, on page 40, after describing the scene of the "Chorus of Shepherds" in *Sodom*, Milton has given on the same page a more lengthened programme of his intended Tragedy, which closes with a note by the author, "Compare this with the former draught."

The Tragedy of SAMSON AGONISTES was not published until 1671, it then appearing as an addition to the first edition of *Paradise Regained*. It was no doubt composed by Milton after that poem, the subject being allegorical of the unison "of his own circumstances with those of Samson blind and among the Philistines."

Archdeacon Todd has also given *in type*, as "*An Appendix to Samson Agonistes*," the contents of pages 36, 37, 38, 39, 40 and 41, of the Trinity College Manuscript; but in doing so, he has affixed to the chief subjects therein stated, *numerals from i. to c.*, the numbers continuing through the "*British Tragedy*" outlined on pages 37 and 38. In the original there are *no numerals* to denote the heads of the acts or scenes, except those to the design of the Tragedy—not Tragedies,—illustrative of a portion of British History on pages 37 and 38, where the divisions are numbered by Milton from 1 to 23 inclusive. Following the plan adopted by Archdeacon Todd, the contents of the same pages, together with that of page 35, are reprinted almost line for line in Mr. Keightley's edition of the Poems of Milton, there also forming an appendix to *Samson Agonistes*. Mr. Keightley, however, leaves out all the valuable information given by Todd; and does not even record the remark made by Milton at the close of this last outline of *Paradise Lost*, in reference to the designs of the Poem, which he had previously outlined on p. 35.



EARLY all the Editions of *Paradise Lost*, published during the last hundred years, contain very much the same information respecting the poem; the various Editors gleaning, each in their turn, more or less from the labours of their predecessors. Yet, withal, the reader never tires, scanning the contents over and over again, as the school-boy and the old man does *Robinson Crusoe*. There is indeed always something to awaken a fresh interest in everything connected with the composition of a poem which has reached almost every corner of the civilized world.

Never was a work written under similar and such remarkable circumstances as the epic poem *Paradise Lost*. Its author had, by Divine Providence, been permitted to survive the calamities which he had been mainly instrumental in

bringing upon his country. With the noblest feeling of independence he sought to relieve his countrymen from a thralldom which bid fair to crush their intellectual energies. While seeking to remove the fetters that enchained the freedom of opinion touching the Episcopacy and Government of the Church, Milton entered into an arena of controversy, the extent of which he could not circumscribe. Placing his utmost confidence in the MAN who appeared, according to his views, to be, as it were, appointed to carry out the opinions he entertained, Milton gave him the full support of his marvellously gifted mind. He acted with the purest motives. He believed that the cause he had espoused was the right one, and in no instance did he betray it. The reward he met with at the hands of his Parasite was that of almost total neglect. Cromwell had gained, chiefly by the powerful pen of Milton, the object he had in view,—THE DEATH OF HIS KING,—Milton had become stone blind in the service of Cromwell; who, finding him then of comparatively little use, cast him off, reducing his salary as Latin Secretary to almost half of its original amount! It is, however, stated by some of his Biographers, that, during the period of his retirement from the duties of Latin Secretary until the Restoration, he was daily provided with “*a table*,” at which he might dispense his hospitality to the many Foreigners and persons who came to visit him,—a plum cake as a peace offering to an injured child! But it was not until a few years after the Restoration, that the chief poetical production of his life was composed. He was then, comparatively, a happy man—he had outlived the stormy period he had, unintentionally, himself assisted in creating. He lived to acknowledge the clemency of his King, and from that hour wrote nothing that could in any way justify an idea that he received ungraciously the tacit kindness bestowed upon him. Though Royalty may have felt that Milton, struck with total blindness, had been visited by a higher power with a calamity far more severe than death; yet there existed a strong party feeling against Milton; a party who could not forget the results of his antecedents. It was during that period, that Milton composed his *Paradise Lost*. Glad to avail himself of the services of his family or daily visitors, the poem was completed, a few verses at a time, during a period of several years, and, when published in 1667, appeared without any indication of patronage. It was generally considered as the production of the over-wrought mind of one whose name had fallen into disrepute; no one appearing willing to become the patron of the work of a man who by the merey rather than the justice of his Sovereign had escaped the punishment of a regicide.

Consequently, the Publication of *Paradise Lost* met with no great success. It has been stated, that there was a great difficulty in getting it licensed, and consequently in finding any publisher to undertake the sale of it. We have given, in the ensuing pages, a detailed account of the many issues of the first impression during the years 1667, 1668, and 1669, by different booksellers with *altered title-pages*; from which we can come to no other conclusion than the following: That, as the Agreement by Milton for the sale of the copyright of his Poem to Simmons, bears date 27 April,

1667, it is more than probable that Simmons, the purchaser, not feeling quite certain as to what effect the publication of a work by Milton might have upon his business as a printer, withheld his own name from the title-page, employing one Peter Parker ostensibly to print and sell the book. Simmons did not appear as the Printer until 1668, when, discovering that the work was getting into repute, and that his fears were groundless, he had a new title-page printed, and issued copies of the work with his own imprint, adding a few introductory pages, preceded by a short note, which is subscribed with his name, "S. Simmons."



ON the subject of the Sale of *Paradise Lost*, the subjoined passage from the powerful pen of Dr. Johnson is particularly interesting :

"The slow sale and tardy reputation of this poem have been always mentioned as evidences of neglected merit, and of the uncertainty of literary fame ; and enquiries have been made, and conjectures offered, about the causes of its long obscurity and late reception. But has the case been truly stated ? Have not lamentation and wonder been lavished on an evil that was never felt ?

"That, in the reigns of Charles and James, the *Paradise Lost* received no publick acclamations, is readily confessed. Wit and literature were on the side of the Court : and who that solicited favour or fashion would venture to praise the defender of the regicides ? All that he himself could think his due, from evil tongues in evil days, was that reverential silence which was generously preserved. But it cannot be inferred that his poems was not read, or not, however unwillingly, admired.

"The sale, if it be considered, will justify the publick. Those who have no power to judge of past times but by their own, should always doubt their conclusions. The call for books was not in Milton's age what it is at present. To read was not then a general amusement ; neither traders, nor often gentlemen, thought themselves disgraced by ignorance. The women had not then aspired to literature, nor was every house supplied with a closet of knowledge. Those, indeed, who professed learning, were not less learned than at any other time ; but of that middle race of students who read for pleasure or accomplishment, and who buy the numerous products of modern typography, the number was then comparatively small. To prove the paucity of readers, it may be sufficient to remark, that the nation had been satisfied from 1623 to 1664, that is, forty-one years, with only two editions of the works of Shakspeare, 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 of versification new to all, and disgusting to many, was an uncommon example of the prevalence of genius. The demand did not immediately increase ; for 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. The means of proclaiming the publication of new books have been produced by that general literature which now pervades the nation through all its ranks.

"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 security 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 consciousness, and waiting without impatience the vicissitudes of opinion, and the impartiality of a future generation."

Upon the same subject, the information collected by Archdeacon Todd is equally interesting :

“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 impression. 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 bookseller; 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 Shakspeare, 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 of versification 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 increase;’ 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 security 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 consciousness, 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 acknowledgment 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.’”<sup>1</sup>

“Of the anecdote, related by Richardson, respecting the celebrity which *Paradise Lost* has been supposed to owe to Denham, the accurate investigation of Mr. Malone has detected the improbability. ‘The elder Richardson,’ says this acute and learned writer, ‘speaking of the tardy reputation of *Paradise Lost*, 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 House one morning with a sheet of *Paradise Lost* wet from the press, in his hand; and, being asked what it was, he replied, ‘Part of the noblest poem that ever was written

<sup>1</sup> Poetical Works of Milton, by Todd. Vol. i., pp. 109-11, 115-119.



*in any language or in any age.*' However, the book remained unknown till it was produced, about two years afterwards, by Lord Buckhurst on the following occasion. That nobleman, in company with Mr. Fleetwood Shephard, who frequently told the story to Dr. Tancred Robinson, an eminent physician, and Mr. Richardson's informer, looking over some books in Little Britain, met with *Paradise Lost*; and, being surprised with some passages in turning it over, bought it. The bookseller requested his Lordship to speak in its favour, if he liked it; for the *impression lay on his hands as waste paper*. Lord Buckhurst,—whom Richardson inaccurately calls the Earl of Dorset, for he did not succeed to that title till some years afterwards,—having read the poem, sent it to Dryden, who in a short time returned it with this answer: '*This man cuts us all out, and the ancients too.*' Much the same character, adds Mr. Richardson, 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 seldom, and keeping little company. Dryden amazed him with speaking loftily of it. 'Why, Mr. Dryden,' says he,—Sir W. L. told me the thing himself,—'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 should get into his hands one of the sheets of *Paradise Lost*, while it was working off at the press, 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 passing through the press, 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*,"—the Venerable Archdeacon Todd remarks,—"I must notice a communication, made to the publick not long since by a gentleman possessing the original edition, of the following lines, apparently written by a female<sup>1</sup> 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,

<sup>1</sup> It is much to be regretted that a fac-simile of the writing of even one of the fifteen lines was not given or sought for by Archdeacon Todd. He, however, did not possess much antiquarian feeling. Had he carefully examined the writing, in the Trinity College Manuscript, of

those parts not in the autograph of Milton, he would have at once seen the fallacy of supposing that portion of the manuscript to be in the autograph of "*five females*," as stated by Warton, and apparently acquiesced in by the learned biographer.

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 sound of like endings.' Dr. Symmons, indeed, concedes that the testimony which has been given, united with what is supplied by the verses themselves, will not suffer us *to doubt of their being the production of Milton.* 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 pursu'd by conquering foes;  
 Yet daring stays behind, to guard the rear  
 Of her black armies whither without fear  
 They may retreat, till her alternate course  
 Bring her about again with rallied force.  
 Hark! how the lion's terour loud proclaims  
 The gladsome tidings of day's gentle beams,  
 And, long-kept silence breaking, rudely wakes  
 The feather'd train, which soon their concert makes,  
 And with unmeasur'd notes, unnumber'd lays,  
 Do joyfully salute the lightsome rays.  
 But hearken yonder, where the louder voice  
 Of some keen hunter's horn hath once or twice  
 Recheated out its blast, which seems to drill  
 Th' opposing air, and with its echo fill.  
 Thither let's hie; and see, the toilsome hound,  
 Willing, pursues his labour, till he has found  
 Some hope of what he follows, then with fresht  
 And pleasing clamour tells it to the rest.

"O Thou, who sometimes by most sacred voice  
 Father of Light wert styl'd, let my free choice  
 (Though all my works be evil, seldom right,)  
 Shun loving darkness rather than the light.  
 Let thy essential brightness, with quick glance,  
 Dart through the feggy mist of ignorance  
 Into the darken'd intellect, and thence  
 Dispel whatever clouds o'erspread the sense;  
 Till, with illuminated eyes, the mind  
 All the dark corners in itself can find,  
 And fill them all with radiant light, which may  
 Convert my gloomy night to sun-shine day.  
*Though dark, O God! if guarded by thy might*  
*I see with intellectual eyes; the night*  
 To me a noontide blaze, illumin'd by  
 The glorious splendour of thy Majesty!"



THE interest attached to the *First* printed edition of *Paradise Lost* is so universal, that we hope the subjoined Bibliographical Memoranda<sup>1</sup> of the nine issues of that impression, as well as of the first two editions of *Paradise Regained*, will not be considered unworthy of being here recorded.

I. PARADISE IOST. A POEM written in ten books by Iohn Milton. Licensed and Entred 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,* 4to. pp. 342. 1667.

No prefatory matter was published with this, the first issue of the first edition. The Poem commences immediately after the title, and ends on reverse of V v 2.

II. Paradise lost, as before; but the name of the author in a larger italic type.

*Imprint the same.*

4to. pp. 342. 1667.

For the information respecting the variation of the type in the title of this issue, and also in that marked No. VI., we are indebted to Mr. John Bryant, well known, some years since, as an industrious bookseller, but now as one of the Book-Cataloguers in our house of business.

III. Paradise lost, a Poem in ten books. The Author J. M. Licensed and Entred according to Order.

*London Printed, &c., as before; but in this issue, printed has a capital P; "near" is spelt "neer," and the second and third "and" have a capital A.* 4to. pp. 342. 1668.

In some copies of this issue are occasionally found the prefatory leaves printed by Simmons; but they were evidently not issued with the copies bearing the name of Peter Parker in the imprint. In most copies of the first issue, 1667, the alterations in the imprint here pointed out occur.

IV. Paradise lost. As before.

*Imprint the same.*

4to. pp. 342. 1668.

In a copy originally belonging to George Vertue, the historical engraver, having the above imprint, and bearing date 1668, the type in the *body* of the title is *larger*. The copy<sup>2</sup> is in its original binding, and is without any prefatory matter. On the title, Vertue has written, after the Licence, "*This being the first Edition he published.*" He had evidently never seen a copy dated 1667. The fly-leaf of the copy bears an autograph note by Vertue, relating to the portrait of Milton when twenty-one years of age, engraved by Vertue from the original, which was in the possession of the third Wife of Milton, passing afterwards to Speaker Onslow.

V. Paradise lost. A Poem in ten books. The Author John Milton.

*London, printed by S. Simmons, and to be sold by S. Thomson at the Bishops-Head in Duck Lane, H. Mortlock at the White Hart in Westminster Hall, M. Walker under St. Dunstons Church in Fleet street, and R. Boulter at the Turks-Head in Bishopsgate street.* 4to. pp. 356. 1668.

This issue has a reprinted title and seven leaves of prefatory matter, comprising "The

<sup>1</sup> These Memoranda are from my Bibliographical Account of the Printed Works of the English Poets until the period of the Restoration.  
S. LEIGH S.

<sup>2</sup> It was sold in the Library of the late Lancelot Holland, Esq., of Beckenham, Kent, in Wellington-street, July 1860. It produced 4*l.* 6*s.*

Argument," remarks on "The Verse," and a list of "Errata," preceded by the subjoined address on the upper part of the first page of the preliminary matter.

"The Printer to the Reader. Courteous Reader, There was no Argument at first intended to the Book, but for the satisfaction of many that have desired it, I have procur'd it, and withall a reason of that which stumbled many others, why the Poem Rimes not. *S. Simmons.*"

In the British Museum copy of this issue, the alteration in the Address appears as noted in No. VII.

VI. Paradise lost, as before, 1668; but before and after the name of the Author are stars in lieu of four lines of ornament, as in the preceding issue.

VII. Paradise lost. A Poem in ten Books. The Author John Milton.

*London, Printed by S. Simmons, and are to be sold by T. Helder at the Angel in Little Brittain,* 4to. pp. 356. 1669.

This has the same prefatory matter as appeared in 1668, with the exception of the first leaf, A 2, of the Argument being reprinted, and having an alteration in the Address from the printer. The Address here abruptly leaves off after *desired it*, with "*is procured.*" In some copies dated 1668, this alteration in the address occurs. It is singular to notice that in the British Museum copy of this issue, 1669, this alteration in the Address is not made.

VIII. Paradise lost, as before.

*Imprint the same, except that the word Angel is in capitals, and after the word Brittain a full stop; though the British Museum copy of No. VII. has the full stop.* 4to. pp. 356. 1669.

In this issue, the address to the Reader is omitted, and the whole of the preliminary matter is reprinted. In some copies the first leaf of the preliminary matter only is reprinted, as also the last two leaves of the Poem.

IX. Paradise lost, as before. In some copies the date, 1669, occurs beneath the imprint, in lieu of at the end of the last line.

—o—

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 next door to the Golden Lion in Aldersgate-street.*

8vo. pp. 342. 1674.

Latin lines, "In Paradisum Amissam Summi Poetæ Johannis Miltoni," subscribed "S. B. M.D." Others "On Paradise Lost," by A. M.; and "The Verse" occupying three leaves, follow the title; the Poem then commencing on B, and ending on Y 7, p. 333. On comparing the title-pages of this and the following edition, variations will probably be found.

Paradise Lost, a Poem in Twelve Books. The Author John Milton. The Third Edition Revised and augmented by the same Author.

*London, Printed by S. Simmons next door to the Golden Lion in Aldersgate-street.*

8vo. pp. 340. 1678.

A portrait of the author precedes the title. On A 2 are commendatory verses in Latin, by S. B., M.D., followed by others in English by A. M. Then "The Verse" and "The Argument." The British Museum copy has a reprinted title bearing only the name of Jacob Tonson as bookseller.

Paradise Lost. A Poem. In Twelve Books. The Author John Milton. The Fourth Edition, Adorn'd with Sculptures.

*London, Printed by Miles Flesher, for Richard Bently, at the Post Office in Russell-street, and Jacob Tonson at the Judges-Head in Chancery Lane near Fleet-street.*

fol. pp. 354 without the plates. 1688.

A portrait of the author, by White, precedes the title. A leaf containing note of "The Verse" follows the title, the poem commencing on B; the twelfth book ends on Z 2, p. 343, after which are three leaves occupied by the names of the "Nobility and Gentry That

encourag'd, by Subscription, the Printing this edition of Milton's *Paradise Lost*." An engraving precedes each book.

This is the first folio edition. Others followed in 1692 and 1695.

PARADISE REGAIN'D. A Poem in IV. Books. To which is added *Samson Agonistes*. The Author John Milton.

*London, Printed by J. M. for John Starkey at the Mitre in Fleetstreet, near Temple-Bar.*  
8vo. pp. 220. 1671.

First edition. The poem commences, without any prefatory matter, on B; a leaf, with "Licensed, July 2. 1670," preceding the title. On I, occurs another title, "*Samson Agonistes, a Dramatic Poem*," with a motto from Aristotle's *Poetics*. *Imprint as before*. This piece has fresh paging, and ends on P 3, p. 101, having on the reverse some "Omissa." This is followed by a page of Errata in both Poems.

It is interesting here to notice that the initials of Milton occur in the imprint as the *printer* of the volume. Such was frequently the case when a work was printed solely at the expense of the author.

*Paradise Regain'd, etc., as before.*

*London, Printed for John Starkey at the Mitre in Fleet-street, near Temple-Bar.*

8vo. pp. 136. 1680.

A leaf with "*Licensed*" on it precedes the title; the poems commencing, without any prefatory matter, on A 3, p. 5, and ending on I 2, rev., p. 132; after which is a catalogue of Books printed for John Starkey. "*Samson Agonistes*" has a separate title-page on E 4.



AS at the present day, so it was in former times frequently the custom for an author to be at the expense of printing his work, and to appoint several booksellers as his agents to sell it. The very early editions of the poems of Skelton, Poet-Laureat during the time of Henry VIII., bear in the imprint the names of different publishers, namely, Wight, Toy, Kytson, Wallye, Veale, etc., though in some cases *the same impression* bears the names of only two of them. Similar variations in the publishers occur in the First Edition of the Plays of Shakespeare and in many other works of that period. In some cases the name of the author or his initials occur in the imprint, specifying that the work was printed by or for him. An instance of the latter occurs in the imprint to the first edition of *Paradise Regain'd* issued in 1671, "*Printed by J. M. for John Starkey*." So again in the imprint to "*The History of Britain*" by Milton, 1670, "*Printed by J. M. for James Allestry*."

The *first* issue of copies of *Paradise Lost*, 1667, was without any prefatory matter, either from Milton or the printer. The *second* issue, 1667, only differs in the name of the author being in a *larger* type. The *third* issue, 1668, bears only the initials of the author, J. M., on the title. The *fourth* issue, 1668, varies only in the title being printed in a larger type. The *fifth* issue, 1668, varies in the names of the printer and publishers; and has seven leaves of preliminary matter, comprising the argument of the work, preceded by a short address from *S. Simmons*, whose name there appears for the first time as the Printer of the volume. The *sixth* issue, 1668, differs only in having stars before and after the name of Milton. The *seventh* issue, 1669, differs in the ornaments on the title, in the alteration of the address from the

Printer, and in the reprint of the prefatory leaves. The *eighth* issue, 1669, differs only in the imprint. The *ninth* issue, 1669, differs only in the date being at the foot of the title.

We do not profess to have collated the various issues of the first edition page by page; and therefore are unable to confirm the statement, that some of the leaves have been *cancelled* during the printing of the work, as related in the subjoined note from memoranda made by Archdeacon Todd on the authority of Capel Lofft.

“Of this edition, some errata appear to have been corrected in some sheets while they were passing through the press. I will mention an instance or two. Mr. Lofft observes, that the 257th line of the fifth book ‘begins a new paragraph in his copy of 1667, and that of 1669, 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 verse, and has no comma after *cloud*. The other agrees with Mr. Lofft’s statement. Again, the list of errata to my copy of 1668 directs *in* to be substituted for *with*, in the penultimate line of the third book: *In* is printed in both these copies of 1668. I have a copy of 1669, in which *with* remains.<sup>1</sup> In the copies of 1668 and 1669 the number of this verse also differs. Several variations of this kind might be pointed out. Perhaps some leaves were cancelled.”

“A critical and careful collation,” observes the accomplished Rev. John Mitford, “of the copies of *Paradise Lost*, under these title-pages of different dates, will discover several variations in punctuation, orthography, and paging, and sometimes a change of words of one syllable. These alterations were probably made in the course of the press-work, which may have been stopped for new revised proofs, and to insert amendments occurring to the poet in the progress of the work through the press. His blindness preventing his visual correction of the proof-sheets, might occasion repeated readings to him, and some sheets may have been cancelled.”

#### PAGES 36, 39, AND 40.

PLATES V., VI., AND VII. FAC-SIMILES OF PAGES 36, 39, AND 40.

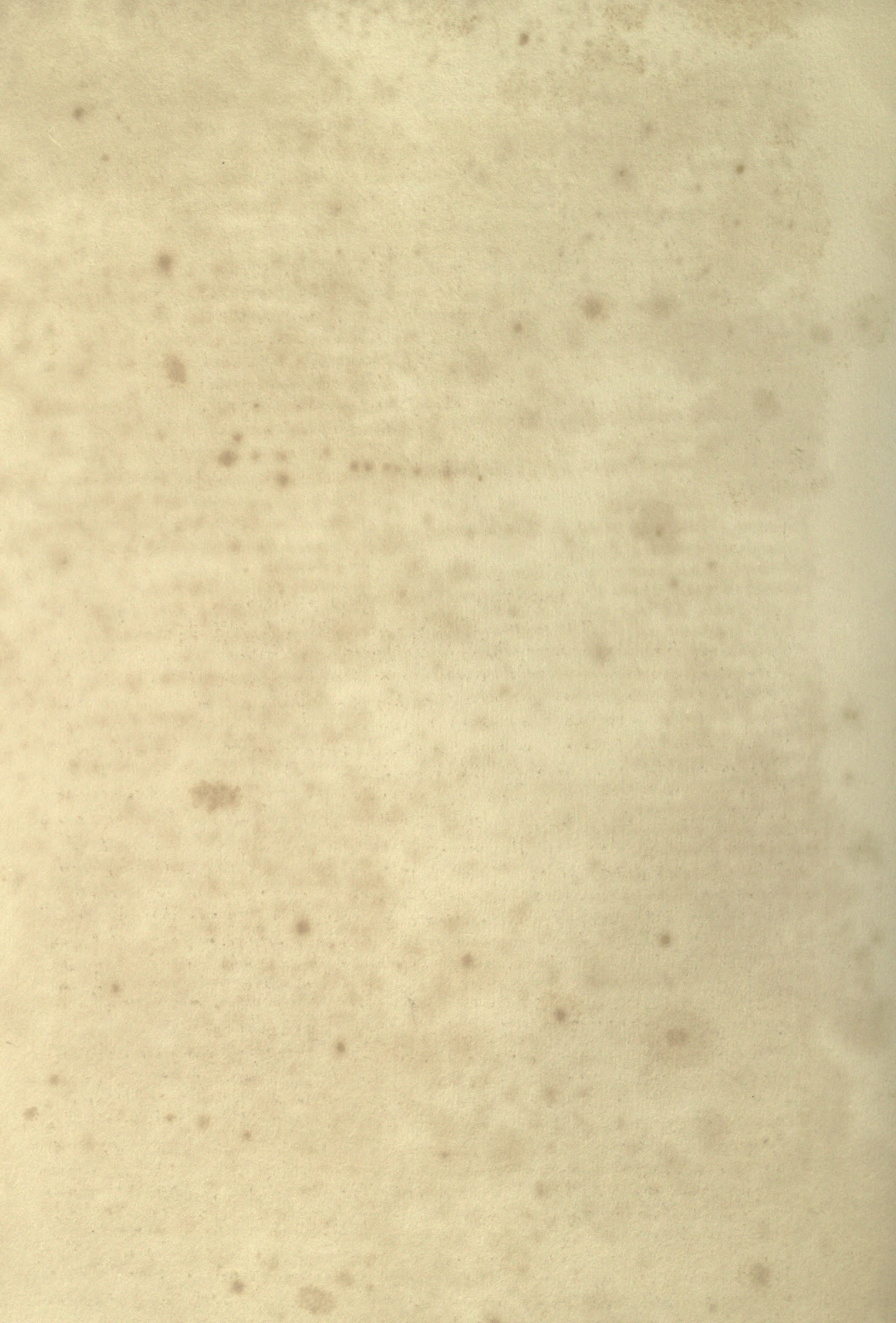


SCRIPTURAL TRAGEDIES. *Paradise Lost* was originally intended to have formed a Scriptural Drama, as seen by the three original plans of Milton on page 35 in the Trinity College Manuscript, fac-similed in the preceding Plate IV. The circumstance of the next pages in that Manuscript being so immediately occupied by the designs of other Dramas, induces us to think that Milton committed to paper, at about the same time, his first designs of the several Works he had then in view. When occupied in filling page 36, it is evident that, by mistake, he turned over an extra leaf of the volume, continuing the subject of page 36 on page 39, leaving pages 37 and 38 blank, filling them up afterwards.

It is seen that, at the close of page 39, the final syllable of the word *shepherds* was intended to have been as the connecting link for the commencement of the next page; but in turning over, and continuing the discourse, Milton has accidentally omitted it, and has not afterwards corrected the error.

<sup>1</sup> On examining the copies in the British Museum with regard to these errors, we find them just the reverse: *with* appearing in the issue of 1668, and *in* in that of 1669.







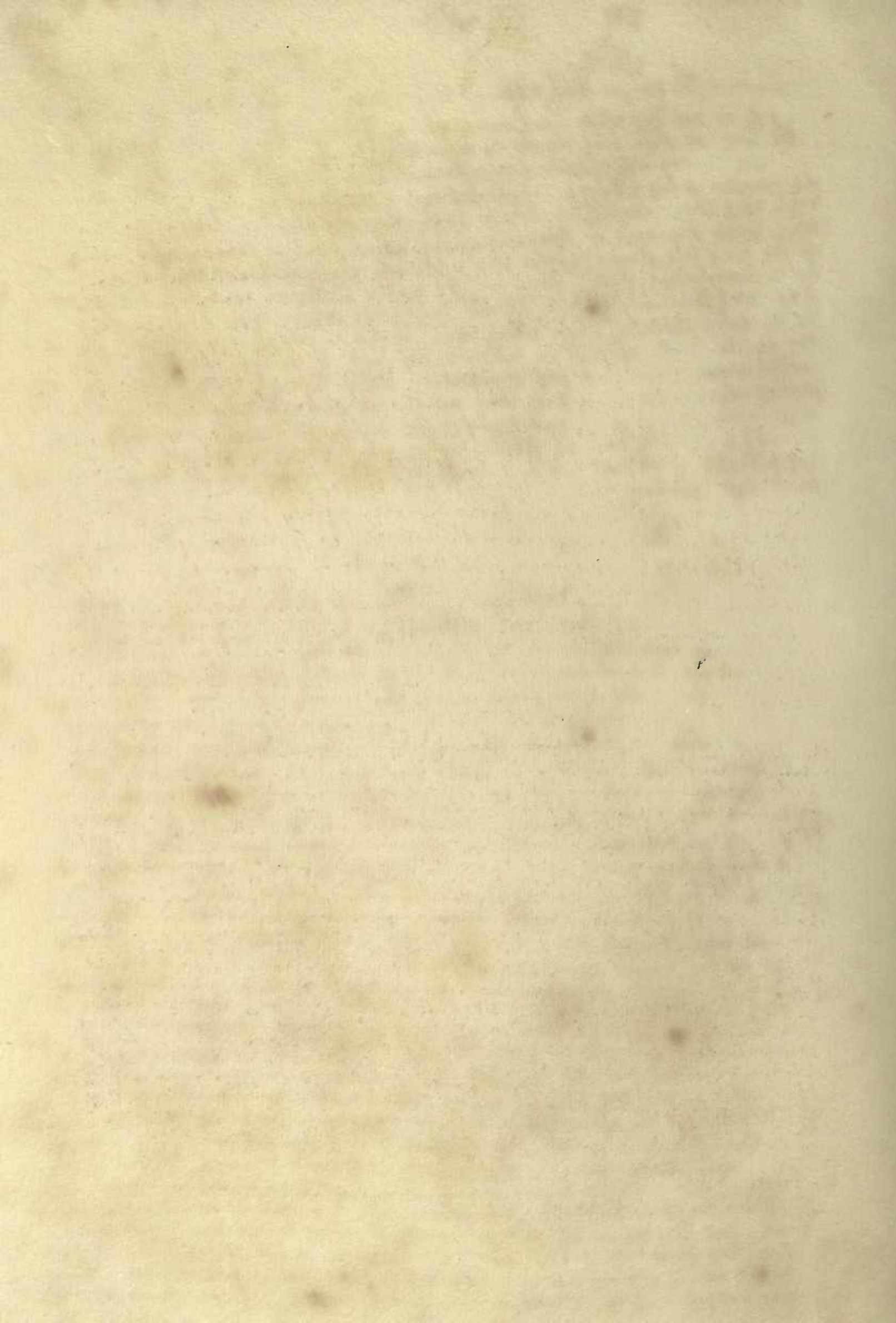
Abram from Morea, or Isaac redeemed. the oiconomie may be thus  
 the fift or sixt day after Abrahams departure, Heazer Abrams steward with  
 first alone and then with the chorus discours of Abrahams strange voiage thire  
 mistresse sorrow and plexity accompanied with frightfull dreams, and tell  
 the manner of his rising by night taking his servants and his son with him  
 next may come forth Sarah her self, after the chorus or Ismael or Ager  
 next some sheheard or companie of merchants passing through the mount  
 in the time that Abram was in the midwark relate to Sarah what they saw  
 hence lamentations, fears, wonders, the matter in the mean while divulged  
 Aner or Eshcol, or manne Abrams Confederats come to the house of Abrams  
 to be more certaine, or to bring news, in the mean while discoursing as  
 the worte wouts of such an action divers ways, bewayling the fate of so  
 noble a man faln from his reputation, either through dibin justice or  
 supshion, or Cobelins to doe some notable act through zeal. at length  
 a servant sent from Abram relates the truth, and last he himselte comes  
 in with a great Train of Melchizedec whose sheheard's beeing secret  
 eye witnesses of all passages had related to thir master, and he conducted  
 his freind Abraham home with joy.

Baptistes

the Scene. the Court

or els the Queen may plot under  
 pretense of begging for his liberty  
 to seek to draw him in a snare by his  
 speech

Beginning from the morning of Herods birth day. Herod by some courtier  
 psuaded on his birth day to release John Baptist, proposes it causes him to  
 be sent for to the court from prison, the queens hears of it takes occa-  
 sion to passe wher he is on purpose that under pretence of reconsi-  
 ling to him, or seeking to draw a kind retraction from him of his  
 censure on the marriage to which end she sends a courtier before  
 to sound whether he might be psuaded to mitigate his sentence  
 which not finding she her selfe craftly assays, and on his constancie  
 founds an accusation to Herod of a contumacious affront on such  
 a day before many peers, prepares the for K. to some passion, and  
 at last by her daughters dancing effects it. there may prologize  
 the spirit of Philip Herods brother. it may also be thought that Herod  
 had well bedew'd himself with wine which made him grant the easi-  
 er to his wives daughter. some of his disciples also as is congratu-  
 late his liberty, may be brought in, with whom after certain me command  
 of his death many compassing words of his disciples, bewayling his youth cut off in his  
 glorious cours he telling them of dm. the scene before Lots gate  
 his work is don and wishing they to follow Christ his maister.  
 The Chorus consists of Lots Shepherds comen to the city about some  
 affairs await in the evening thire maisters return from his evening  
 walk toward the citty gates, he brings with him 2 yong men or youth  
 of noble force after likely discourses prepares for thire entertainmen  
 by then supper is ended, the Gallantry of the town passe by in Procession  
 with musick and song to the temple of Venus Urania, and understan-  
 ding of tow noble strangers arrivd they send 2 of thire choysed youth  
 to invite them to thire citty solemnities, it beeing an honour that thire  
 citty had decreed to all fair personages, as beeing sacred to thir goddesse  
 Lot that knows thire drift answers thwartly at last of which notice gives  
 to the whole assembly they hasten thither take him of presumption, singula-  
 rity, breach of citty customs, in fine offer violence, the chorus of Shepher



The little Cupids funeral pile. Sodom Burning

prepare resistance in thire maisters defence calling the rest of the serviture, but being forc't to give back, the Angels open the dore rescue Lot, discover themselves, warne him to gather his friends and sons in Law out of y<sup>e</sup> citty, he goes and returns as having met with some incredulous, some other freind or son in law out of the way when Lot came to his house, overtakes him to know his buisnes, heer is disputed of incredulity of divine judgements, & such like matter, at last is describ'd the parting from the citty the chorus depart with thir maister, the angels doe the deed with all dreadfull execution, the X. and nobles of the citty may come forth and serbe to set out the terror a chorus of Angels concluding and the Angels relating the event of Lots journey, & of his wife. the first chorus beginning may relate the course of the citty each ebeing every one with mistresse, or Ganymed, gitterning along the streets, or solacing on the banks of Jordan, or down the stream.

- Christ born
- Herod massacrings. or Rachel weeping Math. 2
- Christ bound
- Christ Crucifi'd
- Christ risen.
- Lazarus Joan. 11.

(at the priests mirings y<sup>e</sup> Angels, to y<sup>e</sup> solemnity the Angels pitying thir beauty may dispute of love (how it differs from lust seeking to win them in the last scene the y<sup>e</sup> king & nobles when the fire thunders best in a liff the Angel appears all girt with flames which he says are the flames of the love & tells the K. who falls down with terror his just suffering as also Athanasius told id. set off Gen or luly son in law for disposing of cont. all ad monitions of Lot then telling to a thum d. doo lightning & his he brings down down with some that he intended to do other actions to take heed on earth, as in heavn, describes paradise. next

Adam unparadiz

Adams Banishment

The angel Gabriel, either descending or entering, shewing since this globe was created, by frequently as much next first the chorus shewing the reason of his coming to keep his watch in Paradise after Lucifers rebellion by command from god, & withal expressing his desire to see, & know more concerning this excellent new creature man. The angel Gabriel as by his name signifying a printe of power tracing paradise with a more free office comes passes by the station of y<sup>e</sup> chorus, & desired by them relates what he knew of man as the creation of Eve with thire love, & marriage. after this Lucifer appears after his overthrow, bemoans himself, seeks revenge on man, the chorus prepare resistance at his first approach at last after discourse of enmity on either side he departs wherat the chorus sings of the battell, & victorie in heavn against him & his accomplices, as be fore after the first act was sung a hymn of the creation. man next & Eve having by this time bin seduc't by the serpent appears confusedly cover'd with leaves of conscience in a shape accuser him, Justice cites him to the place whither Jehova call'd for him in the mear while the chorus entertains the stage, & his inform'd by some angel the manner of his fall, Adam then & Eve returning accuse one another but especially Adam layes the blame to his wife, is stubborn in his offence Justice appears reason with him contrives him the Angel is sent to banish them out of paradise but before causes to passe before his eyes in shapes a mask of all the evils of this life & world he is humbled, repents, despaires at last appears Merty comforts him brings in faith hope & charity promises the Messiahs, then calls in faith, hope, & charity, instructs him he repents gives god the glory, submitts to his peality, the chorus briefly concludes. compare this with the former draught.

- H heer the chorus bewailes Adams fall.
- R the chorus admonisheth Adam, & bids him beware of Lucifers example of impien tence



## PAGES 37 AND 38.

PLATES VIII. AND IX. FAC-SIMILES OF PAGES 37 AND 38.



**BRITISH TRAJ.** An outline of an intended Dramatical Illustration of Early British History. It is arranged in thirty-three divisions or headings, as seen in the fac-similes of the two pages. The marginal note on the side refers to an amended passage in page 39, left side, as marked "*with.*"

That Milton contemplated the production of an Epic Poem illustrative of Early British History, some time previous to his recording in his poetical repository the first design of it,—evidently written about the same period as the design of *Paradise Lost* on page 35,—is apparent from the subjoined lines in his poem addressed to GIOVANNI BATTISTA MANSO, the friend of TORQUATO TASSO. The poem was sent to Manso when Milton left Naples, where he had been introduced to and received special kindness from Manso, who died in 1645, aged 84.

“O mihi si mea sors talem concedat amicum,  
Phœbæos decorâsse viros qui tam bene norit,  
Siquando indigenas revocabo in carmina reges,  
Arturumque etiam sub terris bella moventem !  
Aut dicam invictæ sociali fœdere mensæ  
Magnanimos heroas ; et, O modo spiritus adsit,  
Frangam Saxonicas Britonum sub Marte phalanges !  
Tandem ubi non tacitæ permensus tempora vitæ,  
Annorumque satur, cineri sua jura relinquam,  
Ille mihi lecto madidis astaret ocellis,  
Astanti sat erit si dicam, sim tibi curæ.”<sup>1</sup>

Thus translated by J. G. Strutt :<sup>2</sup>

“O that propitious fate to me would send,  
So kind a patron and so true a friend ;  
Should I in verse recal each British king,  
And Arthur still new wars revolving sing ;  
Or lead th' heroic knights to light again,  
Around the social board, a dauntless train ;  
And O, if spirit to the task I feel,  
Break the proud Saxon's crest with Briton's steel !  
Who when at last, my destin'd years o'erflown,  
The grave I seek, not silent and unknown,

<sup>1</sup> MANSUS. Sylvarum Liber, lines 78 to 88 inclusive.

<sup>2</sup> The Latin and Italian Poems of Milton, translated into English Verse by Jacob George Strutt. 8vo., 1816, p. 111.

Would my sad dying moments kindly cheer,  
 And o'er me drop the sympathetic tear,  
 To whom enough if breath'd this short request,  
 'O let my name still live within thy breast.'"

The same idea, observes Warton, occurs in the "*Epitaphium Damonis*," v. 162.

"King Arthur, after his death, was supposed to be carried into the subterraneous land of Faerie or of Spirits, where he still reigned as a King, and whence he was to return into Britain, to renew the Round Table, conquer all his old enemies, and reestablish his throne. He was, therefore, *etiam movens bella sub terris*, still meditating wars under the earth. The impulse of his" [Milton's] "attachment to this subject was entirely suppressed: it produced his History of Britain. By the expression, *revocabo in carmina*, the poet means, that these antient Kings, which were once the themes of the British Bards, should now again be celebrated in verse.

"Milton, in his CHURCH-GOVERNMENT, written 1641, says, that, after the example of Tasso, 'it haply would be no rashness, from an equal diligence and inclination, to present the like offer in one of our own ANCIENT STORIES.'"<sup>1</sup>

The design of the British Tragedy was no doubt written soon after the return of Milton from Italy.

"Ite domum impasti, domino jam non vacat, agni.  
 Ipse ego Dardanias Rutupina per æquora puppes  
 Dicam, et Pandrasidos regnum vetus Inogeniæ,  
 Brennumque Arviragumque duces, prisicumque Belinum,  
 Et tandem Armoricos Britonum sub lege colonos;  
 Tum gravidam Arturo, fatali fraude, Iögernen,  
 Mendaces vultus, assumptaque Gorlôis arma,  
 Merlini dolus. O mihi tum si vita supersit,  
 Tu procul annosa pendebis fistula pinu,  
 Multum oblita mihi; aut patriis mutata Camœnis  
 Brittonicum strides, quid enim? omnia non licet uni  
 Non sperasse uni licet omnia, mi satis ampla  
 Merces, et mihi grande decus (sim ignotus in ævum  
 Tum licet, externo penitusque inglorius orbi)  
 Si me flava comas legat Usa, et potor Alauni,  
 Verticibusque frequens Abra, et nemus omne Treantæ,  
 Et Thamesis meus ante omnes, et fusca metallis  
 Tamara, et extremis me discant Orcades undis."<sup>2</sup>

Thus also translated by Strutt:

"Unpastur'd go, ye lambs, (affliction stern  
 Your shepherd now enthralls), to fold return.  
 I'll sing the leader of the Trojan host  
 On British seas, their towered Ilion lost;

<sup>1</sup> Poems by Milton, with Notes by Warton. 1791, pp. 544-5, *note*.

<sup>2</sup> EPITAPHIUM DAMONIS. Sylvarum Liber, lines 161 to 177 inclusive.

British Tray.

the cloister king Constans set up by Vortiger.

Venerius husband to Carismandua.

Vortimer<sup>2</sup>. poison'd by Roena

Vortiger marrying Roena see Speed. reprob'd by Bodin archbishop of London Speed.

Vortiger beleimmur'd.

the massacre of the britains by Hengist in thire cups at Salsbery plaine Malmsbury.

Sigher<sup>4</sup> of the east saxons rebell'd <sup>to the faith.</sup> and reclaim'd by Farumang.

Ethelbert of the east angles slaine by Offa the merician k. see Holinsh. t. 6. c. 5. Speed in

Sebert slaine by Penda after he had left his kingdom. see Holinsh. 116. p.

Wulfger slaying his two sons for being christians.

Dans brought in.

Osbert of Northumberland slain for ravishing the wife of Bernbold and the

see slow. Holinsh. 1. 6. c. 12. and of spe

Edmond last k. of y<sup>e</sup> East angles martyr'd by Hingwar<sup>e</sup> Dane.

Speed 1. 8. c. 2

Sigebert tyrant of y<sup>e</sup> west Saxons. slaine by a Swinheard.

F

Edmund brother of Athelstan. slaine by a theefe at his owne table. Malmeb.

Edwin son to Edward the younger for lust depriv'd of his kingdom. or rather by faction of monks whom he

Edward son of Edgar murder'd by his step mother to which may be imputed the tragedie stirr'd up betwixt the monks and priests about marriage.

hated together the impostor Dunstan.

Ethelred son of Edgar a slothfull k. the ruin of his land by the Danes.

Ceaulin k. of west saxons for tyrannie depos'd, and banish'd & dying

the slaughter of the monks of Bangor by Edelfride stirr'd up as is said by Ethelbert, and he by Austin the monke because the Britain, wou'd not receive the rites of the Roman Church - see Beda. Getfrey Monmouth. and Holinshed p. 104. wch must begin with the convocat. of British clergie by Austin to determin superfluous points wch by them w. refused.

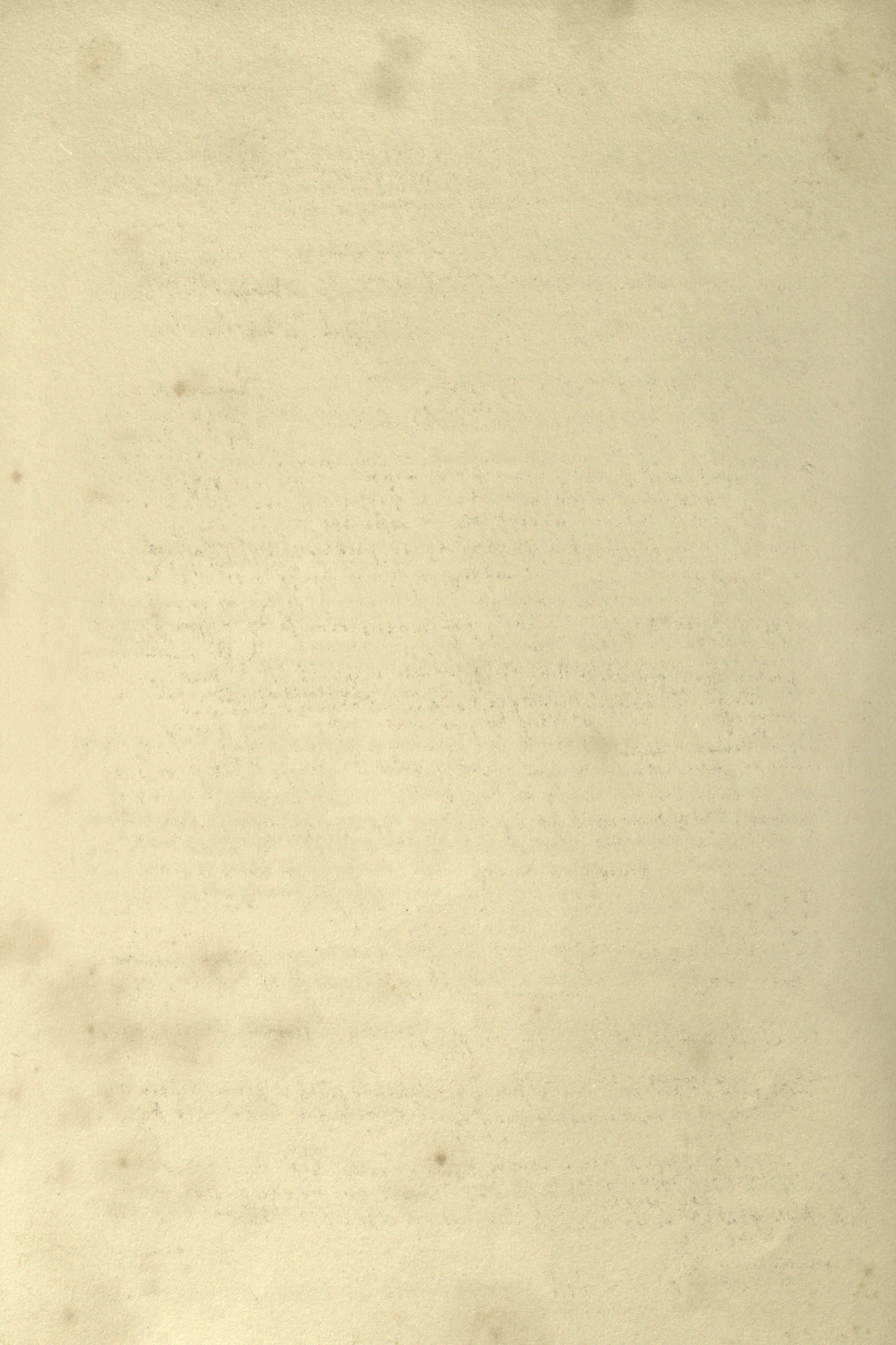
Edwin by vision promisd the kingdom of Northumbria land on promise of his conversion and therein fallish'd by Rodwald k. of East angles.

Uswin k. of Deira slaine by Uwie his friend k. Bernitia through instigation of flatterers. see Holinshed. p. 115.

Sigibort of the East angles keeping companie with a pson excommunicated, slaine by the same man in his house according as the bishop had told. Cotta had foretold.

Egfride k. of the Northumbers slaine in battle with the Picts having before waded freland and made warr for no reason or men that ever lov'd the English, foreward also by Cutbert not to fight with the Picts.

Kine wulf k. of y<sup>e</sup> west Saxons slaine by Kineard in the house of one of his concubines.





22.

the danish ladie.  
 Gunthildis with her husband Patingus and her son slaine by appointment of  
 the traitor Edrick in  $\alpha$  Ethelreds days. Holinshed. 71. c. 5. Together with the  
 Brightnick of westsaxs 23 massacre of the danes at Oxford. Speed  
 a Britnick poysoned by his wife Ethelburge offa's daughter dyes miserably  
 also in beggery after adultery in an auntery speed in Britnic.

24

Alfred in disguise of a ministrel discovers the danes negligence sets on with  
 a mightie slaughter about the same tyme Devonshire men rout Hubba & slay  
 him

A Heroicall Poem may be founde somewhere in Alfreds reigne. especially at  
 his issuing out of Edelingsey on the Danes. whose actions are wel like those of  
 Ulysses

25

Athelstan exposing his brother Edwin to the sea. and repenting.

26

Edgar slaying Ethelwold for false play in wong wherein may be  
 set out his pride, lust which he thought to close by favouring monks and  
 building monasteries. also the disposition of woman in Elfrida toward her  
 husband.

27

Swane besiedging London and Ethelred repuls'd by the Londoners

28

Harold slaine in battel by William the norman the first scene may begin  
 with the ghost of Alfred the second son of Ethelred slaine in cruel manner  
 by Godwin Harolds father. his mother and brother dissuading him.

29

Edmund Ironside ~~murdered~~ defeating the danes at Brentford with  
 his combat with Canute.

30

Edmund Ironside murdered by Edrick the traitor and rebeng'd  
 by Canute

31

Gunilda daughter to k. Canute and Emma wife to Henry the Third  
 Emperour accus'd of nichesitie is defended by her English pages in  
 combat against a giantlike adversary. who by him at 2. blows is slaine  
 Speed in the life of Canute

32

Hardiknute dying in his cups an example to riot.

33

Edward Confessors divorcing and imprisoning his noble wife Editha  
 Godwins daughter wherein is shewed his overaffection to strangers the cause  
 of Godwins insurrection, his slacknesse to redresse the corrupt clergie  
 and suspicious pretence of chastite.

whom God  
 wins for bea-  
 rance of balland  
 aist and the  
 nish moderatio  
 at both sides  
 agnific

The angels being asht by the prest where  
 they are say they are of Salem the prest  
 mightis against Edrick raige of stretch  
 redect



Scotch stories or rather British of the north party  
 Athirco slain by Natholechus whose daughters he had ravished and this Natholechus  
 usurping thereon the kingdom seeks to slay the kindred of Athirco who scape him  
 & conspire against him he sends to a witch to know the event. the witch tells the  
 messenger that he is the man shall slay Natholechus he detests it but in his journey  
 home changes his mind & performs it. Scotch Chron. English. p. 68. 59.

Duffe, & Donwald  
 a strange story of revenging witchcraft, & murder discover'd, & reveng'd. Scotch  
 Story. 179. &c.

Haie the plow man  
 who with his totem sons that were at plow running to the battell that  
 was between the Scots & Danes in the next feild renewed the straid the  
 flight of his countrymen renewed the battell, & caus'd the victorie  
 &c. Scotch Story. p. 155.

Kenneth  
 who having privily poison'd Malcolm Duffe that his own son might succeed  
 is slain by Fenela. Scotch hist. p. 159. 158. &c.

Macbeth  
 beginning at the arrivall of Malcolm at Mackduffe. the matter of Duncan  
 may be express'd by the appearing of his ghost.

he bids them have the call & command  
 of god to come & destroy a godlesse nation

] heer again may appear Lucifer relating, & insulting in what he had don to  
 the destruction of man.

Moabitides or Phineas

The Epitasis wherof may lie in the contention first between y<sup>e</sup> father of Zimri & Elparax  
 contending whether he to have slain his son without law. next y<sup>e</sup> Embassadors of y<sup>e</sup> Moabitides  
 ex postulating about Esby a stranger & a noble woman slain by Phineas. it may be argued  
 about reformation & punishment illegal as it were by tumult after all arguments  
 drun home then the word of the Lord may be brought acquitting & approving Phineas

Christus patiens

the scene in y<sup>e</sup> garden beginning fro y<sup>e</sup> coming thither til Judas behaies y<sup>e</sup> officers  
 lead him away y<sup>e</sup> rest by message & chorus. his agony make may receive noble expressi-  
 ons



And fairest Inogen's divided reign,  
 Brennus, Arviragus, Belinus old,  
 And haughty Gallia's train  
 Bow'd to the yoke of Britain's warriors bold;  
 And injur'd Gorlois' wife by spells deceiv'd,  
 Who Uther as her absent lord receiv'd.  
 Should life permit these toils, my aged reed  
 Thenceforth I'll hang neglected on some pine;  
 Or my lov'd native melodies rehearse,  
 And fill with Britain's praise the sounding verse;  
 Well pleas'd if here alone my notes succeed,  
 (For one can ne'er in all expect to shine  
 Nor all in one receive the destin'd meed,  
 And let my fame live in no foreign clime,  
 Nor reach to future time,  
 So tawny Ouse for me her tresses bind,  
 And Alain's flood; and dash'd in many a fall  
 Swift Humber's wave, and Trent's wood-crown'd shore,  
 And oh! my native Thames, rever'd o'er all,  
 And Tamar's stream darken'd with dusky ore,  
 And Orkney's isles remote, where loud the wild waves roar."

PAGE 41.

PLATE X. FAC-SIMILE OF PAGE 41.



SCOTCH STORIES, OR RATHER BRITISH OF THE NORTH PARTS. This  
 occupies the upper part of the page, the remainder being additions to  
 page 40.

PAGE 42 BLANK.

## SONNETS.

PAGE 43, ETC.

PLATE XI.



SONNET XIII. "TO MY FRIEND MR. HENRY LAWES, FEB. 9, 1645."

This Sonnet 13, to his dear friend, Henry Lawes, is fac-similed No. 1, in this plate. It is followed by a transcript of it, having, as will be seen by comparison, several alterations. The inscription to the transcript is not in the autograph of the Poet: it is in the hand of the same person who was employed by the Poet to rewrite, at dictation, several of the sonnets he had recomposed, and to make alterations in others. The ink used in the heading is of a lighter colour, corresponding with that used by the Amanuensis of Milton. The page closes with Sonnet 11, headed, "*On the detraction w<sup>ch</sup> follow'd upon my writing certain treatises.*" The word "*detraction*" has been crossed over by the pen of Milton.

PAGE 44 contains two copies of Sonnet 14, "*On y<sup>e</sup> religious memorie of Mrs. Catharine Thomson, my christian friend, deceased 16 December 1646.*" The inscription has had a line drawn through it by the pen of Milton, whose numerous corrections in the first copy rendered the second necessary.

PAGES 45 and 46. These two pages are written on an inserted small leaf of a quarto size. Page 45 contains another transcript of the Sonnet 13, to Henry Lawes; and also another of Sonnet 14, of which there are two in the autograph of the Poet on the opposite page. On page 46 is a transcript of Sonnet 11 and also of Sonnet 12, which latter commences page 47.

No. II. in this plate, gives the fac-simile of the transcript of Sonnet 11 on page 46, and also the commencement of Sonnet 12. The writing of pages 45 and 46 is in the hand of the Amanuensis by whom the inscription over the second transcript of the Sonnet to Henry Lawes, page 43, was written. The original of Sonnet 11 is in the autograph of Milton on page 43. That of Sonnet 12, on page 47, is also in Milton's autograph.

The attention of our readers is now particularly requested to the heading which occurs over the transcript of Sonnet 11 in this plate. In the first edition of the Poems of Milton, issued in 1645, there only appear *ten* Sonnets. Here, then, we have a plain direction that "*These sonnets follow y<sup>e</sup> 10 in y<sup>e</sup> printed booke.*" This heading is in the *same* hand as was employed in that "*To Mr. Hen. Lawes on the publishing of his Aires,*" over the second copy in the autograph of Milton of Sonnet 13. The handwriting there employed, we believe to be the same hand at different periods, and the only one, except in Sonnet 8, page 9, employed in the volume.

To my friend Mr Hen. Laws Feb. 9. 1645

Harry, whose tunefull & well-measur'd Song  
 first taught our English Music how to span  
 words with just note & accent, not to scan  
 with Midas eares, committing short & long  
 Thy ~~right~~ skill exempts thee from the throng  
 and gives thee praise above the pipe of Pan;  
 to after age thou shalt be writt a man  
 that didst reform thy art, the cheif among  
 Thou honourst vers, & vs must lend for wing  
 to honour thee, the Priest of Phabus quire  
 that tunst thir happie lines in hymn or story  
 Dante shall <sup>give</sup> fame ~~to the~~ <sup>his</sup> ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> set thee higher  
 then ~~the~~ Casell whom Dante would to sing  
 met in the ~~shades~~ <sup>shades</sup> of Purgatory. <sup>Capella</sup>

To Mr Hen. Laws on the publishing of his Airt. M.

Harry, whose tunefull & well-measur'd song  
 First taught our English Music how to span  
 Words with just note & accent, not to scan  
 with Midas eares, committing short & long

These fonnets follow y<sup>e</sup>. w. in y<sup>e</sup>. printed booke  
 On the delusion which followed upon my writing w<sup>r</sup>. and hereby.  
 I did but prompt the age to quit their clogs  
 By the knowne rules of anight liberty,  
 when strait algarbarous noise environs me  
 of Owles & Cuckoos, asses, apes & dogs;  
 As when those kindes that were transform'd to frogs  
 Railed at Latona's twin-born progeny  
 which after hold the sun & m<sup>o</sup>nd in ~~the~~ stead.  
 But this is got by casting ~~pearls~~ pearls to hogs;  
 That bawl for freedom in their stung mood  
 And still revolt whome truth would ~~make~~ <sup>set</sup> them free:  
 Licenced they they meane, when they cry liberty:  
 For who loves that, must first be wise, & good;  
 but from that marche how far they roave we see  
 for all this wast of wealth, & losse of blood. X

12  
 A booke was writ of late call'd Petrachordon;  
 And wov'n close both matter, forme, & stile;  
 the subject now: it walkt the towne a while.  
 numbring good inuents; now seldom poise on.





That the heading to the transcript of Sonnet 11, on the top of page 46, is a special direction, is clear. The question, therefore, arises, whether Milton had not intended to have published a second and more perfect edition of his Minor Poems at a much earlier period than 1673; and consequently, when employing his friend or Amanuensis to rewrite some of his Sonnets, made fresh headings to others. It is, however, curious to note, that, in the second edition of the Poems, in 1673, these headings are either altered or omitted altogether.

The direction, "*on y<sup>e</sup> forciers of conscience to come in heer,*" on the left side of the erased title of Sonnet 15, is in the autograph of Milton; while that immediately under, "*turn over the leafe,*" is in the more careful smaller *semi-cursive* hand of the Amanuensis used in the other sonnets.

## PAGE 47, ETC.

## PLATE XII.



THE first Sonnet on page 47 is the original of Sonnet 12, here given in fac-simile No. II.

"I WRIT A BOOKE OF LATE CALL'D TETRACHORDON."

The first three and other lines have been corrected by the Amanuensis of Milton; hence his transcript, on the opposite page, commencing,

"A booke was writ of late call'd Tetrachordon."

Of the cause of this very sarcastic Sonnet, the Venerable Archdeacon Todd notes :

"This elaborate disension, unworthy in many respects of Milton, and in which much acuteness of argument, and comprehension of reading, were idly thrown away, was received with contempt, or rather ridicule, as we learn from Howel's *Letters*. A better proof that it was treated with neglect, is, that it was attacked by two nameless and obscure writers only; one of whom Milton calls, *a Serving-man turned Sollicitor!* Our author's divorce was on Platonick principles. He held, that disagreement of mind was a better cause of separation than adultery or frigidity. Here was a fair opening for the laughers. This and the following Sonnet were written soon after 1645. For this doctrine Milton was summoned before the Lords. But they not approving his accusers, the presbyterian clergy, or thinking the business too speculative, he was quickly dismissed. On this occasion Milton commenced hostilities against the Presbyterians. He illustrates his own system in this line of *Par. Lost*, book ix., 372 :

"Go, for thy stay, not *free*, absents thee more.'

Milton wished he had not written this work in English. This is observed by Mr. Bowle, who points out the following proof, in the *Defensio Secunda* : 'Vellem hoc tantum, sermone vernaculo me non scripsisse : non enim in vernas lectores incidissem ; quibus solenne est sua bona ignorare, aliorum mala irridere.' *Prose Works*, ii., 331. This was one of Milton's books published in consequence of his divorce [separation] from his first wife. *Tetrachordon* signifies Expositions on the four chief places in Scripture which mention marriage or nullities in marriage. *T. Warton*."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Poetical Works of Milton, edited by the Rev. H. Todd. Vol. vi., pp. 463-4.



SONNET XV. follows Sonnet 12 on page 47. It is inscribed,

“ON Y<sup>E</sup> LORD GEN. FAIRFAX AT Y<sup>E</sup> SEIGE OF COLCHESTER.”

The inscription has been subsequently erased by the pen of the Amanuensis, who has noted at the side “*turn over the leafe,*” referring to the Sonnet that should come in.

“Nor would it be right to pass over the name of Fairfax, who united the utmost fortitude with the utmost courage; and the spotless innocence of whose life seemed to point him out as the peculiar favourite of Heaven.”<sup>1</sup>

Such were the eulogistic feelings of Milton on the noblest of all the Parliamentary Generals; one who had been driven to take part against his King by the duplicity the Monarch had unhappily displayed in all his transactions with the Army. The heart of Fairfax, however, can never be said to have been wholly devoted to the cause of Cromwell. Fairfax was never prepared to proceed to extremities against the life of Charles; and when that deed was consummated, he, like many others, no longer served the Parliamentary Army with that zeal which has been emblazoned in the almost prophetic verse of Milton :

“O yet a nobler task awaits thy hand,  
(For what can war, but endless war still breed ?)  
Till Truth and Right from violence be freed.”

Milton, who stood firm to the last, could not but deeply feel the return of Fairfax to allegiance to his King. Consequently, in the edition of the Poems of Milton, issued only the year before he died, he would not allow the Sonnet in praise of Fairfax to be inserted. It was published for the first time in 1694, with four others, at the close of the Memoir affixed to the “State Letters.”

The direction on the left side of the Sonnet, “*on y<sup>e</sup> forcers of conscience to come in heer,*” is in the autograph of the Poet; but not so the words “*turn over the leafe,*” as before stated. The erasures of the headings to the Sonnet are by the same hand, and made, no doubt, at the same time as the erasure of the heading of the Cromwellian Sonnet on the same page.

The first fac-simile in this Plate XII. is of SONNET 9, and of which we have also given an Electro-Block Fac-simile, p. 58, accompanied by an attempt to shew that it was addressed to the “*Fair Miss Davis,*” whom Milton was desirous to make his wife in the event of his obtaining general assent to the views he had promulgated on the subject of Divorce.

<sup>1</sup> See close of extract from the “Second Defence,” appended to the Sonnet to Cromwell.

Ladie, that in y<sup>e</sup> prime of Earliest youth  
 wisely hast shun'd y<sup>e</sup> broad way p<sup>r</sup> green  
 and with those few ant eminentl<sup>y</sup> seen  
 that labour up y<sup>e</sup> hill of heavenly Truth  
 The better part with Mary e, with Ruth  
 chosen thou hast, e <sup>that</sup> y<sup>e</sup> overween  
 and at thy blessing vertues fret their spleen <sup>x</sup> ~~peppering~~ <sup>x</sup> growing vertues  
 no angle find in thee, but pity p<sup>r</sup> ruth.  
 Thy care is fixt, e zealously attends  
 to fill thy odorous Lamp with deeds of light  
 e Hope that reaps not shame. Therefore be sure  
 Thou when the Bridegroom with his feastfull friends  
 opens the ~~door of Bliss~~, that ~~door of night~~, passes to bliss ut<sup>r</sup> mid<sup>d</sup> <sup>(in all)</sup> ~~the world~~  
 hast gain'd thy entrance, Virgin wife e pure.

~~A booke was writt~~  
 with a booke of late call'd Tetrachordon;  
 And ~~the~~ <sup>was no</sup> close both matter, form, e stile,  
~~the subject might walk~~ <sup>down</sup> a while,  
 numbring good <sup>intollets</sup> ~~but~~ now ~~seldom~~ por'd on.  
 Cries the stall-reader, bless us what a word on  
 a little page is this! and som in file  
 stand spelling fall, while one might walk to Mile-  
 end Green. Why is it harder, Sirs, then Gordon  
 Colkitto, or Macdonnell, or Galasp?  
 those ~~names~~ <sup>names</sup> to our like mouths grow sleek <sup>x</sup> ~~rugged~~ <sup>rugged</sup>  
 that woud have made Quintilian stare e gaff.  
 Thy age, like ours, O soul of Sr John Cheek  
 hated not Learning worse then load or tresp,  
 when thou taughtst Cambridge, e King Edward Greek. x

only forces of Copyraice  
 to come in her ~~On y<sup>e</sup> Land of Fairfax by the Siege of Calcutta~~  
 turn over the leaf

Fair fax, whose name in armes through Europe rings  
 Filling each mouth with envy, or with praise,  
 And all her jealous monarchs with amaze  
 And rumors bawd loud, that daunt remotest kings,  
 Thy firm unshakin vertue ever brings  
 Victory home, though new rebellions raise  
 Their Hydra heads, e the false North displaies  
 her brokin league, to stampe their serpent wings,  
 O yet a nobler task awaits thy hand;  
 For what can Warr, but endless warr still breed,  
 Till Truth, e Right from violence be freed,  
 And ~~the~~ Public Faith cleard from the shameful brand  
 Of Public Fraud. In vain doth Valour bleed  
 While Avance, e Rapine share the land. x





SONNET XVI. "TO THE LORD GENERAL CROMWELL 1652. ON THE PROPOSALLS OF CERTAINE MINISTERS AT THE COMMITTEE FOR PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPELL." It follows 15 on page 47.

~~To the Lord General Cromwell~~ ~~at the Committee~~ ~~for Propagation of the Gospel~~  
~~On the proposalls~~

Cromwell, our chief of men, who through a cloud  
 Not of war only, but detractions rude,  
 Guided by faith & matchless Fortitude  
 To peace & truth thy glorious way hast plough'd,  
 And on the neck of crowne'd Portunus proud,  
 Glass'ed gods Prophecies & his work pursued,  
 While Darwen stream with blood of Scotts imbroid,  
 And <sup>Dunbarton</sup> ~~Dunbarton~~ <sup>laureat</sup> ~~laureat~~ <sup>prostrate</sup> ~~prostrate~~ resounds thy praises loud  
 And <sup>Northside</sup> ~~Northside~~ <sup>laureat</sup> ~~laureat <sup>wreath</sup> ~~wreath~~ more; yet much remains  
 To conquer still; peace hath her victories  
 No less renown'd then warr, new for aries  
 Threatning to bind our soules with secular chains:  
 Helpe us to save free Conscience from the paw  
 Of hirseling wolvs: whose Gospell is their maw.~~

Here the reader is presented with another specimen of an Electro-Block Fac-simile. The Sonnet is in the same autograph as Sonnets 21, 22, and 23; but it is executed in a larger and more free style. It is rather in a semi-cursive hand, coarsely written; while the others are in a set cursive character, Sonnet 23 being most carefully executed with a fine pen. A little patient examination of the writing in these sonnets, and, elsewhere, in the smaller *cursive* hand used by the Amanuensis, will soon convince the observer of the identity of the autograph. Warton, p. 589, considered the Sonnet 16 to be "in a female hand." We are at a loss to discover upon what grounds the learned Warton could come to such a conclusion.

This Sonnet is numbered 16, and it is interesting to notice that the number has been added, in the autograph of the Poet, at the close of Sonnet 15, and evidently with the intention of writing the Sonnet 16 in the blank space he had left on

the page. It would appear as if Sonnet 15 was the last written by the hand of Milton in the volume. It must be a matter of conjecture whether the Cromwellian Sonnet was written in the volume at the time of its composition, or whether it was added a few years afterwards. Certain it is, that it underwent revision at the dictation of the Poet, the partial erasure of the title being made at the same time and with the same ink with which Sonnet 15 is written.

The omission of this Sonnet in the 1673 edition of the author's Poems evidently arose from a sensitive feeling of delicacy on the part of Milton. He had experienced the forgiveness of his King; and though he may not have received any direct favour, yet he could not but have felt, that, notwithstanding his unflinching determination to uphold the views he had taken, unexpected and undeserved clemency had been shewn him.

The reduction of the Salary of Milton from 300*l.* a year to 150*l.* when deprived of his sight by the overstrained use of his eyes in furthering the cause of Cromwell, is of itself sufficient to shew the ingratitude of the Usurper. Under what pretence of Economy could Cromwell justify such an act? Was it his puritanical mode of acknowledging the praises lavished upon him by Milton in 1654, in his "*Second Defence of the People of England?*" Did not the loss of eyesight by his coadjutor, Milton, fairly demand assistance to be afforded in his duties without reducing the pittance he received? True it is, that Milton had in June 1650<sup>1</sup> rooms allotted to him at Whitehall, with permission to *decorate them* with some of the royal "*hangings*"; but even this act of accommodation did not last long; as, in 1651, an order was issued, "*for his speedy removal out of his Lodgings in Whitehall,*" an order evidently opposed by the Council of State, because the employment of Milton "*necessitated him to reside near the Councill.*"<sup>2</sup> Milton, however, took the hint, and "*soon after,*" leaving his State Lodgings, went to "*a pretty Garden house in Petty-France in Westminster,*" where he remained "*eight years, namely, from the year 1652, till within a few weeks of the Restoration of King Charles the Second.*"<sup>3</sup>

The order for the reduction of the salary of Milton to just half the amount he had previously received is dated April 17th,<sup>4</sup> 1655, at the very period that Milton was fully experiencing the misery of total blindness. However much he may afterwards have yielded his lofty spirit to submission under such an indignity, he was not the man in the midst of the political struggles then going on around him,—struggles in which he himself had taken so prominent a part,—to bear such public ingratitude without at first inwardly feeling that his services merited other treatment.

Cromwell had gained his cause. His poor pen-man was blind and, officially, almost useless. He was, therefore, rewarded with *half pay* during the remainder of his life; a contract, the fulfilment of which could only be calculated on by the

<sup>1</sup> Order of the Council Book.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, 1651, June 11.

<sup>3</sup> Memoir by Edward Phillips in "*Letters of State,*" 1694, p. xxxiii.

<sup>4</sup> Order of the Council Book, "1655, April 17."

continuance of the then tottering Commonwealth. Thus was the "man of the day," by whose pen the ambitious designs of Cromwell were aided and vindicated, rewarded.

No words, however, of reproach are recorded to have been used by Milton against the Man to whom he had become, as it were, spell-bound. Mark here the laudatory character given of Cromwell by Milton in his "*Defensio Secunda*," 1654.<sup>1</sup>

"But, in speaking of such a man, who has merited so well of his country, I should do nothing if I only exculpated him from crimes; particularly since it not only so nearly concerns the country, but even myself, who am so closely implicated in the same disgrace, to evince to all nations, and, as far as I can, to all ages, the excellence of his character, and the splendour of his renown. Oliver Cromwell was sprung from a line of illustrious ancestors, who were distinguished for the civil functions which they sustained under the monarchy, and still more for the part which they took in restoring and establishing true religion in this country. In the vigour and maturity of his life, which he passed in retirement, he was conspicuous for nothing more than for the strictness of his religious habits, and the innocence of his life; and he had tacitly cherished in his breast that flame of piety which was afterwards to stand him in so much stead on the greatest occasions, and in the most critical exigencies. In the last parliament which was called by the King, he was elected to represent his native town, when he soon became distinguished by the justness of his opinions, and the vigour and decision of his councils. When the sword was drawn, he offered his services, and was appointed to a troop of horse, whose numbers were soon increased by the pious and the good, who flocked from all quarters to his standard; and in a short time he almost surpassed the greatest generals in the magnitude and the rapidity of his achievements. Nor is this surprising; for he was a soldier disciplined to perfection in the knowledge of himself. He had either extinguished, or by habit had learned to subdue, the whole host of vain hopes, fears, and passions, which infest the soul. He first acquired the government of himself, and over himself acquired the most signal victories; so that on the first day he took the field against the external enemy, he was a veteran in arms, consummately practised in the toils and exigencies of war. It is not possible for me in the narrow limits in which I circumscribe myself on this occasion, to enumerate the many towns which he has taken, the many battles which he has won. The whole surface of the British empire has been the scene of his exploits, and the theatre of his triumphs; which alone would furnish ample materials for a history, and want a copiousness of narration not inferior to the magnitude and diversity of the transactions. This alone seems to be a sufficient proof of his extraordinary and almost supernatural virtue, that by the vigour of his genius, or the excellence of his discipline, adapted, not more to the necessities of war than to the precepts of Christianity, the good and the brave were from all quarters attracted to his camp, not only as to the best school of military talents, but of piety and virtue; and that during the whole war, and the occasional intervals of peace, amid so many vicissitudes of faction and of events, he retained and still retains the obedience of his troops, not by largesses or indulgence, but by his sole authority and the regularity of his pay. In this instance his fame may rival that of Cyrus, of Epaminondas, or any of the great generals of antiquity. Hence he collected an army as numerous and as well equipped as any one ever did in so short a time; which was uniformly obedient to his orders, and dear to the affections of the citizens; which was formidable to the enemy in the field, but never cruel to those who laid down their arms; which committed no lawless ravages on the persons or the property of the inhabitants; who, when they compared their conduct with the turbulence, the intemperance, the impiety, and the debauchery of the royalists, were wont to salute them as friends, and to consider them as guests. They were a stay to the good, a terror to the evil, and the warmest advocates for every exertion of piety and virtue. Nor would it be right to pass over the name of FAIRFAX, who united the utmost fortitude with the utmost courage; and the spotless innocence of whose life seemed to point him out as the peculiar favourite of Heaven."

<sup>1</sup> Prose Works of Milton, by J. A. St. John. . 5 vols. *H. G. Bohn*. Vol. i., pp. 285-6.

## PAGE 48.

## PLATE XIII.



SONNET XVII. "TO S<sup>r</sup> HENRY VANE THE YOUNGER." This may be considered as the last page in the volume, as originally made up, on which there are any productions from the pen of Milton. The sonnet, as also the one following, at first sight has the appearance of having been written by a different hand from that used on the inserted leaf pages 45 and 46; which writing, Warton, page 589, considered to be "*a man's hand.*" On a careful examination, the hand will be seen to be the same; the difference being, that the writing on page 48 is in a more decidedly *round*, yet remarkably *free* hand, so far as regards the flourish of the pen. The inscription has been erased at the same period as the inscriptions over Sonnets 15 and 16 in the page preceding.

Subjoined is the note upon the subject of this Sonnet, from the pen of the Venerable Archdeacon Todd :

"Perhaps written about the time of the last [to Cromwell], having the same tendency. Sir Henry Vane the younger was the chief of the independents, and therefore Milton's friend. He was the contriver of the Solemn League and Covenant. He was an eccentric character, in an age of eccentric characters. In religion the most fantastick of all enthusiasts, and a weak writer, he was a judicious and sagacious politician. The warmth of his zeal never misled his publick measures. He was a knight-errant in every thing but affairs of state. The sagacious Bishop Burnet in vain attempted to penetrate the darkness of his creed. He held, that the devils and the damned would be saved. He believed himself the person delegated by God, to reign over the saints upon earth for a thousand years. His principles founded a sect called the *Vanists*. On the whole, no single man ever exhibited such a medley of fanaticism and dissimulation, solid abilities and visionary delusions, good sense and madness. In the pamphlets of that age he is called Sir *Humourous Vanity*. He was beheaded in 1662. On the scaffold, he compared Tower Hill to Mount Pisgah, where Moses went to die, in full assurance of being immediately placed at the right hand of Christ. Milton alludes to the execution of Vane and other regicides, after the Restoration, and in general to the sufferings of his friends on that event, in a speech of the Chorus on Samson's degradation, *Sams. Agon.*, v. 687. See also *Ibid.*, v. 241. This Sonnet seems to have been written in behalf of the independents, against the presbyterian hierarchy. *T. Warton.*"<sup>1</sup>



POEM "ON THE FORCERS OF CONSCIENCE." This poem is by Warton and other editors of the Poems of Milton inscribed, "*On the new forcers of conscience under the Long Parliament;*" an addition not in the original, as seen in the fac-simile of the first four lines, No. II. in this plate XIII. The line erased on the right is merely a direction "*to come in as directed on the leaf before.*" It is in the same peculiar *cursive round* hand as Sonnet 17, which bears evidence of having been corrected at the dictation of Milton.

<sup>1</sup> Poetical Works of Milton, edited by the Rev. H. Todd. Vol. vi., p. 480.



To Sr Henry Vane the younger

Vane, young in years, but in sage counsels old,  
 Then whom a better Senator name held  
 The helme of Rome, when gownes not armes repit  
 The fauce Epirot of the African gold,  
 Whither to seek peace or to unfold  
 The drift of hollow feares hard to be spild,  
 Who to advise how war may best upheld,  
 Move ~~by law~~ her two maine nerves, Iron & Gold;

On the forces of Conscience.

Because you have thrown off your Prelate Lord  
 And with light vowes renounced his Liturgie  
 To raise the ~~regiment~~ <sup>widow</sup> whom Plurality  
 From them whose sin you envied, not abhorred,

22

Cyriack, this three years day these eyes though clean  
 To outward view, of blemish or of spot,  
 Bereft of light their seeing have forgot,  
 Nor so their idle orbs doth sights appear  
 Of Sun or Moon or Starre throughout the year,  
 Or man, or woman. Yet I argue not  
 Against ~~Gods~~ <sup>heaven</sup> hand or will, nor bate a jot the heavens  
 Of heare or hope; but still <sup>bear up and</sup> attend to sever <sup>bear up &</sup>  
<sup>Right onward</sup> what supports me. dost thou ask?  
 The conscience, Friend, to have lost them overplyd  
 In libertyes defence, my noble task,  
 Of which all Europe talks from side to side.  
 This thoughts might lead me through the worlds vain wash  
 Content though blind, had I no better guide.

x Right onward

xo Right onward

4

23

Me thought I saw my late espoused faint  
 brought to me like Aegyptis from the grave  
 whom Joves great son to her glad husband gave  
 rescued from death by force though pale and faint.  
 Mine as whom waight from spot of childe-bed taint  
 purification in the old law did save  
 and such as yet once more I trust to have  
 full sight of her in heaven without restraint,



## PAGE 49.



SONNETS XXI. AND XXII. TO CYRIACK SKINNER. The leaf on which these two Sonnets are written, has been taken from another volume. The paper is of the same quality and size as some of that used in the latter portion of the Manuscript *De Doctrinâ Christianâ*, preserved in the State Paper Office. Our fac-simile, No. II. in this plate XIII., gives the whole of that most interesting Sonnet, addressed by the Poet ON HIS BLINDNESS, to his much loved friend Cyriack Skinner. That the leaf formed part of another volume, is evident from the fact that the first four lines of Sonnet 21, which occupies the upper part of the page, are wanting, which were no doubt written on the preceding page in the volume whence it was taken.

The person into whose hands the volume of these Juvenile and other Poems of Milton had fallen, was doubtless desirous of adding that which would considerably increase its value, and accordingly introduced the leaf, elsewhere obtained, containing the *Poet's own record of his total blindness*. Peculiarly interesting is this addition, as it contains on the ensuing page that remarkable and very beautiful Sonnet, 23,

## "ON HIS DECEASED WIFE."

"Mee thought I saw my late espoused saint  
 brought to me like Alcestis from the grave  
 whom Joves great son to her glad husband gave  
 rescu'd from death by force though pale and faint.  
 Mine as whom washt from spot of childe-bed taint  
 purification in the old law did save  
 and such as yet once more I trust to have  
 full sight of her in heaven without restraint,  
 came vested all in white, pure as her minde :  
 her face was vaild, yet to my fancied sight  
 love, sweetness, goodness, in her person shin'd  
 soe cleare, as in no face with more delight.  
 But oh as to imbrace me she inclin'd,  
 I wak'd, she fled, and day brought back my night."

His second wife, to whom it is believed Milton was most affectionately attached, died in child-bed, February 1658; soon after which event, it is supposed that this Sonnet was written.

## PAGES 51 TO 54 BLANK.

With the exception of leaf, pages 45 and 46; and leaf, pages 49 and 50, which are of a smaller size, the whole of the paper in the volume is of the same make; the paper-mark being a vase with the initials "T. B." We note this, to shew that the volume was formed when commenced, and not made up of loose sheets,—an important point, as recording the order in which the various pieces were written.



IN concluding our summary of the contents of the "*Milton Manuscript*" preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, we desire to offer our thanks to the Master and Fellows of that Society for the liberal manner in which we have been allowed to make use of the volume for the object of our pursuit. We desire further to tender to the Rev. H. A. J. Monro, and to J. W. Clarke, Esq.,<sup>1</sup> our special acknowledgment for their kind communication of information obtained by researches made, not only by themselves, but by many of their friends,—Fellows of Trinity College. It is most gratifying to record such kindness; and encouraging to those who may desire to consult the well-cared for yet available Literary Treasures in the Public Libraries of that University. While thus briefly alluding to these Treasures, we desire to direct the attention of the Historical Inquirer to the almost unknown sources of information for the elucidation of one of the most eventful periods of English History, which are now pent up in the cupboards of Corpus Christi Collège. We allude to the mass of Original Letters illustrative of the Reformation of the Church of this country during the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, forming the collection bequeathed to the College by Archbishop Parker; and of which a mere *List* was made by Nasmith, and published at Cambridge in a quarto volume in 1777.

We are quite aware that the restrictions imposed by the stringent rules framed by the founder for the protection of the Library, preclude anything more than an ordinary examination of these Manuscripts, and are such as almost to debar the zealous historian from attempting to gain information from them. The feeling, that, when examining them, you are occupying the time of two of the Fellows of the College, who are bound by the rules to be present, is of itself sufficient to deter research.<sup>2</sup> We hope the pleasure of making known the more interesting contents of that marvellous depository of the Autographic Memorials of the Great Theologians of England, will fall to the task of some zealous Fellow of Corpus Christi College, as he then will revel in his pursuit undisturbed by any of those feelings generated by the restraints which are very properly, however much we may regret and dislike them, placed upon the more than ordinary inspection of the MSS. The future *Cambridge Historical Society* will deserve the thanks of the Historian by fully recording the contents of those Treasures.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Clarke was then officiating as Librarian, in the absence of the Rev. John Glover, to whom subsequently we have had occasion to apply for and receive information.

<sup>2</sup> The penalty attending the loss of a specified number of these MSS., viz., the forfeiture of the whole of the books to Gonville and Caius College, is a sufficient justification for the strict observance of the founder's rules.

## VARIOUS SPECIMENS OF THE AUTOGRAPH OF MILTON.

BRITANNIA'S PASTORALS BY W. BROWNE. 1613-16. FOLIO.

ILLUSTRATED WITH MANUSCRIPT NOTES.

PLATE XIV. No. I. SPECIMENS 1 TO 13.



THOSE who will take the trouble to look through the notes in the *variorum* edition of the Poetical Works of Milton, collected by the Venerable Archdeacon Todd, will find, more particularly in *Comus*, *Lycidas*, *Samson Agonistes*, and *Paradise Regained*, many references made to parallel passages and metaphors to be met with in BROWNE'S PASTORALS, as well as in the works of Du Bartas, Fletcher, Sylvester, Wither, and many others, of that class of poets whose tastes were of a character similar and congenial to those of Milton. HALLAM,<sup>1</sup> one of the most learned, truthful, and deeply read Historians this country has produced, closes his remarks on the poetical genius of Milton by observing that "*he was a great collector of sweets from those wild flowers.*"

The copy of the PASTORALS of BROWNE, which we here notice, was sold a few years ago, in Fleet-street, by public auction; and it was, at the time, stated to be illustrated with marginal notes in the autograph of Milton. That volume is now before us. On the fly-leaf occurs the autograph signature and subjoined note by W. FORD, a well known bookseller of Manchester during the early part of this century. He states that

"The whole of the MS. notes are entirely in the Autograph of the celebrated John Milton, the author of *Paradise Lost*, &c.; and on reference it will be found that he had taken portions of this

<sup>1</sup> Having been permitted to witness the consignment of the mortal remains of that most popular and pleasing HISTORIAN, the Right Honourable Thomas Babington, Lord Macaulay, among those of England's Intellectual Heroes, in that much cherished spot, "THE POETS' CORNER," WESTMINSTER ABBEY, we could not but lament the absence of any monument to the HISTORIAN HALLAM, a man whose works are most highly appreciated by those who read history for the information it conveys.

While Macaulay will be read by the mass of

society for the general view he gives of English History, and the fascination of his style; Hallam will be consulted for the soundness of his views, and the philosophical development, without any party bias, of the historical facts he has to record.

Since penning the above, we rejoice to have had the opportunity of adding our mite towards a proposed Monument to the Memory of the late Historian, to be placed in Westminster Abbey, side by side with those of the departed learned men of England.

work as his model for his *Paradise Regained*. On comparison with some of his MSS. still existing, I find such to be the case; and which has been discovered by some former proprietor, who has written in pencil on the top of page 2 of the work, 'All the notes are written by Milton the Poet.' The volume was formerly sold in London, by a distant descendant of Milton, by the late Mr. Christie, and afterwards went to Liverpool; and ultimately I obtained the same from a friend who purchased the same there. It has been rebound since. It was in the calf binding.<sup>1</sup> M. F."

The success that has of late years attended the "profession" of the Forger of Literary and Antiquarian Relics, both abroad and at home, has had the effect of making the most learned and acute in such matters occasionally sceptical as to the genuineness of that of which they would not otherwise have entertained a doubt. But it is still more astonishing that such learned men should permit, as they sometimes do, a prejudice to arise in their minds upon a subject to which they have not previously devoted their serious attention, and which they condemn, either openly, or by a very significant shake of their heads; while others, less bold, decline to venture an opinion until they have discovered what may be the prevailing views of their fellow critics.

When the copy of the *Pastorals* was about to be sold, there arose, as very frequently is the case,—and sometimes, we fear, unfairly,—a doubt as to the genuineness of the notes. Some said the volume 'did not bear the actual autograph signature of the Poet,'—'there was no proof,'—'no note of any contemporary affirming that the writing was by his friend John Milton.' In fact, the volume was *pooh-pooed*. Not so, however, by everybody.

There was one WILLIAM PICKERING, the late lamented bookseller, whose keen eye caused him to dissent from the general condemnation of the notes; but yet somewhat diffident, after bidding many pounds for the volume, he allowed it to pass into the hands of Mr. Waller, the well-known and industrious dealer in Autograph Letters and Manuscripts. At our request, Mr. Waller immediately forwarded<sup>2</sup> the volume to us. On returning it, we advised that it should be taken at once to be compared with the writing in the Trinity College Manuscript. That, however, was not done; and the volume consequently remained in the possession of Mr. Patrick, who had purchased it from Mr. Waller, subject to an unfavourable impression.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Ford should have left the volume as it was. The binder employed by him has, in several instances, cut into the marginal notes: see fac-similes, Nos. 11 and 13.

<sup>2</sup> We were at that period confined to our house by illness. We had sent, however, a commission to buy the book, being primarily quite satisfied with the attestation of Mr. Ford. Our commission arrived too late; the book having been sold. It was either worth nothing more than a few

shillings, the usual value of a copy of the work; or, as having Annotations in the autograph of Milton, far more than *forty pounds*, which had been given for the copy of *Aratus* now in the British Museum. That volume, beyond a very few marginal references, has only on its title-page the autograph signature of the Poet, as seen in plate XIV., No. II.

*Forty pounds for the Autograph Signature of Milton!*

*Fifteen pounds for the entire copyright of "Paradise Lost!"*

<p>1. Milton p. 25-62 1631</p>	<p>2. Cum sole, et Luna semper Aratus erit</p>	<p>3. X Sive Lucretius. Demig celesti sumus omnes semine orandi, omnibus ille idem pater est. lib. 2. p. 267.</p>
<p>4. *plu, mit substant dum m/istat corrupti</p>	<p>5. *Hadeser pro Hadeser sic enim emendatum Vir Jochy aliquis in E- dihone Lugdunensi De- gabsana. vel Hadeser ut Steff. fol.</p>	<p>6. *Hadeser pro Hadeser sic enim emendatum Vir Jochy aliquis in E- dihone Lugdunensi De- gabsana. vel Hadeser ut Steff. fol.</p>
<p>7. *Erecede Lugdun. a themate Tekos.</p>	<p>8. *Erecede Lugdun. a themate Tekos.</p>	<p>9. *Erecede Lugdun. a themate Tekos.</p>
<p>10. *uno verbo loqui debet emissarior,</p>	<p>11. *uno verbo loqui debet emissarior,</p>	<p>12. *uno verbo loqui debet emissarior,</p>
<p>13. well</p>	<p>14. 'Loud use</p>	<p>15. X whelming in the best Kingdom of Joy, and Love.</p>
<p>16. - if Vertue feeble were Heaven it selfe would shoope to her. Caelum non animu muto du' frans mare CURRO Joannes Miltonius Anglus. Junij 10. 1639.</p>		

<p>1. Mans life compared to a river.</p>	<p>2. They who drinke of like me ever think of how or of words.</p>	<p>3. Mans life compared to a river.</p>
<p>4. Mans strive to get fair</p>	<p>5. Mans strive to get fair</p>	<p>6. Mans strive to get fair</p>
<p>7. Read over of other Faires description.</p>	<p>8. The speech of one extremely miserable.</p>	<p>9. Read over of other Faires description.</p>
<p>10. Poor labour to feed of luxury of y<sup>e</sup> rich.</p>	<p>11. Great men have not such rest as clowns</p>	<p>12. Poor labour to feed of luxury of y<sup>e</sup> rich.</p>
<p>13. Poets live for ever</p>	<p>14. Poets live for ever</p>	<p>15. Poets live for ever</p>
<p>16. good Poets are more yet in spite of enor yet immortality</p>	<p>17. good Poets are more yet in spite of enor yet immortality</p>	<p>18. good Poets are more yet in spite of enor yet immortality</p>
<p>19. Nothing but vertue she obtain y<sup>e</sup> praises of his men</p>	<p>20. Nothing but vertue she obtain y<sup>e</sup> praises of his men</p>	<p>21. Nothing but vertue she obtain y<sup>e</sup> praises of his men</p>
<p>22. As delights in shade more y<sup>e</sup> earthly enjoy ments</p>	<p>23. As delights in shade more y<sup>e</sup> earthly enjoy ments</p>	<p>24. As delights in shade more y<sup>e</sup> earthly enjoy ments</p>
<p>25. The excellency of our english poets Spencer</p>	<p>26. The excellency of our english poets Spencer</p>	<p>27. The excellency of our english poets Spencer</p>
<p>28. Philip Sidney Draceton Johnson Daniell Brock Darius &amp; Wither</p>	<p>29. Philip Sidney Draceton Johnson Daniell Brock Darius &amp; Wither</p>	<p>30. Philip Sidney Draceton Johnson Daniell Brock Darius &amp; Wither</p>





When we came to examine the Trinity College Manuscript, we were so forcibly reminded of the peculiar and general character of the notes in the *Pastorals*, that we again sought an inspection of the volume, which was immediately, through the intervention of that indefatigable bookseller, Mr. Lilly, placed in our hands by the widow of the late Mr. Patrick. So confident are we of the whole of the marginal observations being in the autograph of Milton, that we do not think it necessary to refer to any of those *minutiæ* in the handwriting, with the view of substantiating that opinion. While selecting the thirteen specimens from the notes, as given in this plate XIV., we afford the reader the opportunity of judging for himself on the genuineness of the Autograph; and we have no doubt his verdict will be given in its favour. There is, however, one special point in confirmation of our views, which we desire to note, namely, that the same occasionally imperfect and frequently quaint orthography found in the Trinity College Manuscript, occurs also in the marginal notes to the *Pastorals*. It may be interesting also to notice that the Greek  $\epsilon$ , as constantly used by Milton at one time, but very rarely after his return from Italy in 1639, is adopted in all instances throughout the notes in the *Pastorals*. Those to whom a comparison in the change of handwriting at different periods is interesting, will, on carefully going through the pages of fac-similes from the Trinity College Manuscript, have great difficulty in discovering a single instance of the use of the Greek  $\epsilon$  in any of the writing before the date of 1639; but to come to any decision as to the date of the autograph of Milton from that circumstance, would be very fallacious, as in the marginal notes in the copy of *Euripides* belonging to Sir Henry Halford, commenced in 1634, the plain *e* and the Greek  $\epsilon$  frequently occur in the same word.

As a passing observation, we note that the frequent writing of Greek Letters may have caused Milton to adopt the *round* hand more generally than the *cursive*; the former exhibiting the letters written apart, as in the Greek Language.



WE now proceed to quote the parallel passages to which the fac-similes and notes refer.

*"A simile of a Dove beset with 2 hawks and a ship with contrary winds."*

Milton.

"As when to seeke her foode abroad doth roue  
The *Nuncius* of peace, the seely Doue,  
Two sharpe set hawkes doe her on each side hem,  
And shee knowes not which way to flye from them:  
Or like a shippe that tossed to and fro  
With winde and tyde; the winde doth sternely blow,  
And driues her to the Maine, the tyde comes sore  
And hurles her backe againe towards the shore." *Pastorals*, Book I., p. 6.

*"They who drinke of Lethe never think of love or y<sup>e</sup> world."* Milton.

"O Charon, I am bound  
More to thy kindnesse, then all else, that round  
Come thronging to thy Boate: thou hast past ouer  
The woful'st Maide that ere these shades did couer:  
But prithee Ferriman direct my Spright  
Where that blacke Riuer runnes that *Lethe* hight,  
That I of it (as other Ghosts) may drinke,  
And neuer of the world, or Loue, more thinke." Pastorals, B. I., p. 7.

*"A handsome Sheepheard as well in mind as in body."* Milton.

"Remond, young Remond, that full well could sing,  
And tune his pipe at *Pans*-birth carolling:  
Who for his nimble leaping, sweetest layes,  
A Lawrell garland wore on Holi-dayes;  
In framing of whose hand Dame *Nature* swore  
There neuer was his like, nor should be more." Pastorals, B. I., p. 13.

*"The miserys of those y<sup>e</sup> marry for beauty."* Milton.

"Shee is not lou'd, that's lou'd not for her selfe.  
How many Shepheard's daughters, who in dutie,  
To griping fathers haue intral'd their beautie,  
To waite vpon the *Gout*, to walke when pleases  
Olde *Ianuary* halt. O that diseases  
Should linke with youth! She that hath such a mate  
Is like two twinnes borne both incorporate:  
Th' one liuing, th' other dead: tho liuing twinne  
Must needes be slaine through noysomnesse of him  
He carryeth with him: such are their estates,  
Who meerely marry wealth and not their mates." Pastorals, B. I., p. 34-35.

*"All are born to love."* Milton.

"Beleene me, Maiden, vow no chastitie:  
For maidens but imperfect creatures be." Pastorals, B. I., p. 36.

*"Against love."* Milton.

"Lone is a *Syren* that doth shipwracke youth." Pastorals, B. I., p. 36.

*"Mans life compar'd to a river."* Milton.

"As men from earth, to earth; from sea to sea  
So Riners runne: and that from whence both eamo  
Takes what she gaue: *Waues*, *Earth*: but leanes a name.  
As waters haue their conrse, and in their place  
Succeeding streames well out, so is mans race:  
The *Name* doth still suruiue, and cannot die,  
Vntill the Channels stop, or Spring grow dry." Pastorals, B. I., p. 38.

*"A character of a bad poet."*

Milton.

"And as some ruder Swaine composing ryme,  
Spends many a gray Goose quill vnto the handle,  
Buries within his soeket many a Candle;  
Blots Paper by the quire, and dryes vp Incke,  
As *Xerxes* Armie did whole Riuers drinke,  
Hoping thereby his name his worke should raise  
That it should liue vntill the last of dayes."

Pastorals, B. I., p. 39.

*"A steep high mountain."*

Milton.

"A mountaine had his foote, and gan to rise  
In stately height to parlee with the Skies."

Pastorals, B. I., p. 47.

*"True grief will admit of no comforter."*

Milton.

"*Ioy* may haue company, but *Griefe* hath none:  
Where pleasure neuer came, sports cannot please."

Pastorals, B. I., p. 51.

*"One so sweet, yf bees mistaken, gather honey from her instead of flowers."*

Milton.

"Enriching then the arbour downe she sate her;  
Where many a busie Bee came flying at her:  
Thinking when she for ayre her brests diseloses,  
That there had growne some tuft of Damaske-Roses."

Pastorals, B. I., p. 64.

*"One grievously opprest & entreating pity from whence pretty fancy is rais'd."*

Milton.

"With plaints which might abate a Tyrants knife;  
She begges for pardon, and entreates for life,  
The hollow caues resound her moanings neere it,  
That heart was flint which did not grieue to heare it:  
The high topt *Firres* which on that mountaine keepe,  
Haue euer since that time been scene to weepe."

Pastorals, B. I., pp. 66-7.

*"A pretty thing."*

Milton.

"So from the ruines of this mangled Creature  
Arose so faire and so diuine a feature,  
That *Envy* for her heart would doate vpon her;  
Heauen could not chuse but be enamour'd on her:  
Were I a *Starre*, and she a second *Spheare*,  
Ide leane the other, and be fixed there."

Pastorals, B. I., p. 67.

*"Truth slighted of y<sup>e</sup> nobility, by reason of adulation."*

Milton.

"Seeking the place of *Charities* resort,  
Vnware I hapned on a Princes Court;  
Where meeting *Greatnesse*, I requir'd reliefe,  
(O happy vndelayed) she said in briefe,  
To small effect thine oratorie tends,  
*How can I keepe thee and so many friends?*

If of my houshold I should make thee one,  
Farewell my seruant *Adulation*."

Pastorals, B. I., p. 76.

"*Men strive to get fair M<sup>rs</sup>.*"

Milton.

"So whilome rode this Maide  
On streames of worldly blisse, more rich arrayd,  
With Earths delight, then *thought* could put in vre,  
To glut the sences of an *Epicure*.  
Whilst neighbring Kings vpon their frontires stood,  
And offer'd for her dowre huge Seas of blood."

Pastorals, B. I., p. 89.

"*A beautiful vergin undressing her self*"

Milton.

"And as a louely Mayden, pure and chaste,  
With naked Iu'rie necke, and gowne vnac'd,  
Within her chamber, when the day is fled,  
Makes poor her garments to enrich her bed:  
First, puts she off her lilly-silken gowne,  
That shrikes for sorrow as she layes it downe;  
And with her armes graceth a Wast-coate fine,  
Imbracing her as it would ne'er vntwine."

Pastorals, B. I., p. 106.

"*Great men have not such rest as clowns.*"

Milton.

"Not with disturbed thoughts; the beds of Kings  
Are neuer prest by them, swect rest inrings  
The tyred body of the swarty clowne,  
And oftener lies on *flocks* then softest *downe*."

Pastorals, B. II., p. 22.

"*Poor labour to feed y<sup>e</sup> luxury of y<sup>e</sup> rich.*"

Milton.

"There should they see another that commands  
His Farmers Teame from furrowing his lands,  
To bring him stones to raise his building vast,  
The while his Tenants sowing time is past."

Pastorals, B. II., p. 22.

"*Poetts live for ever.*"

Milton.

"It was inacted here, in after dayes  
What wights should hane their temples crown'd with *Bayes*.  
Learn'd *Ariosto*, holy *Petrarchs* quill,  
And *Tasso* should ascend the *Muses* hill."

Pastorals, B. II., p. 25.

"*The excellency of the english poetts.*"

Milton.

"There will she Anchor cast, to heare the songs  
Of English Shepheards, whose all tunefull tongues  
So pleas'd the *Nayades*, they did report  
Their songs perfection in great *Nereus* Court."

Pastorals, B. II., p. 26.

"*Spencer.*"

Milton.

"And *Colin Clout* began to tune his quill."

Pastorals, B. II., p. 26.

"*Venus mourning over Adonis when he was dead.*" Milton.

"*Venus by Adonis side  
Crying kist, and kissing cryde,  
Wrung her hands and tore her hayre  
For Adonis dying there.*" Pastorals, B. II., p. 32.

"*Good Poetts are envied yet in spite of envy get immortall prayse.*" Milton.

"Yet to this Lad not wanted Enuies sting,  
(Hee's not worth ought, that's not worth enuying.)  
Since many at his praise were seene to grutch.  
For as a *Miller* in his boulding *lutch*  
Driues out the pure meale neerly, (as he can)  
And in his *sifter* leanes the courser *bran*:  
So doth the *canker* of a *Poets* name  
Let slip such *lines* as might inherit *Fame.*" Pastorals, B. II., p. 33.

"*Sir Philip sidney,—Draiton,—Johnson,—Daniell,—  
Brook,—Daveis, & Wither.*" Milton.

Milton here only notes the names of the several poets of whom Browne sings in high praise in the verses opposite thereto.

"*Very beautifull.*" Milton.

"His armes a crosse, his sheep-hooke lay beside him:  
Had *Venus* pass'd this way, and chanc'd t'haue spide him,  
With open brest, lockes on his shoulders spred,  
She would hane sworne (had she not seene him dead;)  
*It was Adonis*; or if e're there was  
Held transmigration by *Pithagoras*,  
Of soules, that certaine then, her lost-loues spirit  
A fairer body neuer could inherit." Pastorals, B. II., p. 46.

These lines remind us of a romantic but not authenticated anecdote often told of Milton,<sup>1</sup> "as having formed the first impulse of his journey to Italy, and as the parent, too, of some of his Poetry."

"It is well known that, in the bloom of youth, and when he pursued his studies at Cambridge, this poet [Milton] 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 acquaintance, 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.

<sup>1</sup> Poetical Works of Milton, by Todd. 4to. edition, 1842. Vol. i., p. 19.

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, stelle mortali,  
Ministre de miei mali,  
Se chinsi m' uccidete,  
Aperte che farete ?’ ”

“*Too much of one thing is good for nothing.*” Milton.

“There's no one season such delight can bring,  
As *Summer, Autumn, Winter, and the Spring.*  
Nor the best *Floure* that doth on earth appeare  
Could by it selfe content vs all the yeare.  
The *Salmons*, and some more as well as they,  
Now loue the freshet, and then loue the Sea.” Pastorals, B. II., p. 77.

“*Nothing but vertue sha[u] obtain y<sup>e</sup> praises of his [muse.]*” Milton.

“My free-borne *Muse* will not like *Danae* be  
Wenne with base drosse to clip with slanery ;  
Nor lend her choiser Balme to worthlesse men,  
Whose names would dye but for some hired pen ;  
No : if I praise Vertue shall draw me to it,  
And not a base procurement make me doe it.” Pastorals, B. II., p. 89.

“*He delights in study more y<sup>e</sup> earthly enioyments.*” Milton.

“In this can I as oft as I will chuse  
Hug sweet content by my retyred *Musc*,  
And in a study finde as much to please  
As others in the greatest *Pallaces.*” Pastorals, B. II., p. 89.

“*Vertue is y<sup>e</sup> only nobility.*” Milton.

“*Not from Nobilitie doth Vertue spring,  
But Vertue makes fit Nobles for a King.  
From highest nests are croaking Rauens borne  
When sweetest Nightingales sit in the Thorne.*” Pastorals, B. II., p. 91.

“*Life and De<sup>th</sup>.*” Milton.

“Death seuers many, but he couples few.  
*Life* is a *Flood* that keepes vs from our blisse,  
The *Ferriman* to waft vs thither, is  
*Death*, and none else ; the sooner we get o're  
Should we not thanke the *Ferriman* the more ?” Pastorals, B. II., p. 131.

## ARATI PHÆNOMENA. 1559, 4to. WITH MANUSCRIPT NOTES.

## No. II. SPECIMENS 1 TO 9.



FROM the title-page and margins of a copy of the "*Phænomena*" and "*Diosemeia*" of *Aratus*. Paris edition, 1559, 4to. The main interest of the volume consists of its bearing irrefragable proof of having belonged to the Poet. It has also numerous manuscript notes in the autograph of JOHN UPTON, the learned editor of *Epictetus*; from whose possession it appears to have passed into that of James Bindley, an eminent collector and amateur antiquarian, at the sale of whose library, in 1818, the volume was sold for £8 8s. Part I., No. 540. Passing afterwards into the Heber Library, it was, at the sale of the sixth portion of his collection in 1835, again sold, producing £4 19s.; and subsequently in 1850, into the library of the late John Poynder, Esq., when it was purchased for the British Museum for £40 10s.

Subjoined is an enumeration of the pages in which the notes occur, whence the fac-similes were taken.

No.	1. John Milton. Price and date. Fly-leaf before title.	2. On title at each side of vignette.	3. Page 1, l. 5 of text; line 5 of Phænomena.	4. " 11, l. 12 " " 74 " "	5. " 14, l. 5 " " 100 " "	5* " " 1. 12 " " 107 " "	No.	5** P. 14, l. 17 of text; line 112 of Phænomena.	6. " 15, l. 5 " " 124 " "	7. " 17, l. 8 " " 144 " "	8. " 38, l. 1 " " 326 " "	8* " " 1. 5 " " 330 " "	9. " 52, l. 7 " " 475 " "

## LYCIDAS, WITH MANUSCRIPT NOTES.

## No. III. SPECIMENS 1 TO 5.



CORRECTIONS of the text in the British Museum copy of the "Obsequies to the Memorie of Mr. Edward King," wherein this celebrated Monodie was first published. The corrections occur in the lines as noted below.

No. 1. Line 10, "he <sub>1</sub> knew"	Corrected,	" <sub>1</sub> well."
2. " 51, "your <i>lord</i> Lycidas"	"	"Lov'd."
3. " 67, "as others <i>doe</i> "	"	"use."
4. " 157, "under the <i>humming</i> tide"	"	"whelming."
5. After line 176, "in the blest kingdom of Joy and Love" inserted.		

## ALBUM OF CAMILLUS CARDOYN.

No. IV.



HERE is a complimentary inscription with the signature of Milton, written in June 1639, when at Geneva, in the ALBUM of CAMILLUS CARDOYN, a Neapolitan Nobleman residing at Geneva, from 1608 to 1640. It contains complimentary Inscriptions, Verses, etc., in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, German, French, and English, by some of the most distinguished Authors and Literary Men of the period. The following eminent Englishmen contributed inscriptions to the volume :

JOHN MILTON . . . . . <i>Junii</i> 10, 1639	Hen. Fitzwalter . . . . . n. d.
Thomas Wentworth, the unfortunate Lord Strafford . . . . . 1612	L. Rose . . . . . 1613
William Marshall . . . . . 1614	Thos. Wilson . . . . . 1637
Edw. Ironside . . . . . n. d.	Will. Paget . . . . . 1631
Lord George Berkeley . . . . . n. d.	Will. Spencer . . . . . 1633
Sir Ant. Weldon . . . . . 1638	Ric. Holt . . . . . 1637
Robt. Harley . . . . . 1619	Gef. Nightingale . . . . . 1640
Sir Ric. Baker, author of the "Chronicle of England" . . . . . 1640	W. Ducy . . . . . 1639
John Junius, a <i>Scotch Scholar</i> . . . . . 1610	Jas. Croft . . . . . 1631
John Smythe, probably Sir John . . . . . n. d.	Jas. Zouche . . . . . 1636
Edmund Gybbon . . . . . 1634	Edw. Boneam . . . . . 1635
Henry Butler . . . . . 1638	G. Turnbull . . . . . 1631
Thomas Killigrew, the <i>Dramatist</i> . . . . . 1638	Thomas Tirrett . . . . . 1640
Edw. Ayscough . . . . . 1639	James Hamilton . . . . . 1639
Edm. Batty . . . . . n. d.	Richard D'Ewes . . . . . 1639
Ric. Griffiths, of Hereford . . . . . 1616	W. Bishop . . . . . 1620
Walter Strickland, of Yorkshire . . . . . 1634	Edw. Ayscu . . . . . 1615
Roger Knight . . . . . n. d.	Jas. Bromel . . . . . 1614
Griff. Maddock, <i>Welshman</i> . . . . . 1608	Thos. Gurry . . . . . 1608
W. Wingfield . . . . . n. d.	Hen. Paulett . . . . . n. d.
W. Armysn . . . . . n. d.	Humf. Tufton . . . . . n. d.
W. Crayford . . . . . n. d.	John Rous . . . . . n. d.
Edw. Wray . . . . . n. d.	John Cooke . . . . . n. d.
Thos. Hungerford . . . . . 1626	W. Gresley . . . . . 1631
Josue Hixton . . . . . 1635	J. Dormer . . . . . 1636
Octavius Pullen . . . . . 1635	J. Amber . . . . . 1614
W. Bagot . . . . . 1631	J. Tracy . . . . . 1638
James Hodgson . . . . . 1633	T. Whitaker . . . . . 1640
Gilbert Pykeringe . . . . . 1634	D. Bougeton . . . . . 1639
Sir And. Knyverton, Bt. . . . . 1637	H. Bludder . . . . . 1628
Sir F. Fane . . . . . 1633	J. Sutton . . . . . 1630
Spencer Compton . . . . . 1618	S. Thomson . . . . . 1640
Thomas Warton . . . . . 1610	G. Courthop . . . . . 1638
	R. Hampden . . . . . n. d.
	Hen. Winwood . . . . . 1637

The date at the foot of the inscription by Milton is not in the autograph of the Poet.





HIS very interesting Autographic Memorial of distinguished Men of the Seventeenth Century, was obtained at Geneva in 1834, for a few shillings, by the son of the late Bishop of Sydney, the Right Reverend George Broughton.<sup>1</sup> It was sold in Wellington-street, February 19, 1835, by auction, to the late eminent bookbinder, Charles Herring, for 25*l.* 4*s.* It subsequently passed into the hands of the then leviathan bookseller, Thomas Thorpe; and is now the property of the Rev. Charles Sumner of America. A notice of the volume appeared in the "*Boston Daily Evening Transcript*" for January 25th, 1860, stating that the Reverend Gentleman had recently obtained it in Europe. We do not know to whom we are indebted for the fac-simile of that portion bearing the autograph of Milton. It was received by post, accompanied by the notice referred to; a notice merely reiterating the names of some of the more distinguished persons whose writing appears in it.

To the contributor, therefore, to our "Ramblings," we here take the opportunity of offering our thanks. A voyage to America<sup>2</sup> would have been a most delightful addition to our Pursuits, in the anticipation of discovering in our search some Milton Manuscripts that may have found their resting place in the "Far West;" either from having survived the wholesale destruction, at the time of the Restoration, of many of the Official Documents of that period; or from having been subsequently dispersed in consequence of the barbarously careless manner in which those that had been preserved were examined by the State Authorities on their removal from the cellars of Somerset House, the store rooms in the Dock Yard at Deptford, and, no doubt, many other places. It may be asked, what has become of the State Papers that were many years ago at Dover? Were they entrusted to some high and mightily ignorant official, who would have preferred seeing them cast over the pier, or made a bonfire of, to soiling his delicate fingers by the accumulated dust of two centuries? Certain it is that many of those that were in the store rooms in Deptford, were taken so little care of, that there is scarcely a collection of Autograph Letters and Documents of the Period in this country, that does not abound in State Papers purloined from that source. The catalogues of the sales of manuscripts by auction during the last twenty years, confirm what is here stated.

When, on the occasion of the Members of the Archæological Society of London

<sup>1</sup> It was in 1834, when we met the late Bishop of Sydney and his son at the house of our mutual friend, Mr. Pulham, the enthusiastic collector of the works of George Wither, the Boy shewed to us the treasure he had procured; and as his Father thought he would rather have a silver watch than the volume, we put it into our pocket, and within a few weeks had the gratifi-

cation of handing to him something more than would buy him the object desired.

<sup>2</sup> If we mistake not, it would be the first instance of an Englishman travelling Far West in search of long lost historical information relating to England.

and Middlesex being permitted, the year before last, to visit the Interior of the Tower of London, we saw in one of the upper chambers thousands of documents, centuries old, put in sacks like so many potatoes, with their mouths open to shew the quality of the contents, while hundreds were lying loose upon the ground, as the *débris* of the Archives, which were then being removed to their new destination. We were so perfectly astonished at what we saw, that we fear the very interesting account of the Chamber orally given by the Reverend Antiquary, Thomas Hugo, was entirely lost upon us. We could not help looking at some of the scattered *débris*; and we doubt not but that, had we been permitted an hour's recreation there, we should have soon met with documents bearing the autograph signatures of the prominent Statesmen of the early reigns of this country. We saw, however, enough to convince us, that, whatever may have been the cause of the then appearance of the Archives of the Tower, or whatever they were, their previous keeping could not have been such as we had a right to expect from the salaried Officers of the State. Certain it is, that there would not have been the least difficulty in any person, had he been so inclined, filling his pockets with those documents; and that the eyes of a dozen detectives could not have discovered the depredations that might have been committed behind the pillars, and in the dark recesses of that chamber.

EURIPIDIS TRAGÆDIÆ, GR. ET LAT. BECKII. 2 TOM., 1602. 4to.

WITH MANUSCRIPT ANNOTATIONS.

PLATE XV. SPECIMENS 1 TO 30.



THESE specimens are taken from the margins of the oft-quoted<sup>1</sup> copy in Paul Stephens's edition of Euripides. They are all in the autograph of Milton.

There is a peculiar charm in the possession of a volume bearing autographic record of having passed through the hands of a man whose name alone always imparts an interest to everything connected with it. The mere autograph signature, and the date of its possession, are most interesting; but doubly interesting is the association, when every page of it bears the impress of the

<sup>1</sup> "The [copy of] *Euripides* was in the possession of Francis Hare, Bishop of Chichester, on whose death, in 1740, it became the property of John Whiston, a bookseller. From him it was bought by Dr. Birch in 1754; after whose death it became the property of Joseph Cradock, Esq., of Gnmly in Leicestershire. When Dr. Johnson wrote his life of Milton, in 1779, the book, by Mr.

'Cradock's kindness,' was [placed] in his hands. 'The margin,' he says, 'is sometimes noted; but I have found nothing remarkable.' Barnes, however, had previously used it for his edition of *Euripides*; and Richard Paul Joddrell, in his '*Illustrations of Euripides*,' in 1781, adopts one or two of the manuscript readings, and accuses Barnes of having availed himself of the book





hand that has transferred on many of them explications of remarkable passages that have attracted the particular notice of the reader. Added to all this, its interest is enhanced when such a volume has a satisfactory pedigree, and is beyond the carping of those who are always ready to exhibit their unmistakable feelings when envying its possession.

On reading the particulars relating to the volume from the pen of the learned Masson, as quoted in the note in the preceding page, we immediately addressed the present Sir Henry Halford, and had the gratification of receiving an answer stating that the book should be brought to London for our examination. Severe illness prevented our having the pleasure of visiting Sir Henry Halford to inspect the volume. He, however, most confidently allowed our clever artist, Mr. G. J. F. Tupper, to follow the minute instructions we had given him; the result of which has been the plate containing the thirty fac-simile specimens of the marginal notes in the Autograph of the Poet.

## SPECIMEN 1.

The signature, price, and date, 1634, occur on the recto of the fly-leaf preceding the title-page of vol. i. The price has been erased.

## SPECIMEN 1\*.

The name of Milton repeated, with the price, 12s. 6*d.*, as was originally written by Milton. This subsignature is *not* in the Autograph of the Poet. We believe it to be in the same autograph as appears in the second portion of the "*De Doctrinâ Christianâ*," of which numerous fac-similes are given in subsequent plates. The "D. S." at the corner are no doubt the autograph initials of DANIEL SKINNER, into whose hands the volume may have passed at the death of Milton, though, without more satisfactory evidence, such an opinion must be considered conjectural; but there may be circumstances equally interesting, such as in the present case, connecting the signature of Milton under the original, and the "D. S." with the autograph of the posthumous work of Milton, his much laboured and very learned Treatise on the Christian Doctrine.

Following the subsignature is the subjoined note in the autograph of the learned Historian BIRCH :

"Liber hic olim fuit celeberrimi Johannis Miltoni, ejus nomen ab ipso supra-scriptum est, notæq. passim margini additæ. Ex Bibliothecâ Francisci Hare, Episcopi Cisestrensis transivit in officinam Librariam Johannis Whistoni, à quo emebam die 12<sup>o</sup> Aprilis 1754. THOS. BIRCH."

## SPECIMENS 2 TO 30.

These shew the character of the writing of the marginal notes. They enable us

without acknowledgment. By Mr. Cradock, the book was bequeathed to the late Sir Henry Halford; and beyond this point I have not traced

it."—"*Life of Milton*," by Masson, vol. i., 1859, p. 531 note.

to appreciate at its full value the pedantry of persons founding their judgment of an autograph upon the formation of any particular letters.

Subjoined are the references to the pages from which the notes have been taken:

VOL. I.		No.	
No.		15.	Page 31. Supplices . Latin, line 554
2.	At foot of List of Tragedies.	16.	„ 42. line 754 et seq., correcting Dram. Personæ of Dialogue.
3.	Page 27. Hecuba . . . line 283	17.	„ 69. Iphigenia in Aulide line 6
4.	„ 29. „ . . . „ 306	18.	„ 118. „ „ „ Lat. „ 69
5.	„ 31. „ . . . „ 326	19.	„ 122. „ „ „ „ 1036
6.	„ 266. Orestes . . . „ 1686	20.	„ 163. „ „ Tauris „ 189
7.	„ 314. Phœnissæ . . . „ 527	21.	„ 175. „ „ „ „ 423
8.	„ 405. Medea. Latin version, line 53	22.	„ 207. „ „ „ Lat. „ 1040
9.	„ 484. „ . . . „ 1201	23.	„ 232. Rhesus. First 5 of Lat. version
10.	„ 525. Hippolytus . Latin, „ 329	24.	„ 329. Troades . . . line 817
11.	„ 552. „ . . . „ 657	25.	„ 434. Cyclops . . . „ 49
VOL. II.		26.	„ 442. „ . . . „ 202
12.	„ *13. Supplices . . . „ 208	27.	„ 486. Heraclidæ . . . „ 321
13.	„ 15. „ . . . „ 243	28.	„ 584. Helena . . . „ 1145
13*.	„ „ „ . . . „ 245	29.	„ 608. „ . . . „ 1606
14.	„ 30. „ . Latin, „ 530	30.	„ 685. Ion . . . „ 1360



LYCOPHRON. To our most indefatigable correspondent, Mr. Needham of Kimbolton, we are indebted for the subjoined information respecting another very interesting existing relic from the library of the Poet.

“It is said that the Earl of Charlemont is in possession of the copy of LYCOPHRON which formerly belonged to Milton, and bears his autograph. The volume may be considered as a companion to the *Euripides* of Sir Henry Halford. Some time ago I made some inquiries as to the *Lycophron*, but was not fortunate enough to meet with any reply to my letter. On looking at the latest *Peerage* which I possess, that for 1857, I find that Lord Charlemont was then eighty-two years of age, and that his heir presumptive, his brother, was only four years younger. This may explain the omission to reply to my letter. I have more recently pursued my inquiries; and if they lead to anything satisfactory, you shall hear of it.

“In reference to *Lycophron*, the following passage may be interesting to you. I transcribe it from the *Life of William Pitt* by the late Lord Macaulay. This *Life* first appeared in the recent edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and has just been reprinted in a volume of ‘*Biographies*’ by Lord Macaulay. Edinburgh, A. & C. Black, 1860, pp. 144.”

“He [William Pitt] had set his heart on being intimately acquainted with all the extant poetry of Greece, and was not satisfied till he had mastered Lycophron’s *Cassandra*, the most obscure work in the whole range of ancient literature. This strange rhapsody, the difficulties of which have perplexed and repelled many excellent scholars, ‘he read,’ says his preceptor, ‘with an ease, at first sight, which, if I had not witnessed it, I should have thought beyond the compass of human intellect.’”

The volume was, in 1809, entrusted to Mr. Meen, when preparing a new edition of *Lycophron* for the press.

MEL HELICONIUM, BY ROSSE. 1646, 8vo.

PLATE XVI. No. I.



AN Octave Stanza from the fly-leaf of what we believe to have been a presentation copy to Milton, by ALEXANDER ROSSE, of his “*Mel Heliconium, or Poeticall Honey gathered out of the Weeds of Parnassus.*” It is a small octavo volume, and was first published in 1642. Some copies, afterwards issued, have the year 1643, and others 1646,—the last figure in the date having been altered, as in the copy here referred to; a practice frequently adopted by the publishers in those days, when books lingered in their sale for several years.

Alexander Rosse was Chaplain to King Charles I.; and Henry Lawes, a most intimate friend of Milton, was at the same period “Gentleman of the King’s Chappel and one of His Majesties Private Musick.” By Lawes, the “SONGS” of Milton were “set to musick,” as stated in the title-page to the first edition of the Poems of Milton issued in 1645. We have no other evidence to show that Milton was personally intimate with Rosse; but, inasmuch as the latter must have been well known to Henry Lawes, we may fairly presume it not to have been unlikely that an interchange of literary civility took place between them by the mutual Gift of the works of the two authors through the introduction of their common friend Lawes. The probability is, that the fly leaf of the copy of the *Mel Heliconium*, now wanting, contained an autograph inscription from the author to Milton, still existing, perhaps, in the portfolio of some Collector of Autograph Memorials.

The inscription to A. Rosse and the verses occur on the blank reverse of the leaf following the dedication. The two lines as subjoined to the initials in our fac-simile are from the lower margin of page 5, referring to the line therein:

“Dote not on beauty; beauty’s but a flower.”

Words more painfully and yet more forcibly attractive to the mind of Milton could hardly have been penned. He had in 1643 married a very beautiful woman, who soon after deserted him. It was not until July 1645 that she returned, a

reconciliation having been brought about, as it were, by stratagem. Her beauty contributed not to his happiness.

The AUTOGRAPH of Milton in the Trinity College Manuscript, extending over forty pages and written at intervals from 1630 to 1646 or even later, exhibits throughout the *same peculiar character*. It is written in what may be styled, the *ordinary home hand* of the Poet, without much care, sometimes in a larger and sometimes in a smaller hand than usual, arising from the circumstances under which the pen was called into operation, and oftentimes depending upon the quality of the pen itself.

The inscription and verses taken from the blank page of the "*Mel Heliconium*" exhibit the *ordinary hand* of Milton, but, under very unusual circumstances. The paper on which they are written is of a remarkably hard and coarse texture, and the hand is for want of space naturally cramped, and the Pen was much finer and harder than that he was accustomed to use. Had Milton employed his ordinary larger hand, he would not have been enabled to get in more than half of the words into the *one* line as desired. Consequently, in thus cramping his hand, using evidently a finer pen and writing on a hard paper, peculiarly rough, the autograph, owing to the impression of the text on the other side not having been pressed out, assumes a more delicate appearance. Milton was necessitated to use more than ordinary care in his writing. Though we had not studied the autograph of Milton when we first became acquainted with the volume, we never entertained any doubt of the authenticity of the writing. True it is, that the initials, "J. M.," differ from those which we should at first sight, and without the smallest hesitation, pronounce as the autograph of the Poet; yet we look upon that as of very little importance. It is pedantry to assert, that because a letter or two differs from those usually employed, the same cannot be in the autograph of the party to whom it is assigned. We cannot produce a better example of the fallacy of drawing such conclusions, than by referring to the very differently formed "J. M." in plate VII., attached to the Sonnet of the Poet addressed to his friend Henry Lawes, bearing date 1645. Again, in plate XVII., see the *ornamented* M in the third line of that very carefully written poem inscribed to Dr. Rous; and then look at the *ordinary* M in the word *Metra* at the close of the sixth line of the second specimen in the same plate. See also the M in the first line of the third Stanza of *Arcades*, plate I.; and another, of quite a different form, in the word *Monodie* in the heading of *Lycidas*, plate III.; so also in the word *Moses*, plate IV.

The volume was sold a few years ago at a public sale, and again in 1858, when it was purchased by William Tite, Esq., M.P., in whose very fine collection of interesting printed books and manuscripts it is now preserved.



I.

On Mt. Heliconium written by  
M<sup>r</sup> Roffe Chaplain to his Ma<sup>ty</sup>

Thy<sup>se</sup> shapes, of old transfigur'd by y<sup>e</sup> charms  
of sweetest Quid wak'd with th<sup>e</sup> alarms  
of powerfull Roffe game nobler forms, & try  
The force of a divine Alchemy.  
See the quaint Chymist <sup>of</sup> ingenious powre  
From raly'd herbes extract a glorious floure.  
See how to freight their thymy vells produce  
How poisonous weeds a sweet & wholesome fynde.

J. M.

Al who would least to fairness, to, honour imparie  
Vertue's true shape, and only goodnesse faire

II.

I <sup>doe</sup> ~~am~~ ~~and~~ ~~do swear that this  
debt for wch I am to compound  
according to my petition is a true  
& real debt, as will appear upon  
John Milton  
June 25. 1651.~~

III.

John Milton

III.

Εἰς ἀδελφεὴν τελευτῶν

Doctissimo Viri, meoq; fauori humanissimo,  
D. Christophoro Arnoldo dede hoc, in memo-  
riam cum sua virtutis, tum mei erga se studij.  
Londini. An: D. 1651. Novem: 19.

Joannes Miltonius.



## PETITION OF JOHN MILTON. 1650.

Nos. II. AND III.



THE "COMPOSITION PAPERS" preserved in the State Paper Office form a series of most valuable records. They contain many documents relating to the Milton Family. On the margin of that of the "*Petition of John Milton*"—"To the Honourable the Commissioners for Sequestration at Haberdashers' Hall," occurs an attestation in the Autograph of the Poet, as given in specimen II., the signature following being that affixed to the Petition.

## ALBUM OF CHRISTOPHER ARNOLD. 1651.

No. IV.



IN the Manuscript Department of the British Museum is preserved the "ALBUM AMICORUM of CHRISTOPHER ARNOLD, Professor of History at Nuremberg." It contains Autograph Inscriptions collected in Germany and the Low Countries, and also in England, during the years 1649-1672; including a sentence in Greek signed by the Poet Milton,

"JOANNES MILTONIUS," and dated "London, 19th November, 1651."

The volume, so states the British Museum "*Threepenny Guide*," was "purchased, in 1850, out of the Bridgwater Fund," from the late Mr. Asher, the well-known bookseller at Berlin. Among the more distinguished Englishmen who contributed their autographic memorials to the volume of their learned friend, Professor Arnold, were Archbishop Usher, John Selden, Sir William Petty, Jeremy Collier, and many others.

## MANUSCRIPT POEM TO DR. JOHN ROUS. 1647.

PLATE XVII.



IN the BODLEIAN LIBRARY, Oxford, are two volumes of very considerable interest, exhibiting specimens of the Autograph of the Poet, written in a style not usually adopted by him in the ordinary pursuits of his life. One of these is a presentation copy to JOHN ROUS<sup>1</sup> of the First Edition of the Poems of Milton, accompanied with an appropriate poem in Latin to Dr. Rous, in the autograph of the Poet; being, it is said, the last<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "JOHN ROUSE, or RUSSE, Master of Arts, Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, was elected chief librarian of the Bodleian, May 9, 1620. He died in April 1652, and was buried in the chapel of his college. He succeeded to Thomas

James, the first that held this office from the foundation."—"Milton's Poems," by Warton, note, pp. 562-3.

<sup>2</sup> "In the beginning of the following year,

Latin poem composed by him. It was first published in the second edition of the Poems, 1673, and is there dated "*Jan. 23, 1646.*" The other volume comprises a collection of the Prose Tracts by Milton, with an autograph inscription to Dr. Rous, to whom they were also presented by the author.

There are and have been at all times many whose delight, while pursuing their literary, scientific, and other studies, is to record in their Common-Place Books what is either of interest to themselves, or what they consider may be equally so to their descendants; adopting most frequently a much more careful and uniform style of writing than what they are accustomed to use in their ordinary avocations. With others, their writing never varies in style; the only difference being, that it becomes more feeble or irregular at the decline of life.

The fac-similes<sup>1</sup> in plate XVII. give a most faithful representation of a portion of the Latin Poem, from the Autograph of Milton, affixed to the presentation copy of the first edition of his Poems in 1645. If we can judge by what is here represented, Milton must have been well skilled in the use of the beautiful "*Secretary Hand*" then practised; a hand much resembling the style of the Italian semi-cursive text, as seen more particularly in the writing of the prose part at the close of the poem. That Milton bestowed considerable pains in the transcript of this Latin Poem, is evident, though at the same time it is clear that his hand had then become feeble. It is remarkable, that, in this specimen of the autograph of Milton, all the *b*'s, *l*'s, and *h*'s, are looped; many of them having been filled in during the process of writing, while others shew that they had been afterwards carefully filled in.

It may not be uninteresting here to introduce to the notice of the reader the writing of the Renowned Youth, PRINCE HENRY, the eldest son of James I.; to whose Memory as a most accomplished Prince, the Poets of England assembled on Mount Parnassus to pour forth their strains, and with their unanimous song proclaimed the virtues and talents of their departed Prince to all parts of the world.

In the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, are preserved the Copy Books used by the Prince while learning the Art of Penmanship,—an accomplishment considered at that period as most essential in the education of the higher classes. In those Copy Books are beautiful specimens of the Handwriting of the Prince, of which we here give several in fac-simile, executed by the processes of the Electro-

January 23, 1646-7, Milton wrote his last Latin poem, the irregular ode sent to John Rouse, the Keeper of the Bodleian Library at Oxford, in a copy of his poems."—"*Life of Milton,*" by Keightley, p. 42.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Symmons, in his life of the Poet, pp. 275-82, refers to the volume, accompanying his remarks by what he calls in his preface, p. 24, "*a most curious fac-simile of Milton's handwrit-*

*ing,*" with which he is enabled to gratify the curiosity of his readers, through the kindness of the Reverend M. Matthews, Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford. The plate gives the inscription and the first "*Strophe.*" The only apology we can make for such an *attempt* at a *fac-simile*, is that we presume the Reverend Amateur Artist was not permitted to make a *tracing* of it, but was obliged to content himself with having the writing placed before him.

I  
Ad Joannem Roissium Oxoniensis Academia  
Bibliothecarium  
De libro poematum amisso quem ille sibi denuo  
mitti postulabat, vel cum aliis nostris in Bibliotheca  
publica reponeret, Ode Joannis Miltoni.

Strophe I.

Gemelle cultu simplici gaudens liber,  
Fronde licet gemina,  
Munditieq; nitens non operosa,  
Quam manus atulit  
Juvenilis olim,  
Sedula tamen haud nimij poeta;  
Dum dragus Ausonias nunc per umbras  
Nunc Britannica per vireta lussit  
Insons populi, barbatoq; abivus  
Indulsit patrio, mox ita sem pectue Daunio  
Linguinquum intonuit melos  
Dicinis, et humum vice tetigit pe. e

Antistrophe.

Quis te parve liber, quis te fratribus  
Subduxit reliquis dolo?  
Cum tu missus ab urbe,  
Docto jugiter obsecrante amico,  
Ilustre tendebas iter  
Thamesis ad incurabula  
Carubi patris,  
Fontes ubi limpidi  
Aonidum, thyasusq; sacer.  
Ibi notus per immensos  
Temporum lapsus redeunte calo,  
Celeberq; futurus in arum;

Epodos

Vos tandem haud vacui mei labores,  
Quinqua hoc sterile fudit ingenium,  
Jam sero placidam sperare jubeo  
Perfunctam invidia requiem, sedesq; beatas  
Quas bonus Hermes  
Et tutela dabit solers Rousi,  
Quo neque lingua procax vulgi penetrabit, atq; longè  
Turba legentum prava facesset;

At ultimi nepotes,  
Et cordatiores aetas

Judicia rebus aequiora forsitan  
Adhibebit integro sinu,

Tum livore sepulto,  
Siquid mememur, sana posteritas sciet  
Rousio favente.

II

Ode tribus constat Strophis, totidemq; antistrophis una de-  
min epodo clausis, quas, tametsi omnes nec versuum nu-  
mero nec certis ubiq; colis exacte respondeant, ita tamen  
secuimus, commode legendi potius, quam ad antiquos con-  
tinendi modos, rationem spectantes. Alioquin hoc genus  
rectius fortasse dici monostrophicum debuerat. Me-  
tra partim sunt xatà oxson partim à cordè dyruva.  
Phalœucia quæ sunt, spondæum tertio loco bis admit-  
tunt, quod idem in secundo loco Catullus ad libitum  
fecit.



A b c d e f g h i k l m n o p q r s t u v w x y z & /  
 Anup m mucus J H H. reuo

A. a a a a a a a a b  
 m m m m m m m m m m m m m m m m a a a a a b b b b m m a a b b a m  
 A a a a a a a a a b

Mea quidem sententia, nemo poterit esse omni laude cumulatus scriptor, nisi erit omni-  
 genarum literarum scientiam consecutus: Etenim ex literarum cognitione efflorescat  
 & redundet oportet pulcherrima literarum scriptio: quae nisi subest res a scriptore  
 percepta & cognita, iuvenem scriptorem et puerilem habet. <sup>31</sup>Henricus Princeps

O Deus omnipotens toto mihi pectore grator,  
 Quod dicor memoris populi rectorq; paterq;

O Deus omnipotens toto mihi pectore grator,  
 Quod dicor memoris populi rectorq; paterq;

O Deus omnipotens toto mihi pectore grator,  
 Quod dicor memoris populi rectorq; paterq;

Rex Sereniss. & amantiss. Pater,

Offero Ma<sup>ti</sup>. Tuae strenua loco manuum simul et mentem  
 meam. Manuum, quae in pauculis Pibracii tetrastrichis  
 conseruare perpetuo velit, toto pectore rogo. Kal.  
 Jan. Ma. J. filius obsequentissimus.

Henricus

Printing-Block Company. Their introduction into the present work, is intended to shew a very remarkable similarity in the Italian style of the writing then taught, to that used by the Poet Milton in the Poem inscribed to his friend John Rous.

In comparing the writing, we must bear in mind that the Poet, when using a style of handwriting of which he had made himself master when a boy, was, at the period of inditing the poem, nearly forty years of age, while Prince Henry was a mere boy. In the formation of the letters, the first specimen shews that the Tyro was taught to elongate and thicken their commencement and ending, as in the letters *f*, *l*, *s*, and *p*. It is further seen, that in all the specimens given, that plan has been used by the youthful Prince. On reference now to the fac-similes in the plate under notice, of the Autograph of Milton, the same peculiar character in the formation of the letters is exhibited. The comparison is most interesting; and we very much question whether the most practised Palæologist would,—had the writing of the *first two* lines of the second specimen in plate XVII. been intermixed with the large writing of Prince Henry,—been able to distinguish the one from the other. The same peculiarity in the formation of the letters exists in the autograph of many of the most eminent men of that period. The writing of the POET TASSO exhibits the same character. We desire, however, here to observe, that, while there may be a remarkable similarity in handwriting, there will generally exist some peculiarity in it, by which, on careful study, we are able to distinguish the one from the other, though the most careful and most practised will sometimes commit mistakes.

It is a very common practice for persons who are in the habit of recording matters in their Common-Place Books, or writing on the margins of printed books, to occupy themselves, when again so employed thereon, by going over any letters or words previously written, that may appear defective, or not quite clear. Consequently, in such an occasional use of the pen, extended over any length of time, the writing would—a hundred to one—puzzle and mislead the judgment of the most learned Palæographer. Even the writer himself, if put upon his oath as to a document being in his autograph, would be so astonished at the different formation of many of the same letters, when pointed out to him for examination, that, by a little cross-questioning and subtle argument, he might, and probably would, be led to doubt its being so.<sup>1</sup>

The subject of Autography in its various phases, by the same hand, is one of considerable importance to the student in palæography. A work specially devoted to that branch of it, accompanied with authenticated fac-similes of the different styles of writing used by the same persons, is a great desideratum. The mere

<sup>1</sup> In our "*Bibliographical Account of the Works of the English Poets*," a work extending over three thousand folio pages, chiefly in our autograph during the last thirty years, there are

several hundred pages that we can scarcely believe could have been written by us. They are carefully executed in a round hand, a style very seldom used in our ordinary avocations.



autographs of the Kings and Queens of England would form interesting examples. Edward VI., Queen Elizabeth, Charles I., and many others of an earlier and later date, varied their writing at different periods and under peculiar circumstances. The change in the autograph of Charles I. is a remarkable instance; while that of Charles II. always exhibits the same character.

We conclude our observations connected with the autograph of the Ode, by inserting Cowper's translation of it, extracted from Pickering's Aldine Edition of the works of that Poet. Though the poem, in Latin, is to be found among the collected poems of Milton in many editions of his works, we think the translation of it by William Cowper may not be here out of place.

*“On a lost Volume of my Poems, which he desired me to replace, that he might add them to my other Works deposited in the Library.*

“This Ode is rendered without rhyme, that it might more adequately represent the original, which, as Milton himself informs us, is of no certain measure. It may possibly for this reason disappoint the reader, though it cost the writer more labour than the translation of any other piece in the whole collection.

## STROPHE.

“My twofold book! single in show,  
 But double in contents,  
 Neat, but not curiously adorn'd,  
 Which, in his early youth,  
 A poet gave, no lofty one in truth,  
 Although an earnest wooer of the Muse—  
 Say while in cool Ausonian shades  
 Or British wilds he roam'd,  
 Striking by turns his native lyre,  
 By turns the Daunian lute,  
 And stepp'd almost in air—

## ANTISTROPHE.

“Say, little book, what furtive hand  
 Thee from thy fellow books convey'd,  
 What time, at the repeated suit  
 Of my most learned friend,  
 I sent thee forth, an honour'd traveller,  
 From our great city to the source of Thames,  
 Cærulean Sire!  
 Where rise the fountains, and the raptures ring,  
 Of the Aonian Choir,  
 Durable as yonder spheres,  
 And through the endless lapse of years  
 Secure to be admired?

## STROPHE II.

“Now what god, or demigod,  
 For Britain's ancient genius moved,

(If our afflicted land  
 Have expiated at length the guilty sloth  
 Of her degenerate sons)  
 Shall terminate our impious feuds,  
 And discipline with hallow'd voice recall?  
 Recall the Muses too,  
 Driven from their ancient seats  
 In Albion, and well nigh from Albion's shore,  
 And with keen Phœbean shafts  
 Piercing the unseemly birds,  
 Whose talons menace us,  
 Shall drive the harpy race from Helicon afar?

## ANTISTROPHE.

“But thou, my book, though thou hast stray'd,  
 Whether by treachery lost,  
 Or indolent neglect, thy bearer's fault,  
 From all thy kindred books,  
 To some dark cell or eave forlorn,  
 Where thou endurest, perhaps,  
 The chafing of some hard untutor'd hand,  
 Be comforted—  
 For lo! again the splendid hope appears  
 That thou mayst yet escape  
 The gulfs of Lethe, and on oary wings  
 Mount to the everlasting courts of Jove!

## STROPHE III.

“Since Rouse desires thee, and complains  
 That, though by promise his,  
 Thou yet appear'st not in thy place  
 Among the literary noble stores  
 Given to his care,  
 But, absent, leavest his numbers incomplete.  
 He, therefore, guardian vigilant  
 Of that unperishing wealth,  
 Calls thee to the interior shrine, his charge,  
 Where he intends a richer treasure far  
 Than Iön kept (Iön, Erectheus' son  
 Illustrious, of the fair Creüsa born)  
 In the resplendent temple of his god,  
 Tripods of gold, and Delphic gifts divine.

## ANTISTROPHE.

“Haste, then, to the pleasant groves,  
 The Muses' favourite haunt;  
 Resume thy station in Apollo's dome,  
 Dearer to him  
 Than Delos, or the fork'd Parnassian hill!  
 Exulting go,  
 Since now a splendid lot is also thine,

And thou art sought by my propitious friend;  
 For there thou shalt be read  
 With authors of exalted note,  
 The ancient, glorious lights of Greece and Rome.

## EPODE.

“Ye, then, my works, no longer vain,  
 And worthless deem'd by me!  
 Whate'er this sterile genius has produced,  
 Expect, at last, the rage of envy spent,  
 An unmolested, happy home,  
 Gift of kind Hermes, and my watchful friend,  
 Where never flippant tongue profane  
 Shall entrance find,  
 And whence the coarse unletter'd multitude  
 Shall babble far remote.  
 Perhaps some future distant age,  
 Less tinged with prejudice, and better taught,  
 Shall furnish minds of power  
 To judge more equally.  
 Then, malice silenced in the tomb,  
 Cooler heads and sounder hearts,  
 Thanks to Rouse, if aught of praise  
 I merit, shall with candour weigh the claim.”



IN the volume of the Polemical and other Treatises by Milton, during the years 1641 to 1646 inclusive, is a list of its contents, together with a complimentary inscription, in the autograph of Milton, to his Friend, Dr. John Rouse, to whom it was sent. In respect to the first volume, Warton<sup>1</sup> states, that

“Milton, at Rouse's request, had given his little Volume of Poems, printed in 1645, to the Bodleian Library. But the book being lost, Rouse requested his friend Milton to send another copy. In 1646, another copy was sent by the Author, neatly but plainly bound, *munditie nitens, non operosa*, in which this ode to Rouse, in Milton's own handwriting, on one sheet of paper, is inserted between the Latin and English Poems.”

After enumerating the contents of the second volume, the learned Warton adds:

“About the year 1720, these two volumes, with other small books, were hastily, perhaps contemptuously, thrown aside as duplicates,<sup>2</sup> either real or pretended; and Mr. Nathaniel Crynes, an esquire beadle, and a diligent collector of scarce English books, was permitted, on the promise of some future valuable bequests to the library, to pick out of the heap what he pleased. But he, having luckily many more grains of party prejudice than of taste, could not think anything worth having that bore the name of the Republican Milton; and therefore these two curiosities, which would be

<sup>1</sup> Milton's Poems, by Warton, *note*, pp. 564-5.

<sup>2</sup> Here is a remarkable instance of the expediency of not delegating such a power as that of

selecting for sale the Duplicate Volumes of a Public, or indeed any Library, without their being most carefully examined by a competent person.

invaluable in a modern auction, were fortunately suffered to remain in the library, and were soon afterwards honourably restored to their original places."

The subjoined fac-simile, another remarkable example of the admirable employment of the invention of the Electro-Printing-Block Company, in the same page with type, gives the inscription by Milton in the volume containing his Polemical Tracts, to the list of which he has added the copy of his Poems as having been separately sent.

Doctissimo viro, probosq; Librorum  
 Estimatori Joanni Rousno, Oxonien-  
 sis Academia Bibliothecario, gratum  
 hoc sibi fore testanti Joannes  
 Miltonius opuscula hæc sua in  
 Bibliothecam antiquissimam atq;  
 celeberrimam adsciscenda libens  
 tradit, tanquam in memoriæ per-  
 petuæ fanum, emeritamq; uti sperat,  
 invidia, calumniæq; vacationem; si  
 Veritati, Bonosq; simul Eventui satis  
 litatum sit. Sunt autem

De reformatione Angliæ lib. 2.  
 De Episcopatu Prælatiæ lib. 1  
 De ratione politiæ Ecclesiasticæ lib. 2.  
 Ad Anni adversiones in Remonstrantis  
 Defensionem ————— lib. 1  
 Apologia ————— lib. 1  
 Doctrina, et disciplina divortii lib. 2  
 Judicium Bucerii de Divortio lib. 1  
 Colasterion lib. 1  
 Tetrachordon in aliquot præcipua  
 scripturæ loca de Divortio in star lib. 7  
 Areopagitica, sive de libertate Typo-  
 graphiæ Oratio  
 De Educatione Ingenuorum epistola  
 Poemata Latina, et Anglicana seorsim

The fac-simile in the preceding page affords a good specimen of the ordinary round hand of the Poet; and it may be observed, not as anything very remarkable, that, in these few lines, Milton has not once made use of the Greek  $\epsilon$ ; but that he has, as in Italian writing is frequently the case, connected the loop of the  $e$  with the succeeding letter,—see the *en* in the word “*Oxonien*” in the second line,—a style then more frequently used in Italy than in England.

## TRINITY COLLEGE LIBRARY, DUBLIN.



We are much indebted to Mr. Beedham of Kimbolton, for the subjoined fac-simile of an inscription in the autograph of the Poet, affixed to a volume in Trinity College Library, Dublin, containing a presentation copy of his treatise, “Of Reformation touching Church Discipline in England.”

*Ad doctissim  
virum, Patri  
Jumium Joanni  
Miltonius hæc  
sua, unum in fi-  
culum coniecta  
mittit, p. ius h  
jus modi lectori  
contentus.*

The inscription having been written close to the margin on the right hand side, a portion of it has been “*barbarously cut away*” in the binding, many letters at the close of each line of the Inscription are consequently wanting.

## LETTER TO CARLO DATI. 1647.



URING the progress of our work, we have given seven specimens of fac-similes executed by the very interesting processes of the Electro-Printing-Block Company. Subjoined is another specimen, comprising the commencement and ending of an autograph letter from Milton to his dear friend Carlo Dati, dated from London, 1647. It is an admirable example of the ordinary cursive hand of the Poet.

*Carolo Dato Patricio Florentino  
Joannes Miltonius Londinensis.  
S. P. D.*

*Per latis inopinato literis ad me tuis, mi Carole, quantâ et quam novâ sim voluptate perfusus, quandoquidem non est ut pro re satis queam dicere, dolo ex dolore saltem, sine quo vix ulla magna hominibus delectatio concessa est, id aliquantum intelligas.*

*Hterum Vale. Londini Pascales feriâ terciâ*

*MDCXLVII*

The original of this letter was sold by Mr. Evans, in 1833, with the Collection of Autograph Letters formed by John Anderdon, Esq., No. 369 in the second day's sale. It was purchased by Mr. Pickering for £14. The lot following, 370, consisted of

"Milton's Family Papers, viz., Bond for the sum of 40*l.*, Richard Hayley to John Milton, 1674. Mary Milton's Release to Eliz. Milton, Widow of the Poet, and receipt of 100*l.* her share of the estate of J. Milton, 1674. Anne Milton's Release, 1674. Release from Abs. and Deborah Clarke, of Dublin, to the same, 1675. Agreement for the lease of a house at Namptwich, Ric. Mynshull to Eliz. Milton, 1680. Bond from Eliz. Milton and Sam. Acton, to Randle Timmis, 1713. Lease of a house in Brindley, Eliz. Milton to John Darlington, 1720. Sale of the Lease of a house in Brindley, J. Darlington to Eliz. Milton, 1725. Copy of the Will of Eliz. Milton, 1727."

These Documents produced only £4, and were also purchased by Mr. Pickering. It may be well here to note, in tracing the papers from one collection to another, that, at the sale by Mr. Sotheby, in 1825, of the Library of James Boswell, Esq., the second son of the Biographer of Johnson, they formed two lots, viz.,

3125. "Office Copy of the Will of Elizabeth Milton, the Poet's Widow, dated August 27th, Probate granted 10th October, 1727; by which her death in that year is established, and not in 1729, as erroneously stated by Warton and others. Five other Legal Papers relating to the Estate of Elizabeth Milton or her Husband; two of them with her signature."

*Purchased by Mr. Thorpe for £20 : 9 : 6.*

3126. "Three Receipts or Releases bearing the Signatures of the Poet's Daughters, Anne Milton, Mary Milton, and Deborah Clarke and her Husband, on receiving £100 each from their Step Mother Elizabeth Milton, as their Portion of the Estate of their Father. One of the attesting Witnesses is Richard Milton; and the Money is to be vested in Rent Charges or Annuities for their respective benefit, with the approbation of Christopher Milton, the Poet's brother, and Richard Powell, their maternal Uncle." *Purchased by Mr. Thorpe for £18 : 7 : 6.*

From Mr. Thorpe, the purchaser of both lots, they were probably obtained by Mr. Anderdon. It may be curious here to record a very remarkable circumstance, so far as relates to their estimated value at different times and under different circumstances. Mr. Thorpe, in 1825, purchases the Documents for £38 : 17 : 0. They are then sold to Mr. Anderdon at, no doubt, a considerable advance; at the sale of whose collection, in 1833, the Documents produced only £4! And at the same sale, an autograph letter from Milton to Carlo Dati was sold for £14. Both lots were then purchased by Mr. Pickering. In 1835 the Letter and the Documents appear in a Catalogue of his Stock, having been "*bound in olive morocco*," priced at £63! They are now, 1860, in the possession of John Fitchett Marsh, Esq., who has published them, with other interesting "Papers connected with the Affairs of Milton and his Family," forming a portion of the first volume of the "*Cheetham Miscellanies*," printed for the Cheetham Society, 1851.

## AUTOGRAPH SIGNATURES OF MILTON

APPENDED TO

DOCUMENTS, OR IN PRINTED BOOKS.

PLATE XVIII. No. I.

## SPECIMEN 1.



IGNATURE, as Bachelor of Arts, in the Graduation Book at Christ College, Cambridge, dated January 1629.

## SPECIMEN 2.

In the fourth portion of the Bibliotheca Heberiana, sold in December 1834, occurred a volume, of which the subjoined description appeared in the sale catalogue.

“1527. Dante l' Amoroſo Convivio, 1529. Rime et Proſe di Giovanni della Casa, 1563. Sonetti di Benedetto Varchi, 1555. In one volume, ſmall octavo.

“This volume belonged to Milton. At the commencement he has written the contents of the book, and on the firſt page of the Giovanni della Casa, is ‘*Jo. Milton, pre. 10d. 1629.*’ The corrections of the text, and the marks at particular paſſages, many of which are imitated in his poems, ſhew that he had read the Sonnets of Casa with great attention; and at the end, in his own handwriting, is ‘*Segue un altro Sonetto di M. Giovan. della Casa che ſi trova nell’ Editione di Venetia, 1623.*’”

It was purchased by the late Mr. Herring, the eminent bookbinder, for £25 : 4; and, through the kindneſs of its preſent proprietor, Mr. Arthur Roberts, is, while writing theſe lines, before us. It is of much Miltonian intereſt; but, like many other volumes, is not correctly deſcribed.

The laſt two works bear much internal evidence of having been read by the Poet. On the title-page of the “*Rime et Proſe, etc., di G. della Casa,*” occurs the autograph ſignature with date, etc., as given in fac-ſimile Specimen 2. On folios 2, 5, 11, 20, of the *Della Casa*, and pages 9, 181, 215, 216, 224, 278, 288, of the Sonnets and Eclogues of *Varchi*, are ſlight marginal corrections or elucidations of the text; while thoſe Sonnets, in either of the works, that have attracted the attention of Milton, are marked by his pen.


The two works were ſubſequentlly bound by their next poſſeſſor, as is clear by the notes on the margins having been cut when under the hands of the binder. The “*Amoroſo Convivio di Dante*” was then added, the then poſſeſſor writing, in a very cursive hand, the “contents of the volume”; beneath which another ſubſequent proprietor has noted, “*This is Milton’s handwriting; his name is before the Rime,*”



I.

1 Joannes Milton	2 Jo: Milton p. 14. 108. 1629. Tres	3 Joannes Milton	4 Jo. Milton	5 John Milton p. 5. 5 1637.	6 John Milton
6 John Milton me possidet	7 Et et Cristus stupis pela secunda meis	8 Fortuna est piteo, que cum fulget fragoribus			9 Ne muti forsaue mihi de nua nua. Sed Et me sim fringya prodigiois vale.

II.

1 John Milton	2 John Milton	4 Witness my hand & Seale this.  John Milton   7 <sup>th</sup> May. 1660
------------------	------------------	--

III.

1 John Milton	2 John Milton
------------------	------------------

III.

1  
My Lord,  
But that it would be an interruption to y<sup>e</sup>. publick, we herein yo<sup>r</sup>. Studios  
are perpetually employd, I should now & then venture to supplye  
\* \* \* \* \*

2  
laying afire these fealties & tract amulation w<sup>ch</sup>. mine own condition might suggest to me by bringing in fura  
> traditor, & remains, My Lord  
yo<sup>r</sup>. most obliged & faithfull servant } Feb. y<sup>e</sup>. 21.  
John Milton, } 1652.



etc. "This book once belonged to Milton; and many passages from *Casa and Varchi*, that are marked, are imitated in Milton's poetical performances." The manuscript note and manuscript additional Sonnet on folio 28 of the "*Rime*" are not in the autograph of Milton. It does not bear the smallest similarity to any writing that we have as yet met with, which could be assigned to the hand of Milton. The volume appears to have been purchased by Mr. Heber in "April 1809." It has inside a plate with the arms and name "*Roberti Smyth Baronetti*."

## SPECIMEN 3.

Another signature from the Graduation Book at Cambridge, dated July 1632.

## SPECIMEN 4.

Autograph Signature from the title of a copy of "*Heraclidis Pontici, etc., Allegoriæ in Homeri Fabulas de Diis. Gr. et Lat. Gesnero interprete. 4to. Basilea, 1544.*" The volume is in the Library of Lord Rolle at Stevenstone. For the tracing of the fac-simile, we are indebted to Mr. John Macray of the Taylor Institution, Oxford.

## SPECIMEN 5.

Autograph Signature to a receipt, of which the subjoined is a copy from the original in the possession of Mr. Ives, to whom we are indebted for the permission to make the fac-simile.

"The 16th day of february, 1649.

"Received then more of Robert Waroupp Esq. one of the ffeoffees in trust of Rodolph Waroupp late of English esq. deceased by the hands of John Foster the summe of five pounds of lawfull english money in pt of payment of fifty pounds principall debt & the interest due by bonds by the sayd Rodolph waroupp & others unto me John Milton Esq., I say received by mee.

}  
ib.  
V.

"JOHN MILTON."

## SPECIMENS 6, 7, 8, AND 9.



THE autograph of Milton here given, presents one of the very few existing specimens,—though evidently written when the Poet was almost blind,—of that peculiar and carefully executed round hand as exhibited in our fac-similes, plate XVII., from the autograph poem to Dr. Rous. One remarkable peculiarity in that writing, is in the formation of the *b*, *l*, *d*, and other ascending letters, which have long and curved tops, sometimes looped. On comparing the letter *l* in the word Milton in the signature given, with the same letter in plate XVII., the like peculiar formation of it is observable. Here the letter *t* is not in the style usually found in the secretary's hand with the cross, as in the word "*totidem*" in the first line of the No. II. in the plate referred to. The *t* is made with the ordinary cross, as in the poetical portion of the extract from the poem, as given plate XVII.

To Mr. Beedham<sup>1</sup> of Kimbolton we are indebted for the fac-simile and notice of the book from which they are taken. As the communication from that gentleman is an abridgment of that given by the Rev. Joseph Hunter<sup>2</sup> some years since, we think it due to the latter to give his interesting note of the volume.

“There exists a copy of Fitz-Herbert’s ‘*Natura Brevium*,’ the edition of 1584, in the title-page of which is written, in Milton’s beautiful handwriting,

‘*Johes Milton me possidet.*’

And on a fly-leaf at the beginning, in the same hand,

‘*Det Cristus studiis vela secunda meis.*’

But this is not all, for a little lower on the same page we find, in another hand, ‘*Det*’ etc., as before. We can hardly doubt that this was written by the father, with whose handwriting I am not acquainted.

“It is remarkable that this copy of Fitz-Herbert appears to have been in the possession of another poet of the time, these words appearing on a later fly-leaf, ‘John Marston owneth this book.’

“This interesting volume is still in its original binding of dark brown calf, with an ornament impressed in the centre. The handwriting of Milton authenticates itself; but the volume has a satisfactory pedigree. In 1830 it was the property of the Rev. Dr. Stedman, son of the Rev. Mr. Stedman, Vicar of St. Chad’s, Shrewsbury, to whom it had been presented as a curiosity by Joshua Eddowes, a bookseller and printer of that town, who was born in 1724; and who informed Mr. Stedman that it came to him out of books which had belonged to Mrs. Milton, the poet’s widow, who died, in 1727, at Nantwich, where Mr. Eddowes had relations living at the time of her death.”

Indisputable Pedigrees of Literary Relics, Antiquities, and Works of Art, add much to their value and interest. We recollect, when, many years ago, visiting the Collection of Egyptian Antiquities formed by the very remarkable Traveller and Amateur Dealer, the late Joseph Sams<sup>3</sup> of Darlington, we were shewn what, if genuine, was of considerable value. The enthusiastic traveller minutely detailed all the circumstances under which a large Scarabæus in gold, in his collection, was discovered, accompanying them with his own asseverations as to the correctness of all he stated. His amazement, however, was very great on our strongly recommending him to go back to the country whence the object came, and to obtain a satisfactory document as to the truth of what he related. The Scarabæus in gold referred to, is, we believe, considered to be a modern fabrication.

<sup>1</sup> We regret, that, at page 110 the name of this gentleman should have been erroneously spelt Needham. So likewise in respect to the name of the Rev. H. A. J. Munro, in lieu of Monro, page 96.

<sup>2</sup> MILTON. A Sheaf of Gleanings after his

Biographers and Annotators, by Joseph Hunter. 1850, 8vo., pp. 22-23.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Sams was one of the most remarkable men in his day, so far as his connexion with the Memorials of Ancient Egypt.

DOCUMENTS WITH THE SIGNATURE OF THE POET  
AFTER THE DATE OF HIS BLINDNESS.

No. II.



THAT Milton continued the use of his pen after he had become quite blind, is evident from the remarkable statement of Aubrey, who has recorded,

“I heard that after he was blind, that he was writing in the heads [of] a [Latin] Dictionary.<sup>1</sup> *Vidua affirmat.* She gave all his papers (among which this Dictionary imperfect) to his nephew, that he brought up.”

In alluding to the “Latin Dictionary” commenced by Milton, Dr. Johnson writes :

“To collect a dictionary, seems a work of all others least practicable in a state of blindness, because it depends upon perpetual and minute inspection and collation. Nor would Milton probably have begun it after he had lost his eyes [eyesight]; but having had it always before him, he continued it, says Phillips, *almost to his dying day; but the papers were so discomposed and deficient, that they could not be fitted for the press.*” Johnson adds: “The compilers of the Latin Dictionary, printed at Cambridge, had the use of those collections in three folios, but what was their fate afterwards is not known.”

The editor, “H.,” of the Works of the English Poets, published in 1790, adds in a note to the above, that,

“The Cambridge Dictionary, published in 4to., 1693, is no other than a copy, with some small additions, of that of Dr. Adam Littleton in 1685, by sundry persons, of whom, though their names are concealed, there is great reason to conjecture that Milton’s nephew, Edward Phillips, is one; for it is expressly said by Wood, *Fasti*, vol. i., p. 226, that Milton’s *Thesaurus* came to his hands; and it is asserted in the preface thereto, that the editors thereof had the use of three large folios in manuscript, collected and digested into alphabetical order by Mr. John Milton.

“It has been remarked, that the additions, together with the preface above mentioned, and a

<sup>1</sup> DR. ADAM LITTLETON, Latin Dictionary. 4th edition. 4to., 1715. The following passage occurs in the “Preface to the English Reader” of the above work :

“Thirdly, we had by us, and made use of, a Manuscript Collection in three LARGE FOLIOS digested into an Alphabetical Order, which the Learned MR. JOHN MILTON had made out of Tully, Livy, Cæsar, Sallust, Quintus Curtius, Justin, Plautus, Terence, Lucretius, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Manilius, Celsus, Columella, Varro, Cato, Palladius; in short, out of all the best and

purest ROMAN Authors. In using the assistances mention’d, we did not take every, nay scarce any word, any signification or construction of a word, upon trust; but the way we took to make these great Men’s Labours useful to us was this: They seldom omit naming not only the Author, but the place in him, whence they fetch their Authorities. This is known to be STEPHEN’S Method, and the same may be seen in MR. MILTON’S Manuscript, by the curious or doubtful.”

large part of the title of the 'Cambridge Dictionary,' have been incorporated and printed with the subsequent editions of 'Littleton's Dictionary,' till that of 1735. Vid. '*Biogr. Brit.*,' 2985, in note. So that for aught that appears to the contrary, Phillips was the last possessor of Milton's MS.—H."

"H.," the editor, appears to have overlooked the information afforded by Aubrey, of the Manuscript being "in the hands of Moyses Pitt."

## SPECIMEN 1.



FROM a Document in the STOWE [now] ASHBURNHAM COLLECTION OF MANUSCRIPTS, namely, a Warrant under the Sign Manual of the Protector, Oliver Cromwell, dated "January 1, 1654," directing the payment of Salaries due to certain Officers of the Parliament and others, with the original Autographs of the Receivers."

We are indebted for the tracing of the signature to our much valued friend, Mr. William James Smith, to whose care for many years, as Librarian to the Duke of Buckingham, the Stowe Collection of Manuscripts was committed.

In the same number of the "*Notes and Queries*" in which the subjoined notice of specimens 2 and 3 appeared, was also the following from Mr. Smith, upon the subject of the present signature, which we are inclined to think is in the autograph of the Poet :

"I will not enter into the question of the date of Milton's blindness. I am aware that his biographers do not agree as to the exact period of his *total* loss of sight : some have placed it as early as the close of the year 1652. In this uncertainty, I have always entertained some degree of doubt whether this signature were really that of Milton himself, or written by *another person under his authority*. The character of the capital letter M differs materially from the fac-similes which have been given in some editions of his works."

## SPECIMENS 2 AND 3.



R. GEORGE OFFOR, the well-known collector of Early English Bibles, has in his possession a copy of the New Testament, in which occurs, in two instances, the name of John Milton as here given, and of which the following notice was communicated by him to the editor of the "*Notes and Queries*" a few years since.

"Some years ago, examining a Bible I had purchased, on the back of the title-page to the New Testament, to my great surprise there appeared the autograph of 'John Milton.' It is in a bold italic hand. The Bible is of the present translation, small 4to. ; imprinted at London by Robert Barker, 1614. The writing ink bears the tint of age,—certainly about the middle of the seventeenth century. Above the name of Milton is the autograph of 'Robert Colecraft.' Query, Was he connected with Milton? Bound with the Bible is a Concordance, 1615; and on the reverse of the title is 'Robert Colecraft,' and, in a very small hand, 'John Milton.' This is under a calculation showing how many barleycorns would reach round the earth. The Milton State Papers are in the library of the Society of Antiquaries. I must take my old Bible, and get permission to compare the handwriting. Was any other John Milton known about this time? It would afford me pleasure to shew it to any collector of autographs, and hear his opinion of it.—GEORGE OFFOR."

The second specimen has all the appearance of having been written by a man at an advanced period of his life, and when blind. But as there were others of the name of John Milton, the signatures may not be those of the Poet, though at the same time we think that the writer, more particularly of Specimen 2, was no other than John Milton, the author of *Paradise Lost*.

## SPECIMEN 4.



THE Signature and Seal of the Poet as attached to a Conveyance from "John Milton of the City of Westminster," of a Bond for £400, given by the Commissioners of Excise<sup>1</sup> to Cyriack Skinner, of Lincoln's Inn, Gentleman. Dated 7 May, 1660.

The original document was sold in Wellington-street, August 1858, in the collection of Autograph Letters and Manuscripts formed by the late Samuel Weller Singer, Esq., a man distinguished for his literary attainments. It was purchased, as an autographic record, by R. Monckton Milnes, Esq., M.P., for £19.

Mr. Singer never entertained the smallest doubt of the signature being in the AUTOGRAPH OF THE POET; an opinion which he was apparently justified in maintaining, the signature being appended to an official document made under seal, and witnessed by the Officers of the Excise. The moment we saw the signature, the writing in two of the fac-similes given in Bishop Sumner's edition of the *Treatise on Christian Doctrine* came to our mind. There we found the same peculiarly formed M in the *large text*, and also one of a *smaller size* in the beautiful sonnet composed by Milton on the death of his second wife; see the first line in the last specimen given in plate XIII.

"*Mee thought I saw my late espoused wife.*"

We acknowledge that we were then completely puzzled, and, without reflection, came hastily to the totally incorrect conclusion, that the MANUSCRIPT of the *Treatise on Christian Doctrine* was in the AUTOGRAPH OF THE POET. Consequently, we allowed the Document to be sold as bearing the AUTOGRAPH SIGNATURE OF MILTON; adducing, as it were, the Manuscript in the State Paper Office in support of our opinion; and thus, we fear, misleading Mr. Monckton Milnes.

Subsequent investigation, however, since the decease of Mr. Singer, of the Autograph of Milton, has convinced us of the erroneousness of the opinion we then entertained; an error which our readers will more clearly see when we come to notice the same peculiar style of writing in the "*De Doctrinâ Christianâ.*"

<sup>1</sup> Milton had paid "£2,000 into the Excise Office; but neglecting to recal it in time, could never after get it out, with all the power and in-

terest he had in the Great ones of those times." "*Letters of State*," 1694, p. xliii, therein alluding to his having died, as stated, worth £1,500.

LETTER TO PRESIDENT BRADSHAW. 1652.  
 DICTATED BY MILTON.

PRESERVED IN HER MAJESTY'S STATE PAPER OFFICE.

No. III.<sup>1</sup>

SPECIMENS 1 AND 2.



HE commencement and ending of a letter from the Poet to PRESIDENT BRADSHAW. It is written by the same hand as the signature, John Milton, affixed to it. It does not require a moment's consideration to determine that the letter has been written by some official, or clerk, or by a friend of the Poet. It is a proof that Milton, though he may not have been *quite blind at that time*, employed persons to write his letters for him, and to sign his name, as in the subjoined letter to Bradshaw,—a letter of considerable interest. The object of it was the introduction of ANDREW MARVELL, the young friend of the Poet, to the notice of the President of the Council, recommending him as a man “of singular desert for the State to make use of.” It is very interesting to notice, that, while urging the suit of Marvell as well fitted, in the event of the death of his assistant Secretary, Mr. Weckherlyn,—who, we must presume, was at that time almost incapacitated to perform his duties,—to succeed him, Milton complains, in consequence of his blindness, of his own unfitness to hold conferences with Ambassadors; at the same time paying Marvell a high compliment by connecting his name with the learned Ascham.

“MY LORD,

“But that it would be an interruption to y<sup>e</sup> publiek, wherein yo<sup>r</sup> studies are perpetually employd, I should now & then venture to supply this my enforced absence w<sup>th</sup> a line or two, though it were”—[“were it” obliterated, and “though it were” written above a caret]—“my onely busines, & that would be noe slight one, to make my” [“due” written above a caret] “acknowledgments of yo<sup>r</sup> many favours; which I both doe at this time & ever shall; & have this farder w<sup>ch</sup> I thought my parte to let you know of, that there will be w<sup>th</sup> you tomorrow, upon some ocession of busines, a Gentleman whose name is Mr. Marvile; a man whom, both by report & y<sup>e</sup> converse I have had with him, of singular desert for y<sup>e</sup> State to make use of; who alsoe offers himselfe if y<sup>e</sup> be any employment for him. His father was y<sup>e</sup> minister of Hull & he hath spent fouro yeares abroad in Holland, Franee, Italy, & Spaine, to very good purpose, as I beleeve, and y<sup>e</sup> gaineing of those 4 languages; besides he is a scholler, and well read in y<sup>e</sup> Latin and Greeke authors, & noe doubt of an approved Conversation, for he com's now lately out of y<sup>e</sup> house of y<sup>e</sup> Lord Fairefax who was generall, where he was intrusted to give some instructions in y<sup>e</sup> languages to y<sup>e</sup> Lady his Daughter. If upon

<sup>1</sup> Numbered wrongly IIII. in the plate.



y<sup>e</sup> death of Mr. Wakerley<sup>1</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Councell shall thinke y<sup>t</sup> I shall need any assistant in y<sup>e</sup> performanee of my plaee (though for my p<sup>t</sup> I find noe enumberance of that w<sup>ch</sup> belongs to me, except it be in point of attendance at Conferenecs w<sup>h</sup> Ambassadors, w<sup>ch</sup> I must confesse, in my Condition I am not fit for) it would be hard for them to find a Man soe fit every way for y<sup>t</sup> purpose as this gentleman, one who I helieve in a short time would be able to doe them as good service as Mr. Ascan.<sup>2</sup> This my Lord I write sinceerely without any other end then to performe my duty to y<sup>e</sup> Publiek in helping them to an able servant; laying aside those Jealosies & that emulation w<sup>ch</sup> mine owne condition might suggest to me by bringing in such a coadjutor; and remaine,

“Feb. y<sup>e</sup> 21, 1652. “My Lord yo<sup>r</sup> most obliged & faithfull servant,

“JOHN MILTON.

“For y<sup>e</sup> Hono<sup>ble</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Lord Bradshaw.”

Then follows the seal of Milton, with his device of the two-headed eagle.

We do not desire to disparage the meritorious researches of our fellow labourers; but on comparing the reprint of the above letter in the “*Papers relating to Milton*,”<sup>3</sup> by W. Douglas Hamilton of H.M. State Paper Office, we observe that the abbreviations in the original have not been accurately followed. It is most important, in giving transcripts of such documents, that these *minutiæ* should be strictly attended to; but in the present day the more youthful aspirants for Literary and Antiquarian Fame enter the field with great zeal, but occasionally with rather too much self-complacency. While doing so, therefore, they are sometimes induced to pass over, somewhat slightly, the researches and the learning of their more venerable predecessors. We are all apt to do it,—even those who cannot claim inexperience. Some are apt to think that the Modern System, by which the boy of tender age astonishes his parents by reading off-hand, in English, a chapter from the Greek Testament, can be adopted in other studies than those of the languages. They desire to arrive at perfection, forgetting that, by so superficial a progress, they are for the most part ignorant of the common rudiments of the subject. But it is the order of the day. The March of Intellect has become more and more impetuous. We plead guilty of occasionally endeavouring to shew ourselves very learned on certain matters, and we get thoroughly plucked. Then we find we must revert to the good old system as taught in the Eton and Westminster Grammars,—thoroughly to learn and understand the groundwork of the subject, ere we venture to hope that the result of our studies, whether in Literature or Art, will ever be worth the perusal of our readers.

<sup>1</sup> WECKERLYN, “the Secretary Assistant for the business of Foreign Affairs.” “He had been before employed as Secretary for Foreign Affairs, from the first establishment of the Joint Committee of both Kingdoms in Feb. 1643-4. What his salary was, has not been ascertained. This gentleman, who was of German extraction, Granger says, was Latin Secretary to King

Charles I.”—Note to p. 69 of “*The Life of Milton*,” by Todd. *Works*, edition 1842, vol. i.

<sup>2</sup> ASCAN. Anthony Ascham, sent by command as Ambassador to Philip IV. of Spain.

<sup>3</sup> Issued by the Camden Society, 1859.



THE Original of the letter to Bradshaw was, at the time of writing his Memoir of the Poet, considered by the learned Keightley to be *autograph*;<sup>1</sup> and accordingly, at page 50, he uses it as an argument that Milton could not have been totally blind in the early part of 1653.

Such mistakes are often made. A very remarkable instance of a somewhat similar circumstance of mistaking the identity of handwriting, or rather of not having attentively examined it, occurred in respect to a long letter from MARTIN LUTHER to the EMPEROR CHARLES V., dated from Wittemberg, 1520. It was sold, February 1833, in the Collection of Autograph Letters formed by John Anderdon, Esq. It was stated in the sale catalogue as being "ENTIRELY IN HIS OWN HAND," and was consequently purchased by Messrs. Longman for Dr. Butler, Bishop of Lichfield, for £29. After the decease of Bishop Butler, his collections were purchased by Messrs. Payne & Foss. The Books were sold by auction in 1840; but the Manuscripts and Early Specimens of Typography were retained by those gentlemen, who, after having printed, in 1841, a catalogue of the Collection, sold them entire to the British Museum. The celebrated letter stated to be in the autograph of Luther, accompanied the Collection; and was soon afterwards exhibited in one of the Show Cases in the Manuscript Department of the British Museum, as one of the most interesting treasures in our National Library. Seeing it there, we called the attention of the late Mr. Holmes, the then Second Officer in the Manuscript Department, to it; and after some little controversial arguments, we believe we proved to him that it was *not in the autograph of Luther, but in that very beautiful and minute handwriting of the dear friend and coadjutor of Luther, MELANCHTHON*. It is in the same style of writing as the letter from Melanchthon to his friend Wolfgang Fabricius, written about 1523; of which letter the commencement and ending are given in plate XXV. of our work on the "Unpublished Documents, Marginal Notes and Memoranda, in the Autograph of Philip Melanchthon and Martin Luther," published in 1840. We were much rejoiced to find, that, soon afterwards, the letter was removed from the Show Case. The circumstance here detailed proves how easily persons, even those distinguished for their palæographic knowledge, are misled in their judgment when founded on the authority of others. That Luther, of whom Melanchthon has recorded "*optime literas pinxit*,"<sup>2</sup> excelled in the use of his pen, is beyond all doubt; but none of the writings adjudged to be the autograph of Luther, exhibit the same peculiar character as the letter under consideration, though Luther occasionally wrote in a *very round and small cursive hand*. Luther never took a very active part as the "Pen of the Reformation,"

<sup>1</sup> In the page of "*Corrections*" the error is noticed, having been pointed out by Mr. Caruthers, of Inverness, a friend of the biographer.

<sup>2</sup> *Principia Typographica*, by S. Leigh Sotheby. 3 vols., small folio, 1858. Vol. iii., p. 158.

a doubly significant title, afterwards generously and nobly conferred upon Melancthon by Luther and his followers. It was very natural that Luther, overwhelmed with correspondence, should procure the aid of his friend Melancthon in writing letters for him. It may, however, be that Luther first forwarded the letter in his autograph to the Emperor; and that the letter in the British Museum is the *duplicate*, also sent to the Emperor, it being the custom in those tempestuously political days of religious controversy, to send important letters in duplicate by different channels.



IN the "Notes and Queries," No. 123, May 8, 1858, is a communication from Mr. CLARENCE HOPPER on the subject of "MILTON'S BLINDNESS," wherein he brings forward the letter quoted, from the Poet to President Bradshaw, as a proof of Milton not having been blind at that period, February 1652. Of course Mr. Hopper considered the letter to be in the autograph of the Poet,—an opinion which a very superficial examination of the handwriting of Milton would have convinced him was untenable. In that communication Mr. Hopper, while endeavouring to shew that Milton was not blind in 1652, states :

"Some time since I had the pleasure of discovering the Hartlib correspondence, consisting of some thousands of letters, treatises, and other curious MSS. ; and although my examination was but very cursory, I saw enough to convince myself of the probability of its being a mine for researches,—especially for hitherto unknown particulars touching Milton and his contemporaries,—which would amply repay the zealous inquirer into history. As one of the above-named letters, viz., from the Rev. Mr. Durie to Samuel Hartlib, dated Zurich, Nov. 18, 1654, refers to Milton and his blindness, I may be excused in giving the extract :

"I wish that Mr. Milton may recover his sight ; and I would not have him to despaire of it, because I was told y<sup>t</sup> an old man of threescore and odd years, blind in the territorie of Scaphausen, was cured by an oculist, an husbandman in those parts, who took a cataract from his eyes, w<sup>ch</sup> had covered them so long time, and now he sees perfectly againe. I pray you remember my service to him, and tell him that Vlack hath sent copies of his *Defensio Secunda* into these parts ; but in many places vitiously printed, w<sup>ch</sup> wrongs the sense, and y<sup>t</sup> none of the London print were brought to the Mart of Frankfort. Many here are well pleased that hee hath handled Morus rough ; but some think that Morus is wronged. I cannot make any certain judgment of w<sup>t</sup> is said of him, but perhaps at Geneva I may learn something more exactly. However it doth not much concerne mee to be curious therein, only, by the by, I may listen after the things w<sup>ch</sup> are so much contradictorily debated amongst some here ; but truly I believe where there is so much smoke there must bee some fire."

"Another letter from Durie to Hartlib, under date of June 5, 1652, also mentions the author of *Paradise Lost* : 'Mr. Bouchart, one of the ministers of the French church, coming through Holland, did lodge with Salmasius at Leiden, tells me that Salmasius is making readie an answer to Mr. Milton. I pray salute Mr. Milton from me, and let him know this.'"

There being no allusion, in this last letter, to the blindness of the Poet, Mr. Hopper came to the conclusion that the "misfortune overtook the Poet in 1654."

## MAJOR JOHN MILTON

OF THE CITY OF LONDON TRAINED BANDS. 1660.

No. IV.<sup>1</sup> SPECIMENS 1 AND 2.

MILTON is a very uncommon name; but there happened, we believe, to be several John Miltons during the last two centuries. In the "*Chronicles of a City Church*,"<sup>2</sup> by the Rev. Thomas Boyles Murray,<sup>3</sup> the Reverend Author notes, p. 82, "It may be important to collectors of autographs of illustrious persons, to learn that a certain *John Milton*, who wrote a fine, intellectual hand, was a contemporary of the great author of *Paradise Lost*, an inhabitant of St. Dunstan's in the East, and probably a Captain of the City Trained Bands." On application to the Reverend Clergyman, who has been lately elected a Member of "The Royal Antiquarian Society of London," we were immediately permitted to inspect the Registers of the Church, from which it is very evident that the John Milton in question was an active member of the parish. His name occurs with that of many other Parishioners, as early as May 1642. In March 30, 1650, he signs himself as *Major John Milton*; so likewise on April 23, 1660, the last entry bearing his name in the Register.

There is certainly a little similarity in the autograph signature of this Major Milton to that of the Poet; but no greater than what might be expected to be found in the writing of the same name, the more so as Major Milton was a man of some education,—at least, if we may judge at all by his autograph. We admit, however, that judgment founded only upon such evidence is not very conclusive. His autograph signature is in most instances very carefully executed, as may be inferred from the specimen selected.

Bishop Sumner, when engaged upon his translation of the "*De Doctrinâ Christianâ*," mentions that the subjoined memorandum was taken from a pocket-book of one of the Republicans :

"Paid to Jn<sup>o</sup> Milton, one of Cap<sup>t</sup> Winn's troope, what was spend by him while hee was prisoner in Holt Castle, and y<sup>e</sup> ransoming of himselfe from out of prison. April 16, 1647, x lb."

This may have been the John Milton of St. Dunstan's in the East referred to.

<sup>1</sup> Numbered wrongly III. in the plate.

<sup>2</sup> *Chronicles of a City Church*; being an Account of the Parish Church of St. Dunstan's in the East, in the City of London: with Short Biographical Notices of Eminent Persons connected with the Church and Parish. By the

Rev. Thomas Boyles Murray, M.A., Rector of the Parish, and Prebendary of St. Paul's. Published by Smith & Elder, Cornhill, London. 1859.

<sup>3</sup> While correcting this sheet, we lament to see the death of this respected clergyman recorded in "*The Times*," Sept. 29, 1860.

THE DEED OF ASSIGNMENT OF PARADISE LOST  
TO SAMUEL SIMMONS FOR £5,  
APRIL 27, 1667.

PLATE XIX. No. I. SPECIMENS 1 AND 2.



THE commencement and ending of the "ORIGINAL ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT, dated 27 April, 1667, between JOHN MILTON, Gent., and SAMUEL SIMMONS,<sup>1</sup> Printer, for the sale of THE COPYRIGHT OF A POEM ENTITLED PARADISE LOST," are here given,

"In consideration of five pounds to him now paid by the said Samuel Symmons, his executors and assignees, all that Booke, Copy, or Manuscript of a Poem intituled Paradise Lost, or by whatsoever other title or name the same is or shall be called or distinguished, now lately licensed to be printed, together with the full benefitt, profit, and advantage thereof, or w<sup>ch</sup> shall or may arise thereby. And the said John Milton for him, his ex<sup>rs</sup> and adm<sup>rs</sup>, doth covenant w<sup>th</sup> the said Sam<sup>l</sup> Symōns his ex<sup>rs</sup> and ass<sup>s</sup> that he and they shall at all times hereafter have hold and enjoy the same and all impressions thereof accordingly, without the lett or hindrance of him the said John Milton, his ex<sup>rs</sup> or as<sup>s</sup>, or any person or persons by his or their consent or privity, and that he the said John Milton, his ex<sup>rs</sup> or adm<sup>rs</sup> or any other by his or their meanes or consent, shall not print or cause to be printed, or sell dispose or publish the said book or manuscript, or any other book or manuscript of the same tenor or subject, without the consent of the said Sam<sup>l</sup> Symōns, his ex<sup>rs</sup> or as<sup>s</sup>."

The agreement then goes on to state, that, after the sale of thirteen hundred copies of the work, Milton was to receive another sum of £5.

In 1831, the Document, after passing through the hands of many persons, as we shall shortly notice, became the property of SAMUEL ROGERS, the Poet, by whom it was presented, in 1852, to our National Library. It is now exhibited as one of the most interesting autographic relics in the Manuscript Department of the British Museum.

When sold by Public Auction, and when in the possession of Mr. Pickering, we are not aware that there was the smallest doubt of the signature of the Poet being his autograph. Had anybody ventured at that time in the smallest degree to impugn the genuineness of the signature, he would have been at once set down by those against whose judgment there would then have been no appeal, as totally ignorant and incapable of forming any opinion upon the subject. On such points we are not always so correct as we presume to think we are. The late Mr. Pickering felt so

<sup>1</sup> SIMMONS. The name of the printer in the document is spelt "*Symons*." In that dated 21 December, 1680, "*Symonds*."

perfectly satisfied as to the Deed's bearing the genuine Sign Manual of the Poet, even as late as 1851, that he had the whole of the Document executed in fac-simile, as an illustration in his octavo edition of the Poetical Works of Milton, edited by the late Rev. John Mitford, published in that year.

With all due deference to the experience of the late Mr. Pickering, a question arises, whether either Mr. Pickering or the Rev. John Mitford had ever had the opportunity of comparing the signature in that document with any other signature of the Poet which was known at that period to exist. The probability is, neither the one nor the other had seen the autograph volume in the Trinity College Library. The document when in the possession of the Poet Rogers was exhibited by him as one of the "Lions" of his house. It was hung up, as some of his visitors may remember, in the little ante-room adjoining the drawing-room. For many years one of the greatest enjoyments of the Poet Rogers was the taking his friends round his rooms and describing to them, in his well-remembered measured language, the marvellous beauty of some of his choicest Greek vases, and the contents of the cabinet of his charming collection of minute objects and of Egyptian art. So likewise with his Pictures, and more particularly the exquisite Drawings of that favourite modern artist, STOTHARD. Seldom, however, did any of the friends of Mr. Rogers leave his drawing-room, without having seen the AUTOGRAPH of MILTON, and hearing the story of its having cost the Poet *fifty pounds*.<sup>1</sup> It was to the astonishment of some, that he so generously transferred his treasure to the British Museum. Now-a-days, it is rather hazardous to record opinions entertained previous to a question becoming mooted as to the genuineness of documents. Not that in the present case there is the smallest doubt of the authenticity of the document itself. It is simply a question as to whether the SIGNATURE is AUTOGRAPH.

For some years past, our attention has been drawn occasionally to the subject of handwriting. The last time we saw the document hanging up in the library at St. James's-street, we perfectly recollect making some remark to the effect that the signature appeared to be very carefully written, more particularly, as we then thought, for a man *totally blind*; but a blind man can write, and write well, as we shall in an ensuing plate clearly shew! We afterwards suspected that Mr. Rogers was not over-pleased with our observation,—a thought quite inadvertently expressed, as at that time we had never seen any other autograph signature of the Poet. We did not again see the document until it was placed in the show division of the

<sup>1</sup> The little Pet Banker-Poet had always a stock of Anecdotes adapted to every class of his visitors. Many may remember his habit of sending for his hat and umbrella, to shew the means he took, by having his name inscribed in full on them, to prevent persons taking them

away by mistake. His habit of punctuality, his employment of Sir Francis Chantrey at a guinea a week, when a journeyman carpenter, together with innumerable anecdotes of an amusing nature always ready for the entertainment of his friends.


. I .

This Covenant was the 27<sup>th</sup> day of April 1667 Between John Milton gent of London

\* \* \* \* \*

Interchangeably for their hands & seals for day & years first above written  
Soales and delivered in the  
presence of us.

John Fisher  
Benjamin Greene s<sup>r</sup> & b<sup>d</sup>  
Milton

John Milton 

. II .

April 26 1669

Recd then of Samuel Simmons  
five pounds being the second  
five pounds <sup>to be paid</sup> mentioned in the  
Covenant. I say recd by me

Witness Com<sup>d</sup> John Milton  
Dipton

April 26 1669

Recd then of Samuel Simmons  
five pounds being the second  
five pounds <sup>to be paid</sup> mentioned in the  
Covenant. I say recd by me

Witness Com<sup>d</sup> John Milton  
Dipton

. III .

I do hereby acknowledge to have received of  
Samuel Symonds Citizen and Stationer of  
London, the sum of Eight pounds: which  
is in full payment for all my right, Title,  
or Interest, which I have, or ever had in the  
Copy of a Poem Intituled Paradise Lost  
in Twelve Bookes in s.<sup>vo</sup> By John Milton  
Gent: my late husband. Witness my  
hand this 21<sup>st</sup> day of December 1686

Witness William Yapp Elizabeth Milton  
Ann Yapp





Manuscript Department of the British Museum. That was long before we took any special interest in the writing of Milton; but as the Album<sup>1</sup> containing the indisputable autograph of the Poet had been in our possession some years previously, we again carefully looked at the signature, and left it with a feeling, that the mere fact of the legal document having the signature of Milton, was not altogether proof of such signature being *autograph*.

### THE MILTON RECEIPTS FOR PARADISE LOST.

NO. II. SPECIMENS 1 AND 2. NO. III.



OUR present pursuit was, as we have stated in the Introduction to this volume, mainly undertaken in consequence of our having been accidentally led to the investigation, whether a certain receipt for money paid to the Poet for the *Copyright* of *Paradise Lost*, was, as had been stated, in the *Autograph* of the Poet.

In the "*Gentleman's Magazine*" for July 1822, appeared a fac-simile of a document bearing the name of John Milton, purporting to be a receipt for the second payment of £5 for the copyright of *Paradise Lost*. It was stated to have been taken from the original in the possession of Sir Thomas Gery Cullum. It was accompanied by a fac-simile of another document, dated 21 December, 1680, signed by *Elizabeth Milton*, the widow of the Poet, for the sum of £8, in full payment of all her interest in the copyright of that Poem.

At the sale, June 1859, of the Collection of Manuscript and Autograph Letters formed by the late leviathan collector, DAWSON TURNER, Esq., appeared what was of course considered to be the identical documents referred to in the "*Gentleman's Magazine*." We had on several occasions been shewn by Mr. Dawson Turner the documents in question; but always entertained considerable doubt as to their genuineness. It ill became us, however, to cast a slur upon what so eminent a collector possessed; the more so as Mr. Dawson Turner never asked our opinion respecting them. He knew perfectly well by what means they formed a part of his collection; but accidentally omitted to record their being fac-similes.

The Documents, however, created a great interest at the sale; and so little doubt at the time was *publicly* entertained regarding them, that they produced the enormous sum of £43 : 1 : 0, having been purchased by Mr. Skeet, the bookseller, on commission for some Collector in America. Previous, however, to their being sent abroad, Mr. Skeet kindly favoured us with a photograph of each document, of which we have given, in plate No. III., that of the receipt from Elizabeth Milton, together

<sup>1</sup> We allude to the Album of Camillus Cardoyn previously described, pp. 106-8.

with a fac-simile<sup>1</sup> of the receipt by Milton from the "*Gentleman's Magazine*" for July 1822, the photograph fac-simile of that document not being perfect.

On comparing those two fac-similes of the Milton receipt here given, so many variations occur, as at once to prove that the "*Dawson Turner Receipt*" was copied from the "*Cullum Document*." The variations in themselves are trifling, but are quite sufficient to prove the point in question. If, however, the fac-simile, No. 1, from the "*Gentleman's Magazine*," is correct, that given No. 2 may be termed rather a *copy* than a *fac-simile*. Fac-similes should be what they profess to be, otherwise they are of no more value than a mere transcript for the purpose of future reference.

We do not think it necessary to enter into any argument to show that the character of the writing in this document differs from any that we have seen purporting to be in the autograph of Milton; because, although it may be shown that a man totally blind may be able to write in a *continuous line*, yet the *correction* by way of *interlineation* of the words "*to be paid*" in the Milton Receipt, *almost proves* that it could not have been written by one who had entirely lost his sight. Daily experience, however, teaches us not to predicate the *impossibility* of anything!

A few days after the sale of the Documents, having occasion to address Sir Frederick Madden on the subject of the known Milton Autographs, that gentleman wrote, "*I did not bid for the receipt of Milton at Mr. D. Turner's sales, as I am quite satisfied that it could not be Autograph.*" Coupling this opinion with the fact of the discovery that the signature to the *Singer Document* dated 1660 was *not* in the *Autograph* of Milton, but had evidently been signed by some person by *way of procuration*, we were led to examine the Milton Documents in the British Museum, as also the celebrated volume of the *Juvenile Poems* of the Poet preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge. The question, however, of the genuineness of the "*Milton Receipts*" soon became the subject of public discussion. We then had the pleasure of forwarding,—Sept. 8, 1859,—the fac-simile in the "*Gentleman's Magazine*" and the Photograph to a distinguished member of the Literary World. In doing so, we stated, "*that either the one given in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' was incorrectly drawn, or that the one sold must be a copy of it.*"

Consequently, in "*The Athenæum*" for the following week, *Sept. 17*, appeared the subjoined article, as also another that followed on *Oct. 1*.

"The recent sale of an autograph receipt, by John Milton, for £5, on account of *Paradise Lost*, has raised a question as to the genuineness of the Milton autographs. There are two sets of autograph

<sup>1</sup> Fac-similes of Documents *from fac-similes* are not desirable; but as we did not wish to trouble Lady Cullum by asking the favour of being allowed to take fac-similes from the *originals* in her possession,—more particularly after the unpleasant circumstances that had occurred on the subject of the sale of the Documents in

the Dawson Turner Collection,—we have given the fac-simile of the receipt by Milton, from that which appeared in the catalogue of the collection sold in June 1859; presuming that it is correct; which, even if it is not quite accurate, answers, on the points referred to, the purpose required.

receipts in existence—one set in the possession of Lady Cullum: a receipt for £5, signed with the name of Milton, April 26, 1669,—a receipt for £8, signed by his widow, December 21, 1680,—a final discharge, drawn up in legal form, signed by the widow, April 29, 1681. A second set is that which occurred the other day in the sale of Mr. Dawson Turner's collection, consisting of a receipt for £5, signed by the name of Milton, April 26, 1669,—and a receipt for £8, signed by his widow, December 21, 1680. So far as they go, these two sets of documents coincide in date, and, we may add, in wording. Both cannot be originals. If Lady Cullum's autographs are genuine, Mr. Dawson Turner's were copies. How came the two sets into existence? We are able to state a fact, which, taken in connexion with the discovery of a pretended receipt by Milton among the Dawson Turner manuscripts, almost involves of necessity another fact. Many years ago the Milton manuscripts were lent by Sir Thomas Cullum to Mr. Turner, who kept them for some time in his hands, and, ultimately, restored them to their owner. It is impossible to doubt that Mr. Dawson Turner restored the originals which he had borrowed. It is all but impossible to doubt that he took advantage of their temporary possession to make copies for his private satisfaction—and, of course, with no idea that these copies would ever be mistaken for the originals. Were not these copies disposed of the other day by Messrs. Puttick & Simpson?"

*Athenæum*, Sept. 17.

"The value of the receipts for money on account of *Paradise Lost* is a separate question from that of their genuineness. A discharge, signed by Milton himself, on account of *Paradise Lost*, would be a most precious document, of the greatest literary and biographical interest, which a private collector would be proud to possess, and which the nation, were it ever for sale, should secure for its great library at any reasonable cost. A receipt, signed for Milton by another and unknown hand, has no interest, save as confirming the fact of a sale and a discharge—a fact not standing in need of confirmation. None of these receipts are beyond doubt in Milton's autograph. He was blind at the time. A comparison of the handwriting of Milton, as seen in the Cambridge MSS., seems to us to prove that they were written by some one—not his wife—empowered by him to sign. Who was this person?"

*Athenæum*, Oct. 1.

On the perusal of the latter paragraph we addressed to the Editor of "*The Athenæum*" the subjoined letter, having previously expressed our views upon the subject:

"The Woodlands, Norwood, October 6th, 1859.

"My attention being called to a paragraph in the *Athenæum* of last week upon the subject of certain receipts of the Poet Milton for monies received by him on account of *Paradise Lost*, permit me to notice, that I believe there will be not much difficulty in eventually ascertaining by whom these receipts were, doubtless by procuration, signed. The Poet was at that period perfectly blind, though at the same time he might have been quite able to sign his name, as any blind person accustomed previously to the exercise of his pen might with facility do.

"The receipt which was lately sold for an exorbitant sum, at the sale of the collection of autograph letters formed by the late Mr. Dawson Turner, was, I believe, never shown by that gentleman as the genuine autograph of Milton.

"On comparing it with the fac-simile of the original document,—then in the possession of Sir Thomas Grey Cullum,—engraved in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for July 1822, it is very evident, from minute yet important variations, that the Dawson Turner receipt was a copy of the original there fac-similed.

"I should not have trespassed upon your columns upon this subject, had I not been engaged for several months past in preparing a *brochure* upon the general autograph of Milton; in the illustration of which I have been permitted to make, among others, fac-similes of seven pages of that most interesting volume containing the *Juvenile Poems*, in the autograph of the Poet, preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge.

"I herewith have the pleasure of forwarding to you one of the fac-similes from that volume.

It is a portion of the Poet's original design of *Paradise Lost*, written about thirty years before the work was published. You will there see that the writing was that of one whose mind was more attentive to the subject than to his pen; consequently, the specimen does not display any of that excellence in penmanship which is found in other existing documents, proving that Milton, as Latin Secretary to Oliver Cromwell, was not unskilled in the execution of what was very essential to his public position—'a good hand.'

"S. LEIGH SOTHEBY."

We never doubted the genuineness of the Milton Document in the possession of Lady Cullum. The point we desired to shew was, that it was *not in the autograph of the Poet*. We were therefore not a little astonished to find, from the subjoined paragraph in *The Athenæum*, February 11, 1860, that a decision had been come to, founded on facts "*fixed on a solid base*," that the Milton Receipt *is in the autograph of the Poet!*—"Lady Cullum's autographs are established as genuine." The documents themselves are certainly genuine:—but that purporting to be signed by Milton is not in his autograph. The others are fac-similes made under the direction of Mr. Dawson Turner, probably by one of his accomplished Daughters, of whose skill in making fac-similes we have a well executed example, in our Melanchthon Collection, of a letter of the Great Reformer.

"After an inquiry, carried on with the most honourable and amiable desire to do what is right under circumstances of some difficulty, the curious question of the Milton autographs has been set at rest. Lady Cullum's autographs are established as genuine—Dawson Turner's as copies. The sale by Messrs. Puttick & Simpson is cancelled—the copies are returned—and the facts, as regards these Milton Papers, are fixed on a solid base."

That the signature "John Milton" to the *Singer Document* is in the same hand as that employed in the *De Doctrinâ Christianâ* is, we consider, quite clear. Consequently, it proves, that, in 1660, the Poet, being then totally blind, was permitted, notwithstanding the insertion of the preliminary official words, "*Witness my hand and seal*," to sign by PROCURATION.

At first sight, without the means of comparing, we were led to think that the receipt bearing the name of the Poet was in the handwriting of the Amanuensis employed by Milton in his *De Doctrinâ Christianâ*. The reader is referred to No. 15 of the specimens taken from that volume, the fac-simile being of an entire page, the 552nd, of that portion of the manuscript which was written by the Amanuensis who was employed on the whole of the latter part of the volume, the difference in the writing of that and a few others, being, that they were evidently written at a later period and in a much more cursive hand, such as we may presume was then the more ordinary hand of the party employed. There is naturally a little difference in appearance when the writing is in Latin; but at the same time we do not feel warranted in maintaining our previously conceived opinion that the Milton Receipt dated April 26, 1669, is in the same handwriting as page 552 in the *De Doctrinâ Christianâ*.

FAC-SIMILES OF AUTOGRAPH SIGNATURES  
WRITTEN WHEN BLINDFOLDED.

PLATE XIX\*.



WE are much indebted to the many distinguished Antiquarians, Literary Men, and kind Friends, who have so promptly favoured us with the examples of their writing when blindfolded, here given in fac-simile. It was a novel idea of ours; and we plead guilty to having designed it, not only for the purpose avowed, but also of adding interesting materials to our specially illustrated copy of the present work, by a collection of the Autograph Signatures of Men and Friends distinguished in all Branches of Intellectuality. We desire further here to note, that we shall be most thankful to receive any additional signatures so executed; and on application will immediately forward a sheet of paper, as we previously did to all to whom we applied, containing the subjoined letter:

“In my *‘Ramblings in the Elucidation of the Autograph of Milton,’* a work upon which I am now engaged, I am desirous of shewing that any body, *totally blind*, is still capable of signing his name, and indeed of writing in *one continuous line*; though, unless he has something placed under his little finger to guide him, the line of writing might not be correctly horizontal. In illustration of this point, many kind friends have forwarded to me their usual signature written when closely blindfolded. May I venture to ask you to allow some friend to blindfold you, and to write your usual signature at the foot of this letter, thus affording an additional instance of what I am desirous of confirming?”



IN finding the Signatures we were desirous of inserting too numerous for plate XIX., we have availed ourselves of the opportunity of again exemplifying on the ensuing page the very interesting processes of the Electro-Printing Block Company, by which the fac-similes of any similar or engraved productions can be at pleasure reduced. The examples give four reductions of the original. Our confined space allows not of our giving examples of enlargement, which is made with as much facility as the reduction, depending merely on the size of the apparatus used.

Thomas Bullen for John Murray

John Jay Nichols Richard Owen

Francis John Louis Pott

Brotherhood Joseph Malle

Joseph Patten Anthony G. L.

Thomas Bullen for John Murray  
John Jay Nichols Richard Owen  
Francis John Louis Pott  
Brotherhood Joseph Malle  
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John Jay Nichols Richard Owen  
Francis John Louis Pott  
Brotherhood Joseph Malle  
Joseph Patten Anthony G. L.

1 Bulkeley Bardinet 2 B. Beedham 3 Samuel Birch

4 Berwick Betfield 5 J. Payne Collier

6 Henry Charles Fox 7 Neworth Henry

8 J. Wm. H. E. ton. 9 John Forster 10 Henry Fox

11 Geo. Fox 12 S. C. Hall. 13 Charles Knight

14 B Waterhouse Hawkins 15 J. Winter Jones. 16 W. L. L. Mason

17 Madden 18 R. A. Major. 19 W. W. Dowall

20 H. A. J. Munro 21 D. Nichol 22 J. J. P. Murray

23 W. Russell 24 J. L. A. Russell 25 W. Russell

26 J. Emerson Tennant 27 William T. O. 28 W. Thelper.

29 J. W. W. 30 John Williams 31 Thomas Wright

32 M. Digby 33 Henry St. John 34 Procurer

35 J. F. Marsh 36 Mark Lemon 37 Butch Miles

38 John Edw Gray 39 Henry Ellis 40 Francis Fuller 41 Edw. A. Bond.

42 R. T. M. 43 C. H. Hartshorne

44 J. M. 45 C. H. Hartshorne





JOHANNIS MILTONI ANGLI  
DE DOCTRINA CHRISTIANA

LIBRI DUO POSTHUMI.



OME DAY I SHALL ADDRESS A WORK TO POSTERITY, WHICH WILL PERPETUATE MY NAME, AT LEAST IN THE LAND IN WHICH I WAS BORN."

While quoting the preceding passage from a letter by Milton, LAMARTINE,<sup>1</sup> the Historian, adds,

"ALL GREAT MINDS THUS ANTICIPATE THEIR FUTURE GLORY."

"GLORY," writes Lord Camden in his argument against the common-law right to Literary Property, "is the reward of science; and those who deserve it, scorn all meaner views. I speak not of the scribblers for bread, who teaze the press with their wretched productions; fourteen years are too long a privilege for their perishable trash. It was not for gain that Bacon, Newton, Milton, Locke, instructed and delighted the world. When the bookseller offered Milton £5 for his *Paradise Lost*, he did not reject it, and commit his poem to the flames, nor did he accept the miserable pittance as the reward of his labour. He knew that the real price of his work was immortality, and that posterity would pay it."

In the letter, of which two drafts in the autograph of Milton are preserved in the Trinity College Manuscript, occurs the subjoined passage, tending to shew that the mind of Milton was impressed at that early period of his life, with forebodings of his future career. He had been accused, while at Cambridge, of leading a comparatively inactive life, he not having then selected any future professional occupation. In answer to his accusers, while defending his "*solitariness*," he adds: "And though this were enough, yet there is another act, if not of pure, yet of refined nature, no less applicable to persuade prolonged obscurity,—*a desire of honour and repute and immortal fame, seated in the breast of every true scholar; which all make haste to*

<sup>1</sup> "In a letter to a confidential friend, he thus expresses himself: 'Some day I shall address a work to posterity, which will perpetuate my name, at least in the land in which I was born.' All great minds thus anticipate their future

glory: this feeling, which the vulgar mistake for pride, is in fact the inwardly-speaking conscience of their genius."—"Memoirs of Celebrated Characters," by Alphonse de Lamartine. 2 vols., 1854 [*Milton*]; vol. ii., p. 5.

*by the readiest ways of publishing and divulging conceived merits,—as well those that shall, as those that never shall, obtain it.*"

The result of this longing after immortality and its appreciation by posterity, is thus well characterized by Winstanley, a contemporary, but by no means an admirer, of Milton, in his "*Lives of the most Famous English Poets:*" "Now, though it is the desire of all writers to purchase to themselves immortal fame, yet is their fate far different:—some deserve fame, and have it; others neither have it, nor deserve it; some have it, not deserving; and others, though deserving, yet totally miss it, or have it not equal to their deserts."<sup>1</sup>

The ambition of obtaining a name and transmitting it to posterity, is traceable in the earliest record of the human race; for we read in Gen. xi. 4, that, in the time of Noah, the people journeying from the East said, "Let us build us a city and a tower whose top may reach unto Heaven; and let us *make us a name.*" The poets of antiquity were animated with the same love of fame. Ovid, Horace, Lucan, and Martial, all predicated of their writings that they would be immortal; and posterity has indorsed their prognostications. The Poet Milton has obtained the immortality for which he aspired, but not from *The Work* he fondly hoped would have perpetuated his "*name, at least in the land in which he was born.*" The way in which posterity has appreciated his Treatise "*De Doctrinâ Christianâ,*" as well as his "*Paradise Regained,*"—a work which Milton greatly preferred to his "*Paradise Lost,*"—shews how fallacious was his judgment of their respective merits.

In the preliminary observations to the translation of the former work, Bishop Sumner very forcibly remarks:—"It must be acknowledged that the disqualifications for such a work as the present, were neither few nor unimportant. They were partly owing to the unhappy circumstances of the period at which he lived, and partly to that peculiar disposition of mind which led him to view every surrender of individual opinion, whether in morals or politics, as an infringement on the rights of natural liberty. In his time power was abused under pretence of religion, in a degree to which, happily for genuine Christianity, the ecclesiastical annals can scarcely afford a parallel; and the universal prevalence of an intolerant spirit, from which his own connexions, as well as himself, had suffered severely, disposed him to look with an unfavourable eye, not only upon the corruptions, but on the doctrine itself and discipline of the church."

Numerous instances might be recorded of men arriving at the highest possible position in the professions they have embraced; and yet who consider that their talents ought to have been employed in some other direction. Accordingly we find recorded of Statesmen who have been well skilled in Literature, Art, and

<sup>1</sup> Epistle to the Reader, p. vi.

Science, as well as in the Sports of the Field. Great Warriors and Authors have also become Great Statesmen. Remarkable instances of the perversity and vanity of the mind of man, which have led him to contend against the ways and means assigned by Providence to him in his calling, might be adduced in illustration of this subject.

To the Muse was the earliest attachment of Milton. "*The excellency of the English Poetts*" was engraved on his heart—"Poetts live for ever"—"*Good Poetts are envied, yet in spite of envy get immortal glory.*" Such are the prophetic words that Milton has written on one of the pages of his much loved and often quoted work, *Britannia's Pastorals* by the Poet Browne.<sup>1</sup> His fame as a Poet, however, was destined to be deferred. Though on his return from the Continent in 1639 he recorded in his poetical repository the outlines of several of his intended productions, including that of his *Paradise Lost*, yet a few Sonnets and some minor Poems are the only pieces that can justify the idea, that, after Milton had entered the Arena of the Polemical and Political affairs of his country, he still devoted his mind to his much loved Muse.

It was not until some time after he had retired from the duties of public life, that his innate love of poetry was rekindled. "*The remembrance of early reading,*" as that learned Historian Hallam beautifully writes, "*came over his dark and lonely path like the moon emerging from the clouds. Then it was the Muse was truly his.*" The interval, however, of leisure during the period of his active duties as Latin Secretary, and when his pen was not employed in the cause of upholding the Commonwealth, must have been partially devoted to the study of the Scriptures, preparatory to his committing to paper the result of his long-cherished ideas upon the Principles of the Doctrine of the Christian Religion. It is far beyond our powers to venture an opinion upon the merits of that work; a work which Milton consigned, as it were, to Providence, in the full belief that the religious views he had with so much zeal and perseverance held for many years, would be ultimately adopted by posterity. His inspired poem, *Paradise Lost*, was the relaxation of his then peaceful mind; not the laboured produce of a crest-fallen spirit, lamenting the judgment passed upon his political views. Milton must have been prepared to receive the contumely of his enemies rather than their pity. While he looked to the future for a more enlightened and considerate view of his past political character, he indulged the hope that his name might not only ultimately rank with the most favoured of his much loved Muse, but be remembered as a firm supporter of the Protestant Faith, even by those who conscientiously differed from him upon certain points of religion.

When at College, Milton had entertained opinions at variance with those of the authorities on the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church. He was destined to

<sup>1</sup> *Britannia's Pastorals*, by W. Browne. See plate XIV.

take an active part against the then administration of the religion and politics of his country. He unflinchingly expressed his views. The learned Symmons states, that,



**O**N Milton's return from the continent, he found, as he informs us, the clamour loud, and general against the bishops; some complaining of their tyranny, and some protesting against the existence of the mitred hierarchy itself. It was now beginning to be safe to talk: but, the Parliament not being yet convened, the public indignation was forced still to wait, during a short interval, before it could diffuse itself from the press. When this rapid propagator of opinions and best guardian of truth was at last liberated, the prelatical party was assailed on all sides with argument and learning, with virulence and reproach. Our author, as I believe, was on this occasion the leader of the attack; the first who became the organ of his own and of the popular resentment against the rulers of the church. His beloved tutor, Young, had been one of the victims of the primate's intolerance; and the new polemic entered on his career with the blended feeling of public and of private wrong, with the zeal of a sanguine, and with the emotion of an injured, man.

"His two books 'Of Reformation touching Church Government in England,' addressed to a friend, discover earnestness and integrity; and are the produce of a forcible and acute, a comprehensive and richly stored mind. 'And here withal,' he says, 'I invoke the Immortal Deity, revealer and judge of secrets, that wherever I have in this book, plainly and roundly (though worthily and truly) laid open the faults and blemishes of fathers, martyrs, or christian emperors, or have inveighed against error and superstition with vehement expressions, I have done it neither out of malice, nor list to speak evil, nor any vain glory; but of mere necessity to vindicate the spotless truth from an ignominious bondage.' The reformation in our Church had not proceeded, as he thought, to the proper extent; and the suspension of its progress he attributes principally to its prelates, 'who, though they had renounced the Pope, yet hugged the popedom, and shared the authority among themselves.' He gives a minute history of the Church of England from its birth; and, explaining the causes of what he deemed to be its imperfect separation from that of Rome, and its halting at a distance behind the other reformed churches, he pays no great respect to the venerable names of our early reformers, who attested the purity of their motives with their blood. Though excellent, they were still indeed fallible men; and, admitting that their example or their doctrine could be employed as the shield of error, every true Christian would join with our author in exclaiming, 'More tolerable it were for the Church of God that all these names (of Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, etc.) were utterly abolished, like the brazen serpent, than that men's fond opinions should thus idolize them, and the heavenly truth be thus captivated.'"<sup>1</sup>

It is remarkable that DR. JOHNSON, in his memoir of the Poet, should have made no mention whatever of Milton having devoted much of his time to a *Treatise of Christian Theology*,—a fact recorded long before Johnson was called upon to write his biographical notice of the Poet. In that memoir he writes of Milton, that,



**H**IS theological opinions are said to have been first Calvinistical; and afterwards, perhaps when he began to hate the Presbyterians, to have tended towards Arminianism. In the mixed questions of theology and government, he never thinks that he can recede far enough from popery or prelacy; but what Baudius says of Erasmus seems applicable to him, *magis habuit quod fugeret, quam quod sequeretur*. He had determined rather what to condemn than what to approve. He has not associated himself with any denomination of Protestants: we know rather what he was not than what he was. He was not of the church of Rome; he was not of the church of England.

<sup>1</sup> The Life of John Milton, by Charles Symmons, D.D., of Jesus College, Oxford. 8vo., 1810, pp. 226-8.

"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 invigorated, and reimpresed by external ordinances, by stated calls to worship, and the salutary influence of example. Milton, who appears to have had full conviction of the truth of Christianity, and to have regarded the Holy Scriptures with the profoundest veneration, to have been untainted by any heretical peculiarity of opinion, and to have lived in a confirmed belief of the immediate and occasional agency of Providence, yet grew old without any visible worship. In the distribution of his hours, there was no hour of prayer, either solitary or with his household; omitting publick prayers, he omitted all.

"Of this omission the reason has been sought, upon a supposition which ought never to be made, that men live with their own approbation, and justify their conduct to themselves. Prayer certainly was not thought superfluous by him, who represents our first parents as praying acceptably in the state of innocence, and efficaciously after their fall. That he lived without prayer can hardly be affirmed; his studies and meditations were an habitual prayer. The neglect of it in his family was probably a fault for which he condemned himself, and which he intended to correct; but that death, as too often happens, intercepted his reformation."



AMONG the thousands of devotional volumes published yearly in this country, there are not many that excel in Christian spirit the "*Prayers and Meditations*" composed by the learned Dr. Johnson, of which Murphy<sup>1</sup> justly observes,

"We have before us the very heart of the man, with all his inward consciousness. And yet, neither in the open paths of life, nor in his secret recesses, has any one vice been discovered. We see him reviewing every year of his life, and severely censuring himself for not keeping resolutions, which morbid melancholy, and other bodily infirmities, rendered impracticable. We see him, for every little defect, imposing on himself voluntary penance; going through the day with only one cup of tea without milk; and to the last, amidst paroxysms and remissions of illness, forming plans of study and resolutions to amend his life. Many of his scruples may be called weaknesses; but they are the weaknesses of a good, a pious, and most excellent man."

The "*Prayers and Meditations*" of Johnson were composed at various periods of his life, commencing as early as 1738; the last bearing date December 5, 1784, eight days only before his death. Many of these Prayers exhibit a degree of fervour seldom surpassed in the holy exercises of our Divines. They are, however, mostly of a personal character, corresponding much with his "*Meditations*," which consist chiefly of resolutions of amendment in his daily duties, many of which were forgotten and re-resolved in his succeeding devotions.

The Rev. George Strahan, Vicar of Islington, under whose care the selection was published, was, we believe, a relation of Dr. Johnson. Had his Reverend Kinsman confined himself to the issuing of the Prayers,—prayers which were as applicable to those of the age of their author, or to those suffering under similar bodily infirmities, as to himself,—they would have formed a very appropriate book for Family use. The "*Meditations*" are interesting as shewing the daily habits of such a man as Johnson; but they do not in any way add to the preconceived estimation

<sup>1</sup> Essay on Dr. Johnson, by Arthur Murphy, p. 136. Lond., 1792. 8vo.

with which one is desirous to see his character invested. Such memorials are very well for the family of the departed to preserve; but, in our humble opinion, they are totally unfit for publication. They add nothing to our respect for the Memory of a Great Author. The Pocket-Book Memoranda of the most eminent men are not made by them, at least very seldom, with any idea of their being printed for the amusement of a class of readers who are not content with a faithful memoir of a great man, even from the pen of a distinguished biographer. Now-a-days nothing suffices to create an interest with such pampered readers, but private letters, midnight conversations, and all sorts of absurd trash<sup>1</sup> frequently published under the title of "*Reminiscences*." Far be it from us, however, to depreciate that class of literature; for there are few who have not found it a relief to take up the "*Table Talk*" of the Learned Antiquarian Selden; to dip into a volume of the "*Anecdotes of Nichols*," and other works of a similar kind. They are the Storehouses of Information of Past Centuries. While they delight and feed the imagination, they sow the seeds of a succession of intellectual harvests; the solace of life at that period when the body becoming enfeebled, gains, by so charmingly seductive a stimulus to the mind, a pleasurable increase of physical power.

It would have been well for the Memory of Milton had his "*Treatise of Christian Doctrine*" been discovered previous to that period when Johnson,—afflicted with bodily infirmities, such as of themselves were enough to overwhelm his mind with dismal thoughts tending to affect his previously biassed feelings,—undertook, as the Biographer of the Age, to convey to the world a fair and unprejudiced Memoir of the Life, and a faithful criticism on the polemical, political, and poetical productions of Milton.

Whatever may have been the tendency of the religious feelings of Milton in the earlier portion of his public career, there are certainly no passages in his "*Treatise of Christian Doctrine*" of a similar character to those found in the published

<sup>1</sup> JOHNSON. Surely the memory of Dr. Johnson is not enhanced by our being told, that, in 1760, he resolved "to consult the resolves on Tetty's coffin,"—"to drink less strong liquors,"—"to keep a journal;"—1761, "to regulate my sleep as to length and choice of hours;"—1762, to "return to my studies,"—"rise early,"—"live temperately;"—1764, "to put my rooms in order,"—"to reject or expel sensual images and idle thoughts,"—"I will renew my resolutions made at Tetty's death,"—"I prayed for Tett;"—1765, "at Church to pray for Tetty and the rest;"—1771, "no plan of study has been pursued or formed,"—"I have neither attempted nor formed any scheme of life by which I may do good, and please God,"—"I have gone volun-

tarily to church on the week days but few times in my life. I think to mend;"—1772, *April* 18, "I hope to read the whole Bible once a year, as long as I live,"—"yesterday I fasted, as I have always or commonly done since the death of Tetty,"—"I cannot now fast as formerly;"—1779, "part of the *Life of Dryden* and the *Life of Milton* have been written; but my mind has neither been improved nor enlarged. I have read little, almost nothing. And I am not conscious that I have gained any good, or quitted any evil habit;"—*Sunday, March* 17, 1782, "I made punch for myself and my servants, by which, in the night, I thought both my breast and imagination disordered."—"Prayers and Meditations."

“Meditations” of Johnson, touching his habitual prayers for the dead, and ceremonial fastings,—exercises that do not elevate the character of that Great Lexicographer. Had Johnson been permitted to read the laborious and marvellously composed “System of Divinity” from the deep-read and well-stored theological mind of the Poet, he would probably have formed a very different opinion of the religious views of that man whose character as a Christian was committed to his laboured and occasionally bilious pen to pourtray. When men are specially employed to criticize the works and weigh the acts of their fellow creatures, they ought not to take pen in hand when suffering under bodily pain.



It is not for us to venture to give any opinion upon the merits of the Great Theological Work by Milton here under consideration. It is sufficient for us to record, that, under good advice, it was deemed worthy, on its discovery, to be, at the command of HIS MAJESTY GEORGE IV., translated by so distinguished a theologian and scholar as the Rev. Charles R. Sumner, M.A., at that time Librarian and Historiographer to His Majesty, and Prebendary of Canterbury, now the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Winchester. Consequently, we think that the interesting Introduction by the Author, preceded by an extract from the Preface of the learned translator, will not be considered here out of place.

“It must be acknowledged that the disqualifications of Milton for such a work as the present, were neither few nor unimportant. They were owing partly to the unhappy circumstances of the period at which he lived, and partly to that peculiar disposition of mind which led him to view every surrender of individual opinion, whether in morals or politics, as an infringement on the rights of natural liberty. In his time power was abused, under pretence of religion, in a degree to which, happily for genuine Christianity, the ecclesiastical annals can scarcely afford a parallel; and the universal prevalence of an intolerant spirit, from which his own connexions as well as himself had suffered severely, disposed him to look with an unfavourable eye, not only upon the corruptions, but on the doctrine itself and discipline of the church. His father had been disinherited for embracing the Protestant faith. He himself had been brought up under a Puritan who was subsequently obliged to leave England on account of his religious opinions, Thomas Young of Essex, one of the six answerers of Hall’s *Humble Remonstrance*. Hence there is some foundation for the remark of Hayley, that Milton ‘wrote with the indignant enthusiasm of a man resenting the injuries of those who are most entitled to his love and veneration. The ardour of his affections conspired with the warmth of his fancy to inspire him with that puritanical zeal which blazes so intensely in his controversial productions.’ Thus it was that, like Clarke, though on different grounds, he was biassed against the authority of the church, and predisposed by the political constitution of his mind to such unbounded freedom as can hardly consist, as has been truly said, with any established system of faith whatever. His love of christian liberty began, indeed, to manifest itself at a very early period of his life, for though destined to the church from his childhood, he refused to enter it from a religious scruple, thinking that ‘he who took orders must subscribe slave.’”

"JOHN MILTON,  
TO ALL THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST,  
AND TO ALL  
WHO PROFESS THE CHRISTIAN FAITH THROUGHOUT THE WORLD,  
PEACE, AND THE RECOGNITION OF THE TRUTH,  
AND ETERNAL SALVATION  
IN GOD THE FATHER, AND IN OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST.



SINCE the commencement of the last century, when religion began to be restored from the corruptions of more than thirteen hundred years to something of its original purity, many treatises of theology have been published, conducted according to sounder principles, wherein the chief heads of Christian doctrine are set forth sometimes briefly, sometimes in a more enlarged and methodical order. I think myself obliged, therefore, to declare in the first instance why, if any works have already appeared as perfect as the nature of the subject will admit, I have not remained contented with them—or, if all my predecessors have treated it unsuccessfully, why their failure has not deterred me from attempting an undertaking of a similar kind.

“If I were to say that I had devoted myself to the study of the Christian religion because nothing else can so effectually rescue the lives and minds of men from those two detestable curses, slavery and superstition, I should seem to have acted rather from a regard to my highest earthly comforts, than from a religious motive.

“But since it is only to the individual faith of each that the Deity has opened the way of eternal salvation, and as he requires that he who would be saved should have a personal belief of his own, I resolved not to repose on the faith or judgment of others in matters relating to God; but on the one hand, having taken the grounds of my faith from divine revelation alone, and on the other, having neglected nothing which depended on my own industry, I thought fit to scrutinize and ascertain for myself the several points of my religious belief, by the most careful perusal and meditation of the Holy Scriptures themselves.

“If, therefore, I mention what has proved beneficial in my own practice, it is in the hope that others, who have a similar wish of improving themselves, may be thereby invited to pursue the same method. I entered upon an assiduous course of study in my youth, beginning with the books of the Old and New Testament in their original languages, and going diligently through a few of the shorter systems of divines, in imitation of whom I was in the habit of classing under certain heads whatever passages of Scripture occurred for extraction, to be made use of hereafter as occasion might require. At length I resorted with increased confidence to some of the more copious theological treatises, and to the examination of the arguments advanced by the conflicting parties respecting certain disputed points of faith. But, to speak the truth with freedom as well as candour, I was concerned to discover in many instances adverse reasonings either evaded by wretched shifts, or attempted to be refuted, rather speciously than with solidity, by an affected display of formal sophisms, or by a constant recourse to the quibbles of the grammarians; while what was most pertinaciously espoused as the true doctrine, seemed often defended, with more vehemence than strength of argument, by misconstructions of Scripture, or by the hasty deduction of erroneous inferences. Owing to these causes, the truth was sometimes as strenuously opposed as if it had been an error or a heresy—while errors and heresies were substituted for the truth, and valued rather from deference to custom and the spirit of party than from the authority of Scripture.

“According to my judgment, therefore, neither my creed nor my hope of salvation could be safely trusted to such guides; and yet it appeared highly requisite to possess some methodical tractate of Christian doctrine, or at least to attempt such a disquisition as might be useful in establishing my faith or assisting my memory. I deemed it therefore safest and most advisable to



compile for myself, by my own labour and study, some original treatise which should be always at hand, derived solely from the word of God itself, and executed with all possible fidelity, seeing that I could have no wish to practise any imposition on myself in such a matter.

“After a diligent perseverance in this plan for several years, I perceived that the strongholds of the reformed religion were sufficiently fortified, as far as it was in danger from the Papists,—but neglected in many other quarters; neither competently strengthened with works of defence, nor adequately provided with champions. It was also evident to me, that, in religion as in other things, the offers of God were all directed, not to an indolent credulity, but to constant diligence, and to an unwearied search after truth; and that more than I was aware of still remained, which required to be more rigidly examined by the rule of Scripture, and reformed after a more accurate model. I so far satisfied myself in the prosecution of this plan as at length to trust that I had discovered, with regard to religion, what was matter of belief, and what only matter of opinion. It was also a great solace to me to have compiled, by God’s assistance, a precious aid for my faith—or rather to have laid up for myself a treasure which would be a provision for my future life, and would remove from my mind all grounds for hesitation, as often as it behoved me to render an account of the principles of my belief.

“If I communicate the result of my inquiries to the world at large; if, as God is my witness, it be with a friendly and benignant feeling towards mankind, that I readily give as wide a circulation as possible to what I esteem my best and richest possession, I hope to meet with a candid reception from all parties, and that none at least will take unjust offence, even though many things should be brought to light which will at once be seen to differ from certain received opinions. I earnestly beseech all lovers of truth, not to cry out that the Church is thrown into confusion by that freedom of discussion and inquiry which is granted to the schools, and ought certainly to be refused to no believer, since we are ordered to *prove all things*, and since the daily progress of the light of truth is productive far less of disturbance to the Church, than of illumination and edification. Nor do I see how the Church can be more disturbed by the investigation of truth, than were the Gentiles by the first promulgation of the gospel; since so far from recommending or imposing anything on my own authority, it is my particular advice that every one should suspend his opinion on whatever points he may not feel himself fully satisfied, till the evidence of Scripture prevail, and persuade his reason into assent and faith. Concealment is not my object; it is to the learned that I address myself, or if it be thought that the learned are not the best umpires and judges of such things, I should at least wish to submit my opinions to men of a mature and manly understanding, possessing a thorough knowledge of the doctrines of the gospel; on whose judgments I should rely with far more confidence, than on those of novices in these matters. And whereas the greater part of those who have written most largely on these subjects have been wont to fill whole pages with explanations of their own opinions, thrusting into the margin the texts in support of their doctrine with a summary reference to the chapter and verse, I have chosen, on the contrary, to fill my pages even to redundancy with quotations from Scripture, that so as little space as possible might be left for my own words, even when they arise from the context of revelation itself.

“It has also been my object to make it appear from the opinions I shall be found to have advanced, whether new or old, of how much consequence to the Christian religion is the liberty not only of winnowing and sifting every doctrine, but also of thinking and even writing respecting it, according to our individual faith and persuasion; an inference which will be stronger in proportion to the weight and importance of those opinions, or rather in proportion to the authority of Scripture, on the abundant testimony of which they rest. Without this liberty there is neither religion nor gospel—force alone prevails,—by which it is disgraceful for the Christian religion to be supported. Without this liberty we are still enslaved, not indeed, as formerly, under the divine law, but, what is worst of all, under the law of man, or to speak more truly, under a barbarous tyranny. But I do not expect from candid and judicious readers a conduct so unworthy of them,—that, like certain unjust and foolish men, they should stamp with the invidious name of heretic or heresy whatever

appears to them to differ from the received opinions, without trying the doctrine by a comparison with Scripture testimonies. According to their notions, to have branded any one at random with this opprobrious mark, is to have refuted him without any trouble, by a single word. By the simple imputation of the name of heretic, they think that they have dispatched their man at one blow. To men of this kind I answer, that in the time of the Apostles, ere the New Testament was written, whenever the charge of heresy was applied as a term of reproach, that alone was considered as heresy which was at variance with their doctrine orally delivered,—and that those only were looked upon as heretics, who, according to Rom. xvi., 17, 18, *caused divisions and offences contrary to the doctrine of the apostles.....serving not our Lord Jesus Christ, but their own belly.* By parity of reasoning therefore, since the compilation of the New Testament, I maintain that nothing but what is in contradiction to it can properly be called heresy.

“For my own part, I adhere to the Holy Scriptures alone—I follow no other heresy or sect. I had not even read any of the works of heretics, so called, when the mistakes of those who are reckoned for orthodox, and their incautious handling of Scripture, first taught me to agree with their opponents whenever those opponents agreed with Scripture. If this be heresy, I confess with St. Paul, Acts xxiv., 14, *that after the way which they call heresy, so worship I the God of my fathers, believing all things which are written in the law and the prophets—to which I ADD, WHATEVER IS WRITTEN IN THE NEW TESTAMENT. ANY OTHER JUDGES OR CHIEF INTERPRETERS OF THE CHRISTIAN BELIEF, TOGETHER WITH ALL IMPLICIT FAITH, AS IT IS CALLED, I, IN COMMON WITH THE WHOLE PROTESTANT CHURCH, REFUSE TO RECOGNIZE.*

“For the rest, brethren, cultivate truth with brotherly love. Judge of my present undertaking according to the admonishing of the Spirit of God—and neither adopt my sentiments, nor reject them, unless every doubt has been removed from your belief by the clear testimony of revelation. Finally, live in the faith of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Farewell.”

Who that reads this Introduction from the pen of Milton, can fail to be struck with the total absence of that remarkably acrimonious spirit of controversy which characterizes most of his other prose writings; or, with the extreme candour with which he appeals to the reason and judgment of his reader, and beseeches him to approach the subject with a teachable spirit,—like the good Bereans of old,—to search the Scriptures whether these things are so, and to believe and practise nothing that they do not teach. Such also is the language the Church of England addresses, in her Articles, to those who are in communion with her, a Church which, in his polemical Treatises, Milton had laboured to malign. The work itself, notwithstanding the high patronage under which it was brought before the public, and the able Translation of Bishop Sumner, which makes it accessible to the English reader, has not been duly appreciated; nor has, we believe, the system of divinity which it promulgates, been adopted by any Sect of Christians.



THE Review of THE TREATISE OF CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE in the "*Edinburgh Review*," August 1825, forms the first of the series of Essays written by the late RIGHT HONOURABLE THOMAS BABINGTON, LORD MACAULAY.

"The book itself," quaintly observes the Historian, "will not add much to the fame of Milton." Macaulay, however, takes up the weaker points of the work. He reviews the "heterodox doctrines" of Milton in respect to the subject of Polygamy and the Observance of the Sabbath, with much severity. How far Macaulay was competent to decide on the merits of a theological work of so much learning, we do not ourselves attempt to give an opinion. We do not think the Venerable Bishop Sumner agreed with the off-hand manner in which the noble Historian dismissed all further notice of the work by observing: "The men of our time are not to be converted or perverted by quartos. A few more days, and this Essay will follow the '*Defensio Populi*' to the dust and silence of the upper shelf. The name of its author, and the remarkable circumstances attending its publication, will secure to it a certain degree of attention. For a month or two it will occupy a few minutes of chat in every drawing-room, and a few columns in every magazine; and it will then, to borrow the elegant language of the playbills, be withdrawn, to make room for the forthcoming novelties."

Macaulay, however, did not even give the subject of the work *a few columns* in the *Edinburgh Review*, but merely made it the medium of an "ESSAY ON MILTON," for which his powerful pen was much better fitted than to discuss the arguments of a theological discourse. "We intend," writes Macaulay, "to take advantage of the late interesting discovery,<sup>1</sup> and, while this memorial of a great and good man is still in the hands of all, to say something of his moral and intellectual qualities. Nor, we are convinced, will the severest of our readers blame us, if, on an occasion like the present, we turn for a short time from the topics of the day, to commemorate, in all love and reverence, the genius and virtues of John Milton, the poet, the statesman, the philosopher, the glory of English Literature, the champion and the martyr of English Liberty."

While venerating the name of Milton, it appears strange that Macaulay should have ventured to condemn a work which the author himself had predicted "*would perpetuate his name to posterity.*" Macaulay was no great theologian. He admired Milton as a public man, and justifies the part he took in the Great Rebellion. Though disapproving of "the execution of Charles," and "of the conduct of the Regicides," the Historian adds, "That [the conduct] of Milton appears to us in a

<sup>1</sup> Alluding to the manner in which the original manuscript of the Treatise had been discovered in the State Paper Office.

very different light. The deed was done. It could not be undone. The evil was incurred; and the object was to render it as small as possible." The learned Macaulay here forgot that the powerful pen of Milton had been employed as a fire-brand to inflame the spirit of rebellion. Hence Milton had as much to answer for as any one of the Regicides. Indeed, more so. Some of them were compelled by their master, Cromwell, to sign the warrant for the execution of their king. The writings of Milton were, to a certain extent, voluntary. So also was his Justification of the Decapitation of the, unhappily, Hen-pecked Monarch. The denial, by Milton, of his having ever received any remuneration at the hand of Cromwell, or from the State, for that piece of special pleading, justifies the opinion, that the task of exculpating his master was self-imposed, though under the semblance of a command!

The learned Macaulay, after reviewing the characters of the Puritans, the Independents, and the Royalists, sums up the political character of Milton by stating

"He was not a Puritan. He was not a Freethinker. He was not a Royalist. In his character the noblest qualities of every party were combined in harmonious union. From the Parliament and from the Court, from the conventicle and from the gothic cloister, from the gloomy and sepulchral circles of the Roundheads, and from the Christmas revel of the hospitable Cavalier, his nature selected and drew to itself whatever was great and good, while it rejected all the base and pernicious ingredients by which those finer elements were defiled. Like the Puritans, he lived

'As ever in his great task-master's eye.'

Like them, he kept his mind continually fixed on an Almighty Judge and an eternal reward. And hence he acquired their contempt of external circumstances, their fortitude, their tranquillity, their inflexible resolution. But not the coolest sceptic or the most profane scoffer was more perfectly free from the contagion of their frantic delusions, their savage manners, their ludicrous jargon, their scorn of science, and their aversion to pleasure. Hating tyranny with a perfect hatred, he had nevertheless all the estimable and ornamental qualities which were almost entirely monopolised by the party of the tyrant. There was none who had a stronger sense of the value of literature, a finer relish for every elegant amusement, or a more chivalrous delicacy of honour and love. Though his opinions were democratic, his tastes and his associations were such as harmonise best with monarchy and aristocracy. He was under the influence of all the feelings by which the gallant Cavaliers were misled. But of those feelings he was the master and not the slave."

In vindicating the character of Milton from much apparent inconsistency in his political life, Macaulay considers that this very inconsistency entitles him to great praise, "because it shews how many private tastes and feelings he sacrificed in order to do what he considered his duty to mankind. It is the very struggle of the noble Othello." The learned Historian closes his powerfully written "Essay on Milton" with the subjoined,—language not more beautiful or more eulogistic than deserved:



We must conclude. And yet we can scarcely tear ourselves away from the subject. The days immediately following the publication of this relic of Milton appear to be peculiarly set apart, and consecrated to his memory. And we shall scarcely be censured if, on this his festival, we be found lingering near his shrine, how worthless soever may be the offering which we bring to it. While this book lies on our table, we seem to be contemporaries of the writer. We are transported a hundred and fifty years back. We can almost fancy that we are visiting him in his small lodging; that we see him sitting at the old organ beneath the faded green hangings; that we can catch the

quick twinkle of his eyes, rolling in vain to find the day; that we are reading in the lines of his noble countenance the proud and mournful history of his glory and his affliction. We image to ourselves the breathless silence in which we should listen to his slightest word, the passionate veneration with which we should kneel to kiss his hand and weep upon it, the earnestness with which we should endeavour to console him, if indeed such a spirit could need consolation, for the neglect of an age unworthy of his talents and his virtues, the eagerness with which we should contest with his daughters, or with his Quaker friend Elwood, the privilege of reading Homer to him, or of taking down the immortal accents which flowed from his lips.

“These are perhaps foolish feelings. Yet we cannot be ashamed of them; nor shall we be sorry if what we have written shall in any degree excite them in other minds. We are not much in the habit of idolising either the living or the dead. And we think that there is no more certain indication of a weak and ill-regulated intellect than that propensity which, for want of a better name, we will venture to christen Boswellism. But there are a few characters which have stood the closest scrutiny and the severest tests, which have been tried in the furnace and have proved pure, which have been weighed in the balance and have not been found wanting, which have been declared sterling by the general consent of mankind, and which are visibly stamped with the image and superscription of the Most High. These great men we trust that we know how to prize; and of these was Milton. The sight of his books, the sound of his name, are pleasant to us. His thoughts resemble those celestial fruits and flowers which the Virgin Martyr of Massinger sent down from the gardens of Paradise to the earth, and which were distinguished from the productions of other soils, not only by superior bloom and sweetness, but by miraculous efficacy to invigorate and to heal. They are powerful, not only to delight, but to elevate and purify. Nor do we envy the man who can study either the life or the writings of the great poet and patriot, without aspiring to emulate, not indeed the sublime works with which his genius has enriched our literature, but the zeal with which he laboured for the public good, the fortitude with which he endured every private calamity, the lofty disdain with which he looked down on temptations and dangers, the deadly hatred which he bore to bigots and tyrants, and the faith which he so sternly kept with his country and with his fame.”

THE AUTOGRAPH OF THE "DE DOCTRINA CHRISTIANA"  
CONSIDERED.

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WHILE making researches at the State Paper Office, Mr. Lemon did us the favour of placing in our hands the correspondence of his Father with Bishop Sumner and the late Archdeacon Todd, that took place on the discovery of the Manuscript,—during the period it was undergoing translation, and also subsequent to its publication,—together with statements connected therewith.

The correspondence with Archdeacon Todd bears principally upon the Powell Family Documents, and the Entries in the Order-Book of the Council of State in the State Paper Office, minute details of which, and accurate copies of the documents, were forwarded by the late Mr. Lemon, with the view of affording information for the new edition of the Life of Milton, on which Archdeacon Todd was then engaged.

It would have been but justice to the late Mr. Lemon, had Archdeacon Todd printed all those documents in the careful and strict chronological order in which they were communicated to him. Had he done so, Mr. W. Douglas Hamilton would have been spared the observation, in the preface to his valuable contribution to the Camden Society,<sup>1</sup> that "*He*" [Dr. Todd] "*was only acquainted with a tithe of the materials here collected, so that his conclusions were not always correct.*"

"MILTON'S POSTHUMOUS WORK."



THIS valuable Manuscript is presumed to be the long lost posthumous Theological Work of Milton. It was discovered in the latter part of the year 1823, by Mr. Lemon, Sen., Deputy Keeper of His Majesty's State Papers; and was found by him at the bottom of one of the Presses in the Old State Paper Office, in the middle Treasury Gallery. It was wrapped in two or three sheets of printed paper, apparently Proof Sheets; and the outside cover was a piece of torn, dirty brown paper, on which was written, '*To Mr. Skinner, Merch!*' This direction appears completely to identify this important Document with that mentioned in Dr. Symmons's Edition of Milton's Prose Works, 1806, vol. vii., p. 500: 'An Answer to a Libel on himself, and a System of Theology, called, according to Wood, '*Idea Theologiae*,' are compositions

<sup>1</sup> Original Papers relating to Milton in the State Paper Office. 1859.

of Milton which have been lost. The last was at one time in the hands of Cyriac Skinner; but what became of it afterwards has not been traced.

“January 1824.

ROB<sup>t</sup> LEMON, *Deputy Keeper of State Papers.*”

“The undersigned Gentlemen, Clerks in His Majesty’s State Paper Office, attest the correctness of the above description, the state in which the Manuscript was found, and the direction on the outside wrapper.

“CHARLES LECHMERE,  
ROB<sup>t</sup> LEMON, JUN<sup>r</sup>.”

“January 1824.

At the same period that a copy of the preceding document was transmitted to Bishop Sumner by the late Mr. Lemon, he forwarded a more lengthened “Account of the recently discovered Posthumous Work of John Milton”; the whole of which is given, though disjoined, by Bishop Sumner in the “*Preliminary Observations*” to his Translation of the Work. In *that* account Mr. Lemon writes :

“It”—the manuscript,—“was found at the bottom of one of the presses at the end of the room (together with a great number of original letters, informations, examinations, and other documents relative to the Popish Plots in 1677 and 1678, and to the Rye House Plot in 1683) wrapped up in two or three sheets of printed paper; in which was also a complete and corrected copy of the whole of the Latin letters<sup>1</sup> to Foreign Princes and States, written by Milton during the period in which

<sup>1</sup> It is due to the diligent and careful research of the late Mr. Lemon to mention that the copies of the STATE LETTERS were most thoroughly examined and collated by him soon after their discovery, as shewn in the subjoined letter :

“State Paper Office, 1827.

“MY LORD,—I have the honour to inform your Lordship that I have finished the collation of the printed edition of Milton’s Letters with the Manuscript Collection in this Office, and now beg leave to submit the following observations to your Lordship’s consideration, as some of the results which may be drawn from the collation.

“In the MS. collection are to be found fourteen letters which do not appear in the printed book, viz. :

- “4 to the King of France,
- 1 to the King of Sweden,
- 1 to the King of Spain,
- 2 to Cardinal Mazarin,
- 1 to the Duke of Savoy,
- 4 to the Great Duke of Tuscany, and
- 1 from the Protector to all Kings, Princes, States, &c., professing the Protestant Religion.

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“In the printed book [*Leipsic Edition*, 1690], thirteen Letters and Papers occur, which are not introduced in the MS. collection. These consist of :

- “2 Letters to the City of Hamburg,
  - 1 „ to the Queen of Sweden,
  - 1 „ to the King of Denmark,
  - 1 „ to the G. Duke of Tusc<sup>y</sup>,
  - 1 „ to the Doge of Venice,
  - 3 „ to the Spanish Legate.
- 
- 9

“The papers consist of the Answer of the Council of State to the Danish Ministers; Reply of the Co. of State to the Ans<sup>r</sup> of the Danish Ministers; Account of the Losses which the E. I. C. have sustained from the D. J. E.; Account of the particular Damages sustained by the E. I. C. Making altogether, between the two collections, a discrepancy of twenty-three Letters in the papers above mentioned.

“From this great variance, it may be conjectured that the compilers of the two Collections derived their materials from different sources; and the internal evidence of the Letters will confirm this supposition; for though the MS.

he held the office of Latin Secretary to the Council of State, and the whole was enclosed in a sheet of torn, dirty brown paper, on which was written, 'To Mr. Skinner, Merchant.'

As the chief object of our research is the elucidation of the autograph in which the volume is written, we quote only that portion of the statement of Mr. Lemon which bears upon the subject :

"The manuscript," writes Mr. Lemon, "consists of 735 pages, closely written on small quarto letter paper. The first Part, as far as the fifteenth chapter of the first Book, is in a small beautiful Italian hand, and is evidently a fair corrected copy, prepared for the press, without interlineations of any kind, which is supposed, from the similarity of character, to have been written by MARY, the second daughter of Milton, who is reported to have possessed extraordinary literary attainments, considering the period in which she lived. The remainder of the manuscript is in an entirely different hand, being a small, strong character, much resembling the writing of E. PHILLIPS, one of Milton's nephews. This part of the manuscript is interspersed with very numerous interlineations and corrections, and in several places with small pieces of writing pasted in, which corrections are in two distinct handwritings, different from the body of the manuscript, but the greater part of them are decidedly written by the same person who transcribed the first part of the volume. It is, therefore, conjectured that the latter part of the manuscript is a copy transcribed by E. PHILLIPS, and finally revised and corrected by MARY and DEBORAH MILTON from the dictation of their father, as a great number of the interlineations bear a strong resemblance to the ascertained handwriting of DEBORAH, the youngest daughter of Milton, in the manuscripts deposited in Trinity College, Cambridge, who is stated by Wood (*Fasti Oxon.*, Part. 1, 1635, col. 683) to have been trained up by her father in Latin and Greek and made by him his amanuensis."

In this account of the Manuscript by Mr. Lemon, dated "January 1824," he appears to have followed the opinion of Wood, that it was CYRIAC SKINNER to whom Milton had entrusted the Documents just brought to light.

In the "Preliminary Observations" to his translation of the "*De Doctrinâ Christianâ*," Bishop Sumner does not appear to have formed any opinion of his own as to the identification of the Autograph of the Manuscript with that of any of the persons who were connected with, or in the confidence of Milton. The learned

collection has evidently been prepared for the press in a hurried and slovenly manner, and abounding in verbal and literal errors, yet many of the variations are of that nature as to be impossible to have arisen from mere negligence or indolence. The titles of the persons and states to whom the Letters are addressed, as well as the ordinary conclusions of the Letters, are generally set forth in the printed book, and never in the MS.; and frequently the names of persons in the capacities of ambassadors, agents, merchants, etc., are mentioned in the former, and not in the latter, and *vice versâ*. Several dates to the Letters, which are omitted in the printed book, are fortunately supplied in the MS.

"I beg to assure your Lordship that the collation has been made with great exactness; and every variation, however trivial, distinctly noticed. Many of the alterations your Lordship will find very unimportant, being merely some words contracted in one copy, and put at full length in the other, as they indifferently occur in both collections.

"Hoping your Lordship will not deem these observations obtrusive or impertinent, I beg to subscribe myself,

"My Lord, your Lordship's

"Most obedient servant,

"ROBERT LEMON."

"To the Right Rev.

"The Lord Bishop of Winchester."



Bishop has merely embodied the opinion of the late Mr. Lemon nearly word for word, as seen in the subjoined extract from the "Preliminary Observations":



THE manuscript itself," states Bishop Sumner, "consists of 735 pages, closely written on small quarto letter paper. The first part, as far as the fifteenth chapter of the first book, is in a small and beautiful Italian hand; being evidently a corrected copy, prepared for the press, without interlineations of any kind. This portion of the volume, however, affords a proof that even the most careful transcription seldom fails to diminish the accuracy of a text; for although it is evident that extraordinary pains have been employed to secure its legibility and correctness, the mistakes which are found in this part of the manuscript, especially in the references to the quotations, are in proportion of fourteen to one as compared with those in the remaining three-fifths of the work. The character is evidently that of a female hand, and it is the opinion of Mr. Lemon, whose knowledge of the handwritings of that time is so extensive that the greatest deference is due to his judgment, that Mary, the second daughter of Milton, was employed as amanuensis in this part of the volume. In corroboration of this conjecture, it may be remarked that some of the mistakes above alluded to are of a nature to induce a suspicion that the transcriber was merely a copyist, or, at most, only imperfectly acquainted with the learned languages. For instance, in p. 19, l. 17 of the Latin volume, the following quotation occurs: Heb. iv. 13, *omnia sunt nuda, et ab intimo patentia oculis ejus*, where in the manuscript the word *patientia* is substituted for *patentia*. This might have been supposed an accidental oversight, occasioned by the haste of the writer; but on turning to the Latin Bible of Junius and Tremellius, which Milton generally uses in his quotations, it will be found that the same error occurs in the edition printed at Geneva, 1630, but not in that printed at London, 1593. This not only seems to fix the precise edition of the Bible from which the texts were copied, but, considering that the mistake is such as could hardly fail to be corrected by the most careless transcriber, provided he understood the sentence, affords a strong presumption that the writer possessed a very moderate degree of scholarship. On the other hand, a great proportion of the errors are precisely such as lead to the supposition that the amanuensis, though no scholar, was to a certain degree acquainted with the language verbally; inasmuch as they generally consist, not of false combinations of letters, but of the substitution of one word for another of nearly similar sound or structure. Of this kind are *gloriæ* for *gratiæ*, *corruentem* for *cor autem*, *nos* for *non*, *in jus* for *ejus*, *re* for *rex*, *imminuitur* for *innuitur*, *in quam* for *inquam*, *iniquam* for *inquam*, *assimulatus* for *assimilatus*, *alienæ tuæ* for *alienatæ*, *cælorum* for *cœcorum*, *decre* for *docere*, *explorentur* for *explerentur*, *examinatis* for *exanimatis*, *juraverunt* for *jejunarunt*, *errare* for *orare*, etc., etc. Faults of this description, especially considering that very few occur of a different class, and taken in connexion with the opinion of Mr. Lemon stated above, will perhaps remind the reader of a charge, which, as Mr. Todd notices, has been brought against the paternal conduct of Milton. 'I mean his teaching his children to read and pronounce Greek and several other languages, without understanding any but English.' This at least is certain, that the transcriber of this part of the manuscript was much employed in Milton's service; for the handwriting is the same as appears in the fair copy of the Latin letters, discovered, as has been mentioned, in the press which contained the present treatise.

"The remainder of the manuscript is in an entirely different hand, being a strong upright character, supposed by Mr. Lemon to be the handwriting of Edward Philipps, the nephew of Milton. This part of the volume is interspersed with numerous interlineations and corrections, and in several places with small slips of writing pasted in the margin. These corrections are in two distinct handwritings, different from the body of the manuscript, but the greater part of them undoubtedly written by the same person who transcribed the first part of the volume. Hence it is probable that the latter part of the MS. is a copy transcribed by Philipps, and finally revised and corrected by Mary and Deborah Milton from the dictation of their father, as many of the alterations bear a strong resemblance to the reputed handwriting of Deborah, the youngest daughter of Milton, in the

manuscripts preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge; who is stated by Wood,—*Fasti Oxonienses*, Part I, 1635, col. 483,—to have been ‘trained up by her father in Latin and Greek, and made by him his amanuensis.’”

It is a question whether any learned man, having to copy out two hundred pages of close and almost illegible writing in a language of which even he was master, might not be guilty, in the plodding and very unusual labour assigned to him, of committing many more blunders than those adduced by the Venerable and learned Bishop Sumner.

Daniel Skinner, the copyist, was a “Trinity Man.” How far his having been so is a guarantee for his classical attainments, is quite another point. Had Daniel Skinner attested that his copy had been carefully read over with the original, and was a correct transcript, we could then only consider that his Collegiate Education had not, so far as his Latin was concerned, been successful, or that the accuracy of his comparison was questionable.

Our artist, Mr. G. J. F. Tupper, very truly observes, when forwarding to us the fac-similes he had made from the original MS. : “With respect to the mistakes, I do not think Bishop Sumner’s conclusion very sound; for you and I know well enough, that, when a man sets to the plodding work of copying, the storehouse of his brain is shut up, and his mental capacity is rather a bar than an assistance to his work. In other words, a Scholar is less likely than a mere penman to transcribe correctly.”



HAT some of the Sonnets in the Trinity College Manuscript are in the same hand as was employed in writing the latter part of the “*De Doctrinâ Christianâ*,” will be clearly shewn in the examination of our fac-similes. There is not, however, as yet one particle of evidence as to any of those Sonnets having been written by DEBORAH, the youngest daughter of Milton, as has been so generally stated and believed.

Without here entering into any arguments to prove that Deborah did not contribute the exercise of her pen to the Trinity College Manuscript, it is sufficient to remark, that she was *not born until May 1652*, and that none of the Sonnets and other writing in that volume *are of a later date than a very few years after that period*; the date given to the last Sonnet, No. 23, “*On his deceased Wife*,” being in, or shortly after 1658, Milton having in February of that year lost his second wife, to whose memory it was written. So that, even taking the latest possible date,—the last writing in the volume,—Deborah must, if her pen was employed, have been a perfect mistress in the art of caligraphy *when six years old!*

It was not until after the issue of the Translation of *De Doctrinâ Christianâ*, that Bishop Sumner became aware that it was not Cyriac Skinner to whom Milton had entrusted the Manuscript and other Documents, but to Daniel Skinner; though Bishop Sumner had some doubt<sup>1</sup> as to whether the Daniel Skinner,

<sup>1</sup> *De Doctrinâ Christianâ*. Preliminary Observations, p. xiv.

mentioned in the register of Trinity College, Cambridge, Oct. 2, 1674, might not be the Skinner referred to by Mr. Perwich in his letter written from Paris, March 15, 1677, to Mr. Bridgman, Secretary to Sir Joseph Williamson.<sup>1</sup>

In November 1825, the late Mr. Lemon appears to have *entirely altered* his opinion as to the *identity* of the handwriting of the Manuscript. In his letters to Bishop Sumner of the 8th and 17th of that year, he seems to have fully satisfied his mind, that the careful transcript of the first portion of the *De Doctrinâ Christianâ* and the whole of the copies of the *State Letters*, were in the autograph of *Daniel Skinner*.

It is very evident that the information conveyed by the late Mr. Lemon to Bishop Sumner of the discoveries he had made in respect to the handwriting of the first portion of the Manuscript not being in the autograph of either of the daughters of the Poet, arrived many months after the publication of the Translation, the dedication of that work bearing date 1825. Had the work passed through another edition, there can be no doubt but the Bishop of Winchester would have most gladly availed himself of the opportunity, not only of stating, that, in forming his opinion of the autograph in the original Manuscript, his views were alone founded on the judgment of the late Mr. Lemon, but of making known the circumstances that had caused the alteration of the former judgment of Mr. Lemon.

That these Manuscripts should have been preserved from destruction during that unhappy period of English History, is perhaps not less remarkable than that Milton himself should have survived the general proscription of Cromwell's adherents.

AUBREY states, that Milton entrusted the MSS. of several of his unpublished works to a "Mr. Skinner, a merchant's son, in Mark Lane," whom Wood, without any authority, assumes to have been *Cyriac*, though Aubrey does not so describe him, but introduces another "Mr. Skinner, of the Jerker's Office, up two pair of stairs, at the Custom House." This was, no doubt, the person to whom Milton entrusted his MSS., and who, on his going to Holland in 1676, gave them to Elsevier for publication, owing to the English Government, on the Restoration, being extremely jealous of everything proceeding from the pen of the great defender of the Commonwealth,—so much so that even *Paradise Lost* was scarcely allowed to appear in print.<sup>2</sup>

One of those Manuscripts comprised the carefully executed copies of the STATE LETTERS written by Milton while he was Latin Secretary to the Commonwealth, of which a surreptitious edition appearing in 1676, created some alarm. "Suspicion," writes Mr. Hamilton,<sup>3</sup> "fell on Daniel Skinner as the author of their publication, and he was called upon to give an account of what he knew of the matter." Accordingly,

<sup>1</sup> *De Doctrinâ Christianâ*. Preliminary Observations, p. xi.

<sup>2</sup> Papers relating to Milton in the State Paper Office. 1859. Pp. 29-30.      <sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, pp. 30-2.

he made an attestation,<sup>1</sup> "dated Oct. 18, 1676," that, long after he had committed "the true and perfect copy of the 'State Letters' to Elsevier, of Amsterdam, for the purpose of being printed, a bookseller of the name of Pitts brought to him some papers of Milton;" and therefore, to the said Pitts, Skinner attributed the issue of the "State Letters" in 1676. In consequence of that document, the original of which is in the State Paper Office, Sir Joseph Williamson, then Secretary, appears to have put himself in communication with Daniel Elsevier, who, in reply to his inquiries, writes on the 20th of December 1676, that,

"Il y a environ un an que je suis convenu avec Monsieur Skinner, d'imprimer les lettres de Milton, et un autre manuscrit en Théologie; mais, ayant reçeu les dits manuscrits, et y ayant trouvé des choses que je jugeois estre plus propres d'estre suppriméz que divulgéz, j'ay pris resolution de n'imprimer n'y l'un n'y l'autre."

On the 19th of February, 1677, Elsevier wrote to Daniel Skinner, senior, at the same time forwarding a Prospectus, which he had previously issued, of the intended edition of the "State Letters;" and acknowledging that the original manuscript of those and of the work on Theology were still in his hands; that he had determined not to print them; and that the son of Mr. Skinner would deliver them up to Sir Joseph Williamson, though in the letter of November 20 in the previous year, Elsevier stated that Daniel Skinner, jun., was delighted that he, Elsevier, had not commenced the printing of the "Letters," and that he would buy up, or call in, the prospectuses issued, adding, "*qu'il avoit pris une ferme resolution d'user en sorte des dits manuscrits qu'ils ne paroistroient jamais.*"

Daniel Skinner had previously written a long letter to Mr. Secretary Pepys, dated from *Rotterdam*, Nov. 19, 1676, detailing all the particulars concerning the said MSS., and stating his willingness "*to dispose of them where his honour pleases, either into the hands of my Lord Jenkyns, or into his own for better satisfaction.*" Notwithstanding this, however, the MSS. remained in the hands of Daniel Skinner, who, on the receipt, at Paris, of a letter from Dr. Barrow, the head of his College, dated Feb. 13, 1677 $\frac{1}{2}$ , ordering his return to Cambridge, and cautioning him, on pain of expulsion from his College, if he published "any writing mischievous of y<sup>e</sup> Church or State," informed Mr. Perwich, the bearer of it, that he had left the MSS. in Holland; and that, notwithstanding the College summons he had received, he intended to pass the summer in Italy.

The precise date when Daniel Skinner returned to England is not clearly ascertained; but as on May 23, 1679, he succeeded to a senior fellowship in his College [Trinity, Cambridge], we may presume, that, before that period, he had deposited the said Manuscript in the State Paper Office; where they no doubt remained unheeded until discovered by the late Robert Lemon, Esq., Deputy Keeper of His Majesty's State Papers.

<sup>1</sup> THE ATTESTATION OF D. SKINNER. Of that document in the State Paper Office, we have given a fac-simile in full, Plate XXIII., No. I.

SPECIMENS OF THE WRITING IN THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT  
OF  
THE TREATISE OF CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE.

PLATES XX. TO XXII.



THE Manuscript has been executed at various times, and on a variety of paper differing in size and quality; the latter circumstance occasionally affects the character of the writing.

Pages 1 to 182 inclusive, are in a thin Italian *cursive* hand; all on quarto paper of the same size and of the same quality. The same hand continues, but on paper of a smaller size, from 183 to 196, and occasionally in other parts of the volume. Pages 308\* and 571 to 574 inclusive are entirely in the same hand; as are also many of the marginal notes and additions inserted on slips of paper at pages 206, 247, 353, 362, 391, 411, 472, and 718.

It is very evident, that, previous to the volume being entrusted by Milton to Daniel Skinner, the latter part was thoroughly revised, Milton taking for granted that the first portion had been carefully copied. The work was, no doubt, written out by the then young Amanuensis, from the rough manuscript as dictated by Milton. The writer, it is certain, had become well skilled in the Secretary hand of the period. It is evident that he occasionally amused himself by displaying the freedom and perfection of his penmanship, making use of a great variety of styles. It is written with particular care, more as a task, and not in his ordinary writing. When called upon, on reading over his transcript to Milton, to make additions, he then, perhaps, used not so good a pen, and being also cramped for room, he inserted the additions chiefly on the margins, which gave them a different character from the original writing.

The first portion of the volume was no doubt found to be so full of corrections and additions, that it was thought better to make a clear copy of it. Mr. Daniel Skinner, to whom that part of the labour was entrusted, appears to have gone over the remainder of the manuscript with the view of preparing it for the press, as is shewn by the end of each chapter being specially noted by him as the Reviser.

After page 196 commences the hand in which the previous portion of the volume had been originally written. It is evidently the writing, as we have stated, of a student, and displays such an infinite variety of styles, that we are not at

all astonished that persons should at first sight not believe the whole to have been written by *one* person, whose handwriting continues, with the exception of the pages previously named, as also pages 549, 550-1-2, to the close of the volume, page 735.

The writing of pages 549, 550-1-2, is of an *ordinary cursive* hand. They were written, evidently, at a different period; probably at a later time, when the usual hand of the person who wrote the other part was not so *free*, and the character of the writing is, therefore, a little altered. That such was the case, is clear, from the circumstance of those four leaves being on a different paper from that previously and subsequently employed.

When first we examined the volume, we could not believe that the thick and bad writing of some of the marginal notes could possibly have been by the *same hand* as had been employed throughout the latter portion of the work. Yet, when we afterwards carefully examined the writing of all the notes, and found the coarser and more careless hand intermixed with the smaller and smallest *round* and *semi-cursive* writing, we could come to no other conclusion than that the *same hand* was employed throughout, but under various circumstances, and at different times.

PLATE XX. SPECIMEN 1.



HIS gives a whole page, 183. It is in the autograph of Daniel Skinner, in which the first portion of the work, as far as page 196, has been transcribed. The whole of that portion is executed in a lighter coloured ink than the other part of the manuscript.

SPECIMEN 2.

The whole of page 197 is here given. It is in the hand of the Amanuensis, who was employed at different times. Here the writing commences with an ornamental and large round hand, the next three lines being in the careful Secretary hand. Then comes the larger hand followed by the smaller, very delicately and carefully written, having in the third line an insertion, "*Et Christus,*" in a thick, coarse style, as used in some of the marginal notes. See specimen 3 in the next plate.

SPECIMEN 2\*.

The Autograph Signature and record of Daniel Skinner, as entered in the Graduation Book of Trinity College, Cambridge, May 23, 1679, when he became a Senior Fellow of that College.

Did not other specimens of his autograph exist, the one here given would of itself have been sufficient to prove the fact that the fair copy of the first portion of the *De Doctrinâ Christianâ*, and the marginal notes and corrections in the same hand as in the latter portion of the volume, were in the autograph of Daniel Skinner.

Homini restituere et Christo

redemptore.

Proindeham Dei in lapu<sup>m</sup> que fuerit, videmus, <sup>hominis</sup> <sub>que</sub> facio venias ut, videri: <sup>me</sup> <sub>que</sub> restituitur quo facio venias ut, videri: <sup>me</sup>

Restitutio hominis est, que is à Deo patre per her-  
ena Christum peccato et male liberato, ad statum  
grate et boni tonie prava vitam quam per veni-  
Dent abiecit est. Rom. 5. 15. al non ubi fuit, ita et dona  
probation: non si unus offense multi nobis sunt, multo magis gratia  
Dei et donata per gratiam, que est unius heri in sola Christi  
in multos extendit. Et 9. 17. etiam si per unam offensam nos requirit  
per unam, multo magis in gratia extendantur illam gratia et donat gratias  
recipiunt, in velle bene facti gratiam bene Christo. ep. 2. 1. i. dem. Ep. 1. 9. 10  
secundum benedictionem eius quod presbiter in se, ut oculos non boni  
in Christo. i. Rom. 5. 8. qui fuit peccator, ex diabolo est; sed hoc mensuris  
factus est filius Dei ut dignetur bene dicitur.

Pariter eius sunt bona pro et reoratio.

Resumptio qua iuxta eternam Dei patris civitatem et gratiam  
Christus in plenitudine temporum minus, subjugis sui prelio sponte  
per

(79)  
May: 23<sup>o</sup>

Daniel Skinner iura pro et admissu in locum majorem.

Caput 15<sup>um</sup>  
Officio mediatoris,  
tripliciter munere.

Natura Christi mediatoris tam divina quam hu-  
mana sic se habet.

Officium eius mediatorium est quo, Deo patre  
ad id designatus, ea omnia libens etiam  
numa prestat, quibus humano generi pace  
apud Deum et sempiterna salus acqui-  
ritur Deo patre designatus.

<sup>videt mens, status mens qui omnia, pro complacitis est. et cap. 6. 1. 1; unicit forams.</sup>  
<sup>hinc nomen dicitur Ap. sal. 2: et angelus forans, Mat. 3. 2: et parate-</sup>  
<sup>bus, 2. Joann. 2. 1; parabolam, SEN dicitur et ab omni, Joann. 1. 1; in pro-</sup>  
<sup>Psal 110. 4; iuravit forans, nos enim prohibet. Rom. 3. 25; quem pro-</sup>  
<sup>stitit Deus. Heb. 5. 4. 5. 6; ita et Christus non ipse sibi eum generem hinc</sup>  
<sup>fuit, ut fieri. et 20. 9. 20; et faciam Deus voluntatem suam,</sup>  
<sup>qua voluntate sacrificabitur. Joann. 3. 16. 17; filium suum dedit</sup>  
<sup>misit in mundum. et v. 34; non adnotatur que spiritum. cap. 6. 27;</sup>  
<sup>quoniam pater obignavit. et 20. 36; quoniam pater sanctificavit, et misit, Gal.</sup>  
<sup>1. 4; qui dedit semetipsum — secundum voluntatem Dei et patris nostri</sup>  
<sup>et filius</sup>





3

Ha Mat. 1. 21. et vocabis nomen eius Iesum. Ipse salvabit populum suum ex peccatis ipsius. <sup>1</sup> Qui John. 1. 9. unigenitum misit Deus in mundum, ut vivamus per eum. <sup>2</sup> 1. Jo. 5. 9. 10. non constituit nos Deus ad iram, sed ad salutem obtinendam per Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum.

191

4

2 Cor. 5. 25. si unus pro omnibus mortuus fuit, nonne omnes fuisse mortuos. id si sequitur, etiam vice versa sequitur, si omnes mortui sunt quia Christus mortuus est pro omnibus, etiam pro omnibus mortuum est, qui mortui sunt; i. e. pro universis. Eph. 1. 10. recolligere omnia in Christo tum quae in caelis sunt, tum quae in terra. Col. 2. 20. ut per eum reconciliaret omnia. Jam ergo in terra sine exceptione omnia quam in caelis. Rom. 5. 10. reconciliati sumus Deo per meritum Filii. hoc tamen falso, non videtur quo pacto qui filium dixerit eum Patre essentia esse velunt, eius vel incarnationem, vel jans<sup>en</sup> fusionem possint saltem expedire.

192

5

Mat 2. 56. Sic enim scriptum est per prophetam, dicit dicit dicit qui pascit populum israel.

202

6

Uti praefertim Rom. 5. 19. Sicuti unus inobedientia multi facti sunt peccatores, ita quis, <sup>hic</sup> negaverit multos esse omnes?

212

7

Ex Praestituto ipsius: Rom. 8. 28, 29, 30. sp. praestituto ipsius vocati. 2 Tim. 1. 9. vocatione sancta ex suo proposito et gratia.

223

8

non enim in hoc sita perfectio <sup>erat</sup> ut bona omnia ~~et~~ vendat, quod in dicitur nonnulli fecerunt, sed ut ~~Christum~~ <sup>Christum</sup> sequeretur.

471

9

Matth. 7. 15, 16. Nihil est extra hominem ingrediens in illum quod possit eum polluere &c. et ratio redditur v. 19. Quia non ingreditur in cor eius sed ventriculum &c.

531

10

Ex Prov. 14. 29: Tardus ad iram abundat sapientia. Procerps autem excitat & turbationem. Et cap. 16. 32: Melior est longanimis robusto, & qui dominatur in Animum suum, eo qui capit Civitatem. & cap. 19. 11: Intellectus hominis longanimitatem efficit eum & ornamentum est fori pacis. Rom. 12. 19. Neque sitis ulciscentes Vos ipsos Dilecti mei: Neque locum date irae. 1 Pet. 3. 9: Non reddentes malum pro malo.

647



omnia non dantur; omnia mihi libent, at non  
 quaquam ego rodigam sub ullius rei potestatem.  
 et 10. 23. omnia mihi libent, at non omnia con-  
 runt; omnia mihi libent, sed non omnia adifi-  
 cant. 2 epist. 3. 3. non in tabulis lapideis, sed in

Ministri sunt divinitus missi ad ec-  
 cesiam Christi varie administranda

Anno ne matris quidem ecclesie venerando  
 nomini attribuere minimum debemus. Reg. 2. 2. 2. tem-  
 poritate sum matris vestra, contemto, ipsam non esse  
 uxorem meam, et me non esse virum ipsius; ut amoro  
 at jentationis suae; nisi mysticum duntaxat  
 Erubesciam intelligimus et coelestem Gal. 4. 2  
 illa verba quae sussum est. Hic est saltem libera  
 est, quae est mater omnium nostrorum.

Verfatur autem disciplina commiseratio, et in iusticia  
 piensis leniter tractandis infirmis aut lapsis Rom. 14  
 2; cum qui fides est infirmus estemito; non tamen ad alter-

sculptura artificij et exogitationis honorum,  
 num on ego simile Rom. 1. 23, 24; mutarent  
 gloriam incorruptibilis Dei in offermatam  
~~imaginem corruptibilis hominis~~  
~~Sicut enim corruptibilis est homo, et in gloria non corrumpitur~~  
~~ut non corrumpitur gloria, et in gloria non corrumpitur homo~~  
 Sive falsi. Numer. 33. 5-2. prodotis omnes  
 ofegios eorum, et omnes imagines fictas eorum  
 prodotis; omniaq; excolta eorum destruetis, --  
 Deut. 7. 5, 25; et 12. 2, 3. idem. Et his praecoptis  
 pij magistatus idololatram oppugnant:  
 Moses, Aza, 2 Chron. 14. 3, et 15. 8 etc; Josphat, Ero  
 = Elias, Josias; 2 Reg. 23, 2 Chron. 34. 4 etc. Totus  
 populus 2. Chron. 23. 17, et 31. 1.

Cherubini idola non sunt dicendi: nec doore,  
 sed ministrantium Deo speciem super arcam,  
 praebuerunt: itaq; nec eos quisquam coluit; et  
 peculiariter praecopto Dei fabricati sunt.

Serpens anorus Christi typus fuit; et  
 tamen postquam adorari coepit, con-  
 minutus est, 2 Reg. 18. 4; contudit stiam

serpentem anorum quem fecerat Moyses,  
 Mala

hinc cultus veri Dei sub idolo non levius cultoribus imputatur, quam si demonia colerent  
 2 Chron. 11. 15. statuerat sibi sacerdotes pro oculis pro demonibus, et pro idolis quos fecerat. Et tamen, <sup>hab</sup> statuerat  
 non nisi heretice sacerdotes putabat se statuisse, etq; sacerdotes is qui non sunt Dei.



## PLATE XXI. SPECIMENS 3 TO 10



EXHIBIT the various styles in which the marginal additions are written. The peculiar thick and coarse hand, specimen 3, is at once seen to be the same as that of the insertion of the words "*Et Christus,*" in specimen 2 in the preceding plate.

Specimen 4 is remarkable as exemplifying, except the large text, every other style of writing; while the other specimens, 6 and 10, shew the same cursive hand in different states of penmanship.

## PLATE XXII. SPECIMEN 11.



PAGE 319 is written with the lines far apart, and in a remarkably flourishing style, of which specimen 11 gives the first five lines.

## SPECIMEN 12.

Two lines in this peculiar, large text, from the centre of page 376. Here we desire particular attention to the formation of the capital M in the word *Ministri*. The M, similarly formed, occurs in many other portions of the volume. It is, beyond all question, identical with that of the signature of the Poet as attached to the *Singer Document* bearing date 1660. Of that signature we have given a notice, p. 129, and a fac-simile, plate XVIII., No. II., specimen 4, and again in plate XXIII., No. V., specimen 1. It is not, however, that the identity of the writing is seen in the letter M. The autograph of the whole name is precisely the same as is frequently found intermixed with the various styles of writing in the latter portion of the *De Doctrinâ Christianâ*, of which a more satisfactory specimen, in confirmation of the identity of the writings, could not be given than in the specimen 12 under consideration, from page 376.

The date, "7th May, 1660," is in the same handwriting; but not so, we think, the words "*witness my hand and seale this.*"

## SPECIMEN 13.

From the text of p. 401. Here we have the *partly cursive* hand as used in specimen 10, and the coarser style as in the marginal note, p. 198, specimen 3.

## SPECIMEN 14.

The whole of p. 426 is written in this beautiful and most careful style, some parts being exceedingly minute, forcibly shewing the well-skilled caligraphy of the Amanuensis.

## SPECIMEN 15.

We have previously stated that pp. 549-552 inclusive have been apparently rewritten and inserted at a later period than the writing of the remainder of the volume. We have also stated that the writing bears evidence of having been executed

more in the ordinary hand of the writer. That the hand is the *same*, may be at once seen in the peculiar formation of the *capital* R in the finer writing in the second line of specimen 14 and elsewhere; while the partially erased insertion after the fourth line of p. 552, specimen 15, proves that the writer was still capable of using his pen in the minute hand. Daniel Skinner, however, to whom Milton had entrusted the work, not feeling satisfied with the clearness of the interlineary note, recopied it in the margin, as seen in the fac-simile of the page.

## PLATE XXIII. SPECIMEN 1.



HERE is a fac-simile of the Attestation of Daniel Skinner particularly mentioned at p. 160, in connexion with the publication of the "State Letters" of Milton, written during the period of his duties as Latin Secretary. The fac-simile is here given to prove the identity of the writing with that of the first portion of the *De Doctrinâ Christianâ*.

## SPECIMEN 2.

Here we have the commencement and ending of the letter written by DANIEL ELSEVIER, also referred to page 160, in connexion with the same "State Letters." It is interesting as a specimen of the Autograph of a man so distinguished in the Annals of the Literature of the Seventeenth Century.

## SPECIMEN 3.

At page 160 we have noted that Dr. Barrow, the Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, wrote to Daniel Skinner, Feb. 13, 167 $\frac{2}{7}$ ; on which day he addressed his friend "Mr. George Seignior, at Ely House, in Holborne, London." Both these letters are among the "Domestic Papers" in the State Paper Office. They are printed in "Papers relating to Milton," edited, 1859, by Mr. W. Douglas Hamilton, pp. 40-1. The commencement and ending of the second letter are here merely given as a specimen of the autograph of the learned theologian Dr. Barrow.

## Nos. IV. AND V. SPECIMENS 1 TO 5.

The specimens in No. V. are taken from pp. 228, 283, 363, 364, and 631. They are merely given to shew the identity of the writing of the latter portion of the *De Doctrinâ Christianâ* with that of the signature, No. IV., from the Singer Document, of which we have given a detailed account at page 129.

That Mr Pitts Book seller in Pauls Church yard  
 to the best of my remembrance about 4 or 5 months ago  
 told me he had met with a Book of some of Mr Miltons  
 papers, and that if I would procure an agreement to print  
 the same And Elsewhere at Amsterdam (to whose care I had  
 long before committed the true perfect copy of the said Book  
 & he printed) he would communicate them to my personal  
 use. If I would not, he would proceed his own body and  
 make the best advantage of it; soe that in all probability  
 if not proceeding Elsewhere's concurrence with him, and this  
 impossible it should be otherwise, Mr Pitts has been the man  
 by whose means this late imperfect surreptitious copy  
 has been published. I affect this to be true.

Oct 1. 18. 1676

Sam: Skinner

Witness my hand & Seale this.

John Milton

1. Jacob. Math. 28

2. John Marc. 16

3. Justifica-  
Joann.

4. Moses Joana  
Matthias in

5. August  
Matrim

6. Joannes  
Math. 20

Monsieur

J'ay environ un an que je suis envenimee  
 Monsieur Skinner d'un qu'on me l'essaye  
 Milton et un autre manuscrit en Theologie.

\* \* \* \* \*

Barthelemy Lumbler et Frederic  
sont leurs auteurs

Daniel Elzevier

D'Amsterdam le 20me  
November 1676.

.III.

Dear Sir

I doe heartily thank you for your care of my com-  
 ments, and of the College interest. I am so my for the  
 miscarriage of that old young man, to whom I have  
 friends and servant

Feb. 13. 1677.

Isaac Barron

.V.







P to the penning of the ensuing observations, February 14, 1860, we have not had the opportunity of examining any writing in the autograph<sup>1</sup> either of Edward or John Phillips, or of Daniel Skinner,<sup>2</sup> or of Elwood the Quaker; all of whom had more or less immediate intercourse with Milton to a late period of his life, when wholly dependent upon the assistance of others in recording the productions of his marvellously active mind.

Nor have we been gratified with what we have been anticipating with so much delight since the period we were first permitted to make use of the Trinity College Manuscript. We here allude to the examination of the ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT of the FIRST BOOK of PARADISE LOST, from which the FIRST EDITION is said to have been printed. That Manuscript, together with many other papers of considerable literary interest, is now in the possession of William Baker, Esq., of Bayfordbury near Hertford; but in consequence of a domestic calamity in the family of Mr. Baker, we were then prevented from paying our anticipated visit to that gentleman, through the very kind introduction of our friend, the Rev. W. L. Lawson, of Queynton Rectory, Winslow, Bucks.



WHILE waiting, therefore, for the opportunity of visiting Bayfordbury, to examine the said Manuscript of *Paradise Lost*, we proceed with an attempt to investigate, what cannot fail to be interesting,—not in the actual Elucidation of the Autograph of the Poet,—but in ascertaining, if possible, in whose hand the latter part of the *De Doctrinâ Christianâ* is executed, as well as other writings in the same hand; hitherto supposed by some to

be that of DEBORAH, the youngest daughter, and by others, of EDWARD PHILLIPS, the eldest nephew of the Poet.

Before, however, we proceed to enter upon the subject of the handwriting, it may not be uninteresting to relate the particulars touching the loss sustained by the Poet in being deprived of his sight.

<sup>1</sup> Since then we have had the good fortune to purchase a copy of the 1665 edition of Baker's "*Chronicle of the Kings of England.*" It had been presented to the then Bishop of London, and has on the fly-leaf an inscription in the Autograph of Edward Phillips. The edition

was considerably enlarged by him, and is the first that bears his name as Editor. A fac-simile of the inscription is given in plate XXIV., No. 1.

<sup>2</sup> The specimens of his attested Autograph, as given in plate XXIV., have been taken since.

## THE BLINDNESS OF MILTON.



IN the AUTOBIOGRAPHY<sup>1</sup> of the Poet,—occasioned by the severity of the personal attacks of his political opponents against his private character, commencing even with the malicious reports that had been most unwarrantably circulated as to his conduct when at College,—Milton has so charmingly alluded to the cause of the truly melancholy affliction of his total blindness, that it really appears a matter of supererogation to enter into that point, except for the purpose of ascertaining, as near as possible, the period when he was necessitated to lay down his most active pen, transferring its future employment to the hands of others, under the guidance of a mind that became more and more stored with intellectuality when deprived of the use of that organ by which all external objects are, as in Nature, conveyed to the mind.

It is generally considered that a Blind Man is happy and contented. That must, however, depend in a great measure upon the circumstances under which he lost his sight. Those who have been subjected to such an affliction from their birth, are, as they grow up, generally the happiest and most contented of all human beings.

Though believing in a special providence, we can hardly bring the mind to view a man born blind as having been so born by the will of his Creator. Otherwise, all defects in nature, and her occasional monstrosities, must be referred to and looked upon as the result of a special providence, and for a specific end. How far such an opinion is justified is a grave point. St. John, chap. i., verse 3, records, "All things were made by Him, and without Him was not anything made that was made." This passage, however, may be regarded as retrospective.

Very different, however, may be the feelings of those who have become blind from accident, or by the early decay of visual power, consequent on the overstraining of its natural strength. They cannot help feeling occasionally during the remainder of their lives, that, however much they may be blessed with peaceful and contented minds, they have been deprived of one of the greatest blessings of life by an accident that might have been avoided, or that their affliction had been the result of their own imprudence.

MILTON has in his poetical productions so sublimely recorded his own feelings of happiness under his affliction of total blindness, that, notwithstanding some slight conflicting evidence to the contrary, it is hardly right to question his title to have been considered, in the usual acceptation of the words, "*a happy and contented man.*"

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 26-31 ante.



WONDERFULLY marvellous and inscrutable is the Providence of the Almighty in changing the feelings of the Heart of Man. Specially may the case of Milton be attributed to the Influence of the Holy Spirit. The mind is most forcibly impressed with this idea on reading the life of the Poet when commencing his studies as a Boy;—tracing his pursuits until he entered into Public Life;—viewing the part he took for so many years in the Political Drama of his day;—looking at the unhappy state of his Domestic Life;—weighing his position when he found that the labours of his heart and of his overstrained pen had produced nothing but Rebellion and Blood; a scene so soon to be followed by the restoration of his exiled King, against which act, even up to the last moment of hope, the energies of his mind had been concentrated;—reflecting on his providential deliverance from that Death which others far less guilty had suffered;—remembering the magnanimity of his King in considering the affliction under which he was suffering, as a sufficient Punishment for his past offences;—viewing him in his peaceful retirement, when occupying his mind in the fulfilment of one of his earliest Desires ere he forsook his Muse;—rejoicing in his being permitted to complete that, his imperishable Poem, *Paradise Lost*, which had he not been so mercifully spared, would have remained only in the form as originally suggested to the mind of the Poet forty years before,—a Monument of the Instability of Human Nature.

All these circumstances cause the mind to view the Actions of Man as guided by the power of an inscrutable Providence. Not only was Milton permitted to pour out in one continuous stream, from his marvellously overflowing poetic mind, his loved design, but to add, what he himself more highly esteemed, his PARADISE REGAINED.<sup>2</sup> Then, like the stem of the time-beaten oak deprived of all its branches, yielding to the decay of nature, did the Poet Milton close his life in the full expectation and belief that the part he had been destined to take in his mortal career would be mercifully judged by his Creator.

Milton is stated to have died on Sunday the 8th of November, 1674. His death was so easy, that the time of his expiration was unperceived by the attendants in his room. He was buried next his father, in the chancel of St. Giles's, Cripplegate, on the 12th. His name is entered in the register of that parish as "John Melton, gentleman." In "The Obituary of Richard Smyth, Secondary of the Poultry Compter, London, 1627 to 1674; edited by Sir Henry Ellis, K.H., for the Camden Society, 1849, No. XLIV.," the death of the Poet is recorded as having taken place seven days earlier. The entry, p. 104, is, "*Novem. 15,*<sup>3</sup> *John Milton died at Bun-*

<sup>1</sup> See fac-similes of the Original Design of the Poem, plate IV. —o—

<sup>2</sup> All Authors and Artists believe their last productions to be superior to their earlier works, though the world generally judges otherwise.

<sup>3</sup> Peignot, in his "*Dictionnaire, &c., des Livres condamnés au Feu*," vol. i., p. 320, when writing on the Defence by Milton, notes that the Poet died "*à Brunnhil, le 15 Novembre, 1674.*" Peignot considered that Milton received £1000 for that work.

*hill near Morefields in Criplegate parish, blind some time before he died.*" Aubrey, "Letters," III., 449, records that "he died of the goute struck in the 9 or 10 November, 1674, as appears by his 'Apothecaries' Books.' Johnson says about the 10th of November; and Mr. Hayley on the 15th."



HAT Milton was in the habit of employing a Friend or Amanuensis before he was blind, is proved by the fact of one of his Sonnets, No. VIII. in the Trinity College Manuscript, having been corrected by himself, as seen in the alteration in the heading to that Sonnet, of which an Electro-Block fac-simile is given, page 57.

The person by whom the transcript of Sonnets 11, 12, and others in the same volume, were executed, appears first to have made corrections at the dictation of the author; and then, as in the case of Sonnets 11 and 12, to have rewritten them more carefully for the press, as shewn in the edition of 1673; except that, in some instances, the headings of the Sonnets are altered, or altogether omitted.

The Learned Historian, and one of the Biographers of Milton, Dr. Birch, has recorded,<sup>1</sup> that, when visiting Mrs. Foster, granddaughter to the poet, in January 1749-50, she shewed him "her grandmother's Bible in octavo,<sup>2</sup> printed by Young in 1636, on a blank leaf of which Milton has entered, with his own hands, the births of his children." The last entry is that of his youngest daughter, Deborah, dated May 2, 1652. Below these entries was noted, in the autograph of his wife, "*I am the book of Mary Milton.*"

If the entry, May 2, 1652, is in the autograph of the Poet, then it is very certain he was at that time not totally blind. Had the entry not been in the autograph of the Poet, it is most likely Dr. Birch would have so stated.

Edward Phillips, in his Memoir, 1694, pp. xxxiii-iv, states, when alluding to the second marriage of his Uncle,

"This, his Second Marriage [November 1656], was about Two or Three years after his being wholly depriv'd of Sight, which was just going, about the time of his Answering *Salmasius*; whereupon his Adversaries gladly take occasion of imputing his blindness as a judgment upon him for his Answering the King's Book, etc., whereas it is most certainly known, that his Sight, what with his continual Study, his being subject to the Head-ake, and his perpetual tampering with Physick to preserve it, had been decaying for above a dozen years before, and the sight of one for a long time clearly lost."

Toland, one of the earliest of his biographers, records :

"He had become utterly blind two or three years before his second marriage, having lost the use of his left eye in 1651, and, according to his biographers, 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

<sup>1</sup> MILTON. A Sheaf of Gleanings after his Biographers and Commentators. By Joseph Hunter. 1850, 8vo., p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> We have no trace as to whom the copy of the Bible now belongs to.

in Thurloe's *State Papers* there is the following passage in a letter from the Hague, dated 20 Junii, 1653: 'Vous avez en Angleterre un aveugle nommé Milton, qui a le renom d'avoir bien eserit.'

In a letter,<sup>1</sup> dated December 13, 1652, "To RICHARD HETH," one of his former pupils, Milton writes :

"Your future communications may, if you please, be in our own language, lest (though you are no mean proficient in Latin composition) the labour of writing should make each of us more averse to write; and that we may freely dislose every sensation of our hearts without being impeded by the shackles of a foreign language."

If the expression in the words, "*the labour of writing*," here means the exercise of the pen, it is clear that Milton was, though almost blind, still able to write. In the next of the "Familiar Letters," No. XIV., dated July 6, 1654, "To HENRY OLDENBURGH, Aulic Counsellor of the Senate of Bremen," the Poet remarks :

"If my health, and the deprivation of my sight, which is more grievous than all the infirmities of age, or of the cries of those impostors, will permit, I shall readily be led to engage in other undertakings, though I know not whether they can be more noble or more useful; for what can be more noble or more useful than to vindicate the liberty of man?"

In the Letter, No. XV., dated from "*Westminster, Sept. 28, 1654*," "To LEONARD PHILARAS, the Athenian," it is evidently seen by the subjoined extract, that Milton had not at that period abandoned all hope of recovering the use of his right eye :



HOUGH I was known to you only by my writings, and we were removed to such a distance from each other, you most courteously addressed me by letter; and when you unexpectedly came to London, and saw me who could no longer see, my affliction, which causes none to regard me with greater admiration, and perhaps many even with contempt, excited your tenderest sympathy and concern.

"You would not suffer me to abandon the hope of recovering my sight; and informed me that you had an intimate friend at Paris, Doeter Thevenot, who was particularly celebrated in disorders of the eyes, whom you would consult about mine, if I would enable you to lay before him the causes and symptoms of the complaint. I will do what you desire, lest I should seem to reject that aid which perhaps may be offered me by Heaven. It is now, I think, about ten years since I perceived my vision to grow weak and dull; and at the same time I was troubled with pain in my kidneys and bowels, accompanied with flatulency. In the morning, if I began to read, as was my custom, my eyes instantly ached intensely, but were refreshed after a little corporeal exercise. The candle which I looked at, seemed as it were encircled with a rainbow. Not long after, the sight in the left part of the left eye (which I lost some years before the other) became quite obscured; and prevented me from discerning any object on that side. The sight in my other eye has now been gradually and sensibly vanishing away for about three years; some months before it had entirely perished, though I stood motionless, everything which I looked at seemed in motion to and fro. A stiff eloudy vapour seemed to have settled on my forehead and temples, which usually occasions a sort of somnolent pressure upon my eyes, and particularly from dinner till the evening. So that I often recollect what is said of the poet Phineas in the *Argonautics* :—

'A stupor deep his eloudy temples bound,  
And when he walk'd he seem'd as whirling round,  
Or in a feeble trance he speechless lay.'

<sup>1</sup> Familiar Letters, No. XIII.

I ought not to omit that while I had any sight left, as soon as I lay down on my bed and turned on either side, a flood of light used to gush from my closed eyelids. Then, as my sight became daily more impaired, the colours became more faint, and were emitted with a certain inward crackling sound; but at present, every species of illumination being, as it were, extinguished, there is diffused around me nothing but darkness, or darkness mingled and streaked with an ashy brown. Yet the darkness in which I am perpetually immersed, seems always, both by night and day, to approach nearer to white than black; and when the eye is rolling in its socket, it admits a little particle of light, as through a chink. And though your physician may kindle a small ray of hope, yet I make up my mind to the malady as quite incurable; and I often reflect, that, as the wise man admonishes, days of darkness are destined to each of us, the darkness which I experience, less oppressive than that of the tomb, is, owing to the singular goodness of the Deity, passed amid the pursuits of literature and the cheering salutations of friendship. But if, as is written, 'Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth from the mouth of God,' why may not any one acquiesce in the privation of his sight, when God has so amply furnished his mind and his conscience with eyes? While he so tenderly provides for me, while he so graciously leads me by the hand, and conducts me on the way, I will, since it is his pleasure, rather rejoice than repine at being blind. And, my dear Philaras, whatever may be the event, I wish you adieu with no less courage and composure than if I had the eyes of a lynx."

Lamartine gives the subjoined very interesting extract of a letter from Milton to a friend, a foreigner, in which, as in the preceding letter, the Poet again alludes to the employment of his youthful Amanuensis. The letter is not among those published in the "Familiar Letters," nor does Lamartine state whence he obtained his copy of it.

"They charge me with poverty, because I have never desired to become rich dishonestly; they accuse me of blindness, because I have lost my eyes in the service of liberty; they tax me with cowardice, and while I had the use of my eyes and my sword I never feared the boldest amongst them; finally, I am upbraided with deformity, while no one was more handsome in the age of beauty. I do not even complain of my want of sight; in the night with which I am surrounded, the light of the Divine presence shines with a more brilliant lustre. God looks down upon me with more tenderness and compassion, because I can now see none but Himself. Misfortune should protect me from insult and render me sacred, not because I am deprived of the light of heaven, but because I am under the shadow of the Divine wings which have enveloped me with this darkness. To that alone I attribute the assiduous kindness of my friends, their consoling attentions, their frequent, cordial visits, and their respectful complaisance." "My devotion to my country,"—he again writes in another letter to the same friend,—“has scarcely rewarded me, and yet that sweet name of country charms me still. Adieu! I pray you to excuse the inaccurate Latin of this letter. The child to whom I am compelled to dictate it, is ignorant of that language, and I spell every syllable over to him, that you may be enabled to read my inmost soul.”<sup>1</sup>

Inasmuch as all the information conveyed by the learned biographers of Milton in their own more dilated and elegant language, has been founded upon what has been given in the preceding authorities, it appears quite needless to quote their views in support of any statements here mentioned, derived from the original sources, on the cause and period of the blindness of the Poet, concerning which more particulars are not likely ever to be obtained.

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs of Celebrated Characters*, by Alphonse de Lamartine. 2 vols., 1854. *Milton*, vol. ii., p. 16.

## THE AMANUENSES OF MILTON CONSIDERED.



HERE is something peculiarly touching in the idea of the youngest daughter of Milton employing her pen in writing, at the dictation of her father, then totally bereft of sight, the immortal lines of his PARADISE LOST. We can imagine with what enthusiasm and reverential awe she would inscribe those Heaven-born conceptions which have perpetuated his name amongst England's Sublimest Poets. The supposed fact has been chronicled by his Biographers, and sculptured and pencilled by eminent Artists. But, alas! like many other fallacies, it derives its origin more from the imagination than from reality.

Painful, therefore, as must be the duty of dissipating an illusion so universally believed, we proceed to examine upon what authority the generally allowed fact is based. We discover, first, that it has no other foundation than the hearsay testimony of the antiquarian author, AUBREY,<sup>1</sup> who, mentioning the marriage, in his biographical Memoranda of the Poet, states :

"He married his first wife . . . . Powell, of Fost-Hill in Oxonshire. She was a zealous Royalist, and went w<sup>h</sup>out her husband's consent to her mother in the King's quarters. She went from him to her mothers at . . . . . in y<sup>e</sup> King's quarters, neer Oxford.] She dyed A<sup>o</sup> D<sup>n</sup>. . . ."

"A<sup>o</sup> D<sup>n</sup>. . . . . [sic] by whom he had 4 children. Hath two daughters living; *Deborah was his amanuensis*: he taught her Latin, and to reade Greeke, 'and Hebrew, qu. *erased*' to him when he lost his eie sight, w<sup>ch</sup> was A<sup>o</sup> D<sup>n</sup>. . . ."

Such is the scanty information conveyed by Aubrey in the very loosely written biographical Memoranda relating to the Poet, in respect to his youngest daughter having been his AMANUENSIS. Had Aubrey merely recorded that the youngest Daughter of Milton had been able, at an early period of her life, to be of some assistance to her father in the employment of her pen, such a fact might have been thoroughly understood. But when he states that "*Deborah was his Amanuensis,*"

<sup>1</sup> These Memoranda by Aubrey are the earliest on record, save those of far more value and importance in the autobiography of Milton, embodied in his Second Defence of the People of England, first printed in 1652. The Memoranda are in the autograph of Aubrey, and are preserved in the Ashmolean Library at Oxford.

Antiquarian Authors in those days were not

very particularly accurate in all the minutiae they desired to record. Nowhere else is it stated that the Wife of Milton left him without his consent. She lengthened her visit to her parents far beyond the time named by him. That circumstance first caused the breach; coolness followed, and the separation ensued.

one can have no alternative but to receive the expression in the fulness of its meaning; namely, that to her alone was confided the occupation of writing at the dictation of her Father.

In the extract from Aubrey it is seen that no dates are inserted, and that even the Christian name of the first wife of the Poet is not mentioned. Aubrey was wrong in stating that only two of the Daughters of Milton survived the Poet. A few lines after we find that Aubrey relates that,

<sup>sc. at 4 o'clock mane,</sup>  
 "He was an early riser, yea, after he lost his sight. He had a man [to] read to him. The first thing he read was the Hebrew Bible, and that was at 4 h. mane  $\frac{3}{4}$  h [sic]. + . . then he contemplated. At 7 his man<sup>1</sup> came to him again, and then read to him and wrote till dinner; the writing was as much as the reading. His 2<sup>d</sup> daughter, Deborah, could read to him Latin, Ital. and French and Greeke."

In this extract we learn that "*his man*" came to him daily, and that he was as much occupied in *writing* as in *reading*. Aubrey here gives no dates; but as he mentions Deborah Milton, we must presume he considered she was still with her Father, though her occupation as *Amanuensis* had been superseded by the employment of *a man* in that capacity. Had this man been any friend of the Poet, we have a right to presume Aubrey would not have styled him "*a man*."

After having recorded these and a few other trifling memoranda, Aubrey begins again with other notices, first entering the date of the birth of the Poet, which in his previous Memoranda he had omitted, evidently from his want of knowledge on that point. Following that, he adds, as if from the information of the Nephew of Milton,

"From Mr. E. Phillips:—'His invention was much more free and easie in the equinoxes than in the solstices; as he more particularly found in writing his *Paradise Lost*. Mr. Edw. Phillips (his nephew and then amanuensis) hath, *erased*.' All the time of writing his *Paradise Lost*, his veine began at the Autumnall Equinoctiall, and ceased at the Vernall, or thereabouts (I believe about May), this was 4 or 5 yeares of his doeing it. He began about 2 yeares before the K. came in, and finished about 3 yeares after the K.'s restauration."

"In the 2<sup>d</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup>, *erased*" [4th] booke of *Paradise Lost*, there are about 6 verses of Satan's exclamation to the sun, w<sup>ch</sup> Mr. E. Phi. remembers about 15 or 16 yeares before ever his Poem was thought of; w<sup>ch</sup> verses were intended for the beginning of a tragœdie, w<sup>ch</sup> he had designed, but was diverted from it by other besinesse."

Here it is seen that Aubrey had considered that Edward Phillips was Amanuensis to his Uncle during the period of the composition of *Paradise Lost*.

E. Phillips, in the Memoir of his Uncle published in 1694, makes no mention whatever of either of the Daughters of the Poet having been employed as his Amanuensis, nor of himself having been so. He is quite silent on that point.

While we take leave to allude to the occasional inaccuracies of Aubrey in his very few notes, we have been equally observant of those made by E. Phillips; see p. 24. In addition to the inaccuracies of the latter, we notice that he records

<sup>1</sup> That Milton had a professional Amanuensis before he was really blind, is evident from the statement of Edward Phillips,—Memoir, 1694,

p. xxxiv.—that "he wrote by his *Amanuensis* his Two Answers to Alexander More, the first edition of First Defence appearing in 1651."



the birth of his Uncle as taking place in 1606 in lieu of 1608; and that he died in November 1673 instead of 1674. It is, however, a question whether ten sons or ten nephews in a hundred, would, in a piece of off-hand biography, not commit errors of a similar nature; and, in respect to the Memoranda made by Aubrey, it must be borne in mind that they were probably intended only as materials for a more extended Memoir of Milton at a future time. As such only are they deserving of being referred to as of authority.

In mentioning *Paradise Lost*, E. Phillips records, p. xxxvi. :

"There is another very remarkable Passage in the Composure of this Poem, which I have a particular occasion to remember; for whereas I had the perusal of it from the very beginning; for some years as I went from time to time to visit him, in a Parcel of Ten, Twenty, or Thirty Verses at a time, which being Written by whatever hand came next, might possibly want Correction as to the Orthography and Pointing; having as the Summer came on, not been shewed any for a considerable while, and desiring the reason thereof, was answered, That his Vein never happily flow'd, but from the *Autumnal Equinoctial* to the *Vernal*, and that whatever he attempted was never to his satisfaction, though he courted his fancy never so much; so that in all the years he was about this Poem, he may be said to have spent but half his time therein."<sup>1</sup>

In the Picture Gallery of this year, 1860, at The Crystal Palace, Sydenham, there is a painting, by Henry Anelay, representing a Soldier writing at the dictation of Milton. On inquiring of the Artist what authority he had for his design, he informs us that he took the idea from the preceding fact recorded by E. Phillips. It is a very clever and admirably painted Memorial of the Poet.

The fact of Milton having stated, in a letter<sup>2</sup> to PETER HEINBACH, dated "August 15, 1666," that the cause of the many errors in his *Paradise Lost*, was owing to the total ignorance of the boy by whom it was written, is no proof whatever that the Poet was at that period without the means of obtaining, or that he had not, an Amanuensis on whom he could rely. It may have happened that his Amanuensis was at that time absent; and that, as Milton was desirous of sending the letter to his friend, he was glad to avail himself of the first he could obtain to write it for him. The dictation of a letter in Latin, "not the words, but the letters, one by one, of which they were composed," must have been so irksome to Milton, that we cannot suppose that the boy mentioned by him was the only person who aided him in what was one of the few consolations of his declining years.

<sup>1</sup> We know not from what edition of the Memoir, Mr. Keightley has copied, p. 73, this extract. His differs in the wording, in many instances, from that in the edition of 1694. In giving a quotation from any work, the original, in all respects, should, we think, be strictly adhered to, if the extract is to be considered

hereafter as an authority. We do not mean to infer that Mr. Keightley has done more than to modernize and alter a few words, to make, in his opinion, the meaning of the original clearer.

<sup>2</sup> Familiar Letters, No. XXXI.



HE DAUGHTERS OF MILTON. Most painful would be the task of entering into a minute investigation as to the truth of Milton having acted unnaturally to his Daughters, or of his Daughters having treated their Father with neglect. Milton is not the first most learned man, who, from having been almost entirely absorbed by his studies, has been accused of utterly neglecting the education of his children. He had indulged the hope, when marrying his first wife, that he would have possessed in her a suitable companion. He found, however, as thousands of others have done before and after him, that, under the seductive charms of outward beauty, there was an absence of all capability to receive and communicate that intellectual enjoyment which he fondly anticipated would form much of their mutual happiness. Great was his disappointment. He had married the daughter of a Royalist,—one whose opinions were totally opposite to his own. She was, no doubt, influenced in her consent to the marriage, by the fame and personal appearance of Milton, who was at that time stated to have been remarkably handsome. She soon discovered that she had married one in whose pursuits she had neither the inclination nor the ability to participate. She therefore, within a few weeks after her union with the Poet, obtained his consent to pay a visit to her parents; and it is more than probable, that, had she not heard of his attachment to another Lady, whom he was in hopes, by an alteration in the law of Divorce, to marry, she would never have rejoined him.

The circumstances of the reunion of Milton with his wife, in 1645, after a separation of two years, have been already amply detailed; see pp. 20-1. Whatever may be the opinion of some of his biographers, there is no evidence<sup>1</sup> to prove, that, after Milton had received back his wife, he had cause to repent of an act which could not but be hailed by his friends as one worthy of his noble nature. He was not, however, destined long to participate in the mutual comforts of his then happy state. His Wife died in 1652, leaving him three infant children.

Thus was Milton,—then Latin Secretary to the Council of State,—whose pen had for some time previously been instrumental in promoting and encouraging the Acts of the Usurper Cromwell, left, in the midst of his laborious official duties, with the care of an infant family. He was at that time nearly approaching to total blindness; and, domestically, in an almost helpless state. Unlike the Great Reformer, the “Mild” MELANCHTHON,<sup>2</sup> Milton was not of a temperament likely to be found

<sup>1</sup> We understand, however, that, with some family resident in Berkshire, exist some Autograph Letters of Milton to his wife,—Letters not of a very affectionate nature.

<sup>2</sup> MELANCHTHON. “Neither Melanchthon’s attachment to literature, nor his multifarious engagements in public, seduced him from the cultivation of *domestic feelings* and the discharge

dictating one of his "Letters of State" while employed in tending his children and rocking the cradle of an infant daughter.

In those days there were no schools for the special education of the daughters of those whom misfortune had reduced from a wealthy position in society, to qualify them, at a comparatively early age, to take the charge of infant children. Consequently Milton, feeling his utter state of domestic misery, wisely sought and obtained the affections of one to whom he might confide the charge of his children, and find solace to himself. Accordingly, in 1656, November 12, he married a second time. He was not, however, destined long to experience the happiness he had anticipated, as within a very short time, February 165 $\frac{7}{8}$ , his Wife died in childbed, the infant surviving the mother only a few hours.

At the period of the third<sup>1</sup> marriage of Milton, his three Daughters were consecutively of the ages of seventeen, fifteen, and eleven. They were then, no doubt, all of sufficient age to make themselves useful in the domestic arrangements of the house, and at the same time to be able to supply the constant wants of their almost helpless Father. It was, therefore, perfectly natural in Milton, in his blind state, to endeavour to bring them up so that their instruction should be in some way available to his particular necessities. Accordingly, in lieu of allowing them to be first taught the rudiments of education, Milton, thoroughly versed in many Languages, had them taught to read and pronounce Hebrew, Latin, and other tongues. Milton, therefore, made his Daughters

"serviceable to him in that very particular in which he most wanted their Service, and supplied his want of Eye-sight by their Eyes and Tongue; for though he had daily about him one or other to Read to him, some persons of Man's Estate, who of their own accord greedily catch'd at the opportunity of being his Readers, that they might as well reap the benefit of what they Read to him, as oblige him by the benefit of their reading; others of younger years sent by their Parents to the same end, yet excusing only the Eldest Daughter by reason of her bodily Infirmity, and difficult utterance of Speech, (which to say truth I doubt was the Principal cause of excusing her) the other two were Condemn'd to the performance of Reading, and exactly pronouncing of all the Languages of what

of *parental duties*."—"The habits of studious men have sometimes been represented as tending to disqualify them for the familiar intercourse of domestic or social life."—"Melanchthon may be appealed to" as a pleasing illustration to the contrary. "A Frenchman one day found him holding a book in one hand, and rocking his child's cradle with the other. Upon his manifesting considerable surprise, Melanchthon took occasion, from the incident, to converse with his visitor on the duties of parents, and on the regard of heaven for little children, in such a pious and affectionate manner, that his astonishment was quickly transferred into admiration."

Gathered from the contemporary biographer of the Reformer, and personal friend, CAMERARIUS, the above anecdote is related, with many others equally interesting, in "*The Life of Philip Melanchthon*," by F. A. Cox, A.M., of Hackney. 8vo., 1815, pp. 152-3.

<sup>1</sup> There is no record as to whether Milton married his third wife in 1663 or 1664. Aubrey, Phillips, and Toland, the earliest of his biographers, make no mention of the year. The many documents relative to the Nuncupative Will of Milton, and other family matters, do not mention the date.

ever Book he should at one time or other think fit to peruse. Viz. the Hebrew (and I think the Syriac) the Greek, the Latin, the Italian, Spanish and French. All which sorts of Books to be confined to Read, without understanding one word, must needs be a Tryal of Patience, almost beyond endurance; yet it was endured by both for a long time, yet the irksomeness of this employment could not be always concealed, but broke out more and more into expressions of uneasiness; so that at length they were all (even the eldest also) sent out to learn some Curious and Ingenious sorts of Manufacture, that are proper for Women to learn, particularly Imbroideries in Gold or Silver. It had been happy indeed if the Daughters of such a Person had been made in some measure Inheritrixes of their Father's Learning; but since Fate otherwise decreed, the greatest honour that can be ascribed to this now living (and so would have been to the others had they lived) is to be Daughter to a man of his extraordinary Character."<sup>1</sup>



ANNE MILTON. It is seen by the preceding, that ANNE,<sup>2</sup> the eldest Daughter, was incapacitated by affliction to perform the task allotted to her, and was consequently excused. That she had not been taught to write is clearly proved,—unless from any illness she was incapacitated,—by the subjoined, which represents *her mark*<sup>3</sup> to the Release for her portion of her Father's Estate,—dated, February 24, 1674.

*Signum*

*Anni*  *Milton*

In editing the "Papers connected with the Affairs of Milton and his Family," in the first volume of the "*Chetham Miscellanies*," Mr. Marsh notes, p. 18, that "the words, 'Signum Anne Milton,' are in Richard Milton's handwriting"; prefacing the note that Richard, who was one of the Witnesses to the deed, was probably a Son of Christopher Milton.

<sup>1</sup> Memoir in "State Letters," 1694, pp. xli-ii.

<sup>2</sup> ANNE, the Eldest Daughter of Milton, was born the 29th of July, 1646. Nature had at her birth not completed its task. She was afflicted with much infirmity from the deformities of her body, and her speech was defective. She married an architect or master builder, and died

in childbed with her first infant, who did not survive its birth.

<sup>3</sup> From the plate of Miltonian Fac-Similes in the volume issued by the "*Chetham Society*," 1851. Our copy is another specimen by the Electro-Printing-Block Company, as are the other copies of the fac-similes of the Autograph Signatures, Mary and Deborah, following.



ARY MILTON. The subjoined fac-simile of the autograph signature of MARY,<sup>1</sup> from the deed of her "Release for the portion of her Father's Estate," dated February 22, 1674, proves that she was able to write; and consequently, the charge against her Father, of never having had her taught to do so, ought not to be taken to the full extent of its meaning. She may have taught herself to write. Certain it is, judging from this specimen, that her handwriting was of a very ordinary character; and it is a remark-

*Mary millton*



able circumstance, that, in writing her name, she has spelt it wrong, inserting in the word "Milton," two *l*'s in lieu of one. It may be, however, hardly fair to judge of the handwriting, more particularly of a female, when employed in executing a deed. The formalities and other attending circumstances would probably confuse her, and affect her writing.

Though it has never been affirmed that Mary, the second daughter, acted as Amanuensis to her Father, her writing tends to shew that she was not very capable of discharging such a duty.



EBORAH MILTON. It frequently occurs that the youngest child in a family becomes the most favoured. Such is stated to have been the case, on the part of her Father, in respect to his youngest Daughter, DEBORAH. Consequently, much interest in the circumstances connected with her life, has been displayed by the numerous biographers of the Poet. The account given of her by Mr. Marsh,<sup>2</sup> is so concise and interesting that we have not hesitated to subjoin it, considering that the little memoir itself will be of far more interest to the reader, than a bare statement of the facts therein related :

<sup>1</sup> MARY MILTON, the Second Daughter, was born October 25, 1648. We may hope that the reports of her ill conduct to her Father are no more than exaggerations of the strong language usually adopted in legal documents. She died unmarried.

<sup>2</sup> Papers connected with Milton and his Family. Edited by John Fitchett Marsh, from the Original Documents in his possession. *Chet- ham Society*, 1851, vol. xxiv.




EBORAH was the youngest daughter of the Poet, and was born on the 3rd of May, 1652. She was Milton's favorite child, and acted as his Amanuensis, having learned to read and pronounce with great exactness the Italian, Spanish, French, Greek, Latin, and Hebrew languages, though she understood none of them. She appears to have been, of the three, the one least destitute of affection for her father; but even she was no exception to the charge, so pathetically alleged against his children by the afflicted parent, that they 'were careless of him being blind, and made nothing of deserting him.' She left his house three or four years before his death, and went to Ireland, as companion to a lady of the name of Merian. Her husband, Abraham Clarke, is stated by several of Milton's biographers to have been a weaver in Spitalfields; and Richardson adds that she married, not only without her father's consent, but even his knowledge. It is, however, clear from her description as 'Deborah Milton' in the testamentary cause, that her marriage was subsequent to her father's death: and indeed the pleadings in which that description occurs, and the release here printed, together fix the date of her marriage as between the 5th of December, 1674, and the 27th of March, 1675. The release further shews that her husband, at the time of the marriage, was resident in Dublin; and from a letter of Vertue, in the British Museum, printed in Ivimey's '*Life of Milton*,' they appear to have remained in Ireland for some time afterwards. Deborah Clarke was visited by Addison, who was much struck with her resemblance to the Poet, and made her a liberal present. She spoke with tenderness of her father, and exhibited much emotion at the sight of a portrait of him. Queen Caroline sent her fifty guineas; and her case was brought before the public in *Mist's Weekly Journal*, on the 29th of April, 1727. She died on the 27th of August following, in the same year which the papers here printed enable us to fix as the date of the death of her stepmother, and probably within a few days from that event. Of her ten children, two only had issue, vizt. Caleb and Elizabeth. Caleb Clarke went out to Madras: he appears to have been Parish Clerk at Fort St. George from 1717 to 1719, (during the Governorship of the Hon. Galston Addison, the elder brother of the Editor of the *Spectator*.) and was buried there on the 26th of October in the latter year. He had three children born at Madras,—Abraham, Mary, and Isaae. Mary died in infancy; Abraham married Anna Clarke in the year 1725; and the baptism of his daughter Mary is registered in 1727. With her all notices of this family cease, nothing further being known either of her or of her father or uncle; and it has been supposed that they migrated to some other part of India. Sir James Mackintosh, while he resided in India, took pains to ascertain whether any further trace of the family existed; but without success. Elizabeth, the remaining child of Deborah Clarke, married Thomas Foster, also a Spitalfields weaver. She kept a little chandler's shop at Holloway, and afterwards in Cock Lane, near Shoreditch Church. In this mean position she was discovered, and brought forward to public notice by the active benevolence of two of her grandfather's biographers, Dr. Birch and Bishop Newton. Public sympathy was excited; and *Comus* was acted for her benefit on the 5th of April, 1750. Dr. Johnson wrote the Prologue. Bishop Newton contributed largely; and Tonson, the bookseller, subscribed £20. But it was ascertained by Todd that the whole proceeds only amounted to £147:14:6; out of which £80 had to be deducted for expenses. She had seven children, who all died in infancy: and, with their mother, who died on the 9th of May, 1754, in all probability the descendants of Milton became extinct."

From the same source as that from which the previous fac-similes were obtained, is subjoined the signature of Deborah Milton, then the Wife of Abraham Clarke, whose signature is also given. The document is to the same purport, and bears the same date as the others.

The date of the deed to which these signatures are attached, shews that it was signed by Deborah at the age of twenty-three; we have here, therefore, a specimen of her handwriting at that age. There is nothing in the character of the writing to

warrant a disbelief of her having been able occasionally to assist as Amanuensis to her Father. It is curious, however, also to notice the singular circumstance of her having, in the first instance, spelt her married name wrong, and having afterwards corrected it. Her Christian name is also spelt wrong,—the *a* in the final syllable being in the signature written as *o*. It is hardly fair, however, to judge by the above, of what her handwriting may have been when assisting her Father, if she ever did.

Abraham Clarke 

Deborah Clarke 

Deborah was born in 1652, and was only twenty-two years old when her Father died. At the period of his composing, from first to last, his *Paradise Lost*, she could not have been more than from eleven to fifteen years old, the first edition of that poem appearing in 1667. At that age, however, she might have been fully capable, had she been taught early to write, of aiding her Father; but it is not likely, that, had Deborah been employed as stated, Edward Phillips would have omitted to notice that fact. In the concluding part of the passage, p. 176, quoted from this memoir, there is nothing to justify the belief of one Daughter having received more advantages in her education than the others, or that one was more talented than the others. He writes of all the three daughters in the same category, concluding his remarks by observing, "*It had been happy indeed if the Daughters of such a Person had been made in some measure Inheritrixes of their Father's Learning.*" Edward Phillips also states that he was in the habit of constantly visiting his Uncle, more particularly during the period of the composition of *Paradise Lost*. The Nephew, therefore, had ample opportunity of knowing and judging of the capabilities of his Cousins. There is no trace of any unkindness in his narrative. He was, and had been, an Author for many years, and therefore could not but lament that they had been so incapable of affording their Father any assistance in his pursuits.

Dr. Johnson appears to have been very incredulous upon the subject, so universally believed, of Milton having been assisted by his Daughters as his Amanuenses. Johnson observes,

"That, in his intellectual hour, Milton called for his daughter to 'secure what came,' may be questioned; for unluckily it happens to be known, that his daughters were never taught to write; nor

would he have been obliged, as is universally confessed, to have employed any casual visitor in disburdening his memory, if his daughter could have performed the office."

Again, when commenting on the relation of Richardson, that Milton "would sometimes lie awake whole nights, but not a verse could he make; and on a sudden his poetical faculty would rush upon him with an *impetus* or *æstrum*, and his daughter was immediately called to secure what came. At other times he would dictate perhaps forty lines in a breath, and then reduce them to half the number." Johnson adds :

"In the scene of misery which this mode of intellectual labour sets before our eyes, it is hard to determine whether the daughters or the father are most to be lamented. A language not understood can never be so read as to give pleasure, and, very seldom, so as to convey meaning. If few men would have had resolution to write books with such embarrassments, few likewise would have wanted ability to find some better expedient." In again mentioning the Daughters of the Poet, Johnson writes of Deborah: "This is the Daughter of whom publick mention has been made. She could repeat the first lines of Homer, the *Metamorphoses*, and some of Euripides, by having often read them. Yet here incredulity is ready to make a stand. Many repetitions are necessary to fix in the memory lines not understood; and why should Milton wish or want to hear them so often? These lines were at the beginning of the poems. Of a book written in a language not understood, the beginning raises no more attention than the end; and as those that understand it, know commonly the beginning best, its rehearsal will seldom be necessary. It is not likely that Milton required any passage to be so much repeated, as that his daughter could learn it; nor likely that he desired the initial lines to be read at all; nor that the daughter, weary of the drudgery of pronouncing unideal sounds, would voluntarily commit them to memory."

In the preceding passages it is clearly seen that Johnson was much inclined to consider the anecdotes related of the Daughters of Milton having assisted their Father, as rather mythical.



VERY little appears to have been recorded in respect to the part ELIZABETH, the third Wife of Milton, took in the education of his Daughters. That she made a most faithful and a most affectionate Wife to the Poet, is generally believed. She was, however, placed, on her marriage, in a most painful situation. She entered on her duties with the onerous charge of three girls, all of that age when the control, by a stranger taking the management of the domestic arrangement of their Father's house, hitherto confided to their charge, would naturally be most unwillingly submitted to by them. In two-thirds of the cases where a widower, having a family by his former wife, marries again, discord and jealousy will be found to prevail. Hence, no doubt, have arisen the melancholy details related of the conduct of the Daughters of Milton towards their Father, and, *vice versâ*, the unkindness of their Father to them. If all the little quarrels and disagreements in the families of many of the most distinguished men were placed on record, how sad would be the relation of them! One can thoroughly



understand how easily the feelings of such an excitable man as Milton were disordered by the disagreement of his Wife and Children, between whom there could have been no natural, or, at first, any mutual affection. Such an affection between Step-Daughters of their age, and a Step-Mother so suddenly introduced into a family, could only have been brought about by time and mutual forbearance. As to any evidence in legal documents upon such points, when family disagreements take place, they should be considered as little more than the language of the Lawyer in making good his case. The documents connected with the "Nuncupative Will" of Milton strongly exemplify this point.

It was during the period of the composition of *Paradise Lost*, that Milton married his third Wife. She is said to have been one who was "still young and handsome, who became the soul of his house, and the mother of his children. She loved him, too, despite his poverty and blindness." Such is the language conveyed by the Historian Lamartine;<sup>1</sup> language far more agreeable to the feelings than an assumption of the very reverse, merely on the authority of a few angry words recorded in legal documents, at a time when the minds of all parties were excited beyond the natural feelings of the heart.

Lamartine appears to have entertained no respect for the opinions of those biographers of Milton who have taken pleasure in magnifying and distorting the little unhappy differences that may have been related. In the subjoined extract he pictures to the minds of his readers a charming scene of the happiness and mutual aid afforded by all the members of the family to the necessities of Milton :

"His last wife, Elizabeth Minshall, and his three daughters were constantly with him, copying, repeating, and correcting the cantos of his great poem, as his genius progressively inspired them. He composed verses during the night, and repeated them at early dawn, before the noise of the city, awakening in the streets, called back his thoughts to things terrestrial. While he listened to the sound of his daughters' pens as they traced the paper, it seemed to him as if he was dictating the daily testament of his genius, and depositing in a safe sanctuary the treasure which he had hitherto carried in his imagination. During the remainder of the day, he read Scripture, poetry, and history ; or, conducted by one of his daughters, sauntered in the solitary fields of the neighbourhood, to breathe the pure air, or to feel, at least, upon his eyelids the rays of that sun which he no longer recognized but through its heat."<sup>2</sup>

Though Deborah was of the tender age of about eleven, when her Father began to dictate for publication his Poem of *Paradise Lost*, there is no reason why she may not have been employed in assisting in the writing out of that Poem. She may not have been well skilled in the use of her pen ; yet, for the purpose required, her assistance may, with that of others, have been valuable to her father. Many of the extracts in the present work have been copied out for the printer by the Son of the Author, a boy just past ten years of age, as also by his sisters, a few years older ; thus entitling them, on so slight a warranty, to be called the Amanuenses of their

<sup>1</sup> Memoirs of Celebrated Characters, by Alphonse de Lamartine. 2 vols., 1854. *Milton*, vol. ii. p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, p. 17.

Father. It is not necessary that an Author should be blind ere he procures assistance in his labours by the employment of an Amanuensis.

In having entered into an investigation in respect to the Daughters of Milton having been, as so generally believed, of great assistance to their Father when under the affliction of his blindness, it has been the object of the Author not to desire to injure their memory by depriving them of an honour hitherto accorded them, but rather to place them in the more natural position which their ages and talents entitle them to hold as the Daughters of one of the most interesting and remarkable men this country has produced.

It is a melancholy fact, by no means of rare occurrence, that the Widows and Orphans of men distinguished for their popular talents, or eminent in literature, science, or art, are often left totally unprovided for, their state of wretchedness and destitution being aggravated by the cold indifference of their quondam friends; from a few of whom, however, possessing a little Christian feeling, they may obtain some trifling pecuniary aid; but from the greater number, only inexpensive pity and cold neglect! They more frequently find out, when too late, the heartlessness and selfishness of those who may have been indebted to their husbands for promoting their interests, and from whom they were justified in expecting assistance and respect.

The Government of England, at the present period, most nobly does its best to succour the needy relatives of those who have done honour to their country. Yet many are the instances that are unhappily passed over through some unknown cause. The list of those whose Intellectual Services have been acknowledged during the last two hundred years, forms, we hope, as an Appendix to our pursuit, an interesting record, and reflects credit on our National Character.

Lamartine, Poet as well as Historian, must have been aroused by some feelings of a kindred nature to these here expressed, when he wrote so touching an account as the subjoined, of what befel the Widow and Daughters of that Man, by the influence of whose energetic pen was swayed the destiny of this country during a most momentous period of its history. The career of Milton was guided by the hand of Providence for some most special purpose. The Reformation of the Church of England in 1688, is by many supposed, and not without considerable justice, to have been one of the first beneficial results of the Religious and Political Views of Milton. We are at liberty to admire the character of the Poet in the highest degree, as regards the unflinching zeal and honesty with which he upheld his position, without at all adopting his extreme opinions. We may, however, fairly presume that the subjoined passage, written at a late period of his life, would not have been penned, had he not consciously felt, that, during some portion of his public career, he had imprudently overstepped the limits of his rightful demands in the cause of religious and political freedom.

*“That it may be the part of prudence to obey the commands even of a tyrant*

*in lawful things, or, more properly, to comply with the necessity of the times for the sake of public peace, as well as of personal safety, I am far from denying.*"<sup>1</sup>

"Milton's widow," writes Lamartine, "languished in obscurity and poverty, and died neglected a few years after him. His daughters married poor artisans of the suburb in which they had resided with their father. Two of these tradesmen were weavers. The children of the poet laboured at the employment of their husbands. Thirty years after their father's death, when *Paradise Lost*, long unheard of, had become famous,—when Milton's countrymen, by one of those revolutions in opinion which exhumes books or men, had disinterred the poem, and crowned the author, like Inez of Portugal, after his death,—some few, from curiosity, sought out the descendants of one to whom they rendered this tardy and unavailing compliment. Deborah, his favourite daughter, was still living, in the house of the weaver of Spitalfields, who had married her. The portrait of Milton, crowned with laurel, was presented to her: 'O, my father! my beloved father!' she exclaimed, recognizing and embracing the resemblance; 'why can you not issue from the tomb to see your glory, so long delayed, reflected back in the joyful countenance of your beloved child!'"<sup>2</sup>



EDWARD AND JOHN PHILLIPS, the Nephews of Milton. The desire of educating the two children of his beloved Sister, induced Milton, soon after his return from the Continent in 1639, to relinquish his intention of entering into one of the learned Professions, for which his talents preeminently qualified him.

It is not surprising that some of the biographers of the Poet should assume that he was afterwards assisted by the two young men to whose education he had most specially devoted his attention. Such assistance, it might naturally have been expected, they would have desired to render. How far they did so, is a matter for our present consideration.

When Aubrey, in his Memoranda, makes mention of the "writing of *Paradise Lost*," he distinctly states that Edward Phillips *was then the Amanuensis of his Uncle*; see p. 172. The learned Mitford,<sup>3</sup> when alluding, in his elegantly composed Life of the Poet, to the approach of his blindness in 1652, relates that his Nephew Edward "*was supposed to have greatly assisted him in the affairs of Secretary.*"

In the "Preliminary Observations" to the English Version of the *De Doctrinâ Christianâ*, p. xvii., the Very Reverend Translator, Bishop Sumner, states that the latter part of the original Manuscript of that work was "*supposed by Mr. Lemon to be the handwriting of Edward Philipps, the Nephew of Milton.*"

If the reader will refer to the statement made by the late Mr. Lemon, as printed p. 156, it will there be seen that Mr. Lemon, in alluding to that portion of the Manuscript, says that it is in "*a small strong character, much resembling the*

<sup>1</sup> A Treatise on Christian Doctrine, by John Milton. Translated by Charles R. Sumner, etc. 1825. 4to., p. 704.

<sup>2</sup> Memoirs of Celebrated Characters, vol. ii., pp. 29-30.

<sup>3</sup> Life of Milton, by the Rev. John Mitford. Poetical Works of Milton, 1851, vol. i., pp. xciv-v.

*writing of E. Phillips.*" Consequently, it may be assumed that Mr. Lemon had obtained some knowledge of the autograph of E. Phillips, otherwise he would scarcely have ventured such an opinion. It is, therefore, to be regretted that Mr. Lemon did not record the authority upon which such opinion was founded.

Without searching farther into the almost innumerable biographies of the Poet, in order to shew that such an opinion has been generally entertained, we proceed to a brief investigation as to the probability of Edward Phillips having so assisted his Uncle in any other way than as many of his occasional visitors and friends may have done.



EDWARD PHILLIPS left his Uncle in 1646. He was then quite a young man. There is no record of his avocations from that time until March 1648, when he entered Magdalen Hall, Oxford, where he remained until 1651.

Brought up under the careful superintendence of Milton, he appears intuitively to have imbibed his "love of learning," becoming also, like his Uncle, a poet at an early period of his life. History, however, was the chief attraction of his literary pursuits. He was too young, when under tuition, to have entered into the merits of the polemical and political controversies in which his Uncle was engaged. He had proceeded to Oxford, the then most loyal of all cities in England, at the very moment when the pen of the Poet had assisted Cromwell in the consummation of an Act,—the Death of his lawful but ill-guided King,—an act to be adjudged only by the Disposer of All.

Edward Phillips became a Royalist; consequently, it can hardly be supposed that he aided his Uncle in his duties as Latin Secretary. He retired from Oxford in 1653; and in that year he made his *débüt* as a Poet in a copy of complimentary verses affixed to the "*First Book of Ayres and Dialogues*," by Henry Lawes, published in the same year. It must be remembered, that, though the beloved friend of Milton, Henry Lawes was a Royalist. It cannot, therefore, be a matter of surprise that kindred feelings should have arisen between the old and the young Royalist.

In 1656, Edward Phillips edited the Poetical Works of William Drummond of Hawthornden, having then embraced literature as a profession, and editing several other works; but it was not until 1660 that his much-loved labours in History appeared in an enlarged edition of Sir Richard Baker's "*Chronicle of England*."

William Godwin, the biographer of the two Nephews of Milton, has so carefully compiled an account<sup>1</sup> of the editorial labours of Edward Phillips on the several editions of the "*Chronicle*," that, in lieu of condensing his information, we think it of sufficient interest, and but justice, to give it entire :

<sup>1</sup> Lives of Edward and John Phillips, Nephews and Pupils of Milton. 1815. 4to., pp. 114-121.



EDWARD PHILIPS had been employed as the editor of Baker, previously to the Restoration of Charles the Second. This book, so continually referred to by our ancestors for more than seventy years, was carried down by its original author no lower than to the death of James the First. It was first printed in 1641; the writer in his peroration professing an expectation 'to resume his style, when the storm, which he saw overcast the days of the successor, and which he hoped would be but a short fit, was past, and fair weather returned;' but he died in 1645; and the second edition, published in 1653, is merely a reprint of the first. In the course of the next five or six years a third edition was called for; and Edward Philips was now engaged by the booksellers to carry on the work, from the period at which Sir Richard Baker had quitted it.

"The third edition, the first in which Edward Philips was concerned, was printed in a very critical period, bearing the date of 1660, and having for the most part probably passed the press before the commencement of that year. It was therefore impossible that the continuator should unreservedly take part with the exiled family. This, if it would have been safe for the writer, would at least not have answered the purpose of the bookseller, who we may be sure would not have been content to reduce so valuable a property as Baker's Chronicle then was, into a book that was to be under proscription with all but a few mutinous and malcontent royalists. People were very far from anticipating, at the time the book was put to the press, or even at the period of its publication, that the Restoration of the Stuart family was so near at hand. This is sufficiently evident from Edward Philips's Preface to his Continuation, when he speaks of Charles the Second in the highest terms, calling him 'a great and illustrious prince,' and ascribing to him 'native generosity of soul, valour and prudence in scenes of personal action, and that fortitude in suffering with constant equanimity, which no lesse beseems an heroic spirit than that of doing bravely,'—yet adds, 'Of the misfortunes that attend this prince, I am easily induc'd to think he undergoes not any greater then this, That he is chiefly accompanied, and for the most part abetted by a generation of men, who suffer themselves to be carried, upon every little gust of hope, unto such a heighth of empty confidence, as leads them inevitably to their own confusion.'

"The love indeed of the author to the family of Stuart is eminently shown, upon every occasion where it could gracefully be introduced. His account of the trial and death of Charles the First is animated and pathetic; and when he introduces his hero upon the scaffold, he observes, 'The king was nothing daunted at the sight of the block or the axe, nor to behold his executioner, who was more possessed with fear than he, and therefore disguised with a vizard.'

"The character with which Edward Philips dismisses the royal sufferer, is still more evidently stamped with a spirit of kindness. 'And thus you have exactly, though in brief, described the life, the for the most part troublesome reign, and the untimely and deplorable death, of this once great and powerful monarch. A prince he was, not ill beloved of his subjects whilst alive; and although by some his memory is branded with the name of Tyrant, yet by others it receives the style of Saint and Martyr: nor could I ever perceive by the general suffrage of people, but that he is accounted to have been a pious man, and good king, though some miscarriages might happen in his reign, through his overmuch lenity, and trusting too much to some about him, who sought their own interests more than the public good.'

"It was natural, however, writing under a government that seemed to be sufficiently established and firm, and just after the close of the prosperous and splendid administration of Cromwel, that the continuator of Baker should not perpetually show a bias to one party, but should hold a sort of even march between the royalists and their adversaries; and this proceeding seems to have been sufficiently in accord with the candid and equable temper of Edward Philips. Accordingly, in summing up the character of the memorable Protector, the author seems sufficiently disposed to look on the favourable side.

"'His character,' says Edward Philips, 'hath been at large delivered by others, and truly by some not altogether without flattery, though much might be sayd in his praise: but to comprehend

him in short, it is sufficiently known to the world, that he was a man of singular courage and undaunted resolution, and that attended with a most prosperous stream of fortune. Nor can it be denied that he had much of generosity, and many noble things in his nature. As for his policy and sagacity of parts, what better instance than his life, so recent in memory? How did he raise himself by a gradual progress to the highest pitch of honour, and had doubtless obtain'd the supreme title, had he remain'd among the living never so little longer? How did he fit himself with the choicest instruments, and the ablest ministers of state, and often times mould and form men to his own purpose? How did he make use of all parties and interests, carrying on his own affairs by them? What powerful influence had he upon the foreign states and kingdoms, so interweaving his own interests among them, that he was ever on the most successful side, or at least made that side the most prosperous which he adhered unto.'

"From somewhat of the same cause which rendered Edward Philips thus liberal in his estimate of Cromwel, he was also led occasionally to insert trifling circumstances and tales unfavourable to the royal party, which in the editions printed subsequently to the Restoration were carefully suppressed.

"In the mean time he proves his predilection for the royal party by the very title he has given to his continuation, which he calls 'A Continuation of the Chronicle of England, to the End of the Year 1658: Being a Full Narrative of the Affairs of England, Scotland and Ireland; more especially relating unto the Transactions of Charles, Crowned King of the Scots at Seone, on the First Day of January 1650 [1651].' Nor is it quite insignificant to observe, that the title is further ornamented with a vignette of a regal coronet, and the initials, C. R., on each side of this coronet. For the style here adopted, the writer apologises somewhat lamely in the last sentence of the book. 'Moreover, since this volume is that which contains the lives of the Kings of England, I knew not better how with decorum to continue it, then by couching the transactions of the latest fore-going years under the name of a person, if not a king, yet at least lineally descended of the race of English kings, as being eldest son of the last King of Great Britain; himself also having been crowned by the estates of Scotland.'

"From a further anxiety to leave on the minds of his readers a favourable impression respecting 'this Illustrious Unfortunate,' as he calls him, Edward Philips winds up his story with a 'character, once delivered of him (a more proper then which there could not have been given any, as proceeding from him who profest to have known him from his tender years) by an honourable person at his death: Certainly, sayd this lord, I that have been a counsellour to him, and have lived long with him, and in a time when discovery is easily enough made, for he was young (he was about fifteen or sixteen years of age) these years I was with him [ought to be considered a credible evidence of his dispositions]; and truly I never saw greater hopes of vertue in any young person, then in him; great judgment, great understanding, strong apprehension, much honour in his nature, and truly a very perfect Englishman in his inclinations. Nor have there been wanting,' adds the Continuator, 'several others, who upon their own knowledge, have been high in commendation both of him, and his brother, the duke of York.'

"The account given in this continuation, of the imprisonment and death of the Marquis of Montrose, particularly deserves to be referred to. This pathetic tale is by no historian more skillfully and impressively told, than by Edward Philips. Indeed, the general character of his composition in this work, is the most censurable carelessness and slovenliness; and the printing is not less shamefully defective, than a great part of the writing; but, where the author feels himself animated by a particular interest in the subject, his narrative there has every grace, that a just understanding, susceptible feelings, an amiable temper, and an unaffected mode of expression can bestow upon it.

"Such was the Continuation of Sir Richard Baker's Chronicle, as published by Edward Philips during the reign of the Commonwealth. The last incidents mentioned in this narrative are the captivity of Sir George Booth, and the conferences of Cardinal Mazarine and Don Lewis de Haro in the Island of Pheasants, both occurring in the month of August 1659; and little did the writer suspect, that, in so very short a time from his closing his work, the personage whom he so modestly,

yet forwardly praises, would be placed on the throne of England, with no other restrictions than his own frail promises and declarations.

“Another edition of Baker was called for in 1664; and Edward Philips was again employed in preparing it for the press. ‘The secrecy of love,’ as Dr. Johnson might with more propriety have said on this occasion, ‘was put an end to by this revolution;’ and it is in a very different style that the continuator now treats of the glories of King Charles the Second.

“The edition carries in the title-page the year 1665, and it appears to have been licensed for the press on the sixteenth of December, 1664. The author professes to have included in it, ‘many material affairs of state, never before published; and likewise the most remarkable occurrences relating to King Charles the Second’s most wonderful Restauration, by the prudent conduct of George duke of Albemarle, captain general of all his majesties armies; as they were extracted out of his excellencies own papers, and the journals and memorials of those employed in the most important and secret transactions of that time.

“This edition first bears the name of Edward Philips, signed to the epistle to the reader. The former continuation is imputed to him on the authority of Wood: nor would it be difficult, from the manner of thinking and the language, to prove that he was the true author.

“In the book, as published in 1665, the reign of Charles the First is entirely rewritten. The former copy was by no means without a sufficient leaning toward the royal cause; and the present copy is far from exhibiting the intemperate sallies of a furious partisan; but many remarks are occasionally interspersed, calculated to gratify the favourers of the Stuarts; while some parts of the story are compressed, and others dilated, accordingly as they might be thought to reflect honour on the king and his friends, or deemed to be less or more interesting now, than they were to the readers of our Chronicles under the ascendancy of the republic. The trial of the Earl of Strafford has occupied a very particular portion of our author’s care.

“But however temperate Edward Philips may be in the general strain even of his improved narrative, he now and then breaks out into a tenour of writing that might not be unworthy of the most furious zealot.

“Of the Restauration, Philips speaks in his Preface in the following terms, borrowed from the Coronation Sermon of Morley, bishop of Worcester: ‘It was a generous, glorious, and heroical design, whereby its author at once redeemed his country both from slavery and oppression, by restoring the King to his People and the People to their King.’”



HERE is no period in English History of more general interest than that from the commencement of the Reign of Charles I. to the Restauration; and yet forsooth, it has never met, at the hands of any Historian, not even excepting those of Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, that due attention it merits. The Histories of Hume, Goldsmith, and others, are mere abridgments, written, for the most part, to express their own political views. So likewise are the marvellously digested labours of the great Historians, Alison and Macaulay.

To those who desire to be correctly informed of the minute particulars connected with any of the more important Events during the unhappy period of the Rebellion, or of the persons who took a prominent part in those transactions, Macaulay, with his charming and beautiful language, or any of the English Historians

of the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries, will afford no light. They will find the Characters of Charles I., Oliver Cromwell, and the chiefs on either side depicted in such fascinating language as almost to dissipate the previously conceived opinions of their readers. This may be of no importance to the generality of the public, who in many cases make themselves acquainted with the historical opinions of such elegant writers, more as a matter of fashion than of real interest or study. Not to have read Macaulay, would, in the eyes of the fashionable world, be a perfect dereliction of duty!

Let any inquiring reader have occasion to search out the exact period of an event during the reign of Charles I.,—the names of all the parties who took part in that event,—he will find to his vexation, that the works we have mentioned will not give him the information he desires. He must fall back on one of the few existing histories published at the Time, and to such minute particulars as are chronologically arranged in Baker's "*Chronicle*," edited and enlarged from the Death of Charles I. to the Restoration, by Edward Phillips, the Nephew of Milton, one who lived and wrote at the period.

In these times it would appear as if it was absolutely necessary to blend fiction with history, and to form them into a Novel with some highly-coloured and exciting love-story, in order to obtain for them even a reading. Accordingly, the Fashionable Libraries have been favoured lately with an Historical Novel under the title of "*The Ironsides; a Tale of the English Commonwealth*." However much we may delight in the perusal of the Historical Novels from the pen of Sir Walter Scott, we must confess, that, unless the youthful reader is well versed in English History, he will have his mind so impressed with interesting and highly wrought narratives, that, when at a later period he has occasion to study the history of his country, he can with difficulty remove the feelings those fictions have created.

The "*Literary Gazette*" for June 30 of this year, closes its Review of "*The Ironsides*" by observing: "We had marked some passages for quotation, but shall give only one specimen of a speech of Cromwell's, which reads as if it had been made after a dinner in the London Tavern, with the reporter of '*The Times*' in the gallery." The Author, presuming on his knowledge of the heart of the Protector, amusingly records, as part of the Usurper's *post prandium* Oration,—

"I am *not ashamed to acknowledge the fact*, that my feelings towards the King underwent *considerable modification* when I became personally acquainted with him, after the war had been brought to *an honourable conclusion*. He appeared to me to be a man of great parts, understanding, and *earnest convictions*, who had been misled by false friends rather than instigated by any innate perversity of disposition; and of the kindness of his heart I had soon personal and irresistible evidence, and so I began to consider *whether, under all the circumstances of the case*, it would not be best to retain him in the kingly office, under safe guarantees, rather than risk the advantages we have already gained by aiming at a



more thorough change in our political constitution. Such, gentlemen, were the changes in my own feelings, and in those of many present, *and I believe I may add*, of the great majority of the army."—Vol. ii., pp. 30-31.

In the "Continuation" of the "*Chronicle*" by Phillips, there is an occasional display of very strong political feeling; though at the same time he sometimes endeavours to exculpate the actors in many of the sad events of the period of the Rebellion. It is very remarkable that Phillips has most studiously avoided mention even of the name of Milton, or any allusion to those political and polemical writings which emanated from the pen of his Uncle,—works that had so powerful an influence upon many of the important events of the period.

Godwin, whose political views are well known to have been strongly republican, while deprecating the occasional fulsome eulogistic language used by the youthful royalist historian, has given him great credit for the delicacy of feeling with which he has recorded acts which had been defended and upheld by Milton.



PRESENTATION Copy of the last edition, bearing date 1665, has lately come most opportunely into the possession of the Author. It is one of peculiar interest as having on the fly-leaf an inscription in the AUTOGRAPH of Edward Phillips, to the Bishop of London, to whom the volume, richly bound in old red morocco, was sent.

The reader is referred to the fac-simile of that inscription, plate XXIV., No. 1; as also to the fac-simile given in the same plate, No. 2, taken from a few pages of the Autograph of Edward Phillips in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. Beneath these are fac-similes of what are believed to be the autograph signatures<sup>1</sup> of his brother, John Phillips.



JOHN PHILLIPS, the younger Nephew, also intuitively a poet and author, was, however, of a totally different character from his brother. Godwin, who appears to have searched everywhere for information, states,<sup>2</sup>

"We know little of the situation John Philips occupied in early life, or whether he applied himself to any particular profession. In Milton's office of Latin Secretary, it is probable

<sup>1</sup> The one is taken from the upper part of the title-page of a copy, in our possession, of "A Discourse of Sacrilege, wherein is briefly shewn, 1, The Just Collation; 2, the Unjust Ablation of the Riches and Honours of the Clergie. 1641; 4to." The other is from the original, occurring at the foot of the dedication of a copy of Gainsford's "*Glory of England*."

1618; 4to. The date is evidently 1660. For this we are indebted to Mr. T. Palmer, Bookseller, of Paternoster-row. They are the only specimens of the autograph of John Phillips that we have met with.

<sup>2</sup> Lives of Edward and John Phillips, by William Godwin. 1815, 4to., p. 19.

that he would stand in need of clerks to assist him, and it is not unlikely that at least the younger of his nephews served at that time in such a capacity.

"Edward Philips relates of his brother's performance, that 'the task of answering the anonymous Apology was committed to him by Milton, but with such exact emendations before it went to the press, that it might very well have passed for his uncle's work, but that he was willing the person that took the pains to prepare it for his examination and polishment, should have the name and credit of being the author.'"

The Apology<sup>1</sup> mentioned appeared in 1652. The deputed author, John Phillips, is stated to have, at that period, wholly sided with the opinions of his Uncle; and therefore it may be fairly presumed that he had previously aided him in other of his political controversies. John Phillips, however, turned Royalist about 1658, and then abused the conduct of his Uncle as violently as he had previously supported it, calling "*Iconoclastes*," Milton's answer to the "*Eikon Basilike*," "*an impudent and blasphemous libel*."<sup>2</sup>

It is, therefore, only in reference to the probability of the younger Nephew of Milton having, in common with others, aided his Uncle in the capacity of an occasional Amanuensis, that his name is here mentioned. No specimen of his autograph has as yet been found, which might hereafter be useful in the elucidation of any manuscript of a work of Milton's in an unknown autograph. That the younger Nephew had rendered no aid to his Uncle in writing out any of his *Paradise Lost*, or *Regained*, is most certain, as before those periods he had become a Renegade. He was a man of bad moral character. He forsook his wife and children; yet withal "he was an extraordinary man."<sup>3</sup>



ANDREW MARVELL was one of the most intimate and most faithful friends of Milton from an early period. In 1657 he was appointed as Assistant Secretary to Milton. He also may have occasionally aided the Poet with the use of his pen, when his professional Amanuensis was away. It is with the view of future reference that his known autograph appears in the present work. The specimen in plate XXIV., No. V., is taken from an original letter in a collection of Autograph Letters preserved in the Library of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of London,—a collection most erroneously called "*The Milton State Papers*."

<sup>1</sup> Responsio ad Apologiam pro Rege et Populo Anglicano. Lond., 1652, 12mo.

<sup>2</sup> Lives of Edward and John Phillips, by Godwin. 1815, 4to., p. 174.

<sup>3</sup> In the biography of E. and J. Phillips, by

Godwin, the reader will find full particulars of the Literary and Political pursuits of the younger Nephew. He was a prolific writer. His first poetical composition appeared, with that of his brother's, among the commendatory verses to "*The First Book of Ayres and Dialogues*," by Lawes, in 1653.

I

To the Right Reverend Father in God  
 Humphrey Lord Bishop of London  
 this present Chronicle of Sr Richard  
 Baker with the Continuation is most  
 humbly presented by

Edward Phillips.

II

Ex Antonii de Sousa Lusitania Librata 17

Alphonus Henricus is confirm'd King of Portugall by a  
 of pope Innocent the 2<sup>d</sup> & afterwards of Alexander the  
 third

He calls committees generall of the 3 Estates ~~the~~ viz<sup>y</sup> bishops  
 the noblemen & the procuratours who also own him King &  
 make laws concerning the succession of the kingdom.

that of blood since there were not wanting those who had  
 a surer claim even by right of blood

III

In<sup>o</sup>: Phillips

IV

John Phillips  
 is my true owner  
 1660

V

May it please your Excellence,

It might perhaps seem fit for me to seek out words  
 to give your Excellence thanks for my selfe. But indeed  
 the lonely Civility which it is proper for me to practise with  
 so eminent a Person is to obey you, and to performe honestly

Windsor July 28  
 1653

Your Excellencies most humble  
 and faithfull Servant

Mr Dutton presents his  
 most humble Service to your  
 Excellences.

Andrew Marvell





**T**HOMAS ELLWOOD, the QUAKER, was one of the most remarkable men of his day. Equally remarkable is his Autobiography.<sup>1</sup> Ellwood has been usually termed the "*friend of Milton.*" He was born in 1639. He was twenty years of age when he became acquainted with the Poet; which occurred in 1662, when the latter was residing in Jewin-street. The style in which Ellwood is characterized by the majority of the biographers of Milton, clearly shews that few of the learned compilers had ever read his "Autobiography." It is now before us, as also the more detailed Life of Milton by Dr. Symmons, whose narration of the intercourse between the young Quaker and the Poet is admirably depicted.

Though Ellwood is not stated to have been, even for a short time, the Amanuensis of Milton, yet it naturally suggests itself to the mind, that, during the short period of his daily intercourse with the Poet, he may have occasionally assisted in that capacity. Accordingly, we think it will be interesting to quote all the information recorded in the Autobiography, of his connexion with the Poet. At pp. 130-136, Ellwood, who had been suffering by confinement consequent on severe illness, relieved only by his study of the contents of his father's library, states :



**A**FTER I was well enough to go abroad, with respect to my own Health, and the Safety of others, I went up (in the beginning of the *Twelfth Month*, 1661,) to my Friend *Isaac Pennington's* at *Chalfont*, and abode there some time: for the Airing my self more fully: that I might be more fit for Conversation.

"I mentioned before, that when I was a Boy, I had made some good Progress in Learning; and lost it all again before I came to be a Man: Nor was I rightly sensible of my Loss therein, until I came amongst the *Quakers*. But then I both saw my Loss, and lamented it; and applyed my self with utmost Diligence, at all leasure Times to recover it: so false I found that Charge to be, which in those Times was cast, as a Reproach upon the *Quakers*, That they despised and decried all *Humane Learning*; because they deemed it to be essentially necessary to a *Gospel-Ministry*, which was one of the Controversies of those Times.

"But though I toiled hard, and spared no Pains, to regain what once I had been Master of; yet I found it a matter of so great Difficulty, that I was ready to say as the Noble *Eunuch* to *Philip* in another Case: '*How can I, unless I had some Man to guide me?*'

"This I had formerly complained of to my especial Friend *Isaac Pennington*; but now more earnestly: which put him upon considering, and contriving a Means for my Assistance.

"He had an intimate Acquaintance with Dr. *Paget*, a Physician of Note in *London*; and he with *John Milton*, a Gentleman of Great Note for Learning, throughout the Learned World, for the accurate Pieces he had Written, on various Subjects and Occasions.

"This Person, having filled a Publick Station, in the former Times; lived now a private and

<sup>1</sup> "*The History of the Life of Thomas Ellwood, etc. Written by his own Hand,*" etc. 8vo., 1714. We have not been successful in obtaining any other specimen of his autograph than the subjoined signature taken from "*Armistead's Mis-*

*cellanies.*" 1851.

*Tho: Ellwood.*

retired Life in *London*: and having wholly lost his Sight, kept always a Man to read to him; which usually was the Son of some Gentleman of his Acquaintance, whom, in kindness, he took to Improve in his Learning.

“ Thus, by the Mediation of my Friend *Isaac Penington* with *Dr. Paget*, and of *Dr. Paget* with *John Milton*, was I admitted to come to him; not as a Servant to him (which at that time he needed not) nor to be in the House with him: but only to have the Liberty of Coming to his House, at certain Hours, when I would, and to read to him what Books he should appoint me; which was all the Favour I desired.

“ But this being a Matter, which would require some time to bring it about: I, in the mean while returned to my Father’s House in *Oxfordshire*.

“ I had before received Direction, by Letters from my Eldest Sister (written by my Father’s Command) to put off what Cattle he had left about his House, and to Discharge his Servants; which I had done at the time called *Michaelmas* before. So that all that Winter, when I was at Home, I lived like an *Hermit* all alone; having a pretty large House, and no body in it but my self, a Nights especially: But an elderly Woman (whose Father had been an old Servant to the Family) came every Morning, and made my Bed; and did what else I had occasion for her to do; till I fell Ill of the *Small Pox*, and then I had her with me, and the Nurse. But now, understanding by Letter from my Sister, that my Father did not intend to return to settle there; I made off those Provisions which were in the House (that they might not be spoiled when I was gone:) and because they were what I should have spent, if I had tarried there, I took the Money made of them to my self, for my support at *London*, if the Project succeeded for my Going thither.

“ This done, I committed the Care of the House to a Tenant of my Father’s, who lived in the Town; and taking my leave of *Crowell*, went up to my sure Friend *Isaac Penington* again. Where understanding that the Mediation used for my Admittance to *John Milton*, had succeeded so well, that I might come when I would; I hastened to *London*: and in the first place went to wait upon him.

“ He received me courteously; as well for the sake of *Dr. Paget*, who introduced me: as of *Isaac Penington*, who recommended me; to both whom he bore a good Respect. And having inquired divers things of me, with respect to my former Progression in Learning; he dismissed me, to provide my self of such Accommodations, as might be most suitable to my future studies.

“ I went therefore and took my self a Lodging as near to his House (which was then in *Jewenstreet*) as conveniently as I could: and from thenceforward went every Day in the Afternoon (except on the *First Days* of the Week) and sitting by him in his Dining-Room, read to him in such Books in the *Latin Tongue*, as he pleased to hear me read.

“ At my first sitting to read to him, 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 instructed me how to sound the Vowels; so different from the common Pronunciation used by the *English* (who speak *Anglice* their *Latin*) that (with some few other variations in sounding some consonants, in particular Case; as *C.* before *E.* or *I.* like *Ch.*, *Sc.* before *I.* like *Sh.* &c.) the *Latin* thus spoken, seemed as different from that which was delivered as the *English* generally speak it, as if it was another Language.

“ I had before, during my retired Life at my Father’s, by unwearied Diligence and Industry, so far recovered the Rules of *Grammar* (in which I had once been very ready) that I could both read a *Latin* Author, and after a sort hammer out his meaning. But this Change of Pronunciation proved a New Difficulty to me. It was now harder to me to read, than it was before to understand when read. But

————— ‘ *Labor omnia vincit*  
 Improbis’ —————  
 Incessant Pains  
 The End obtains.

“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 would stop me, Examine me, and open the most difficult Passages to me.

“Thus went I on, for about six weeks time, reading to him in the Afternoons, and exercising my self, with my own Books, in my Chamber, in the Forenoons: I was sensible of an Improvement.

“But, alas! I had fixed my studies in a wrong place. *London* and I could never agree for health: my Lungs (as I suppose) were too tender to bear the Sulphurous Air of that City. So that I soon began to droop; and in less than two Months time, I was fain to leave both my Studies and the City; and return into the Country to preserve Life: and much ado I had to get thither.”

Ellwood next informs his readers, that, on his recovery, he resumed his studies at *London*, where he was most kindly received by his old Master, Milton, and restored to the same post he had previously filled. This was, however, of short duration, owing to his having been taken into custody, by a party of soldiers, at a Meeting of Quakers held at the *Bull and Mouth* by Aldersgate, on the 26th of August, 1662. He was, with others, sent to Bridewell, and thence to Newgate, from whence, after much suffering, he was released.

“Being now at liberty,”—Ellwood writes, p. 200,—“I visited more generally my Friends that were still in Prison; and more particularly my Friend and Benefactor, *William Pennington*, at his house; and then went to wait upon my Master *Milton*. With whom yet I could not propose to enter upon my intermitted Studies, until I had been in *Buckinghamshire*, to visit my worthy Friends *Isaac Pennington*, and his virtuous Wife; with other Friends in that Country.”

During his few days stay with his friends, they proposed to him, in consequence of the loss of the tutor to their children, that he should take the vacant situation; which he did, but not without much regret, as the arrangement altogether prevented his continuing his studies under Milton. Misfortune, however, soon again overtook him. On the 1st of May, 1665, while attending the funeral of a friend in the neighbourhood, a disturbance arose from its having been reported that a *Quaker* was about to be buried. The result was, that Ellwood and others were apprehended, and sent to *Alesbury* prison. That period now brings us to the last intercourse Ellwood had with Milton. He states, pp. 233-4:

“Some little time before I went to *Alesbury* Prison, I was desired by my quondam Master *Milton* to take an House for him, in the Neighbourhood where I dwelt, that he might get out of the City, for the Safety of himself and his Family, the Pestilence then growing hot in *London*. I took a pretty Box for him in *Giles-Chalfont*, a Mile from me; of which I gave him notice: and intended to have waited on him, and seen him well settled in it; but was prevented by that Imprisonment.

“But now being released, and returned Home, I soon made a Visit to him, to welcome him into the Country.

“After some common Discourses had passed between us, he called for a Manuscript of his; which being brought he delivered to me, bidding me take it home with me, and read it at my Leisure: and when I had so done, return it to him, with my Judgment thereupon.

“When I came home, and had set my self to read it, I found it was that excellent POEM, which he entituled *PARADISE LOST*. After I had, with the best Attention, read it through, I made him another Visit, and returned him his Book, with due Acknowledgement of the Favour he had done me,

in Communicating it to me. He asked me how I liked it, and what I thought of it; which I modestly, but freely told him: and after some further Discourse about it, I pleasantly said to him, Thou hast said much here of *Paradise lost*; but what hast thou to say of *Paradise found*? He made me no Answer, but sate some time in a Muse; then brake of that Discourse, and fell upon another Subject.

“After the Sickness was over, and the City well cleansed and become safely habitable again, he returned thither. And when afterwards I went to wait on him there (which I seldom failed of doing, whenever my Occasions drew me to *London*) he showed me his Second POEM, called *PARADISE REGAINED*; and in a pleasant Tone said to me, *This is owing to you; for you put it into my Head, by the Question you put to me at Chalfont, which before I had not thought of.* But from this Digression I return to the Family I then lived in.”

It is seen by the preceding extracts from the Autobiography of Ellwood, that there is no reason whatever for supposing that he at any time acted as Amanuensis to Milton; though, like many of those who were intimate with the Poet, he may have occasionally, and more particularly during the first period of their acquaintance, have acted in that capacity. Ellwood continued to live with the Peningtons for many years, and married in 1669. As he does not again mention Milton, the probability is, that, on the return of the Poet to London, little intercourse took place between them, except in the occasional visits Ellwood paid to his old Master.



INGULARLY remarkable are the last four lines of *Paradise Regained*:

“Thus they the Son of God our Saviour meek  
Sung Victor, and from Heavenly Feast refresh’d  
Brought on his way with joy; he unobserv’d  
Home to his Mother’s house private return’d.”

We acknowledge our total incapacity of criticizing the diction of the Great Poet, Milton; but we venture an opinion, that, had any other mind than his composed the above lines, as the conclusion of a poem<sup>1</sup> on such a subject, they would have not remained long unnoticed for their very peculiar manner of delineating the return of our Blessed Saviour, after “The Temptation in the Wilderness,” to his earthly mother, ere he entered upon these predestined duties, for the fulfilment of which alone,—THE SALVATION OF MAN,—he left the glories of his Heavenly Kingdom, embracing Humanity in the humble position of the Son of a Carpenter.

“Of *Paradise Regained*,” observes<sup>2</sup> Dr. Johnson, “the general judgement seems

<sup>1</sup> Milton appears to have closed his Poem, *Paradise Regained*, ere its subject may be said to have commenced. The Poet sublimely describes the Victory of our Blessed Saviour over the Temptations of Satan, paving, as it

were, the road to the Gates of Heaven; but the Poet leaves to his Reader the realization of “*Paradise Regained*.”

<sup>2</sup> Life of Milton, by Johnson.



now to be right, that it is in many parts elegant, and everywhere instructive. It was not to be supposed that the writer of *Paradise Lost* could ever write without great effusions of fancy, and exalted precepts of wisdom. The basis of *Paradise Regained* is narrow; a dialogue without action can never please like an union of the narrative and dramatic powers. Had this poem been written, not by Milton, but by some imitator, it would have claimed and received universal praise." What a noble admission on the part of the Great Critic, JOHNSON !



ANDREW MARVELL being one of the most constant friends of Milton, and acting as Assistant-Secretary to the Poet when he became bereft of his sight, it is natural to suppose that he might have occasionally acted as his Amanuensis. In plate XXIV., No. 5, we have given in fac-simile the commencement and ending of a letter<sup>1</sup> from Andrew Marvell. It is there seen that the handwriting is of a totally different character from any that we have met with among the papers connected with Milton.

<sup>1</sup> It forms one in the collection of Letters and Papers usually, but erroneously, called "THE MILTON STATE PAPERS," respecting which the subjoined note occurs in "*The Bibliographer's Manual*," by Lowndes: "These State Papers were probably collected by Milton with a view to render them subservient to some particular or general history of his times." The Papers do not contain any internal evidence of having belonged to the Poet !

As a Member of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of London, we find, on searching the original Minutes of the Society, the subjoined note of the Documents referred to :

"Mr. Ames, from Mr. John Nickolls, presented the Society with a large Folio bound with guards, being letters of several Persons to Oliver Cromwell, and were formerly the collection of John Milton, who left them to Mr. . . . Wyatt of London, merchant, with whom our deceased Member, Mr. John Nickolls, Junior, served his time, and at his master's decease his Mrs. gave them to him. Now they being printed in Folio 1743, with this 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 collection of Mr. John Milton. Now first published from the originals By John Nickolls, Junr., Member of the Society of Antiquaries, London. His Father gave with the originals a note in these words, viz. :*

"In consideration of the esteem my Son had for the Society of Antiquaries of London, of which he was member, I do give this manuscript collection of Letters of Oliver Cromwell, to be by them preserved for publick use.

JOHN NICKOLLS.

"London, 15th Jan. 1746."

"The above is a faithful extract from fol. 113 of Vol. V. of the Minutes of the Society of Antiquaries, Thursday, 15th Jan. 1746.

C. KNIGHT WATSON, Secretary.

"Oct. 2, 1860."

As an Encouragement to others to bestow similar Collections to the Society, the Council could not have done better than to have printed the contents of the volume, a volume given to be "*preserved for publick use.*"

THE LICENSED MANUSCRIPT  
OF THE  
FIRST BOOK OF PARADISE LOST.

PLATE XXV. Nos. 1, 2, AND 3.



It is remarkable that Bishop Newton is the only biographer of the Poet who records the existence of the very interesting Manuscript in the possession of William Baker,<sup>1</sup> Esq., of Bayfordbury, Hertfordshire. In his Memoir of the Poet, prefixed to the variorum edition of *Paradise Lost*, 1761, p. lvii., he states that not only was the original<sup>2</sup> contract for the sale of the copyright of that Poem, April 27, 1667, in the possession of Tonson, the bookseller, but “likewise the manuscript of the first book copied fair for the press, with the *Imprimatur* by Thomas Tomkyns, Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury; so that though Milton was forced to make use of different hands to write his verses from time to time, as he had occasion, yet we may suppose that the copy for the press was written all, or at least each book, by the same hand.”

It appears extraordinary, that subsequent editors and biographers of the Poet,—men distinguished in literature for their indefatigable industry and research,—should not have sought out the present location of the said Manuscript. It was quite by accident, as stated, p. 165, that we became acquainted with it. We had anticipated and hoped that it would turn out to be in the same handwriting as that employed by the Amanuensis of Milton in the latter portion of the Treatise *De Doctrinâ Christianâ*, and in the copies of some of the Sonnets in the Trinity College Manuscript.

Through the kindness of Mr. Baker, we have been permitted to have the first, and a portion of another page taken in fac-simile,—Nos. 1 and 2 in the present plate. In these pages the reader will see, that, though at first sight there is a similarity in the style of the hand to that of the smaller cursive hand in specimen 2, plate XX., and specimen 2, plate XXII., from the *De Doctrinâ Christianâ*,—a similarity, such as frequently exists in the peculiar secretary hand of the period,—yet the difference between the two hands is such, as to leave no doubt of the fair copy of the First Book of *Paradise Lost*, forming the now *Baker Manuscript*,

<sup>1</sup> Sir William Baker, the father of the late William Baker, the Member for Hertford, and grandfather of the present William Baker, married Mary the eldest daughter of Jacob

Tonson, jun., the nephew of Jacob Tonson, sen.

<sup>2</sup> That presented by Samuel Rogers, the Poet, to the British Museum.

Dante's loft.  
Flight book

Of man's first disobedience, & the fruit  
 Of that forbidden tree, whose mortal taste  
 Brought death into the world, & all our woe,  
 With loss of Eden, till one greater Man  
 Restore us, & regain the blissful seat,  
 Sing heavenly Muse, that on the forest top  
 Of Orontoe of Sinai didst inspire  
 That shepherd, who first taught the chosen brood,  
 In the beginning how the heavens & earth  
 Rose out of Chaos: Or if thou wilt  
 Delight those woods, & Siloa's brook, that flows  
 Fast by the Oracle of God; if thou  
 Inscribe thy aid to my adventurous song,  
 That with no middle flight intends to soar  
 Above th' Aonian Mount, while it pursues  
 Things unattempted yet in prose or verse:  
 And thoughly thou O Spirit that dost prefer  
 Before all temples th' upright heart & pure  
 Instruct me, for thou knowest; thou from the first  
 Hast profert, & with mighty wings outspread  
 Dove-like satst brooding on the vast Abyss  
 And didst it pregnant: What in me is dark

Flight Book

But what if her our tongueless (whom I now  
 Of force believe Almighty, since no loss  
 Than just could have opportunity for ever as ours)  
 Have left us this our spirit, and strength in  
 Strongly to suffer and support our pain,  
 That we may so suffer his vengefull ire  
 Or do him mightier service as his thralls  
 By sight of wars, what do his business be  
 Flow in the heart of Hell to work in fire,  
 Or do his errands in the gloomy deep,  
 What can it then avail thought not too fools  
 Strength undiminish'd, or stern all being  
 To undergo stern all punishment?  
 We have to write speedy words that ~~write~~ supply's.

m. p. m. h. u. r.  
 S. p. i. o. T. o. m. a. r. u. m. I. R. i. m. o. m.  
 i. n. t. e. r. i. o. r. e. a. l. l. o. m. i. n. o.  
 S. p. i. r. i. t. u. s. s. a. n. c. t. u. s. p. a. t. r. i. s. t. i. c. u. s.  
 S. p. i. r. i. t. u. s. s. a. n. c. t. u. s. p. a. t. r. i. s. t. i. c. u. s.  
 S. p. i. r. i. t. u. s. s. a. n. c. t. u. s. p. a. t. r. i. s. t. i. c. u. s.

Richard Ryleton

John Geo. Sheffield



having been written by another person. It is also stated by Bishop Newton, no doubt on the authority of Tonson, that it was the *fair copy made for the press*; the Bishop afterwards observing, that the remaining books were probably copied for the press by the same hand. It may be interesting to notice that the Manuscript of the First Book under consideration, is evidently in the same state as it was when sent to be licensed. It is written on seventeen leaves, small 4to., independent of the outer leaf containing on the reverse the subjoined inscription :

“*Imprimatur*

“*Tho. Tomkyns iP<sup>mo</sup> in Christo Patri ac Domino Dño Gilberto  
divinâ Providentiâ Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi à sacris domesticis.*

“*Richard Royston.*

“*Int. p Geo. Tokefeilde Cl.*

The leaves are merely stitched; and it has never had any kind of binding, the first and last leaves, half a folio sheet, forming the covering. The Book ends on the recto of the last leaf but one, but without any indication of there being a further portion; though the note of its being only the first Book occurs as the running-title on the top of each leaf. The circumstance of the last three pages being blank, induces us to believe that no more than the first Book was at that time sent to be licensed.

The licence, as given in fac-simile No. 3, is written on the reverse of the outer leaf. The first portion is probably in the autograph of Thomas Tomkyns, Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury. It bears no date; but, as Gilbert Sheldon succeeded Archbishop Juxon, who died June 20, 1663, the Licence must have been granted after that date, and before 1678: Archbishop Sheldon having died in 1677. That it was granted before April 27, 1677, is most certain, as the Deed of Agreement for its sale mentions “*All that Booke, Copy, Manuscript of a Poem intituled Paradise Lost,*” and “*now lately licensed to be printed.*” We had hoped to have found some entry of the *imprimatur* in the Register at Lambeth Palace; but our researches in that quarter, through Mr. John Bohn, with the kind permission of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and his Secretary, Mr. Felix Knyvett, have not met with any success. It appears that the applications for the Licences to print were not at that period preserved. Through the kindness of our friend, Mr. Henry Foss, the Master of the Honourable Stationers’ Company, we find the subjoined entry relating to the copyright of *Paradise Lost* :

“*August 20, 1667.*

“*Mr. Sam. Symons.*

“*Entered for his Copie under the hands of Mr. Thomas Tomkyns }<sup>a.</sup>  
and Mr. Warden Royston,<sup>1</sup> a Booke or Copie Intituled }<sup>vi.</sup>  
Paradise lost, A Poem in Tenne bookes by I. M.”*

<sup>1</sup> Richard Royston was then Warden; it being probably necessary, as at the present

time, that such entries should be made under the hand of the Warden.



WHEN the great epic," writes Dr. Symmons in his *Life of the Poet*, p. 521, "was completely prepared for the press, its birth was on the point of being intercepted by the malignity, or rather perhaps by the perverse sagacity of the licenser; whose quick nostril distinguished the scent of treason in that well-known simile of the sun in the first book :

— ‘*As when the sun new-risen  
Looks through the horizontal misty air,  
Shorn of his beams ; or, from behind the moon,  
In dim eclipse disastrous twilight sheds  
On half the nations, and with fear of change  
Perplexes monarchs.*

“The office of licenser, which had been abolished during the usurpation of Cromwell, had now been restored, for a limited time, by an Act of Parliament passed in 1662. By this Act, the press, with reference to its different productions, was placed under the dominion of the Judges, some of the Officers of the State, and the Archbishop of Canterbury. Poetry falling within the province of the latter, the fate of *Paradise Lost* was committed to the judgment of the Reverend Thomas Tomkyns, one of the chaplains of Archbishop Sheldon.”

In the Appendix to the *Life of Milton* by Birch, prefixed to the first volume of the *Prose Works of Milton*, published in 2 vols., folio, by Millar, 1738, occurs as “xv” of the Testimonies in support of the *Icon Basilike* being the genuine production of King Charles I., a statement that *Mr. Royston* informed Sir William Dugdale “that about the beginning of October 1648, he was sent by the King to prepare all things ready for the printing of some Papers ; which he purposed shortly after to convey unto him ; and which was this very copy brought to him on the 23d December next following by Mr. Edward Symmons ; in the printing whereof Mr. Royston made such speed that it was finished before the 30 of January, on which his Majesty’s Life was taken away.”

Richard Royston was at that time the Royal Printer. He had served Charles I. in that capacity, and was continued in that office during the Reigns of Charles II. and James II. He was buried at Christ Church, Newgate-street, his epitaph being “Richard Royston,<sup>1</sup> Printer to 3 Kings, died 1686, in his 86th year.” Our kind and venerable friend, Mr. Nichols, informs us, that “He gave some plate to the Stationers’ Company. He had a patent granted him for the printing of the Works

<sup>1</sup> Many interesting particulars of Royston are related in “THE LITERARY ANECDOTES,” one of the most charming works of the present period. It is a work essentially requisite in the library of all who desire to acquaint themselves with

the Literary History and Authors of the past and present centuries. It was commenced in 1812, by John Nichols ; and continued and completed in the present year, 1860, by his son, John Bowyer Nichols, F.S.A., etc.

of King Charles I. He was connected with the Chiswell Family. The Roystons and Chiswells were Booksellers, leading men in an occupation worthy of the highest respect when taken up with a feeling to promote the interests of literature, beyond the mere desire of amassing wealth by the indiscriminate use of type, ink, and paper."



THE question that now arises, is, whether the Manuscript was really that from which the *first edition* of that portion of the work *was printed*. In the fac-simile from the first page, it is seen, that the Amanuensis had in the first instance written the *first* letter of each line in the *small character*, and that afterwards he *altered* each letter to a *capital*. That peculiarity pervades the first three pages, though in the fourth page, the copyist occasionally forgot his fresh instructions. The fact of the orthography differing constantly throughout, and there being no indication for the use of *italics*, so frequent in the printed text of the first edition, induces us, with the additional fact of the manuscript not having been at all soiled, to think that another transcript was made for the printer, and that the present manuscript was preserved intact as the document authorizing the printing of the work, by Sheldon, Abp. of Canterbury.

There is most certainly a degree of mystery connected with the printing and publication of *Paradise Lost*, which has been hitherto unaccounted for. The difficulty in obtaining the license for its printing had been got over; and yet we find that Samuel Simmons, a printer, who had purchased the copyright, substituted the name of another printer, Peter Parker, on the title-page; whose name also appears in the imprint on the titles to the copies issued in 1667, and in part during 1668, in which latter year S. Simmons suddenly comes forth, acknowledging himself as the printer of the work. It has been shown, pp. 81-2, that there were no less than *nine* title-pages, all varying, used in the different issues of the *first edition* of the work. Why was it, that, in the title wherein the name of Simmons first appears as the Printer, the notice "*Licensed and entered according to order*," is omitted? Did Simmons fear to allow his name, in the first instance, to appear as the printer of a work bearing the name of John Milton, who, though not politically persecuted at that period, had still very many enemies? Such was probably the case; but when he found that the Poem was not condemned, and that, notwithstanding the prejudice against the author, the work successfully took ground, he no longer hesitated, but issued the remaining copies in 1668, under his own name as the printer. Simmons subsequently sold the copyright to Brabazon Aylmer, the bookseller, for twenty-five pounds, so that, after all, Simmons cannot be said to have realized a large sum by his original purchase. The copyright was afterwards bought of Aylmer by Jacob Tonson at a considerable advance; at which time, Tonson, no doubt, became the possessor of the licensed manuscript copy of the First Book of the Poem and the original articles of agreement between Samuel Simmons and the Poet.



SINCE penning the preceding, we have accidentally become acquainted with some rather interesting information respecting the Assignment by Milton of the copyright of his *Paradise Lost* to S. Simmons in 1667; consequent on our finding, when on a visit to William Baker, of Bayfordbury, Hertfordshire, Esq., that it had evidently formed part and parcel of some "*Tonson Papers*," in the possession of his family, inherited by his great grandfather, Sir William Baker of Bayfordbury, who married Mary, the eldest daughter of Jacob Tonson, junior.

Bishop Newton, in his Memoir of the Poet prefixed to the variorum edition of *Paradise Lost*, 1761, 4to., p. lvii, states, as we have previously noticed, that the Document was then in the possession of JACOB TONSON. In the "Bibliographical Account of Milton's Poetical Works," which appeared in "*The Retrospective Review*," vol. xiv., 1826, pp. 282-305, it is stated, p. 294, that "the copyright contract of the Poet with the bookseller Symmons, who purchased the manuscript poem, is now in the possession of Mr. Pickering, who, we believe, obtained it through the representatives of the Tonson family. As this classical and interesting relic has for a century and a half eluded the research of the biographers and bibliographers, we insert it, correctly copied from the original."

The author of the article in the Review evidently had intercourse with the late Mr. Pickering, as shown by his having been permitted to make a transcript of the document. It is, therefore, singular that, when alluding to it, he should have stated that he "*believed*"—"it was obtained through the representatives of the Tonson Family," as, on enquiry of Mr. Pickering, he would have at once learned that such *was not the fact*. Mysteriousness is a habit frequently adopted when there is really not the least occasion for it. The simple question is this: If Mr. Pickering purchased the document at a public sale, how could he be said to have "*obtained it through the representatives of the Tonson Family*." In the "Advertisement" to vol. i. of the Poetical Works of Milton, edited by the Reverend John Mitford, 1851, the publisher, Mr. Pickering, notes, in referring to the Deed of Assignment, that "It was once in the possession of the Publisher of this Edition, and was sold by him for one hundred guineas." A fac-simile of the document, engraved by Swaine, accompanied that edition.

It has been clearly shown, on the authority of Bishop Newton, that in 1761 the document was in the possession of the Tonson Family, together with the manuscript of the first book of *Paradise Lost*.

In Willis's Current Notes for July 1857, is an interesting article on the Kit Cat Club and the collection of Portraits of its Members. The article thus closes, p. 51 :



“Jacob Tonson, the third bookseller of the name, served the office of High Sheriff for the county of Surrey in 1750; and in 1759 paid the customary fine for being excused to serve as Sheriff of London and Middlesex. He conducted his business with great liberality in the same shop which had been so many years possessed by his father and great uncle, opposite Catherine Street, in the Strand; but some years before his death moved to a new house he had built on the other side, now No. 345, near Catherine Street, where he died without issue, March 31, 1767. The house was then Mr. Hodson's, the banker, and here remained a large depositary of Pope's and other letters, the correspondence of the Tonsons, to which latterly no particular attention being paid, the whole disappeared, and was destroyed, it was said, by the servants.”

If we mistake not, the younger Tonson had a large share in the partnership of the banking establishment of Mr. Hodson, and subsequently of Messrs. Hodson and Stirling, the business being conducted in the house in the Strand built by Tonson on his removal from the old house nearly opposite, called “*Shakespeare's Head*,” afterwards occupied by Andrew Miller, the publisher, and at his death by Thomas Cadell, his apprentice. It has been since rebuilt, it being No. 141, three doors from the house in which the sales by auction of Libraries, Collections of Prints, Coins, Antiquities, etc. were carried on by Messrs. Leigh & Sotheby, from 1805 until the removal of the business by the late Samuel Sotheby in 1819 to Wellington Street, Strand, a business which had been commenced in 1744 by SAMUEL BAKER, a Bookseller.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> SAMUEL BAKER was for many years distinguished as an eminent bookseller of the early part of the eighteenth century. The Sale of Libraries by Public Auction commenced as early as 1676, with that of Dr. Seaman, by William Cooper, bookseller, who was afterwards joined by Edward Millington. They were succeeded by the Ballards, Samuel Paterson, and Samuel Baker; the latter making his *début* as an Auctioneer of Books in the sale of the Library of Thomas Pellet, in the Great Room over Exeter Change, January 1744; the room afterwards used for the Exhibition of Wild Beasts! At that period, as at the present, Libraries were sometimes sold by the Auctioneers of Pictures, Furniture, and such like, viz. :—Gerard, Christie, Cock, Langford, etc. Samuel Baker, however, was the first Bookseller who turned his more immediate attention to the Sale of Libraries; and though he continued occasionally to publish Catalogues of his own stock of Books, as a Trading Bookseller and Publisher, his object was to found a business as the Leading Auctioneer of Books.

Mr. Baker was, for those days, a wealthy and independent man; spending, during the latter years of his life, the greater portion of his time

in journeying, on an old favourite horse, to and from his residence at Woodford Bridge, near Chigwell, in Essex, in which part he possessed two other small estates. He left the general management of his business to his assistant, Mr. George Leigh, the youngest son of Dr. Egerton Leigh, Archdeacon of Salop and Canon of Hereford; who, having a large family of boys, placed the youngest one, George, as a youth, under the care of Mr. Baker; by whom he was afterwards taken into Partnership. Baker and Leigh, while continuing and carrying on their business as Booksellers, established themselves as Book Auctioneers. Mr. Samuel Baker then brought into the business his nephew, Mr. John Sotheby; to whom, on his death, in 1778, he bequeathed all his property. The firm, previously carried on by Baker, Leigh, and Sotheby, was continued by Leigh and Sotheby; and subsequently by Leigh, Sotheby, and Son, —Mr. Samuel Sotheby, the eldest son, who had been brought up in the business.

Owing to unhappy family circumstances, the firm was dissolved in 1804, Mr. George Leigh and Mr. Samuel Sotheby removing to 145, Strand; while Mr. John Sotheby remained in



THE Document under consideration may at one time have been among the "*Tonson Papers*," mentioned by the author of the article quoted from "*Willis's Notes and Queries*." We can quite understand how such manuscripts, having been deposited and remaining for more than half a century in the cellars of a banking house, or in any house

the old house, York-street, Covent Garden. Mr. Sotheby, senior, had not been brought up as a man of business. He was a man of considerable taste and elegant deportment. He painted well, engraved well, and carved well. Imbued with a feeling of being the fallen Representative of the Eldest Branch of the Sotheby Family, one of the oldest families in the East Riding of Yorkshire, near Pocklington, where they were settled in the early part of the fifteenth century;—the beautiful church of that place having been built by John Sotheby about 1450. His monumental cross, erected on the occasion, has been lately restored by us, and placed at the entrance of the churchyard, and a copy of it in the Monumental Court of the Crystal Palace at Sydenham.

Mr. Sotheby attended too little to the means of supporting the position in which he had been placed by the property bequeathed to him by his Uncle, Samuel Baker; and consequently on his death, within three years of his being in business by himself, little of the Baker Property remained.

Messrs. Leigh and Sotheby having firmly established themselves in the Strand, as The First Auctioneers for the disposal of Libraries, gave up their business as Booksellers and Publishers.

Of Mr. George Leigh, who died in 1816, that eccentric but clever bookseller, William Gardiner, of Pall Mall, has remarked in one of his Catalogues, while criticizing that portion of the "*Bibliomania*" allotted to the Auction Room: "Even the keystone of the arch, the Auctioneer, is forgotten; an omission, like the name in an epitaph, inexcusable, particularly as Mr. Leigh was not made 'by one of Nature's journeymen.' Nay, I think he would even tempt a pencil of taste. However, I won't suffer him to be *out of print*; and so I'll e'en try my rough charcoal on his *effigies*. Mr. Leigh, to the birth, person, and manners of a gentleman, adds, in the autumn of life, the cheerfulness, the bloom,

and the gentle, friendly warmth of spring; and during a space of forty years devoted to the service of the publick, has attended to its interests, whatever might be the magnitude, with the utmost vigilance, impartiality, and success; and, in a profession accompanied by much trouble, perplexity, confusion, and uncertainty, has spared neither his person nor purse to introduce regularity, method, and precision; and has preserved a character not only unstained and unsuspected, but highly honourable. His discharge of duty during the hour of sale cannot be too highly praised, whether for a gracefulness of delivery, that adds interest to such a correct enunciation of his articles as each of their Authors would approve; or for that polished suavity with which he moderates the occasional asperity of contending parties; whether he checks with a *bon mot* the Doctor's [the learned Dr. Gosset] rarely unchristian want of benevolence to an unfortunate classick, or with irresistible politeness induces Dom. Atticus [Richard Heber] to indulge the room with a slight glance of the contested prize; whether he reinvigorates the declining powers of the combatants with the effluvia of his 'spirit-stirring horn' [silver snuff-box], or crowns glorious victory with a triumphant laurel of brown *rappee*. The battle ended, a gentlemanly attention to the wounds of every unfortunate hero, from whatever cause they arise,—furnishes a rude index to a few, and only a few, of the virtues and accomplishments of Mr. Leigh."

It was not until the recent possession, through the kindness of our venerable friend, Mr. John Bowyer Nichols, of a copy of his Father's and his own very interesting and valuable "*Literary Anecdotes and Illustrations of the Eighteenth Century*," that we became acquainted with the preceding testimonial from the pen of so severe a critic as that extraordinary bookseller, Gardiner, in praise of our Godfather and Predecessor, Mr. George Leigh.

of business, where there was nobody who had any interest to preserve them, would get neglected,—no claim having been probably made by the representatives of the Family to whom they belonged, arising perhaps from their ignorance of such property being there. We can readily conceive, how a Partner or Head Clerk in such a house, possessing a taste for literature, or being a collector, or having friends who were collectors of Autograph Letters, would in his spare hours occasionally amuse himself and them in looking over such papers,—how such papers might then be placed on one side, and, from time to time, get purloined and ultimately disappear altogether, only to re-appear occasionally in the Portfolios of Collectors and in Public Museums, wherein they may have found a resting-place after having passed through several persons' hands, no questions having arisen as to whence they were obtained, or by whose authority they were sold. These cases, we fear, are of frequent occurrence, owing in many instances to such property having been perhaps confided by the owner to some friends for literary purposes, or to some bailee for safe keeping, without any indication of the name of the person to whom such property belonged. We have purposely repeated the words *such property*, because it is property of a very peculiar character,—valuable property of considerable historical and literary interest.

In exemplification of the above remarks, we may state,<sup>1</sup> that, in the year 1824, a person in the possession of some of the "*Tonson Papers*," decamped from his lodgings at the house of a Tailor in Clifford Street, Bond Street, leaving his landlord minus his rent. Whether on his departure he left to his landlord "Some Manuscripts" as any kind of security, we do not know; but the Knight of the Scissors finding these Manuscripts in the apartment of his Lodger betook himself to turn them into cash; and accordingly he or his man called on a neighbour, one Septimus Prowett, a Bookseller, then of some note in Bond Street, and offered to sell to him "some Manuscript Papers, comprising the Agreement for the Sale by Milton of the copyright of *Paradise Lost* to S. Simmons;—the Agreement for the Sale of the Translation of *Virgil* by Dryden;—and some other papers, for the *Spectator* and *Tatler*, with the signatures of Steele, Addison, etc." The Tailor told the Bookseller Prowett, that "*the Papers had been given to him to sell, and the proceeds were to pay a Lodging score.*" Mr. Prowett, who was at that time engaged in preparing for publication his magnificent edition of *Paradise Lost*, illustrated with the Series of Engravings after the designs of Martin, offered for the whole the sum of £25, which was accepted. Of the Agreement for the Sale of *Paradise Lost* Mr. Prowett had a fac-simile engraved by J. Messenger, with the view of presenting an impression to each of the Subscribers to that edition. Misfortunes, however, during the year 1824,—a year so calamitous to the mercantile interest,—overwhelmed him, and thus deprived him of the pleasure of making his intended gift to the Subscribers for "*Martin's Milton.*" Being desirous, however, of

<sup>1</sup> For this information we are indebted to Mr. Septimus Prowett and to Mr. John Bryant, formerly well known as booksellers.

turning his recently purchased Manuscripts to a profitable account, he sent them all in 1825 to the Auction Room of Mr. Southgate, where they were sold, February 28th, 1826,—and on reference to the Sale Catalogues of that date, we find that the Manuscripts were entered as subjoined :

- 118 Assignment of the History of England, 20 March, 1706, signed, *Lau Echard, Temple Stanyan* ;  
and Assignment of Abra Mule, 1 Jan., signed, *Joseph Trap*. Bought by Mr. Upcott for 4s.
- 119 Assignment of Spectators, 5 July, 1721, signed, *E. Budgell, Jacob Tonson*.  
Bought by Mr. Rogers, 6s.
- 120 Assignment of Spectators, 10 Nov., 1712, signed, *Joseph Addison, Richard Steele*.  
Bought by Mr. Rogers, 2l. 4s.
- 121 Assignment of Spectators, signed, *Joseph Addison, Richard Steele, Samuel Buckley*.  
Bought by Mr. Mathews, 2l. 4s.
- 122 Assignment of Spectators, signed, *Joseph Addison, Thomas Tickell*. Paid per Cash. 1l. 5s.
- 123 Assignment of Virgil, 15 June, 1694, signed, JOHN DRYDEN, *William Congreve*.  
Bought by Mr. Pickering, 3l. 15s.
- 124 Agreement for the Sale of "*The Paradise Lost*" to Samuel Symonds, 27 April, 1667, signed,  
JOHN MILTON. Bought by Mr. Pickering, 45l. 3s.

It was after the possession of the last two papers by Mr. Pickering, that they became the property of Sir Thomas Lawrence, who we presume was the person alluded to by Mr. Pickering as having paid one hundred guineas for the Milton Document alone. On the decease of Sir Thomas Lawrence, the two Documents were sold by Mr. Christie, June 1836, with the Remaining Part of his Collection of Modern Drawings, catalogued :—

- 444 Dryden's Assignment of his Virgil to Tonson, an. 1694—the original deed on parchment, with his seal and signature, and the signature of Congreve as witness.
- 445 The Original Assignment, on paper, made by Milton of his *Paradise Lost*, to Samuel Symons, April 27, 1667, with the signature and seal of the poet.

The one was purchased by Mr. Henry Rogers, the brother of Samuel Rogers, the Poet; the other by Mr. Glyn, a Bookseller and Dealer in Autograph Letters. In the late Mr. Dawson Turner's copy of the Sale Catalogues of the Collections of Sir Thomas Lawrence, now in our possession, occurs the subjoined note in reference to the two Documents :—

"Both these were in the possession of Mr. Fra. Maekie,<sup>1</sup> who, in July 1825, offered them to me (see my correspondence). He then stated, that Mr. Septimus Prowett, who afterwards bought Milton's Assignment, had offered him £30 for it. I declined the purchase; and on Prowett's failure, which happened soon after, I suppose it fell into Sir T. Lawrence's hands. After his sale, though bought by Glyn, it became the property of Mr. Meigh; on the sale of whose books and autographs by Evans in Feb. 1831, it was bought by Pickering for 50l. 8s., and by him sold to Mr. Rogers, in whose collection it was in Nov. 1831. D. T."

<sup>1</sup> If Mr. Mackie was the tailor in whose house the Manuscripts were left, it is very evident that he did not sell them to Mr. Prowett with-

out having previously tried elsewhere. We believe that the late Mr. Murray of Bond-street offered the same sum for them as Mr. Prowett.

HERE OUR "RAMBLINGS" ARE BROUGHT TO A CONCLUSION.

November 1860.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES

OF

EMINENT PERSONS

WHO HAVE RECEIVED

HONOURS FROM THE SOVEREIGNS OF ENGLAND

FOR THEIR ATTAINMENTS

IN

LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART,

DURING THE PERIOD 1660 TO 1861.



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

PHYSICS DEPARTMENT

PHYSICS 309

LECTURE NOTES

BY

PROFESSOR

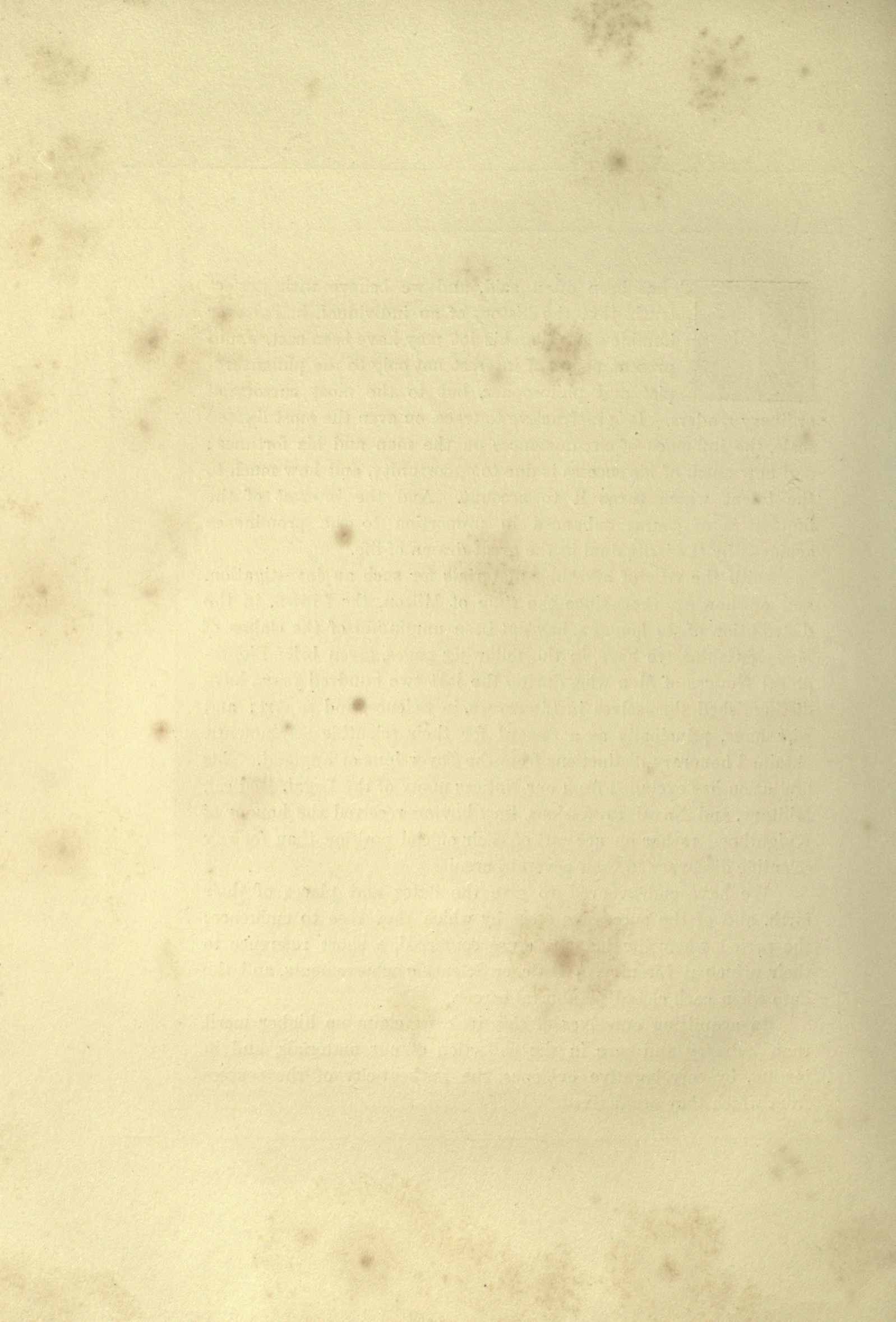


IT has been often said, and we believe with perfect truth, that the history of an individual, in however humble a position his lot may have been cast, would present points of interest not only to the philanthropist and philosopher, but to the most cursory of ordinary readers. It is instructive to trace, on even the most limited scale, the influence of circumstances on the man and his fortunes; and how much of his success is due to opportunity, and how much to the talent which turns it to account. And the interest of the inquiry is of course enhanced in proportion to the prominence achieved by the individual in the great drama of life.

With the view of affording materials for such an investigation, and of shewing, that, since the time of Milton, the Crown, in the distribution of its honours, has not been unmindful of the claims of Men of Genius, we have, in the following pages, given brief Biographical Notices of Men who, during the last two hundred years, have distinguished themselves in Literature, in Science, and in Art; and who have, principally as a reward for their scientific attainments, obtained honorary distinctions from the Sovereigns of England. This limitation has excluded from our Notices many of the Legal, Medical, Military, and Naval Professions, they having received the honour of Knighthood rather on account of their official position than for any scientific discovery in their several pursuits.

We have endeavoured to give the dates and places of their birth, and of the successive steps by which they rose to eminence; the period when the honours were conferred, a short reference to their principal Literary, Artistic, or Scientific achievements, and the date when each closed his mortal career.

In acquitting ourselves of this task, we claim no higher merit than industry and care in the collection of our materials, and in testing, by corroborative evidence, the authenticity of the sources from which they are derived.





# APPENDIX.

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## BRIEF BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES OF EMINENT PERSONS

WHO HAVE RECEIVED

HONOURS FROM THE SOVEREIGNS OF ENGLAND FOR THEIR  
ATTAINMENTS IN LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART,

DURING THE PERIOD 1660 TO 1861.

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### SIR WILLIAM ADAMS.



HIS celebrated Oculist became a Member of the Royal College of Surgeons in London, in 1807, and devoted himself principally to diseases of the eye. In 1812 he published "Observations on Ectropium, or Eversion of the Eye-lids," and was appointed Oculist to the Eye Infirmary at Exeter. He professed to have discovered a new method of treating the eye in ophthalmia, which recommended him to the notice of Lord Palmerston, then Secretary at War, who created a new place for him, "Ophthalmic Surgeon to the Army," with a salary of £1,500 per ann. He held the offices of Oculist Extraordinary to the Prince Regent (who conferred upon him the honour of knighthood in 1814) and Oculist in Ordinary to the Dukes of Kent and Sussex. By royal license he took the name of Rawson in 1825. He died in 1827.

### LIEUT.-COL. SIR JAMES EDWARD ALEXANDER, KNT., K.C.L.S.

This enterprising military officer, who is the son of the late Edward Alexander, Esq., of Powis, Clackmannanshire, a descendant of the Earls of Stirling, has served in almost all parts of the globe. He was employed on an expedition of discovery in the interior of Africa, and for his services received the honour of knighthood in 1838. He has also received several war-medals; and in 1858 was promoted to the lieutenant-colonelcy of the 14th Foot, which regiment he commanded at the siege and capture of Sebastopol. He is a Knight Commander of the Lion and Sun, and of St. John of Jerusalem, and has received the order of the Medjidie. He is the author of several volumes of Travels, Translations from the Persian, "Passages in the Life of a Soldier," etc. In this latter work, published in 1857, he strongly advocates the formation of rifle corps as the surest protection against invasion; a suggestion which he has lived to see practically carried into effect.

## SIR ARCHIBALD ALISON, BART., D.C.L., F.R.S.E.

This celebrated Historian, who was born at Kenley in Shropshire, in 1792, is the son of the Rev. Archibald Alison, Prebendary of Sarum, and author of "Essays on the Nature and Principles of Taste." He studied at Edinburgh University, and was admitted an Advocate at the Scottish bar in 1814. In 1834 he was appointed by Sir R. Peel Sheriff of Lanarkshire. He was elected Lord Rector of Marischal College, Aberdeen, in 1845, and of the University of Glasgow in 1851. In 1852 he was created a Baronet; in 1853 the honorary degree of Doctor of Civil Law was conferred upon him at Oxford; and the Royal Society of Edinburgh have elected him a Fellow of their body. The work upon which his literary fame is founded, is the "History of Europe from the Commencement of the French Revolution in 1789, to the Restoration of the Bourbons in 1815," which has passed through many editions, and been translated into most of the European and some of the Eastern languages. Of this work Sir Archibald published a continuation in 1852, intitled "History of Europe from the Fall of Napoleon to the Accession of Louis Napoleon in 1852; and in 1860 he published an edition of the entire work. Sir Archibald is also the author of several other works.

## SIR WILLIAM ALLAN, KNT., R.A., P.R.S.A.

This successful Painter was born at Edinburgh in 1782. He was educated at the High School; but, the study of the classics not being congenial to his taste, he was taken from thence, and bound apprentice to a Coach-builder, who employed him in painting Armorial Bearings. His master discovering his skill in this branch of art, by his influence obtained his admission into the Trustees' Academy, where he was fellow pupil with Wilkie. When his term expired, he proceeded to London, and became a Student of the Royal Academy; and in 1805 exhibited his first picture, "Gipsy Boy and Ass," at that Institution; but this not attracting public attention, he determined on travelling abroad, and took up his residence at St. Petersburg, where he remained nearly ten years, making occasional excursions into Turkey, Tartary, etc., for the purpose of gathering materials for his art. On his return to Scotland, in 1814, he exhibited his "Circassian Captives," which, at the suggestion of Sir Walter Scott, was purchased by means of a subscription raised by a hundred gentlemen at ten guineas each, the Earl of Wemyss being the successful competitor for the prize. In consequence of an ophthalmic disease, he was compelled for a year or two to discontinue painting. During this interval he visited Italy, Asia Minor, and Greece. On resuming his pencil, his "Slave Market at Constanti-nople," and other pictures of a like kind, shewed that he had profited by his travels. In 1825 he was elected an Associate of the Royal Academy, and an Academician in 1835. In 1838 he was elected President of the Royal Academy of Scotland; in 1841, on the death of Wilkie, he was appointed Her Majesty's Limner for Scotland; and in 1842 received the honour of Knighthood. He died Feb. 23, 1850.

## SIR RICHARD ARKWRIGHT, KNT.

Born at Preston in Derbyshire in 1732. He was originally a barber, which occupation he quitted about 1760, and became an itinerant dealer in hair. In 1769 he obtained his first patent for spinning by rollers. This machine was originally worked by horse-power; but in 1771 water-power was substituted at Cromford, which has been styled "the nursing-place of the factory opulence and power of Great Britain." In 1775 he obtained a second patent for various improvements in his first invention, from which, notwithstanding the numerous infringements of his patent, he amassed a fortune little short of half a million of money, which was more than doubled by his son. When upwards of fifty years of age, it is recorded that he endeavoured to retrieve the deficiencies of his early education by devoting one hour a day to grammar, and another to writing and orthography. He was knighted in 1786, as High Sheriff of Derbyshire, on presenting an address of congratulation to George III. on the failure of the attempt made on his life by Margaret Nicholson. Sir Richard died in 1792.

## SIR WILLIAM GEORGE ARMSTRONG, KNT., F.R.S., M. INST. C. E.

This successful civil engineer has acquired for himself a world-wide reputation for his "improvements in ordnance," which he patented in 1857. He was born at Newcastle-on-Tyne, on Nov. 26, 1810. Though originally intended for the legal profession, he shewed so decided a taste for mathematical studies that this intention was relinquished, and he entered the profession of a civil engineer. In early life he became a partner in the Howick Works, near his native town, where he brought to perfection his celebrated gun, which, after many successful experiments, the Government have adopted, and have employed him not only to manufacture a large number at his own works, but have given him the superintendence of the establishment at Woolwich, under the title of Engineer to the War Department for Rifled Cannon. The long range of his gun, extending to nearly six miles, and its unerring accuracy of aim, have been most satisfactorily tested in the recent Chinese war, and have fully justified the Government in their preference for that arm. He received the honour of knighthood for his invention, in 1859. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1846, and is a Member of the Council of the Institution of Civil Engineers of London.

## REAR-ADMIRAL SIR GEORGE BACK, KNT., D.C.L., F.R.S.

This distinguished Arctic Navigator was born at Stockport in Cheshire, November 6, 1796. He entered the Navy as Midshipman on board the *Arethusa* in 1808. In 1818 he was selected to accompany Captains Beechey and Buchan, and Lieut. (afterwards Sir John) Franklin on the first modern voyage of discovery beyond Spitzbergen. In 1819 he again joined Franklin in his land expedition from Hudson's Bay to the Copper-Mine River. In 1821 he obtained his lieutenantancy; and, on his return in 1825, was promoted to the rank of Commander, and was associated with Captain Franklin in his attempt to discover a North-West Passage in 1825-7. In 1833 he was appointed to the command of an expedition in search of Captain Ross. On his return in 1835 he obtained his post rank, and in 1836 was appointed to the command of the *Terror*, in which he proceeded on another Arctic Expedition. Of this voyage he has given a most interesting account in his "Narrative of an Expedition in H.M. Ship *Terror*, undertaken with a view to Geographical Discovery on the Arctic Shores, in 1836-7." In 1837 he received the Gold Medal of the Geographical Society; and was knighted in 1838. In 1847 he was elected Fellow of the Royal Society. The University of Oxford conferred upon him the honorary degree of D.C.L. in 1854. He attained the rank of Rear-Admiral in 1857. He is a member of several foreign societies, and has also received the gold medal of the Paris Geographical Society.

## SIR GEORGE BAKER, BART., M.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.

This Physician was born in 1722. He received an University education, and graduated in Medicine in 1756. He commenced practice at Stamford, but afterwards removed to London, where he acquired a great reputation, and was appointed Physician in Ordinary to King George III. and Physician to the Queen. In 1776 he was created a baronet; and in 1797 was elected President of the College of Physicians. He was also a Fellow of the Royal and Antiquarian Societies. He stood so high in the literary world that Gray dedicated to him his "Elegy written in a Country Church-yard." He is the Author of numerous medical tracts, which are written principally in chaste and elegant Latin. He died June 15th, 1809.

## RIGHT HON. SIR JOSEPH BANKS, BART., K.C.B., P.R.S., F.S.A., EDIN., M.I.R.A.

This eminent Naturalist was born in Argyll-street, Westminster, on Feb. 13, 1743; but a different locality as well as other dates are assigned to his nativity. At nine years of age he was sent to Harrow, whence, at thirteen, he was removed to Eton; and at eighteen he entered as a

Gentleman Commoner at Christ Church, Oxford. His love of Botany shewed itself while he was at Eton, and he prosecuted the science with ardour in the University, where he applied himself to the study of other branches of Natural History. No lectures on Botany being then given at Oxford, he obtained permission to engage a lecturer, whose salary was to be defrayed from the fees of the students. He left Oxford in 1763, having had an honorary degree conferred upon him. In 1766 he was elected Fellow of the Royal Society; and in the summer of that year sailed to Newfoundland for the purpose of collecting plants. He accompanied Captain Cook on his voyage of discovery in 1768, having been appointed Naturalist to the expedition in conjunction with Dr. Solander. On Mr. Banks' return, in 1771, he was admitted, by the express desire of His Majesty, to a private interview. In 1772 he made a voyage to Iceland, where he purchased a large collection of books, which he presented to the British Museum in the following year; and added another collection to it in 1783. In 1778 Mr. Banks was elected President of the Royal Society, an honour which he enjoyed for forty-one years. He was created a baronet in 1781. In 1795 he received the decoration of the Order of the Bath, and in 1797 was sworn of His Majesty's Privy Council. In 1802 he was chosen a Member of the National Institute of France. He was, in 1816, admitted an Honorary Member of the Royal College of Surgeons, and was also a member of most of the learned societies in his own country, Europe, and America. He is the author of some papers in the "Philosophical Transactions" and "Archæologia," and of an "Essay on the Causes of Mildew." Sir Joseph died in 1820.

SIR JOHN BARROW, BART., LL.D., F.R.S., F.L.S., P.R.G.S.,

Born at Dragleybeck, near Ulverstone in Lancashire, in 1764. He was educated at the Town Bank Grammar School. In 1792 he accompanied Lord Macartney on his Embassy to China, of which he published an account in his "Travels in China." He was appointed by Lord Melville, in 1804, second Secretary to the Admiralty, an office which he held for forty years, with the exception of the short period the Whigs were in power in 1806. In 1805 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. In 1830 he took a leading part in the formation of the Geographical Society, of which, some years after, he was chosen President. He was also a Fellow of the Linnæan Society. He was created a baronet in 1835. In 1845 he retired from the Admiralty, and enjoyed the pension of £1,000 per ann., which had been awarded to him in 1806 for his public services. As an author, his most elaborate work was published in 1818, under the title of "An Historical Account of Voyages into the Arctic Regions." He was a contributor to the "Quarterly Review" and "Encyclopædia Britannica," and author of several Biographies and other works. He died Nov. 23, 1848.

SIR CHARLES BARRY, KNT., R.A., F.R.S.,

Architect of the Houses of Parliament, was born in Westminster in May 1795. His education was obtained in private schools: first at Homerton in South Lambeth, and afterwards at Aspley in Bedfordshire. On his return to London he determined to become an architect, and was bound apprentice to Messrs. Middleton & Bailey of Lambeth. In 1817 he went to Italy, where the beauty and expressive power of his drawings attracted the attention of a wealthy Englishman about to visit Egypt, who offered to pay all his expenses if he would accompany him, and afford him the benefit of his pencil. This offer he accepted; and after a considerable stay there, he returned to Rome. He then travelled in Greece; and on his return to England he became the successful competitor for several public buildings, among which may be mentioned the Grammar School of King Edward VI. at Birmingham. The Travellers' Club, the College of Surgeons, and the Reform Club, were among his first works in London; and in 1834 his design for the New Palace at Westminster was selected as the best. He was elected an Associate of the Royal Academy in 1840, and an Academician in 1842; and in 1849 a Fellow of the Royal Society. He was also a Member of the Royal Institute of British

Architects, of the Pontifical Academy of St. Luke at Rome, of the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts at St. Petersburg, and of the Royal Academies of Fine Arts at Berlin, Stockholm, and Brussels. He received the order of knighthood in 1852. He died May 12, 1860. A Memoir is announced by one of his sons.

HENRY BARTH, M.D., C.B., D.C.L., F.R.G.S., F.R.A.S.

This celebrated scholar, traveller, and author, was born at Hamburg, 18th April, 1821. He commenced his studies in his native city, and afterwards prosecuted them at Berlin, where the natural sciences, and the history of antiquity in its bearings on the development of modern nations, principally engaged his attention. He graduated at Berlin in 1844, on which occasion he wrote a remarkable thesis on the commerce of ancient Corinth. In 1845 he visited London for the purpose of studying Arabic; and in the same year commenced those exploratory expeditions which have since so greatly increased our knowledge of African geography. In 1846 he crossed into Arabia, Syria, and Asia Minor; and in 1847 he travelled through Greece. He returned to Berlin in 1848, where he delivered lectures on African geography and the history of the Greek colonies. In the same year he published his "Exploratory Expedition to the Coasts of the Mediterranean in 1845, 1846, 1847." In 1849 he was associated with Mr. Richardson in the expedition to Central Africa, fitted out by the British Government; and upon the death of Mr. Richardson, in 1851, he was authorized by Her Majesty's Government to carry out the objects of the expedition. These travels occupied four years, during which he travelled twelve thousand miles. The narrative of his journey he first published in Germany in 1855, under the title of "Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa," and afterwards in England in 1857. This work, which obtained for him, in 1858, the distinction of an honorary civil Companion of the Bath, is one of the most important contributions to modern geographical science; and the researches it records have placed Dr. Barth among the most illustrious of the geographical explorers of our time. The Royal Geographical Society elected him a Fellow, and awarded to him their Victoria medal; and the University of Oxford conferred upon him the honorary degree of D.C.L. in 1856. He is also a Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society.

REAR-ADMIRAL SIR FRANCIS BEAUFORT, K.C.B., F.R.S., F.G.S., F.R.A.S., ETC.

This distinguished officer was the son of Dr. Beaufort, Rector of Navan and Vicar of Collon, in Ireland. He entered the navy in 1787, as a volunteer on board the *Colossus*, and became midshipman in 1790. In 1796 he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant. In 1800 he was engaged in a dashing affair with a Spanish polacre (*San Josef*) carrying fourteen brass guns; and for his determined bravery was rewarded with a Commander's commission. He obtained his post rank in 1810, and flag rank in 1846. For several subsequent years he was employed by the Lords of the Admiralty in constructing a variety of charts, of which may be enumerated, one of the Archipelago, three of the Black Sea (including the coast of Asia), and seven of Karamania. He was appointed hydrographer to the Admiralty in 1832; and was nominated commissioner, in 1836, for inquiring into the laws respecting pilots; and in 1845 for inquiring into the state of the harbours, etc., of the United Kingdom. He was appointed a civil K.C.B. in 1848; and was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1814: he was also a Fellow of the Geological and Astronomical Societies; and a Corresponding Member of the Institute of France. He died 17th Dec. 1857.

SIR WILLIAM BEECHEY, KNT., R.A.

This distinguished portrait painter was born at Burford, in Oxfordshire, in 1753. He was originally articled to a conveyancer; but having a taste for painting, he obtained admission to the Royal Academy, as a student, in 1772; of which he was elected an Associate in 1793, and in the same year was appointed Portrait Painter to the Queen. His great picture is that of King George

the Third at a Review, attended by the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York. In 1793 he was elected an Associate of the Royal Academy, and an Academician in 1798, in which year he received the honour of knighthood. Sir William died in 1839.

CAPT. SIR EDWARD BELCHER, K.C.B., F.R.S.

This scientific naval officer and hydrographer was born in 1799. He entered the navy as a first-class volunteer in 1812, and was soon after appointed a midshipman. In 1829 he was raised to the rank of Commander. In 1841 he performed a series of brilliant services in China, for which he obtained his post rank. He was appointed a Companion of the Bath in 1841, and was knighted in 1843. He commanded the expedition in search of Sir John Franklin from 1852 to 1854; of which he has published an interesting account under the title of "The Last of the Arctic Voyages." Sir Edward is also the author of several works of professional interest and great practical value.

SIR CHARLES BELL, K.H., M.D., F.R.S. L. & E., F.L.S., F.G.S.

This celebrated operative surgeon was born in Edinburgh in 1774. He was educated in the High School. In 1804 he removed to London, and in 1807 published his valuable work on Operative Surgery. In 1811 he distinguished himself as a lecturer on anatomy and surgery at the Hunters' Academy, Windmill-street; and in 1814 was appointed Surgeon to the Middlesex Hospital. The honour of a civil knight of Hanover was conferred upon him by William IV. in 1831. In 1821 his first paper on the "Nervous System" was read before the Royal Society, and attracted universal attention. In 1824 he was appointed Professor of Anatomy and Surgery in the College of Surgeons, London; and was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1826. When the London University (now University College) was established, he accepted the chair of Physiology; which, however, he soon resigned, and pursued his private professional practice. In 1836 the Professorship of Surgery in the University of Edinburgh being offered to him, he accepted it, and quitted London. He was author of works on Anatomy and Surgical Operations, and celebrated for his discoveries in connexion with the nervous system. He died in 1842; and his bust has been placed by the Council in the grand staircase of the Royal College of Surgeons.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL SIR SAMUEL BENTHAM, KNT.

This naval architect was the youngest brother of the celebrated political economist, Jeremy Bentham. He was born in 1756, and at the early age of six was sent to Westminster, where he evinced so strong a predilection for ship-building that his father relinquished all idea of training him for a liberal profession, and bound him apprentice, at the age of fourteen, to the Master Shipwright of Woolwich Dockyard. Young Bentham, perceiving that practical manipulation was no less essential than theoretical knowledge, worked sedulously at the dockside every day until breakfast time, devoting the rest of the day to scientific acquirements. From Woolwich he was, with his master, removed to Chatham; and on the expiration of his apprenticeship, he spent some time in the other royal dockyards, and at the Naval College at Portsmouth. At the recommendation of Lord Howe, then First Lord of the Admiralty, he visited the several ports in the north of Europe, for the purpose of acquainting himself with their different practices in the art of naval construction. On arriving at St. Petersburg he was introduced by our ambassador, Sir J. Harris, to Prince Potemkin, who induced him to enter the Russian service with the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and he was soon after appointed to the command of the flotilla at Cherson; and the Empress Catherine presented him with a gold-hilted sword and the cross of the Order of St. George, for the naval victories he there obtained over the Turks; and which honour he was, by command of King George III., in 1789, entitled to accept and wear in this country. After his return to England he patented, in 1791,

his machinery for planing and making mouldings. This was followed by a variety of other patents tending materially to diminish hand labour. In 1796, at the desire of the Government, he relinquished the service of Russia, with its honours and riches in expectancy, and was appointed to a new office, created for him, under the title of Inspector General of Naval Works. The block-machinery erected at Portsmouth, for which Sir I. M. Brunel has the credit, was invented by Sir Samuel; as was also the steam-dredging machine, to the invention of which a claim has been advanced for Mr. Rennie. To him we are indebted for a great reform in the dockyards, not only by improving their efficiency, but by curtailing their expenditure. He was sent out to Russia to build ships for the British navy: but this mission was rendered abortive by the opposition of the Emperor Alexander. On his return to England, his former office was abolished, and he became associated with the Navy Board under the title of Civil Architect and Engineer of the Navy. In 1812 he submitted to the Navy-Board a plan for a new dockyard at Sheerness; but this, like many other of his plans, met with a successful opposition, and he shortly after received an official intimation that the office he held was abolished; and he retired into private life without any remuneration for his long and valuable services, and was compelled, in 1814, to take up his residence in France for the economical education of his children. He died April 30, 1831.

SIR WILLIAM BETHAM, KNT., F.S.A.

This celebrated antiquary was born at Stradbroke, in Suffolk, in 1779. He was originally bound apprentice to a printer. But his early bias for antiquarian pursuits, which he inherited from his father, made him quit the printing office, and devote his talents to literature; his first employment being the revision of the third and fourth volumes of Camden's "Britannia." In 1805 he went to Dublin as clerk to Sir Charles Fortescue, Ulster King of Arms; and in a few years became his deputy, and in 1820 his successor. In 1812 he was appointed Genealogist of the Order of St. Patrick, and received the honour of knighthood. He was also appointed Deputy Keeper of Records at Dublin; an appointment which placed under his control a great number of records, of which he availed himself by forming an immense collection of historical and genealogical references extending to several hundred volumes. He was also a diligent collector of old manuscripts connected with Irish history and antiquities, which was purchased by the Irish Academy in 1851; of which, in 1825, he had been elected a member, and subsequently its foreign secretary; an office he resigned in 1840 in consequence of the Council refusing admission into their "Transactions," of some of his philological speculations. His first antiquarian publication, "Irish Antiquarian Researches, or Illustrations of Irish History," contains many of his peculiar views on the connexion of the Celtic races with several of the most remarkable nations of antiquity, and which are developed in "The Gael and Cimbri; or an Inquiry into the Origin and History of the Irish, Scots, Britons, and Gauls; and of the Caledonians, Picts, Welch, Cornish, and Bretons," published in 1834; and which he subsequently, in 1842, more fully enlarged upon in his "Etruria Celtica, Etruscan Literature and Antiquities investigated; or the Language of that People compared and identified with Ibero-Celtic, and both shewn to be Phœnician." In 1825 Sir William was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. In 1834 he published a very able and learned Treatise on "The Origin and History of the Constitution of England, and of the early Parliaments of Ireland." He was also the author of several other works. Sir William died in Dublin, October 23, 1853.

SIR HENRY ROWLEY BISHOP, KNT.

This celebrated composer was born in London in 1780. He received his musical education under Signor Bianchi. For sixteen or seventeen years he composed almost exclusively for Drury Lane and Covent Garden theatres, commencing with "The Circassian Bride" in 1809, and is said to have produced upwards of seventy operas, ballets, and musical entertainments. In 1820 he visited

Dublin, and was honoured with the freedom of the city as an acknowledgment of his musical genius. He was knighted in 1842. He was one of the first directors of the Philharmonic Society, and Conductor of the Concerts of Ancient Music, and Professor of Harmony in the Royal Academy of Music. In 1846 he was elected Professor of Music at Oxford University. He was also Reid Professor of Music at Edinburgh. He died in 1855, leaving his family totally unprovided for.

SIR RICHARD BLACKMORE, KNT., M.D.

This Physician was born at Corsham in Wiltshire about 1650. After receiving the rudiments of his education at a country school he was removed to Westminster, and in 1668 was entered at St. Edmund's Hall, Oxford, where he took his A.M. degree in 1676. He remained at the university thirteen years; he then became a schoolmaster, and afterwards travelled on the Continent, and took an M.D. degree at Padua. On his return to England he commenced practice in London, where he soon attained eminence in his profession, and was elected Fellow of the College of Physicians in 1687; and Censor in 1716. His great medical skill and adherence to the House of Hanover obtained for him the appointment of Physician in ordinary to William III. (by whom he was knighted in 1697); and he afterwards held the same office under Queen Anne. His first literary production was "Prince Arthur," an epic poem in ten books; which was adversely criticised by the poets of the day. "Creation; or a Philosophical Poem demonstrating the Existence and Providence of a God," which was more fortunate, went through four editions. He was the author of many other poems and medical works. He died in 1729.

SIR GILBERT BLANE, BART., M.D., F.R.S. L. & E.

Born at Ayr in 1749. He was originally intended for the Church, but preferring Physic, he studied under Dr. Cullen, at Edinburgh (where he was patronised by Dr. Robertson the historian), and finished his education in London. Through the recommendation of Dr. Cullen he was introduced to Lord Rodney, (then in command of the West India Station,) by whose influence, on account of his services, he was appointed Physician to the Fleet, in 1779. On the joint application to the Admiralty of all the officers on the West India Station, he was rewarded by a pension from the Crown. About 1786 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, who appointed him, in 1788, to deliver the Croonian Lecture. He was also a Fellow of the Royal Societies of Edinburgh and Gottingen, and a member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg. In 1785 he was elected Physician to St. Thomas's Hospital; and in 1795 he was placed at the head of the Navy Medical Board. He was a Fellow of the College of Physicians, created a Baronet in 1812, and in the same year appointed Physician in ordinary to the Prince Regent. In 1826 he was elected a Member of the Institute of France. In 1830 he was appointed First Physician to King William IV., in which year he founded his gold medals. He was the author of "Observations on the Diseases of Seamen," and numerous Tracts published under the title of Select Dissertations on several subjects in Medical Science. He died in 1834.

SIR WILLIAM BLIZARD, KNT., F.R.S., F.H.S.,

A surgeon of great eminence, was born in 1748 at Barnes Elms, Surrey. He was apprenticed to a surgeon and apothecary at Mortlake. On the expiration of his apprenticeship, during which he had devoted himself to self-improvement in his profession and botany, he repaired to London, and became assistant to a surgeon there, and attended hospital practice at the London Hospital, and the Lectures of Wm. and John Hunter and Mr. Pott; at whose recommendation he was elected Surgeon to the Magdalen Hospital. He was admitted a Member of the College of Surgeons in 1777; and in 1780 he was elected Surgeon to the London Hospital. About this time, in conjunction with Dr.



Maclaurin, he gave lectures on anatomy in Thames-street, then in Mark Lane, and afterwards at the London Hospital. In 1787 he was elected Fellow of the Royal Society. He took an active part in procuring for the Old Corporation the new Charter, under which it was styled the Royal College of Surgeons in London. In 1796 he was elected on the Court, and appointed Professor of Anatomy and Surgery in 1808, 1809, 1810, and 1815, in conjunction with Sir Everard Home; and Honorary Professor in 1811 and several following years, in conjunction with the same eminent Surgeon; and in 1810 he was nominated on the Court of Examiners. He was Master of the College in 1814, and President in 1823; and delivered the Hunterian Oration in 1815, 1823, and 1828. When the Government presented the great Hunterian Collection to the College, Mr. Blizard also presented to it his collection of about nine hundred preserved specimens in Anatomy and Pathology. In 1803 he received the honour of knighthood on presenting an address from the College to George III. In 1819 he founded the Hunterian Society. He was also the founder of the Samaritan Society, and was one of the founders and for many years Vice-President of the London Institution; and was one of the first Fellows of the Horticultural Society. He was Consulting-Surgeon to the Deaf and Dumb, the Marine, the Clergy Orphan, and the London Orphan Asylums. His contributions to medical literature are few and not very important. In 1834, being then in his ninety-third year, Mr. Lawrence successfully removed a cataract from his eyes; but during the following year his strength failed him, and he died August 28, 1835, having attended the Court of Examiners at the College on the preceding Friday.

SIR HENRY BLOUNT, KNT.,

Born in December, 1602. Educated at St. Alban's School, whence in 1616 he removed to Trinity College, Oxford, and was afterwards admitted of Gray's Inn. He is the author of "A Voyage into the Levant, being a Brief Relation of a Journey lately performed from England, by the way of Venice, into Dalmatia, Scлавonia, Bosnia, Hungary, Macedonia, Thessaly, Thrace, Rhodes, and Egypt unto Grand Cairo," &c. This work obtained for him the appellation of "the great traveller;" it went through three editions from 1636 to 1638, and was translated into French and Dutch. It was the means of his introduction to Charles I., who appointed him one of his Gentlemen Pensioners, and conferred upon him the honour of knighthood in 1638. He died in 1682.

SIR ALEXANDER BOSWELL, BART.,

A literary antiquary of no small erudition. He was the son of the friend and biographer of Dr. Johnson, and was born in 1775. In 1812 he published a fac-simile of the black letter original of a disputation held between John Knox and Quentin Kennedy at Maybole in 1562, a valuable contribution to our stock of historical literature. This, and several reprints of early English Poetry, proceeded from the press which he established at his own residence, Auchinlech. In 1821 he was honoured with a Baronetcy of Great Britain. He inherited all his father's Tory spirit, and was the author of some attacks in the Beacon and Sentinel newspapers on the character of J. Stuart, Esq., which led to a duel between them, on March 26, 1822, in which he was mortally wounded, and died the following day.

SIR FRANCIS BOURGEOIS, KNT., R.A.

This Landscape Painter, born in London in 1756, was originally intended for the army; but his predilection for the pencil overcame his martial ardour, and while attending the riding school of Mr. Angelo he took more delight in drawing horses in their various attitudes than in making himself acquainted with their tactical evolutions. Some of these juvenile essays were shewn to Sir Joshua Reynolds and Gainsborough, and, having elicited their warm commendation, he determined at once

to apply himself to the cultivation of an art more congenial to his taste, and became the pupil of Louthembourg. Before the age of twenty he had acquired no mean reputation by his landscape and sea pieces. In 1776 he travelled through the Low Countries, France and Italy, and studied with indefatigable zeal the works of the celebrated Masters in those countries. The Prince Primate, brother to the unfortunate Stanislaus Augustus King of Poland, came over to this country, and was so captivated with the works of our artist that he endeavoured to persuade him, but in vain, to go to Poland. In 1791 he was appointed painter to Stanislaus, who conferred upon him the honour of knighthood of the Order of Merit, which King George III confirmed. In 1792 he was elected a Royal Academician: and in 1794 was appointed Landscape Painter to his Majesty. On the death of Mr. Noel Desenfans, he became possessed of that interesting collection of pictures which he bequeathed to Dulwich College. He died in 1811.

SIR JOHN BOWRING, KNT., LL.D.

This political and commercial writer and celebrated linguist was born at Exeter in 1792, and became in early life the pupil of Jeremy Bentham, whose doctrines he advocated in the "Westminster Review," of which he was editor. The University of Groningen conferred on him the degree of LL.D. His comprehensive views of commerce led to his employment under various Governments, commencing with that of Earl Grey, as a Commercial Commissioner to other countries. In that capacity he visited France, Italy, the states of the Zollverein and the Levant; and drew up several Reports which were published by the Government as Blue Books from 1834 to 1840. In 1849 he was appointed British Consul at Hong Kong; of which settlement, in 1854, he was promoted to the Governership, and received the honour of knighthood. In 1856 occurred the affair of the *Arrow*, in which Sir John acted so prominent a part, and which led to hostilities terminating in the capture of Canton. He is the author of "The Kingdom and People of Siam," and translations of poems, songs, &c., from the Russian, Icelandic, Spanish, and nine other languages.

SIR DAVID BREWSTER, M.D., K.H., F.R.S.L. AND E., M.R.I.A., F.G.S., F.R.A.S.,

Was born at Jedburgh in Scotland, in December 1781. He was educated for the Scottish Church, of which he was a Licentiate. In 1800 the University of Edinburgh conferred upon him the honorary degree of M.A., and in 1807 the University of Aberdeen, that of D.C.L. In 1808 he undertook the editorship of the Edinburgh Encyclopædia, and in the following year he was elected Fellow of the Edinburgh Royal Society, of which he became the Secretary. In 1815 he received the Copley Medal of the Royal Society for his discoveries in Optical Science, and was soon after, in the same year, elected Fellow of that body; from whom, in 1819, he also received the Rumford gold and silver medals for his discoveries on the polarization of light. In 1831 he proposed the meeting at York, which led to the formation of the British Society for the Advancement of Science. In 1831 he was appointed K.H., and in 1832 was knighted by William IV. He is a Corresponding Member of the Institute of France and of the Royal Academies of Russia, Prussia, Sweden, and Denmark; and is also Principal of the University of Edinburgh. He is the discoverer of the Kaleidoscope, on which he has written a Treatise, and the author of a variety of Treatises on the Polarization of Light, &c.

SIR BENJAMIN COLLINS BRODIE, BART., F.R.C.S., M.R.C.S.E., P.R.S., D.C.L.

This distinguished Surgeon was born in 1783, at Winterslow in Wiltshire. He received his professional education at Mr. Wilson's celebrated anatomical school in Windmill Street, and under Sir Everard Home at St. George's Hospital. In 1805 he was admitted a Member of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh, and of London in 1806. After having delivered Lectures on

Surgery, in conjunction with Mr. Wilson, and on Anatomy, he was in 1808 appointed Assistant-Surgeon of St. George's Hospital, and full Surgeon in 1822. In 1810 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, and President in 1858; and in 1811 received their Copley Medal for his Croonian Lecture upon the Influence of the Brain on the Action of the Heart, and on the Generation of Animal Heat, which has been published in the Philosophical Transactions. In 1819 he was appointed Professor of Anatomy and Surgery to the College of Surgeons, and again in 1823, and President of the College in 1844. A new office was created for him in order that he might attend King George IV. in his last illness, viz., Surgeon to the Person, and he visited him daily till his death. In 1832, on the death of Sir Everard Home, he was appointed Serjeant Surgeon to William IV., an appointment continued to him under her present Majesty; besides which he holds the office of first Surgeon in Ordinary to Prince Albert. In 1834 he was created a Baronet. In 1837 he delivered the Hunterian Oration, and in 1843 was elected a Fellow of the College of Surgeons, and member of the Council. In 1850 the honorary degree of D.C.L. was conferred upon him at Oxford. He is a foreign correspondent of the National Institute of Paris, and a member of numerous learned societies in Europe and America. He is author of Lectures on Pathology and Surgery, and many other works. In January 1861 he submitted to an operation for cataract, which was successfully performed.

SIR THOMAS BROWNE, KNT., M.D.

A celebrated English Physician. Born in London, Oct. 19, 1605. He was educated at Winchester; and in 1623 he entered as a gentleman commoner at Pembroke College, Oxford, and graduated Jan. 31, 1626-7. Subsequently, after taking his Master's degree, he commenced practice in physic in Oxfordshire; but he soon relinquished his practice there, and travelled in France and Italy, staying at Montpellier and Padua, the celebrated schools of physic; and returning home through Holland, he obtained a Doctor's degree at Leyden about 1634. In 1636 he settled at Norwich, where his practice became very extensive. In 1637 he was incorporated M.D. at Oxford. He was elected honorary Fellow of the College of Physicians June 26, 1665; and was knighted by Charles II. at Norwich in 1671. He was the author of the celebrated Treatise, "Religio Medici," surreptitiously published in 1642, and which by 1685 had passed through eight editions. He was also the author of a "Treatise on Vulgar Errors," "Pseudodoxia Epidemica," and "Hydriotaphia," besides several other Treatises. He died at Norwich Oct. 19, 1682.

SIR WILLIAM BROWNE, KNT., M.D.

This eminent Physician was born in 1692. He was educated at St. Peter's College, Cambridge, where he took his M.D. degree. On quitting the University he settled at Lynn, and obtained an extensive practice. About 1750 he removed to London, and soon afterwards received the honour of knighthood; and subsequently became President of the Royal College of Physicians, and in that capacity rendered himself so notorious by his opposition to the claims of the Licentiates, that he was personated on the stage by Foote in a piece called "The Devil upon Two Sticks." So imperturbable was the doctor's good nature, that, having witnessed and heartily enjoyed the performance, he sent to Foote his own muff, in order that the apparent identity might be more perfect. He was the author of Translations in Imitation of several Odes of Horace, an Harveian Oration, and a great number of lively pieces which he published under the title of *Opuscula Varia*.—He has shown his love for this kind of writing by directing in his will three gold medals, of the value of five guineas each, to be given annually for the best Greek Ode in imitation of Sappho; the best Latin Ode in imitation of Horace; and the best Greek and Latin Epigrams, after the model of the *Anthologia* and *Martial*, to be contended for by Undergraduates of the University of Cambridge. He also founded a Scholarship in the College in which he had been educated. He died 10th March, 1774.

## SIR ISAMBARD MARK BRUNEL, KNT., V.P.R.S.

This celebrated Engineer was born at Hacqueville in Normandy in 1769. He had the credit of being the inventor of the Block Machinery in Plymouth Dockyard; an invention, however, which has been claimed for Sir Samuel Bentham; but, to whomsoever it belongs, it has not been turned to any profitable account. He was the engineer of the Thames Tunnel. The Royal Society elected him a Fellow of their body in 1814, and a Vice-President in 1832. He was a Corresponding Member of the Institute of France; a Vice-President of the Institution of Civil Engineers; and a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour. He was knighted in 1841. Died in 1849.

## SIR SAMUEL EGERTON BRYDGES, BART., F.S.A.,

An eminent genealogist, biographer, and poet; he was born at Wootton in Kent, in 1762; and was descended on his mother's side from the noble family of Bridgewater. In 1780 he was removed from a public school to Queen's College, Cambridge; and in 1782 was entered of the Middle Temple; and in the following year quitted the University, of which he had become heartily tired, and gave himself up to the luxurious enjoyment of his favourite poets, Spenser, Shakespeare, and Milton. In 1785 he published anonymously several sonnets and other small poems, the effusions of his muse during the three previous years. In 1787 he was called to the bar; but he made no progress in a profession which he utterly abhorred, and devoted himself to the study of antiquities, topography, and genealogy, which resulted in the publication of a periodical work on antiquities in conjunction with his friend, Mr. Shaw, the historian of Staffordshire, his contemporary at College. This work was followed by "Topographical Miscellanies," of which he had the sole conduct. At the taunt of a classical friend he relinquished the crabbed style and unscholarlike language of the black letter books, and betook himself to novel writing. The copy of his first production, "Mary de Clifford," was written and supplied to the printer *de die in diem*. It was published in 1792, and was eminently successful. The same success attended his "Arthur Fitzalbini," published in 1798; but his next novel, "Le Forester," in 1802, was less fortunate. In 1800 he published the first volume of a new edition of Phillips' "Theatrum Poetarum." Besides these works, he published, among many others, an edition of "Collins' Peerage," with large additions, in nine vols. 8vo. Under his editorship, assisted by the poetical antiquaries, Park, Haslewood, and others, appeared the "Censura Literaria," ten vols., 1805-9; the "British Bibliographer," four vols., 1810-14; and the "Restituta," four vols., 1814-16. In 1812 he was elected M.P. for Maidstone; and in 1815 was created a baronet, a distinction well deserved by his laborious investigation of the honours and titles of others. In 1807 he was elected a Knight Grand Commander of the Equestrian Secular and Chapteral Order of St. Joachim, one of the most ancient orders of knighthood in Europe. In his beautiful seat of Lee Priory, in Kent, he established a printing press, from which have issued many curious and interesting works for private circulation. He died in 1837, at Campagne Gros Jean, near Geneva, where he had lived for many years a perfect recluse, and a most unhappy man; the latter part of his life having been embittered by the decision of the House of Lords against his claim to the Barony of Chandos of Sudeley. To the day of his death he prided himself on being connected by blood with more families of noble descent than any person in England, not even excepting the Royal Family; and to his signature he always added, "Per legem terræ Baron Chandos of Sudeley."

## RIGHT HON. SIR HENRY LYTTON EARLE BULWER, KNT., G.C.B.

This Diplomatist and Author was born in 1805. In 1827 he entered the diplomatic service, and in 1830 was returned to Parliament as representative of Wilton. In 1843 he was Minister Plenipotentiary at Madrid, and for his firm conduct there Her Majesty conferred on him the Grand Cross of the Bath. He has also filled several diplomatic offices, and is at present our Ambassador

at the Ottoman Porte. Among his literary productions may be mentioned "France, Social and Literary," "The Monarchy of the Middle Classes," &c.

SIR WILLIAM BURNETT, K.C.B., K.C.H., M.D., F.R.C.P., F.R.C.S.I., F.R.S.,

Was educated at St. Andrew's, where he took his M.D. degree. He was admitted an Assistant Surgeon in the Royal Navy in 1795; Surgeon in 1799; and Hospital Surgeon in 1804. In 1810 he was appointed Physician and Inspector of Hospitals to the Mediterranean Fleet; Medical Commissioner of the Navy in 1822; and Director General of the Medical Department of the Navy in 1832; from which office he retired in 1855, with a pension of £1,000 per ann. In 1825 he was admitted a Licentiate of the College of Physicians, and a Fellow in 1836. In 1833 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. He was at the battles of St. Vincent, the Nile, Ferrol, and Trafalgar; for which services he received the silver "Naval Medal" with four clasps; and was appointed K.C.H. in 1831, and K.C.B. in 1850; he also held the appointment of Physician in Ordinary to William IV. He was the author of several works: "On Mediterranean Fever," "On the Fever at Chatham," etc., and of various papers in the journals of the day. He died Feb. 16, 1861.

SIR AUGUSTUS WALL CALLCOTT, KNT., R.A.

This eminent Landscape Painter was born at Kensington in 1779. He was originally a chorister in Westminster Abbey; but cultivated at the same time the sister art of painting, to which, influenced by the success of a portrait he had painted under the tuition of Hoffner in 1799, he ultimately gave the preference. He however soon found that portrait painting was not his forte, and from 1803 devoted himself exclusively to landscape painting, in which branch of the art he was for many years a large contributor to the Exhibitions of the Royal Academy. He was elected an Associate of the Royal Academy in 1807, and a Member in 1810. His diploma picture was a beautiful painting, intitled "Morning." He was knighted by her present Majesty in 1837; and on the death of Mr. Leguier, was appointed Conservator of the Royal Pictures. In 1840 he exhibited a picture of "Milton dictating to his Daughters;" on the fallacy of the subject of the painting we have already observed in p. 171, and its execution is equally defective. He died Nov. 25, 1844.

SIR ANTHONY CARLISLE, KNT., F.R.S., F.S.A., F.L.S.,

A Surgeon of great reputation, was born near Durham in 1768. Having finished his preliminary professional education at York, he proceeded to London and attended the lectures of the Hunters, Dr. Baillie, and Mr. Cruikshank: he was at the same time pupil of Mr. Watson, Surgeon to the Westminster Hospital, on whose death in 1793 he was appointed his successor. He was admitted a Member of the College of Surgeons in 1792, and was elected on the court in 1816. He was appointed Professor of Surgery and Anatomy in 1818, and delivered the Hunterian Oration in 1820, and again in 1826; and filled the office of President in 1828. He was appointed Surgeon Extraordinary to the Prince Regent, who conferred upon him the honour of knighthood in 1820, shortly after his accession to the throne. In 1808 he was appointed Professor of Anatomy to the Royal Academy—an office he held for sixteen years. In 1804 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. To the Philosophical Transactions of that and several subsequent years he contributed many interesting papers, and in 1804 delivered the Croonian Lecture on "Muscular Motion." Sir Anthony also contributed many papers on various subjects to the medical publications, of which the most original was one on Galvanic Electricity, showing that water might be decomposed by the galvanic battery. In 1817 he published a work intitled—"Essay on the Disorders of Old Age, and the Means of Prolonging Human Life," of which a second edition was published in the following year. Sir Anthony died on Nov. 2, 1840.

## EDWIN CHADWICK, C.B.

This social economist was born near Manchester in 1800. He was called to the bar in 1830; he was one of the earliest advocates of the repeal of taxes on knowledge, on which he wrote an article in the "Westminster Review" in 1831; and entered the public service in 1832. In 1828 he published an essay in the "London Review," on the administration of public charity, which led to his appointment as an Assistant Commissioner, and afterwards one of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the means of improving the administration of the Poor Laws. His recommendations were in great measure adopted, and resulted in the establishment of the Poor-Law Unions in England and Ireland, and local Boards of Health. In 1834, when the permanent Poor-Law Commission was established, he was appointed Secretary to the Board. While holding this office he was associated with Dr. Arnold, Dr. Southwood Smith, and Dr. Kay to inquire into the physical causes of fever in London, and how they might be removed by sanitary measures. This inquiry was afterwards extended to the whole of England. In 1839 he was appointed on the Constabulary Force Commission; and in 1848 a Commissioner of the General Board of Health; and was in the same year honoured with a Civil Companionship of the Bath. On the reconstruction of the Board of Health in 1854 he retired, with a pension well deserved by his long and laborious services in the promotion of sanitary measures.

## SIR WILLIAM CHAMBERS, KNT., R.A., F.R.S., F.S.A.

This architect, descended from the Scottish family of Chalmers, Barons of Tartas in France, was born at Stockholm about 1726. He received his education at a school at Rippon in Yorkshire. He acquired his knowledge of architecture during his sojourn in Italy, from the study of the works of Michael Angelo and other Italian architects, and, during a residence in Paris, of the French architects Claude Berrault, etc. Through the influence of Lord Bute he was appointed drawing master to the Prince of Wales, afterwards George III., by whom, after his accession, he was, in 1765, appointed Royal Architect. In this year he published an account of his improvements in the gardens at Kew, principally in the Chinese style; of which his finished drawings, presented to the King of Sweden in 1771, obtained for him the order of the Polar Star. The title of knighthood which he thus acquired, he received the royal permission to adopt in England. In 1768 he was admitted a member of the Royal Academy, of which he afterwards became the treasurer. He was also elected Fellow of the Royal and Antiquarian Societies, Member of the Royal Academy of Arts at Florence, and of the Royal Academy of Architecture at Paris. The works on which his celebrity as an architect is founded, are Somerset House, and the staircases of Lords Bessborough and Gower, and of the Royal and Antiquarian Societies. He died on March 8, 1796.

SIR FRANCIS CHANTREY, K.H., R.A., D.C.L., M.A. CAMB., F.R.S.L. AND E.,  
F.S.A., M.G.S., M.R.S.L.

This eminent sculptor was born at Norton, near Sheffield, in 1781. He was bound apprentice to a carver at Sheffield, whose service he left before the end of his term, making compensation for the period he had to serve; and repaired to London, where he attended the school of the Royal Academy, but was not regularly admitted as a student. At one period of his early life he was employed as a journeyman carver, at a guinea a week, by Samuel Rogers, Esq., the poet, who used to show a sideboard carved by him, placed in that room where he was afterwards received as an honoured guest, and one of the greatest sculptors of his day. Finding that carving afforded little scope for his love of art, he tried his fortune as a painter in crayons; and issued an advertisement at

Sheffield, in 1802, proposing to take portraits; and in 1804 announced that he had commenced taking "models from the life." In the same year he sent for exhibition, in the Royal Academy, a "Portrait of D. Wale, Esq.;" and in 1805 he exhibited three busts. In 1811 he fairly commenced his career of fame and fortune, having in that year's exhibition six busts; of which that of J. R. Smith, Esq., was one of the best. He was chosen an Associate in 1816, and an Academician in 1818; in which year he was also elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. In 1817 he produced the exquisite group, "The Sleeping Children," for a monument to be erected in Lichfield cathedral. He was knighted in 1835; and the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge have conferred upon him their honorary degrees of D.C.L. and M.A. respectively. He died Nov. 25, 1841.

SIR JAMES CLARK, BART., M.A., M.D., L.R.C.P. LOND., F.R.S.,

Was born at Cullen in Banffshire in 1788. He was educated at a school in Fordyce, whence he went to Aberdeen and took his M.A. degree. He then proceeded to Edinburgh, where he took his M.D. degree. Having gone abroad, he settled at Rome, and practised as a physician for several years. He visited the principal medical schools of Italy, France, and Germany, collecting materials for a work which he published in 1820, intitled—"Medical Notes on the Climate, Diseases, Hospitals, and Medical Schools in France, Italy, and Switzerland." He returned to London in 1826, and was admitted a Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians in 1826; and in the same year he was appointed Physician to St. George's Infirmary. In 1829 he published his work, "On the Sanative Influence of Climate." In 1832 he was elected Fellow of the Royal Society, and in 1835 was appointed Physician to the Duchess of Kent and the Princess Victoria; upon whose accession he was appointed Physician in Ordinary to Her Majesty, and subsequently to H.R.H. Prince Albert. In 1838 he was created a baronet. His "Treatise on Pulmonary Consumption and Scrofulous Diseases" has obtained for him a considerable reputation for his new views of treating those complaints.

SIR CHARLES MANSFIELD CLARKE, BART., D.C.L., M.D., F.R.S.

This distinguished ornament of the medical profession was born in London in 1782. He was educated at St. Paul's School; but at an early age turning his attention to medical pursuits, he left that school and attended St. George's Hospital. Having finished his preliminary studies in anatomy and midwifery, he was admitted a Member of the Royal College of Surgeons in 1807, and spent the first two years of his professional life as Assistant Surgeon of the Hertfordshire Militia, and was subsequently appointed Surgeon in the 3rd Foot Guards. His military career was, however, at the advice of his brother, soon relinquished, and he devoted his whole attention to the diseases of women and children, and more particularly to the practice of midwifery, on which subjects, in connection with his brother, he commenced a course of lectures in 1804, and continued them to the year 1821, when he also resigned the office of Surgeon to Queen Charlotte's Lying-in Hospital, an appointment he had held for many years. In 1825 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. Having obtained the degree of M.D. from Lambeth in 1827, he became a Licentiate of the College of Physicians, and on the accession of King William IV was appointed Physician to Queen Adelaide. In 1831 he was created a Baronet, and in 1836 was elected a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians. The honorary degree of M.A. was conferred upon him by the University of Cambridge in 1842, and that of D.C.L. by Oxford in 1845. He was the author of "Observations on the Diseases of Women," in two parts, published respectively in 1814 and 1821. Having given up practice, he spent the latter years of his life in the country, where he died Sept. 7th, 1857; to the deep regret, not less of his numerous friends, than of the medical profession, of which he was a most talented and successful member.

## HENRY COLE, C.B.,

The indefatigable promoter of the Great Exhibition of 1851; he was born at Bath in 1808. He entered the public service in 1822, and became an Assistant Keeper of the Public Records. His pamphlets on Record Reform led to the establishment of the General Record Office and the present system. He obtained one of the four prizes of £100 offered by the Treasury for suggestions for carrying out Mr. Rowland Hill's penny postage plan. He originated the series of "Art Manufactures," and the exhibitions of the Society of Arts, of which the first was intended to have been held in 1851; but the scheme being adopted by Prince Albert, it was expanded into the Great International Exhibition of that year. He was one of the executive Committee of Management; and at the termination of his labours was rewarded with a Companionship of the Bath, and a handsome sum of money. He was invited to undertake the superintendence and reform of the Schools of Design, which led to the establishment of the Government Department of Science and Art, of which he was appointed Senior Secretary, and afterwards Inspector General. He held the office of British Commissioner for the Universal Exhibition at Paris in 1855. He has successfully organized the South Kensington Museum, of which he is Superintendent, as well as Secretary of the Science and Art Department under the Committee of Council of Education. Whilst he was Assistant Keeper of the Public Records, he published "Henry the Eighth's Scheme of Bishopsrics," and "Miscellaneous Records of the Exchequer." He is also the author of several Guide Books to the National Gallery, etc.

## SIR ASTLEY PASTON COOPER, BART., K.G.C.H., V.P.R.S., D.C.L.

This eminent surgeon was born at Brooke, in Norfolk, on the 23rd of August, 1768. His choice of a profession was determined by an accident which happened to a boy in his presence, who had fallen down in front of a cart, the wheel of which passed over his thigh and lacerated the femoral artery. There being no surgeon near, young Cooper bound his handkerchief sufficiently tight over the upper part of the thigh to stop the circulation in the artery until one arrived. In 1784 he was placed under Mr. Cline, surgeon to St. Thomas's Hospital; to the influence of whose example Sir Astley attributed much of his success in after life. In 1787 he was made Demonstrator of Anatomy at St. Thomas's; and in 1791 he was admitted a Member of the Corporation of Surgeons, and in the same year was associated with Mr. Cline in his lectures on Anatomy and Surgery. In 1793 he lectured on Surgery alone, which was the first course on that subject independent of Anatomy. In 1794, and again in 1795, he was appointed Professor of Anatomy to the Corporation of Surgeons, and Professor of Anatomy and Surgery to the College in 1811 in conjunction with Mr. Abernethy. In 1798 he published his first literary production, intitled "Medical Records and Researches." His income up to this time does not appear to have kept pace with his reputation; for, as he tells us, it was in the first year only 5*l.* 5*s.*; the second, 26*l.*; the third, 64*l.*; the fourth, 96*l.*; the fifth, 100*l.*; the sixth, 200*l.*; the seventh, 400*l.*; and the eighth, 610*l.* In 1800 he was appointed to succeed his nnele as Surgeon at Guy's. In this and the following year he read two papers before the Royal Society, on the effects produced by the destruction of the membrana tympani, with an account of an operation for the removal of a particular species of deafness. For these papers, the Royal Society awarded to him the Copley medal for 1802, and in 1805 elected him a Fellow of their body, and a Vice-President in 1830. In the same year he took an active part in the formation of the Medico-Chirurgical Society. In 1804 he published the first part of his great work on Hernia, and the second part in 1807. This work, by which he lost 1000*l.*, on account of the expensive manner in which it was got up, added greatly to his increasing reputation; and in a few years after (1813) his income attained the amount of 21,000*l.*, probably the largest ever received by a medical practitioner. In 1813 he was appointed Professor of Comparative Anatomy to the College of Surgeons, and again in 1815 in conjunction with Mr. Abernethy. In 1820 he was called in to remove a steatomatous tumour from the head of King George IV., by whom,



on August 31, 1821, he was created a baronet. In 1822 he was elected one of the Court of Examiners of the College of Surgeons; and in the same year he brought out his work on "Dislocations and Fractures." In 1827 he was elected President of the College, which honour was again conferred upon him in 1836. In 1827, in consequence of ill health, he relinquished his practice for a time, and resigned his lectureship at St. Thomas's. In 1828 he resumed his practice, and was appointed Serjeant-Surgeon to the King. In 1830 he was elected a Vice-President of the Royal Society; and in 1832, a Member of the Royal Institute of France; and shortly after, a Corresponding Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences. On the installation of the Duke of Wellington at Oxford, in 1834, he received the honorary degree of Doctor of Civil Law from that University. In 1836 he was appointed K.G.C.H., Civil. In 1837 he visited Edinburgh, where he received the freedom of the city, the degree of Doctor of Laws, and was honoured by a public dinner given by the College of Surgeons. In 1840 he was seized with attacks of giddiness, which, increasing, terminated his life on February 12, 1841. He was interred, by his own desire, under the chapel of Guy's Hospital; and a colossal statue, by Bailey, has been erected to his memory in St. Paul's Cathedral. He has founded a prize of £300 to be adjudged every third year by the Physicians and Surgeons of Guy's Hospital to the writer of the best original Essay on any given subject in Anatomy, Physiology, or Surgery.

SIR PHILIP CRAMPTON, KNT., M.D., F.R.C.S.I., D.C.L., F.R.S., M.R.I.A.

This successful physician was born in 1779. He took his degree of M.D. at Glasgow in 1800, and was admitted a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons of Ireland, and was thrice its President. In 1812 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. As a man of science he paid particular attention to zoology and comparative anatomy, regarding them as subservient to the one great end,—the preservation of human life. He was created a baronet in 1839. He was appointed Surgeon-General to the Forces in Ireland, by the Duke of Richmond, on the death of Mr. Stewart; and subsequently Surgeon in Ordinary to her Majesty. He was Consultant to the majority of the Dublin hospitals; and took an active part in the foundation of the Royal Zoological Society of Ireland, for which he obtained a grant of the ground in Phoenix Park. He was the author of an "Essay on the Entropion, or Inversion of the Eyelids," published in 1805. He died June 10, 1858.

SIR WILLIAM CUBITT, KNT., F.R.S., M.R.I.A., F.R.A.S.

This celebrated engineer was born in Norfolk in 1785. He was apprenticed to a joiner, and obtained celebrity as a maker of agricultural implements. In 1807 he invented the self-regulating windmill sails; and his engagements rapidly increasing, in 1826 he removed to London. There is scarcely a port, dock, or canal, in the construction of which he was not employed or consulted as engineer. The South-Eastern and the Great Northern railways were constructed under his superintendence; and one of his last public works was the construction of the Crystal Palace in Hyde Park, for which he was knighted in 1851. He was elected F.R.S. in 1830.

SIR JOHN GRAHAM DALYELL, BART., V.P.S.A.S.

An accomplished Scottish antiquarian, was the second son of Sir Robert Dalryell, Bart., and was born in 1777. He was admitted a member of the Faculty of Advocates in 1797. His profession of a harrister he soon relinquished for that of an historian and antiquarian, and in 1798 he published his first work, "Fragments of Scottish History," which was rapidly followed by several others, illustrative of the antiquities and history of Scotland. He was President of the Society for Promoting useful arts in Scotland, and Vice-President of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. He was knighted by patent in 1836, and succeeded to the family title on the death of his elder brother. He died on June 7th, 1851.

## SIR WILLIAM DAVENANT, KNT.

This popular writer was born at Oxford, in Feb. 1605. He was entered at Lincoln College, but it does not appear that he took a degree. On the death of Ben Jonson, in 1637, he was appointed poet laureate, and was knighted by Charles I. while he was serving with the Royalist forces at the siege of Gloucester, as Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance. In 1651 he was taken prisoner at sea, and only escaped being tried for his life by the intercession among others of Milton and Whitelocke. He wrote several dramatic pieces, masques, and operas, which were performed at a theatre he had opened in the Tennis-court, in Little Lincoln's Inn Fields. An epic poem, called Gondibert, which he dedicated to Hobbes, he did not live to complete. The only work for which he is now remembered, is an alteration of the "Tempest," in which he was assisted by Dryden; of which Southey remarks, "that it is marvellous that two men of such great and indubitable talent should have combined to debase and vulgarise, and pollute such a poem; but, to the scandal of the English stage, it is their Tempest and not Shakespeare's which is to this day represented." He died on April 7th, 1668, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

## SIR JOHN FRANCIS DAVIS, BART., K.C.B., F.R.S.,

Was born in London in 1795. In 1816 he accompanied our ambassador, Lord Amherst, to China, and subsequently succeeded Lord Napier, as Chief Superintendent at Canton. On his return to England, after a residence of more than twenty years in China, he published, in 1836, "The Chinese; a General Description of China and its Inhabitants." This work was succeeded, in 1841, by "Sketches in China," with observations on the war between that country and Great Britain. In the same year Mr. Davis was appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Hong Kong, which office he held until 1847. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1822, created a baronet in 1845, and a civil Knight Grand Cross of the Bath in 1854. He is the author of "Chinese Maxims," and several other works relating to China, some of which have been translated into French and German.

## SIR HUMPHREY DAVY, BART., P.R.S.

One of the most eminent modern chemists, was born at Penzance, in Cornwall, in 1778. Though originally intended for the medical profession, he devoted himself to the study of chemistry, and obtained so much celebrity from a work he published, while superintendent of a Pneumatic Institution at Bristol, intitled "Chemical and Philosophical Researches," that he was immediately afterwards elected Professor of Chemistry at the Royal Institution. In 1802 he became Professor to the Board of Agriculture. He was knighted in 1812, and created a baronet in 1818. He was elected Fellow of the Royal Society in 1803, and its President in 1820; and an honorary member of the College of Surgeons in 1823. The invention of the Safety Lamp and the discovery of the metallic bases of the alkalies and earths have obtained for him an imperishable name. He died at Geneva on May 28, 1829.

## SIR HENRY THOMAS DE LA BECHE, KNT., F.R.S., F.G.S.

This eminent geologist was born near London in 1796. He was educated at the Military school at Great Marlow, and entered the army in 1814. In 1817 he was elected Fellow of the Geological Society, of which he afterwards became Secretary, and in 1847 President. In 1819 he was elected Fellow of the Royal Society, and was knighted in 1842; and in 1853 he was elected a corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of Paris. In 1831 he published his "Geological Manual," which has gone through several editions, and been translated into French and German. In the same year he projected a plan for making a Geological Map of England, which resulted in his

being appointed by the Government Director of the Ordnance Geological Survey of Great Britain. Whilst engaged in this work he made a large collection of minerals and geological specimens, which formed the nucleus of the Museum of Practical Geology in Jermyn Street. In 1851 courses of lectures were delivered in this institution under the name of the Government School of Mines, which have been carried on with increasing usefulness under his successor, Sir Roderick Murchison. He was the author of several papers on Geology, which have appeared in the Transactions of the Geological Society. He died April 11th, 1855.

SIR JOHN DENHAM, K.B., F.R.S.,

Was born at Dublin in 1615. In 1631 he entered as a gentleman commoner in Trinity College, Oxford, and graduated in Arts in 1634. He became a member of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn, and might have succeeded at the bar had he not given himself up to gaming. In 1641 he gained great celebrity by his tragedy of "The Sophy," and in 1643 still more by his "Cooper's Hill," which is almost the only one of his poems now read. In 1647 he performed many secret and important services for Charles I., when prisoner in the hands of the army, which being discovered, he was obliged to retire to France. In 1652 he returned to England, and at the Restoration of Charles II. was appointed Surveyor-General of his Majesty's buildings, and created Knight of the Bath, and was elected by the first Council a Member of the Royal Society in 1663. He died in March, 1688.

SIR NICOLAS DORIGNY, KNT.

This distinguished engraver and designer was born at Paris in 1657. He was educated as an advocate, but his taste induced him to follow the arts as a profession, and he accordingly went to Rome and placed himself under the tuition of his brother, a painter and engraver, and was one of the first French historical engravers of his time. While at Rome he became acquainted with some English gentlemen, who persuaded him to visit England to engrave the Cartoons of Raffaele, a task he commenced in 1712, and completed in 1719, when he presented two complete sets to George I., who gave him a purse of 100 guineas, and knighted him in the following year. He was elected a member of the French Academy of Painting in 1725. He died at Paris in 1746.

SIR WILLIAM DRUMMOND, KNT., F.R.S.

The date of the birth of this distinguished scholar is not known. His first work, "A Review of the Governments of Sparta and Athens," probably a juvenile performance, was published in 1794. At the close of 1795 he was returned to Parliament for St. Mawes. In 1801 he was appointed Ambassador to the Ottoman Porte, and was honoured with the Order of the Crescent, which was confirmed to him by license in 1805. In 1824-26 he published his ablest work "Origines, or Remarks on the Origin of Several Empires, States, and Cities." He was the author of several archaeological and philological dissertations. He died on March 29th, 1828.

SIR WILLIAM DUGDALE, KNT.

This eminent antiquary was born at Shustoke, in Warwickshire, in 1605. He received the rudiments of his education in the Free School at Coventry, and completed it under his father. In 1638, through the recommendation of Sir Christopher Hatton and Sir Henry Spelman he was created by the Earl of Arundel, then Earl Marshal, a pursuivant at arms extraordinary, by the name of Blanche Lyon; and in 1639-40 Rouge Croix pursuivant in ordinary. In 1641 he superintended the making of exact drawings of all the monuments in Westminster Abbey, St. Paul's,

and in many other cathedrals and parish churches of England. In 1642 the degree of M.A. was conferred upon him at Oxford; and in 1644 he was promoted to the office of Chester Herald. In conjunction with Dodsworth he published the first vol. of "Monasticon Anglicanum," (a work upon which they had been engaged for many years) at their own expense, the booksellers declining to incur the risk. A second volume was published in 1661, and the third in 1673. Upon the Restoration of Charles II. Dugdale was advanced to the office of Norroy King of Arms; and in 1677 he was created Garter King of Arms, and the day after received the honour of knighthood. He published other antiquarian works of great research and authority, too numerous for mention in this place. He died Feb. 10th, 1686.

SIR CHARLES LOCK EASTLAKE, P.R.A., F.R.S., D.C.L.,

Was born at Plymouth about 1793. He commenced his education at the grammar schools of Plymouth and Plympton, and for a short time at the Charter House, which he quitted at a comparatively early age. He studied at the Royal Academy under Fuseli, and availed himself of the advice and experience of his townsman Haydon. After completing his studies he visited Paris, for the purpose of studying the great works Napoleon had collected at the Louvre, but was prevented from pursuing his design by the renewal of the war on the escape of the ex-Emperor from Elba, when he returned to England, and established himself as a portrait painter at Plymouth. While the Bellerophon lay off that port, with Napoleon on board, as the ex-Emperor walked the deck, Eastlake, from a small boat, made sketches of him, and produced a full length portrait, the most faithful likeness of him at that period. In 1817-18 he visited Italy, Greece, and Sicily, and then settled for some time in Rome. He exhibited his first pictures in 1823, was admitted an Associate in 1827, and in 1830 was elected a Royal Academician. Among the pictures he contributed to the Exhibition, his "Christ weeping over Jerusalem" is the most important. He was elected President in 1850, and received the honour of knighthood. In 1841 he was appointed Secretary to the Royal Commission of Fine Arts, an office he still retains; and in 1843, Keeper of the National Gallery, which he resigned in 1847, and in 1855 was appointed to the new office of Director, with a salary of £1000 per annum. He is also Art Adviser of her Majesty and Prince Albert. In 1838 he was elected Fellow of the Royal Society, and in 1853 received the honorary degree of D.C.L. from the University of Oxford. In 1855 he was created Knight of the Legion of Honour. His contributions to literature are numerous and learned, of which we may notice his "Materials for a History of Oil Painting," and scattered essays which he has collected under the title of "Contributions to the Literature of the Fine Arts."

SIR HENRY ELLIS, K.H., B.C.L., F.R.S., HON. M.R.I.A.,

Was born in London in 1777. He was educated at Merchant Taylors' School, whence he proceeded to St. John's College, Oxford, where he graduated, and was soon afterwards appointed one of the Assistant Librarians of the British Museum, and in 1827 Principal Librarian, which office he resigned in 1856. He was elected, in 1807, a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries; and in 1811 a Fellow of the Royal Society. In 1832 he was created a Civil Knight of the Royal Hanoverian Guelphic Order; and was knighted in 1833. He is the author of several works on our national antiquities, and one of the Commissioners for preparing and publishing the records of the kingdom, and in this capacity he wrote the general introduction to "Domesday Book." He was also a contributor to the new edition of Dugdale's Monasticon, commenced in 1817. His papers in the Archaeologia are numerous, and he has contributed largely to the knowledge of our national antiquities.

SIR GEORGE ENT, KNT., M.D., F.R.S., P.R.C.P.,

An eminent physician, was born at Sandwich, in Kent, in 1604. He was educated at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, where he took his B.A. degree in 1626, and having afterwards travelled into foreign countries he obtained the degree of M.D. at Padua in 1636. After his return to

England he rose into great practice, and was nominated by Charles II. a member of the first council of the Royal Society in the Charter of Incorporation in 1662. On his election as President of the College of Physicians in 1665, he delivered an inaugural address before his Majesty, who was so much interested by it that he knighted him upon the spot; this is the only instance of such an honour having been conferred in the hall of the College. He was the author of several works on Respiration and the Circulation of the Blood, which were collected together in an 8vo volume, and published at Leyden in 1687. He died October 13, 1689.

SIR CHARLES FELLOWS, KNT.,

An enterprising traveller, was born at Nottingham in 1799. In 1838 he commenced his tour in Asia Minor, which led to the discovery of the ruins of the ancient city of Xanthus, and subsequently to the transportation to this country of the marbles and casts which are now deposited in the Lycian Saloon of the British Museum. In 1845 he received the honour of knighthood for his discoveries in Lycia, and his services in the removal of the Xanthian marbles. He has published an account of his "Travels and Researches in Asia Minor, particularly in the Province of Lycia." He died on November 8, 1860.

SIR JOHN FORBES, KNT., M.D., F.R.C.P., F.R.S., D.C.L.

This physician was born at Cuttlebrae, in Banffshire, in 1787. He studied first at the Marischal College, Aberdeen, and graduated as M.D. at Edinburgh in 1817. He commenced practice at Penzance; he then removed to Chichester, and subsequently to London. His first work, which obtained for him a professional reputation was his translation of Laennec, which has gone through several editions. This was followed by a treatise on the Use of the Stethoscope, with a translation of Avenbrugger. He was one of the founders of the Provincial Medical and Surgical Association, now merged in the British Medical Association. On coming to London he was appointed Physician in Ordinary to Her Majesty's Household, and Physician Extraordinary to Prince Albert. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1829; and a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, London, in 1844; and the University of Oxford have conferred upon him the honorary degree of D.C.L. He was knighted in 1853. Besides his medical writings Sir John has contributed to literature many works of a lighter and more popular kind, such as "A Physician's Holyday, or a Month in Switzerland," &c.

SIR CHARLES FOX, KNT., C.E.

This civil engineer was born at Derby in 1810. He was originally intended for the medical profession, but his taste for engineering led him to prefer that science. His greatest work was the construction of the building for the Great Exhibition in Hyde Park, the drawings for which occupied him eighteen hours a day for seven weeks. For his success in this undertaking he was knighted in 1851. He also constructed, in conjunction with his indefatigable but unfortunate partner, the late Mr. Henderson, the real workman in the undertaking, the Crystal Palace at Sydenham. He has executed many railway and other engineering works. Fortune has not smiled on his labours so benignly as she has on those of others of his class.

REAR ADMIRAL SIR JOHN FRANKLIN, K.C.H., D.C.L.

This enterprising and ill-fated Arctic navigator was born at Spilby, in Lincolnshire. At the age of 14 he was entered as a midshipman on board the Polyphemus. In 1818, on the recommendation of Sir Joseph Banks, he was appointed to the command of the Trent, which with the Dorothea sailed from Spitzbergen, with the object of navigating through the supposed Polar Sea. In 1819 he had the command of the first overland expedition for the purpose of tracing the coast line

of the North American continent. For his services on this occasion he was promoted to the rank of Captain; and in 1823 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. In 1825 he proceeded on his second land exploration, and for his services in this expedition he received the honour of knighthood in 1829 as commander of the Northern Land Expedition, and the University of Oxford conferred upon him the honorary degree of D.C.L. In 1836 he was appointed K.C.H. Civil. The French Geographical Society rewarded him with their gold medal, and he was elected a Corresponding Member of the Institute of France. He was, at his own request, appointed by Lord Glenelg Governor of Van Diemen's Land, an office he held for seven years. He was afterwards appointed to the command of the ill-fated expedition for the discovery of the North West Passage, originated by Sir John Barrow, and left England in the Erebus, accompanied by Captain Crozier in the Terror, in May, 1845. His unhappy fate has been placed beyond doubt by the recent discoveries of Captains Belcher and M'Clintock, which enable us to fix the untimely end of this first discoverer of a North-West Passage on June 11, 1847.

SIR SAMUEL GARTH, KNT.,

A physician and poet, was born of a good family in Yorkshire. He was a member of Peterhouse, Cambridge, where he took the degree of M.D. in 1691, and was, in 1693, admitted a member of the College of Physicians, London. He was knighted on the accession of George I. in 1714. He was the author of "The Dispensary," a poem written against the apothecaries, which went through six editions in as many years. He died January 18, 1718.

SIR WILLIAM GELL, KNT.,

Was born in 1777. He was entered of Jesus College, Cambridge, graduated in 1798, and took his Master's degree in 1804. He subsequently migrated to, and became a Fellow of Emanuel College. In 1814, on the Princess of Wales leaving England, she appointed him one of her Chamberlains, and he attended her at Naples and Rome, as appears from his evidence before the House of Lords on the Queen's trial in 1820. He was knighted in 1814, on his return from a mission to the Ionian Islands. His first work was published in 1804, intitled "The Topography of Troy and its Vicinity." This was followed by several others, of which his "Pompeiana, or Observations upon the Topography, Edifices, and Ornaments of Pompeii" attracted most attention. Of this work a second series was published in 1835. He died at Naples, February 4, 1836.

SIR JOHN WATSON GORDON, KNT., R.A., P.R.S.A.

This distinguished portrait painter was born in Edinburgh about 1790. He received his professional education in the Trustees' Academy, and devoted himself exclusively to portrait painting. It is said of him that while Raeburn painted the poetic phase of Scottish physiognomy to perfection, Gordon was no less successful in painting its prosaic. He assisted in establishing the Scottish Academy, to which during his whole career he was a constant contributor. He first exhibited in the Royal Academy in 1827, of which he was elected an Associate in 1841. In 1850, on the death of Sir W. Allan, he was elected President of the Scottish Academy, and in the same year her Majesty appointed him to the office of Limner to the Queen in Scotland, and conferred upon him the honour of knighthood, and the Royal Academy of London elected him an Academician.

SIR GEORGE GREY, K.C.B.,

Was born at Lisburn, in Ireland, in 1812. He was educated for the Army at the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, and obtained the rank of Captain. In 1837, he was employed by Government to make a journey of discovery in Australia, and a second in 1838, of which he published an

account under the title of "Journals of Two Expeditions of Discovery in North West and Western Australia." He was successively appointed Governor of South Anstralia and New Zealand; of the latter in 1846. In 1848 he was created a Knight Commander of the Bath. In 1854 he was appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Cape of Good Hope, from which post he was recalled, but in which he was afterwards reinstated, on the remonstrance of several of the leading colonists, and still holds. Besides his "Journals," he has also published a work on "Polynesian Mythology."

SIR HENRY HALFORD, BART., G.C.H., M.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.

This distinguished physician was born in 1766, and was the son of Dr. Vaughan, Physician to the Infirmary at Leicester. He received his scholastic education at Rugby, where he was entered in 1774; from thence he proceeded to Christ Church, Oxford, and took his Bachelor's degree in 1787, his Master's in 1789, his M.B. degree in 1790, his M.D. in 1794, and afterwards studied at Edinburgh. In 1794 he was elected Fellow of the College of Physicians, and delivered the Harveian Orations in 1800 and 1835. Having early in life married a daughter of Lord St. John, he soon attained to considerable practice among the higher classes, and was appointed one of the physicians to George III., an office which he held under George IV., William IV., and her present Majesty. In 1809 he was created a Baronet. In 1813 he attended the Prince Regent to the vaults of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, to examine the contents of the coffin of Charles I., of which he has published an account. In 1814 he became possessed of a large fortune by the death of the widow of his mother's cousin, Sir Charles Halford, when by a private Act of Parliament he changed his name from Vaughan to Halford. In 1820 Sir Henry was appointed President of the College of Physicians (an office he held for more than twenty years), and in 1825 delivered the Oration on the removal of that body to their new building in Pall Mall East. In 1826 he was appointed by George IV. Knight Commander of the Guelphic Order, and in 1830, by William IV., a Knight Grand Cross. His urbanity of manners and devotion to the interests of the college have left a grateful recollection of him among the members of that corporation. His contributions to the literature of his profession principally consist of Latin Orations delivered before the College, which are characterised by a purity of style above the average of such productions, and Essays on various medical subjects, all displaying the elegant scholar and observant physician. Sir Henry was a Fellow of the Royal and Antiquarian Societies. He died March 9, 1844.

THE RIGHT HON. SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON.

This celebrated diplomatist and enterprising explorer of ancient arts was born in Scotland in 1730. He was appointed Ambassador at Naples in 1764, an appointment which he retained till 1800. His records of the volcanic phenomena of the neighbourhood of Naples and the eruptions of Vesuvius from 1766 to 1771 are detailed in his great work, the "Campi Phlegræi," in 2 vols. folio, which forms a noble monument of his enterprise and research. To this work he published a Supplement in 1779, containing representations of the great eruption of Vesuvius in August of that year. He took much interest in the excavations of Herculaneum and Pompeii and the formation of the Museum of Portici; and his collection of Greek and Etruscan vases and marbles, purchased by the Government in 1772, now forms a valuable addition to the British Museum. He was made a Knight of the Bath in 1771, and a Privy Councillor in 1791. He died April 6th, 1803.

SIR WILLIAM SNOW HARRIS, KNT., F.R.S.,

Was born at Plymouth in 1791. He is a Member of the College of Surgeons; but is principally celebrated for his discoveries in meteorology and electricity; in consequence of which he has been

employed for the last twenty-five years in applying his general principles to the ships of the Royal Navy, which has resulted in their perfect immunity from the dangers of lightning. He is also the inventor of a new steering compass. He has<sup>d</sup> received the Copley medal of the Royal Society, of which he was elected a Fellow in 1831. In 1845 the Emperor of Russia presented to him a vase; and in 1847 his scientific services were rewarded with the honour of knighthood. He is the author of several papers on electricity and magnetism, which have been published in the *Philosophical Transactions*.

SIR JOHN HAWKINS, KNT.,

Was born in London in 1719. He was articled to an attorney and solicitor, and acquired a good professional business, from which he retired on marrying a lady of fortune. In 1749 he had the honour of being appointed one of the nine members of Dr. Johnson's Club. In 1761 he was appointed one of the Middlesex magistrates and became chairman of the quarter sessions. He was knighted in 1772 for his spirited exertions in repressing the Brentford and Spitalfields riots in 1768-9. Of the productions of his pen the chief is his "History of the Science and Practice of Music," which was published in 1776; and in 1787 he published a complete edition of Dr. Johnson's works, with a memoir. The valuable musical library which he had accumulated while pursuing his historical inquiries he presented to the British Museum. Sir John died May 21, 1789.

SIR GEORGE HAYTER, KNT.

This "Court Painter in ordinary" was born in London in 1792. Having finished his studies in the Royal Academy, he visited Italy, where he passed some years. On his return, his works exhibited so much delicacy of finish and poetical expression, that he was appointed Painter of Miniatures and Portraits to the late Princess Charlotte and Prince Leopold; and in 1837 Portrait and Historical Painter to the Queen; and Her Majesty's Principal Painter in Ordinary, in 1841, and teacher of drawing to the Royal Princesses. He was knighted in 1842. He is a member of many of the foreign Academies, and in 1829 was made Knight of the Lion and Sun, of Persia. His finest pictures are, "The Trial of Lord William Russell," and "The Queen taking the Coronation Oath." He is the author of the Appendix to the "Hortus Ericæus Woburnensis," on the Classification of Colours.

MAJOR SIR FRANCIS BOND HEAD, BART., K.C.H.

This author was born in 1793 at the Hermitage, near Rochester. Having chosen arms as his profession he became Captain of Engineers in 1825, and attained the rank of Major in the army in 1828. In 1825 he accepted a proposal from a mining association to superintend the working of the gold and silver mines of the provinces of Rio de la Plata. Returning to London in 1826 he published his "Rough Notes of a Journey across the Pampas," which was very successful. In 1835 he was appointed Lieut.-Governor of Canada. In 1837 an insurrection broke out, which he speedily suppressed by the colonial militia alone; but differences arising between him and the English ministry as to the measures to be adopted, he resigned. His pleasant "Bubbles from the Brunnen of Nassau" has obtained for him a considerable reputation as an author, and for his literary labours he enjoys a pension of £100 a-year. He was knighted in 1831, made K.C.H. in 1835, and a baronet in 1838.

SIR THOMAS HERBERT, BART.,

Was born at York about 1606. In 1621 he was admitted of Jesus College, Oxford, whence he migrated to Trinity College, Cambridge. In 1626 he accompanied Sir Dodmore Cotton, ambassador from Charles I. to the Shah of Persia, and returned to England after four years' absence. In 1634 he published his "Some Yeares Travels into Africa and Asia the Great," which he revised and



augmented in 1638. This work gives the best account of Persia anterior to that of Chardin, and was translated into Dutch and French. He was one of the commissioners appointed by the Parliament to receive the King from the Scots at Newcastle; and though opposed in politics and religion to Charles, yet his respectful behaviour won the regard of his royal prisoner, and he attended him to the last, and in 1678 published "Threnodea Carolina," an historical account of the last two years of Charles I. After the Restoration he was created a Baronet. He died at York in 1682.

SIR JOHN FREDERICK WILLIAM HERSCHEL, BART., M.A., K.H., F.R.S. L AND E.,  
D.C.L., P.R.A.S., F.G.S.

A celebrated Mathematician and Astronomer, born at Slough, near Windsor, in 1790. He was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, and was Senior Wrangler and Senior Smith's Prizeman in 1813. In the same year he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. His observations on the multiple stars obtained for him the gold medal of the Royal Astronomical Society in 1826, and in 1836 he again obtained their gold medal for his Catalogue of Nebulæ. In 1831 he was made a Civil Knight of Hanover, and was knighted in the same year. In 1833 he proceeded to the Cape of Good Hope to make a survey of the southern heavens, which he completed in little more than four years, entirely at his own expense. On his return in 1838 he was received with every public honour and created a Baronet. In the following year the honorary degree of D.C.L. was conferred upon him at Oxford, and in 1842 he was elected Lord Rector of Marischal College, Aberdeen. In 1848 the Astronomical Society voted him a testimonial for his work on the Southern Hemisphere, and elected him their President. In 1850 he was appointed Master of the Mint, which office he was obliged to resign in 1855, in consequence of ill health. In the same year he was elected one of the eight foreign associates of the French Institute. His astronomical and other publications, which have obtained for him a world-wide reputation, are too numerous to be mentioned here.

SIR ROWLAND HILL, K.C.B.,

The Originator of the penny postage system. He was born at Kidderminster in 1795. For several years he assisted his father in the mathematical department of a seminary he conducted near Birmingham; from which, in 1833, the bad state of his health obliged him to retire; and he subsequently received the appointment of Secretary to the South Australian Commission. Having devoted considerable attention to the errors and abuses of our postal system, in 1837 he published a pamphlet on post-office reform, which attracted much public attention; and in 1838 a committee of the House of Commons recommended the adoption of his proposal, which, in 1840, he had the gratification of seeing carried out in the establishment of a uniform rate, for inland postage, at first, of 4*d.*, but which was subsequently reduced to 1*d.* In 1846, the country, to shew their appreciation of the merit of his system, presented him with a money testimonial of £13,000; and the Government appointed him permanent Secretary of the Post Office in the same year, and sole Secretary on the retirement of Colonel Maberly in 1854. He was made a Knight Commander of the Bath in 1860.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND, BART., M.D., F.R.C.P., F.R.S., F.G.S.

This distinguished Physician and Author was born at Knutsford, in Cheshire, in 1788. He graduated at Edinburgh in 1811, and afterwards practised as a physician in London, where he soon gained a high reputation. In 1840 he was appointed Physician in Ordinary to Prince Albert, and in 1852 Physician in Ordinary to Her Majesty, and in the following year was created a Baronet. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1815, and of the College of Physicians in 1828. As an author he is well known for a standard professional treatise, intitled "Médical Notes and Reflections." He is also a contributor to the Philosophical Transactions.

## SIR EVERARD HOME, BART., P.R.C.S., V.P.R.S., F.S.A.,

An eminent Surgeon, born at Greenlaw Castle, Berwickshire, in 1756. At an early age he commenced his studies in surgery under the celebrated John Hunter, who was his brother-in-law. He was admitted a Member of the College of Surgeons in 1779, and elected a Governor in 1802; became Master in 1813, and President in 1821, and for many subsequent years. In 1809 he was appointed Sergeant-Surgeon to George III; and in 1813 the Prince Regent raised him to the dignity of a baronet, and also conferred upon him the appointment of Sergeant-Surgeon, which was continued to him by William IV. He delivered the Hunterian Oration in 1814 and 1822. He was Surgeon to St. George's and Chelsea Hospitals, and Honorary Professor of Anatomy and Surgery to the College of Surgeons. He was elected Fellow of the Royal Society in 1787, and a Vice-President in 1814. His contributions to surgical literature are numerous and of high repute, among which may be mentioned his "Lectures on Comparative Anatomy," in two vols., 4to. He died Aug. 31, 1832.

## SIR WILLIAM JACKSON HOOKER, K.H.C., V.P.L.S., F.R.S., D.C.L., F.S.A., F.G.S.

This learned Botanist was born at Norwich in 1785, and deservedly ranks amongst the most distinguished cultivators of systematic botany of the present century. For many years he was Professor of Botany in the University of Glasgow, whence he was promoted to the Directorship of the Royal Gardens of Kew, in which, under his management, have been erected the large conservatory and other new houses, and the museum of the useful products of the vegetable kingdom. He has published a popular guide to the treasures of these gardens, which will greatly tend to diffuse a knowledge of the natural history of the vegetable kingdom among the people. In 1836 he was made a Civil Knight of Hanover, and for many years has been one of the Vice-Presidents of the Linnæan Society, and in 1812 was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. He is also a Fellow of the Antiquarian and Geological Societies. In 1845 the University of Oxford conferred upon him the honorary degree of D.C.L.; and in 1855 he was made a Knight of the Legion of Honour. He is also an honorary member of many foreign scientific societies. He is the author of several works on botany, among which may be mentioned his *Flora Scotica* and *English Flora*.

## SIR WILLIAM JONES, KNT.,

An accomplished Oriental Scholar and lawyer, was born in London in 1746. At seven he was sent to Harrow, and at seventeen he entered University College, Oxford. He selected the law as a profession, and was called to the bar in 1774. In 1783 he was appointed a Judge in the Supreme Court of Judicature at Calcutta, and received the honour of knighthood. In 1783 he established the Asiatic Society, which held its first sitting at Calcutta in Jan. 1784. He was a proficient in eight languages,—English, French, Italian, Latin, Greek, Arabic, Persian, and Sanscrit; and, with the assistance of a dictionary, was able to read eight more,—Spanish, Portuguese, German, Runic, Hebrew, Bengali, Hindu, and Turkish; besides twelve others less perfectly. His "Essay on the Law of Bailments" is considered a model of its kind. His works, which extend to six quarto volumes, were published by his widow in 1799. He died April 27, 1794.

## SIR ROBERT KANE, KNT., M.D., F.R.C.P.I., F.R.S., M.R.I.A.,

A physician of high repute, born in Dublin in 1810. Soon after the completion of his medical education, he was appointed Professor of Chemistry to Apothecaries' Hall, Dublin, and elected a Member of the Medico-Chirurgical Society of Dublin, and a Corresponding Member of the Societies of Pharmacy and of Medical Chemistry of Paris. In 1830 he obtained the prize offered by Dr. Graves

for the best essay on the pathological condition of the fluids in typhus fever. In 1832 he took his M.D. degree at Trinity College, Dublin; and in the same year projected the "Dublin Journal of Medical Science." In 1832 he was elected a Member of the Royal Irish Academy, and was placed on the Council in 1841; and in the same year was elected a Fellow of the Irish College of Physicians, and appointed Professor of Natural Philosophy to the Royal Dublin Society, which he resigned in 1847; and received from the Royal Irish Academy the Cunningham gold medal, for some useful chemical discoveries. He was knighted by the Lord Lieutenant in 1846; and in the same year was formed, at his recommendation, the Museum of Irish Industry. He was appointed President of Queen's College, Cork: and delivered his inaugural address on Nov. 7, 1849. He was also in this year elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, who conferred upon him the Royal Medal. The second edition of his "Elements of Chemistry," which he published in 1844, is probably the most useful work of its kind. He is the author of several other works.

SIR JAMES PHILLIPS KAY-SHUTTLEWORTH, BART., LL.D.,

Was born in 1804. He received his education in Scotch and Foreign universities, and took his degree of Doctor of Laws. When the Committee of the Privy Council on Education was nominated, Dr. Kay was appointed its Secretary; from which he retired in 1850, and was honoured with a baronetcy. Although retired from official service, he continues to take an active part in all educational movements, on which his fame has been established. In 1842 he married the representative of the ancient family of Shuttleworth, whose name he has assumed by royal license.

SIR GODFREY KNELLER, BART.

A celebrated Painter, was born at Lübeck, in 1648. He received his first instruction in the art from Rembrandt; and afterwards became a pupil of Ferdinand Bol. He then visited Rome and Venice, where he acquired considerable reputation from several portraits he had painted of noble families, and some historical paintings. He subsequently went to Hamburg, and lastly to London, where he was patronised by the Duke of Monmouth, by whom he was introduced to Charles II., whose portrait he painted several times. He was state painter to Charles II., James II., William III., Queen Anne, and George I.; and by the latter he was created a baronet, in 1715. The Emperor Leopold made him a Knight of the Roman Empire. The beauties of the Court of William III., painted by order of the Queen, are very inferior to Sir Peter Lely's "Beauties of the Court of Charles II." Sir Godfrey died in 1726.

SIR EDWIN LANDSEER, KNT., R.A.,

The unequalled Animal Painter, was born in 1803. His father directed his education, and taught him to sketch the animals they met with in their rambles on Hampstead Heath. His first work was exhibited in 1817; and in 1819, when only sixteen, his "Fighting Dogs" attracted general notice, and was purchased by Sir George Beaumont. In 1826 he was elected Associate of the Royal Academy, and Royal Academician in 1831, and was knighted in 1850. For the Copyright of "The Highland Drovers," the first of his paintings engraved, he received only 200 guineas; but for "Peace," and "War," which were bought by Mr. Vernon for 1,200 guineas, Mr. Graves paid him 3,000 guineas. At the Exposition Universelle, in 1855, a "large gold medal" was awarded to him, being the only English artist to whom a medal of that class was given. Sir Edwin's works are so popular in this country, and so familiar to every lover of the art, that it is quite unnecessary to enumerate them.

## SIR THOMAS LAWRENCE, KNT., P.R.A.

This most successful Portrait Painter was born at Bristol, in 1769. His father, after many vicissitudes in life, became landlord of the Black Bear, at Devizes, an inn at that time much frequented by the rich and fashionable on their way to Bath. It was here that young Lawrence shewed his predilection for an art in which he afterwards attained such eminence. In 1775, when only six years old, he took the portraits in profile of Mr. (afterwards Lord) Kenyon and his lady, who were staying at the inn: the likenesses are said to have been accurate, and the execution easy and spirited. About this time he was sent to a respectable school kept by Mr. Jones, from which he was removed, when only eight years of age, and this was all the regular education he received. In 1782 his father settled at Bath, and placed him under Mr. Prince Hoare, a crayon painter of much taste, from whom he acquired that grace and elegance which qualified him to be so pre-eminently the painter of female beauty. At thirteen he received from the Society of Arts the great silver pallet and a present of five guineas, for a copy, in crayons, of the "Transfiguration." In 1787 he came to London, and was soon after introduced to Sir Joshua Reynolds. In this year he first exhibited at Somerset House, where seven of his pictures, all female portraits, were admitted. In 1791 he was elected a Supplemental Associate of the Royal Academy, being under twenty-four, the earliest age at which associates can be admitted. He was elected R.A. in 1791, and in the following year, on the death of Sir J. Reynolds, was appointed Portrait Painter to George III. In 1815 he received the honour of knighthood. At the command of the Prince Regent he painted the Portraits of the Princes, Statesmen, and celebrated Generals who visited London after the Peace. In 1820, on the death of Mr. West, he was elected President of the Royal Academy. He died January 7, 1830.

## SIR PETER LELY, KNT.,

A successful painter of female beauty, was born at Soest, in Westphalia, in 1617. He was a pupil of Peter Grebber, of Haarlem. He came over to this country, and was appointed state painter to Charles II. He is celebrated for his series of the Beauties of the Court of Charles II., preserved at Hampton Court, among whom he found ample scope for his immodest pencil. Of his historical pictures, "Susannah and the Elders," at Burlington House, is one of his best. He equally excelled as a crayon painter. He died in 1680.

## SIR JOHN LESLIE, K.H.,

A celebrated Mathematician and Natural Philosopher, was born at Largo, in Fifeshire, in 1766. In 1779 he was sent to St. Andrew's, and after studying there for six sessions, he removed to Edinburgh in 1783-4, where he attended the classes of several of the professors for three years. In 1790 he repaired to London, and commenced writing for the periodicals; he contributed many articles to the "Monthly Review," and translated Buffon's "Natural History of Birds," which appeared in nine vols., in 1793. In 1805 he was elected Professor of Mathematics in the University of Edinburgh, and occupied that chair for fourteen years, when he was promoted to the chair of Natural Philosophy, on the death of Professor Playfair in 1819. He was the inventor of the Differential Thermometer, and author of an "Essay on the Nature and Propagation of Heat," for which work the Royal Society awarded him the Rumford Medal. He was a corresponding Member of the Royal Institute of France. Besides his numerous mathematical works, he was a contributor to the "Edinburgh Philosophical Transactions," "Encyclopædia Britannica," "Edinburgh Review," and "Nicholson's Philosophical Journal." He was made a Knight of the Royal Guelphic Order in 1832, and died on Nov. 3, in the same year.

## SIR CHARLES LYELL, KNT., D.C.L., P.G.S.

This distinguished Geologist was born at Kinnordy, in Forfarshire, in 1797. He was educated at Midhurst, in Sussex, whence he removed to Exeter College, Oxford, where he graduated as A.B. in 1819, and A.M. in 1821. He was afterwards called to the bar; but preferring geology to the law, he gave himself up entirely to the study of the former, and in 1832, on the opening of King's College, was appointed Professor of Geology. He was one of the early Members of the Geological Society, and in 1836 was elected its President; an honour which was conferred upon him a second time in 1850-1. He was knighted in 1848; and in 1855 the University of Oxford conferred upon him the honorary degree of D.C.L. The works on which his high reputation rests, are "Principles of Geology," "Elements of Geology," and "Travels in North America." He is one of the most active members of the British Association.

## THE RT. HON. SIR EDWARD GEORGE EARLE LYTTON BULWER LYTTON, BART.

A celebrated Poet and Novelist, was born in 1805. In 1820, while only fifteen years old, he published his first work "Ismael, an Oriental Tale." He was admitted a fellow-commoner of Trinity-Hall, Cambridge, and obtained the Chancellor's Medal for his Poem on "Sculpture." He took his B.A. degree in 1826, and his Master's was conferred upon him in 1835. In 1827 appeared his first novel, "Falkland," which was followed, in 1828, by "Pelham," and stamped his fame. In 1831 he was returned to Parliament for St. Ives. In 1835 he published a pamphlet, "The Crisis," which ran rapidly through more than twenty editions, and won for him a Baronetcy. In 1844 he succeeded, by his mother's death, to the estates of Knebworth, and by royal licence added Lytton to his own surname. In 1856 he was elected Lord Rector of Glasgow University, and in 1858, when Lord Derby's second administration was formed, he was appointed Secretary of State for the Colonies. His novels and other writings are so numerous and so generally read, that it is unnecessary to particularize them; the fashionable, the romantic, the sentimental, and the domestic, are written with equal felicity.

## THE RIGHT HON. THOMAS BABINGTON LORD MACAULAY.

This Essayist, Poet, and Historian was born at Rothley Temple, Leicestershire, in 1800. He was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge. In 1819 he gained the Chancellor's Medal for his poem, "Pompeii"; and in 1821 he gained the like honour for another poem, "Evening," and obtained the Craven Scholarship. In 1822 he took his B.A. degree, and obtained a Fellowship in the same year. In 1825 he contributed to the "Edinburgh Review" his article on Milton, from which we have extracted, in pp. 152-3, its splendid conclusion. This was followed in the ensuing twenty years by a series of brilliant essays, which have illustrated the pages of that far-famed periodical. He was called to the bar by the Society of Lincoln's Inn in 1826, and was soon after appointed by the Whigs a Commissioner of Bankruptcy. He obtained a seat in Parliament for the borough of Calne in 1830, and was appointed Secretary to the Board of Control for India. In 1832 he was returned to the first reformed Parliament as member for Leeds. He resigned his seat in 1834, on being appointed a Member of the Supreme Council of Calcutta. In 1839 he accepted the office of Secretary at War, taking his seat as member for Edinburgh in 1840. In 1846 he was appointed Paymaster of the Forces, with a seat in the Cabinet, which office he held till 1847, when he lost his election for Edinburgh, and retired from Parliament. In 1842 he published his "Lays of Ancient Rome," and in 1849 appeared the first two volumes of his "History of England"; and in the same year he was elected Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow, and became a Bencher of Lincoln's Inn. In 1850 he was appointed to the honorary office of Professor of Ancient History in the Royal Academy,

and in 1853 he received the Prussian Order of Merit. In 1852 the citizens of Edinburgh re-elected him as their representative; but his health compelled him to resign his seat in 1856. He was created a peer in 1857, an honour he did not live long to enjoy, for he died on December 28, 1859.

SIR ROBERT JOHN LE MESURIER MACLURE, KNT., CAPT. R.N.,

An enterprising Arctic Navigator, was born in Wexford, in Ireland, in 1807. He was educated at Eton, whence he proceeded to the Royal Military College at Sandhurst; but preferring the naval profession to the military, he obtained, through the influence of his godfather, General Le Mesurier, the appointment of a midshipman on board the *Victory*. In 1836 he volunteered to join the Arctic expedition under Captain Back, and on his return in 1837 he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant. In 1848 he again volunteered to accompany Sir James Ross in his expedition in search of Sir John Franklin, and was then made first lieutenant; and obtained the rank of commander on his return in 1849. In 1850 he was appointed to the *Investigator*, to accompany Captain Collinson (the senior officer) in the *Enterprise*, on a second voyage in search of Sir John Franklin. The two ships separated in a gale, and never met again. Captain Maclure continued his voyage, and on the 30th September, in an exploring party, after his ship had been frozen in, he discovered the north-west passage; and in July 1851, the *Investigator* being again afloat, and after escaping many dangers, he discovered a second north-west passage. In 1852 the ice did not break up, and provisions becoming scarce, he determined in 1853 to endeavour to return to England. This was accomplished by the opportune arrival of Captain Kennett, in the *Resolute*, at Melville Island in the spring of 1853, who carried off part of the crew; but Captain Maclure, with a few, remained with the *Investigator* in the vain hope that the ice might break up and liberate her. This not happening, he returned to England in 1853 with the expedition under Captain Sir Edward Belcher. In 1855 he received the honour of knighthood, and a reward of £5,000.

SIR FRANCIS LEOPOLD M'CLINTOCK, CAPT. R.N.

This celebrated Arctic Navigator was born at Dundalk, in Ireland, in 1819. In 1831 he entered the navy as a midshipman, and obtained his lieutenancy in 1845. In 1848, when the *Enterprise* and *Investigator* were despatched by government in search for Sir John Franklin, McClintock was appointed lieutenant on board the former ship, and distinguished himself by his extraordinary journeys on foot overland, and the great additions he made to geographical knowledge. In 1853 he commanded the *Intrepid*, one of the four ships forming Sir E. Belcher's searching expedition. In 1857 he was appointed to the command of the *Fox*, and with this steam yacht of but 177 tons, and with a crew of only twenty-four, he succeeded in the object of his search, and has made his name rank among the first and greatest of our arctic heroes. Of this voyage and its results he has published a most interesting account in his "Narrative of the Discovery of the Fate of Sir John Franklin and his Companions." In 1860 Her Majesty conferred upon him the honour of knighthood; and on January 19th, of the same year, he was presented with the freedom of the city of London in a snuff-box of British oak of the value of fifty guineas.

SIR JAMES M'GRIGOR, BART., K.C.B., K.C.T.S., M.D.ED., F.R.S.L. & E., LL.D.,  
F.R.C.P.L. & E., F.R.C.S.E. & L.

An Army Medical Officer of great repute, was born at Cromdale, Strathspey, Invernessshire, in 1771. He was educated at Marischal College, Aberdeen, where he took his M.A. degree. From Aberdeen he proceeded to Edinburgh and graduated as M.D.; whence he came to London, and attended the

lectures of Mr. Wilson, of Windmill Street. In 1793 he entered the army as surgeon of the 88th regiment; he was promoted to the rank of deputy inspector-general in 1805; inspector-general in 1809; and director-general in 1815, when he received the honour of knighthood. He was created a baronet in 1831, and a K.C.B. in 1851; the war medal, with five clasps, was also conferred upon him for his services in Egypt, Badajos, Vittoria, the Pyrenees, and Toulouse. He was appointed Physician Extraordinary to the Queen, on her accession to the throne, an office he had held under George IV. and William IV. He was elected Lord Rector of Marischal College, Aberdeen, in 1822, and again in 1823, when the election was contested by Mr. Joseph Hume, M.P. In 1825 the university of Edinburgh conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society, and of the Royal Colleges of Physicians of London and Edinburgh; and an honorary fellow of the various medical societies of Scotland, Ireland, and America. He is also a Knight Commander of the Portuguese Order of the Tower and Sword, the decorations of which he is permitted to wear; he has also received the Order of the Crescent from the Sultan for his services in Egypt. He died April 3, 1858. The character of this distinguished army medical officer is thus summed up by the Duke of Wellington in one of his despatches; "I consider him one of the most industrious, able, and successful public servants I have ever met with."

THE RIGHT HON. SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH, KNT.

This distinguished Scholar and Statesman was born at Aldourie, in Morayshire, on Oct. 24, 1765. He was educated at a school in Fortrose, and at King's College, Aberdeen, where he graduated as M.A. in 1784, and then removed to Edinburgh and took his M.D. degree in 1787. He repaired to London with the intention of commencing practice as a Physician; but politics and literature being more congenial to his taste, he relinquished that idea and became a political writer in the "Oracle" newspaper; and in 1791 published his "Vindiciæ Gallicæ," which obtained the applause of even Burke himself, and the friendship of Fox; and on the formation of the "Association of the Friends of the People," he was unanimously appointed the Secretary. He was called to the bar in 1795, by the Society of Lincoln's Inn, who granted him the use of their Hall for the delivery of a course of Lectures "On the Law of Nations and Nature," of which the success was triumphant. He greatly distinguished himself as an advocate, especially as the Counsel of Peltier, who was tried for a libel against Napoleon Buonaparte; his speech on that occasion being characterised by Lord Ellenborough as "the most eloquent he had ever heard in Westminster Hall." In 1803 he was appointed Recorder of Bombay, and received the honour of knighthood. After seven years' residence in India he returned to England, and in 1813 was elected Member of Parliament for the County of Nairn. In 1818 he accepted the office of Professor of Law and General Politics in the East India College at Haileybury. In 1822 he was elected Lord Rector of Glasgow, in preference to Sir Walter Scott; and in the following year, a Vice-President of the Royal Society of Literature; and in July, 1826, he became one of the Council for conducting the affairs of the London University. Soon after his return from India, he commenced an extensive historical work on the affairs of England subsequent to the Revolution, which he did not live to complete. He died May 22, 1832.

SIR JOHN MACNEILL, KNT., F.R.S., F.R.A.S., M.R.I.A.,

A Civil Engineer, was born at Mount Pleasant, near Dundalk, in Ireland. He was educated as a military engineer, but afterwards adopted the civil branch of the profession. In 1838 he was elected Fellow of the Royal Society of London. He constructed "Tables for Facilitating the Calculation of Earthwork in Railway Cuttings," by which he has acquired considerable reputation. He was the Chief Engineer on the Dublin and Drogheda Railway, on the opening of which, in 1844, he received

the honour of knighthood from the Lord Lieutenant. In 1842 he was appointed Professor of Civil Engineering in Trinity College, Dublin, an office which he at present holds.

SIR FREDERICK MADDEN, K.H., F.R.S.,

An eminent Antiquarian Writer, was born at Portsmouth, in 1801. In 1825 he assisted Mr. Roscoe in the compilation of the "The Catalogue of Manuscripts at Holkham." In 1826 he was appointed to an office in the British Museum, and assisted in the compilation of a classed catalogue of the printed books in that National Library. In 1828 he was made assistant keeper of the MSS., and in 1837 he was promoted to the head of the department. In 1832 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society; in the same year he received the honour of the Civil Order of the Guelphic Knights of Hanover, and was knighted in 1833; and in 1834 he was appointed one of the Gentlemen of the King's Privy Chamber. His numerous literary labours are principally editorial, bearing chiefly on English history and the earlier progress of its language and literature.

SIR JOHN MARSHAM, KNT.,

A learned Author, the son of an alderman, was born in the parish of St. Bartholomew in 1602. He was educated in Westminster school, and at St. John's College, Oxford, where he graduated. Having devoted himself to the study of the law, he obtained the appointment of one of the Six Clerks; an office of which he was deprived when the contentions arose between the King and the Parliament. On the Restoration he was elected member for the city of Rochester, and reinstated in the Six Clerks' office. He was knighted by Charles II., and soon after created a baronet. In his literary pursuits he particularly directed his attention to the disentangling of the perplexed statements of early writers concerning ancient dynasties and events. The result of his studies he published in a folio volume, in 1672, intitled "Canon Chronicus Ægyptiacus, Ebraicus, Græcus." He has written other works on kindred subjects, but which have not appeared in print. He died in 1685.

SIR SAMUEL RUSH MEYRICK, K.H., LL.D., F.S.A.

This celebrated Antiquary was born in 1783. He was educated at Queen's College, Oxford, where he took his A.B. degree. He was admitted an Advocate in the Ecclesiastical Courts in 1811. In 1810 he was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries; and in 1814 he published, in conjunction with Capt. Hamilton, a work on the "Costume of the Original Inhabitants of the British Islands." His great work on arms and armour was published in 1824. In 1826 he assisted in the arrangement of the collection of arms and armour in the Tower; and in 1828 he was appointed by George IV. to arrange the collection at Windsor. For these services he received the honour of K.H. from William IV. in 1832. In 1834, when High Sheriff of Herefordshire, he revived a procession of the javelin-men in Armour, and with mediæval pageantry. The suite of apartments at his residence, Goodrich Court, was arranged especially for the display of his collection of armour, and terminated with a chamber in which was represented a grand tournament. Sir Samuel was also author of many other works and papers on ancient armour and furniture, etc. He died on April 2, 1848.

SIR THOMAS LIVINGSTONE MITCHELL, KNT., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.G.S.

A most successful Explorer of the Australian continent, was born in 1792, at Craig End, Stirlingshire. He entered the army in 1808, and served on the staff till the termination of the Peninsular war, when he had attained the rank of major. From the surveys of the great battle-fields in the Peninsula, which he was sent back to make, he constructed maps unsurpassed for accuracy.



and skilful execution. In 1827 he published "Outlines of a System of Surveying for Geographical and Military Purposes," and received the appointment of Deputy Surveyor-General of New South Wales, and subsequently that of Surveyor-General, an office which he retained till his death. In 1838 he published his account of "Three Expeditions into the Interior of Eastern Australia," performed in the years 1831-2, 1835, and 1836. In 1839 he received the honour of knighthood, and the University of Oxford conferred upon him the honorary degree of D.C.L. He was also elected a Fellow of the Royal and Geographical Societies. In 1848 he published his "Journal of an Expedition into the Interior of Tropical Australia," which he had undertaken in the years 1845-6, and was obliged to relinquish from want of water and pasture. In 1854 he was promoted to the rank of colonel. Sir Thomas died at his residence, near Sydney, on Oct. 5, 1855, and was honoured with a public funeral.

SIR THOMAS CHARLES MORGAN, KNT., M.D.

Born about 1783. He was educated in succession at Eton, the Charterhouse, and St. Peter's College, Cambridge. He took his M.B. degree in 1804, and his M.D. in 1809. He commenced practice in London, and was admitted a Fellow of the College of Physicians. He was knighted in Ireland in 1811. In 1812, being then a widower, he married Miss Owenson, whose writings as Lady Morgan have imparted a lustre to the name. Sir Thomas soon after this marriage relinquished his professional practice and applied his talents to literature, and became a contributor to the "New Monthly," and other periodicals. In 1818 he published "Sketches of the Philosophy of Life," and the "Philosophy of Morals," both of which were translated into French and Italian. He also added to Lady Morgan's "France," "Four Appendices on the State of Law, Finance, Medicine, and Political Opinion in France." In 1831 he was appointed by the whigs one of the Commissioners of Irish Fisheries. He died August 28th, 1843.

SIR SAMUEL MORLAND, BART.,

Was the son of Rev. T. Morland, of Sulhampstead-Bannister, near Reading, and was born about 1625. He was educated at Winchester and Cambridge, but never took a degree. He accompanied Whitelocke on the famous embassy to the Queen of Sweden; and on his return became assistant to Thurloe, the Secretary of Oliver Cromwell. He is said to have been privy to the plot formed in 1659 for the capture of Charles II., usually known as Sir Richard Willis's plot, of which he found means to apprise the king. In May, 1660, he visited Charles, at Breda, in Holland, who knighted him and soon afterwards created him a baronet. On the Restoration Charles made him his Master of Mechanics, and presented him with a medal, as a "badge of his signal loyalty," and shortly after appointed him gentleman of his privy chamber. In 1666 he wrote a work on the quadrature of curvilinear spaces, which was never published; and about the same time he invented his arithmetical machine, by which the four fundamental rules of arithmetic might be readily and accurately worked. He also invented a Perpetual Almanac, and the Speaking Trumpet. If not the inventor, he greatly improved the fire engine, and devoted much of his study to water engines, pumps, &c., which he carried to a high state of perfection. He was also the author of several tracts on a variety of subjects. The latter years of his life were embittered by poverty and blindness. He died Dec. 30, 1695.

SIR WILLIAM MORICE, KNT.

He was born at Exeter in 1602, and was educated at Exeter College, Oxford, where he took his A.B. degree. He was elected a Member for Devonshire in 1645, an honour unsolicited on his part, and was knighted by Charles II., on his restoration. He was author of a work on the Lord's Supper, which evinces his almost universal reading and profound learning. He died at Warrington, in Devonshire, in 1676.

## SIR RICHARD MORRISON, KNT.,

An Architect of some repute in Ireland, was born about the year 1767. He became the pupil of a Dublin architect and obtained a Government appointment in the Ordnance, which he was obliged to relinquish in consequence of reductions in that establishment. He then resumed his practice as an architect, and erected a great number of buildings. He was knighted during the Vice-royalty of Earl de Grey, and was President of the Irish Institute of Architects. He died Oct. 31, 1849.

SIR RODERICK IMPEY MURCHISON, KNT., K.G.C.St. S., M.A., D.C.L.,  
F.R.S., V.P.G.S., F.R.G.S., F.L.S., ETC.

Celebrated Geologist, born at Tarradale in Ross-shire, in 1792. He was educated at Durham Grammar School and at the Military College, Marlow, where he remained till 1805, when he received a commission in the 36th Foot, and carried the colours of his regiment at the battle of Vimiera. He quitted the army in 1815, and after some years of foreign travel, he devoted himself to science, and undertook extensive geological tours through the greater portion of Europe, during a period of thirty-five years, which have resulted in the greatest advantage to the science of Geology. His first great work, completed after seven years of hard labour, was the "Silurian System," which is of high repute among Geologists, and obtained for him the Copley Medal. In 1825 he was elected a Fellow of the Geological Society, and of the Royal Society in 1826; of the former he discharged the duties of Secretary for five years and was elected President in 1831, 1832, 1842, and 1843. He was not only one of the founders of the Geographical Society, but has always been on its council, and has presided over it for seven years. The Universities of Cambridge and Durham have conferred upon him the honorary degree of M.A. He is also a Member of most of the Foreign Societies. He was knighted in 1846. From the Emperor Nicholas he received, in 1845, the decoration of the Second Class of St. Anne, and the Grand Cross of the Order of St. Stanislaus, for his Geological Survey of the Russian Empire, which orders he is now permitted to wear. In 1855 Sir Roderick became Director General of the Geological Survey of Great Britain, including the Direction of the Government School of Mines. A condensed view of all his labours in clearing away the obscurities in which the order and relations of the oldest rocks was involved, is given in the last edition (1859) of his "Siluria."

## LIEUT. GEN. SIR WILLIAM FRANCIS PATRICK NAPIER, K.C.B.

This celebrated Military Historian was born in 1785, at Castletown, in Ireland. He entered the army as ensign in 1800, obtained a lieutenancy in 1801, a company in 1804, and his majority in 1811. He became lieutenant-colonel in 1813, colonel in 1830, major-general in 1841, and lieutenant-general in 1851. He served at the siege of Copenhagen in 1807, and in Sir John Moore's campaign in Spain in 1808-9; and was present at most of the engagements in the Peninsular War. He received the gold medal with two clasps for his services in the battles of Salamanca, the Nivelle, and the Nive; and the silver medal with three clasps for Busaco, Fuentes de Onoro, and Orthes. He was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the Island of Guernsey in 1842, and was created a Knight Commander of the Order of the Bath in 1848. He commenced his career as an author in 1828, by the publication of the "History of the War in the Peninsula and the South of France, from 1807 to 1814." The volumes of this work came out in succession, the sixth and last being published in 1840. This history has passed through several editions, and is now a standard work. He also published an account of his brother's "Administration of Scinde," and other works.

## SIR ISAAC NEWTON, KNT., M.A., P.R.S.,

Was born at Woolsthorpe, in the parish of Colsterworth, in Lincolnshire, on Dec. 25, 1642, O.S. At the age of twelve he was sent to the grammar-school at Grantham; from whence he entered of

Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1660, and was admitted subsizer in 1661 and scholar in 1664. In 1665 he took the degree of B.A., and about the same time stood for a law fellowship in his college, which was given to his competitor (with whom he was declared of equal merit) as being the senior. In 1667 he was elected one of the junior Fellows of his college and took his M.A. degree, and became a senior Fellow in 1668. In 1669 he was appointed Lucasian Professor, and in the same year, at the request of the Royal Society, he presented them with one of the two reflecting Telescopes he had made, and which still remains in the library of that Society, of which he was elected a Fellow on Jan. 11, 1669, and President in 1703, an honour continued to him till his death. In 1675 Newton obtained of Charles II. a dispensation from taking orders, that he might retain his fellowship; and so poor was he at this time, that the Royal Society remitted, at his request, the weekly payment of 1s. In 1688 Newton was elected one of the Members for the University in the Convention Parliament. In 1695 he was appointed Warden of the Mint, and Master in 1699, when he vacated the Lucasian chair. In 1699 he was chosen Associate of the Academy of Sciences at Paris. In 1705 he was knighted by Queen Anne, and in the same year, in a contest for the representation of the University, he lost his election, and never afterwards sat in parliament. His discoveries on the unequal refrangibility of light were made about 1664, and the "Principia," on which his reputation as the greatest discoverer in physical science is founded, appeared in May 1687, at the expense of the Royal Society. He died on March 20, 1726-7.

SIR GEORGE NICHOLLS, K.C.B.,

The Originator and Superintendent of the present system of Poor Law Administration in England and Ireland, was born at St. Kevern, in Cornwall, in 1781. He was educated at Helstone Grammar School, and at Newton Abbot, Devonshire, and entered the naval service of the East India Company at fifteen. In 1809 he commanded a ship, and quitted the service in 1815. In 1834 he was appointed one of the Commissioners under the Poor Law Amendment Act. In 1838 the legislature passed "An Act for the more effectual Relief of the Poor in Ireland," founded upon information supplied by him; and the working of the new system was entrusted to him and four assistant-commissioners. After a few years Mr. Nicholls returned to his position in the administration of the English Poor Law; and upon the new organisation of the Poor Law Board accepted the office of Secretary. In 1848 he was made C.B., and upon his retirement from office in 1851, had the honour conferred upon him of Knight Commander of the Bath. His several works on the History of the English, Scotch, and Irish Poor Law respectively, exhibit the whole course of legislation on this important branch of social economy.

SIR NICHOLAS HARRIS NICOLAS, K.H., F.S.A.,

Was born in 1799. He entered the Navy, and attained the rank of Lieutenant in 1815. His employment in the service having ceased at the close of the war, he applied himself to antiquarian literature, in which his first production was "The Life of William Davison, Secretary of State, and Privy Councillor to Queen Elizabeth." He then entered himself of the Middle Temple, and was called to the bar in 1825. He was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, and a Member of the Council, and became a frequent contributor to the "Archæologia." Of the numerous works of which he was the editor or author, the most useful is his "Notitia Historica," which he afterwards remodelled for "Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia," under the title of "The Chronology of History; containing Tables, Calculations, and Statements, indispensable for ascertaining the Dates of Historical Events, and of Public and Private Documents, from the Earliest Period to the Present Time," (1835). He also published the statutes of various Orders of Knighthood, for which, in 1831, he was made a Knight of the Hanoverian Guelphic Order, and in 1832 Chancellor of the Ionian Order of St. Michael and St. George. He died on Aug. 3, 1848.

## SIR WILLIAM BROOKE O'SCHAUGHNESSY, K.C.B., F.R.S.,

Born at Limerick in 1809, and educated at Edinburgh University, where he graduated in Medicine. At the age of twenty-one he entered the East India Service as Assistant Surgeon, and in 1833 received a civil appointment. He was afterwards appointed Professor of Chemistry in the Medical College at Calcutta, and Chemical Examiner to the Government. To him the Government of India is indebted for the means of communication, by the electric telegraph, between Calcutta, Agra, Bombay, and Madras, a distance of 4,000 miles; which, considering the local difficulties he had to surmount, and perhaps not the least was the sudden and simultaneous training of 300 persons, to be employed in the different offices connected with the working department, have no parallel in any other country. He commenced laying down the line in Nov. 1853, and in Feb. 1856, the extent of the telegraphic lines had reached 4,000 miles, at an average cost of £50 a mile. In 1856 he returned to England, and was made a Knight Commander of the Bath for his most important services, which have not been surpassed by any public enterprise of modern times.

## SIR FRANCIS PALGRAVE, KNT.

The surname of this Antiquary was originally Cohen. He was born in London, in 1788. In 1827 he was called to the bar by the Society of the Inner Temple. He edited the "Parliamentary Writs," under the direction of the Commissioners of Public Records, published in 1827-34. In 1831 he was elected Fellow of the Royal Society and of the Society of Antiquaries. In 1832 he was made a Knight of the Guelphic Order for his services in connection with the constitutional and parliamentary history of England, and was knighted. In the same year he published his "Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth; Anglo-Saxon Period, containing the Policy and the Institutions arising out of the Laws and Usages which prevailed before the Conquest," two vols., 4to. In 1833 he was appointed one of the Commissioners to inquire into the existing state of the Municipal Corporations of England and Wales. The Commissioners issued a general report, upon which the Municipal Reform Act was founded. From this report Sir Francis Palgrave dissented, and published an unavailing Protest. He was soon after appointed Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, an office which he now holds.

## REAR ADMIRAL SIR WILLIAM EDWARD PARRY, KNT., D.C.L.,

Was born in 1790 at Bath; in the grammar school of which city he was educated. Preferring the navy to the medical profession, for which he was originally intended, in June, 1803, he was appointed a first-class volunteer on board the *Ville de Paris*. In 1806 he was made a midshipman, and a lieutenant in 1810. In 1818 he was appointed to the command of the *Alexander*, under the orders of Captain Ross in the *Isabella*, for the discovery of a north-west passage. Both vessels returned in the same year without having effected their object, much to the disappointment of Lieutenant Parry. In 1819 he was appointed to the command of a second expedition in the *Hecla* with the *Griper* under his orders. On September 4 they penetrated within the Arctic Circle, and became entitled to the reward of £5000. On his return in November 1820 he was promoted to the rank of commander, and was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. In 1821 and 1824 Captain Parry had the command of two other arctic expeditions, which were unsuccessful. During his absence from England on the former of these he was promoted to the rank of post-captain, and in 1823 was appointed Acting Hydrographer to the Admiralty. In 1825 he was made Hydrographer to the Admiralty, the duties of which office he performed till 1826, when he was again appointed to the command of the *Hecla*, and sailed from the Thames in April 1827. In this voyage he attained the latitude of 82° 45', the nearest point to the North Pole ever reached. Being unable to proceed farther he returned, and arrived in London in September of the same year, when he resumed his

duties as hydrographer, which he was obliged by ill health to resign. In 1822 he received the honour of knighthood, and had the degree of D.C.L. conferred upon him by the University of Oxford. In 1837 he was appointed to organize the Packet Service between Liverpool and Ireland, and Comptroller of Steam Machinery for the Royal Navy. He then retired from active service, and was appointed Captain-Superintendent of the Royal Clarence Yard, and of the Naval Hospital at Haslar. In 1852 he attained the rank of Rear Admiral of the White, and in 1853 was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Greenwich Hospital, an office which he held till his death, on July 7, 1855.

LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR CHARLES WILLIAM PASLEY, R.E., K.C.B., D.C.L.,

Entered the army as Second Lieutenant in the Artillery in 1797, and in the following year exchanged into the Engineers. He became first lieutenant in 1799, and captain in 1805. From 1806 to 1809 he was engaged in active service at Gaeta, Maida, Copenhagen, Corunna, Walcheren, Flushing (where he was wounded), and in the Peninsula. He obtained the rank of Brevet Major in 1812, Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel in 1813, Lieutenant-Colonel in 1814, Major-General in 1841, Lieutenant-General in 1851, and Colonel-Commandant of the Royal Engineers in 1853. The University of Oxford conferred upon him the honorary degree of D.C.L., in 1844, and he was created a Knight Commander of the Bath in 1845. He has received the silver war medal with two clasps for the battles of Maida and Corunna, and the Peninsular medal. He is now Inspector General of Railways. He is the author of numerous works on military and scientific subjects.

SIR JOSEPH PAXTON, M.P., F.L.S., ETC.,

Was born at Milton Bryant, near Woburn, Bedfordshire, in 1803, and was educated at Woburn Grammar School. Sir Joseph is one of the many remarkable "self-made men" of this country. From the humble position of an ordinary gardener at Chatsworth, he obtained by his manifest abilities, not only the patronage but the friendship of the late Duke of Devonshire, who lived to see his *protégé* honoured and received by royalty with a cordiality of feeling such as is rarely exhibited towards a commoner in any country. The late Duke of Devonshire has most nobly recorded, we believe, in his autobiography, words to the effect: *That on all occasions he had found the advice of Paxton that of a true friend.* Dame Fortune has hitherto not allowed a cloud to cast a shadow over Paxton, one of her deservedly most favoured children. Brought up in the conservatories at Chatsworth, his suggestion, at a moment of difficulty, respecting the style of building for the National Exhibition of 1851, was most fortunate for the public and happy in its design. It was the most natural for a man who eschewed bricks and mortar. It met with universal approbation and obtained for him the honour of knighthood; and in 1854 he was elected M.P. for Coventry. The Crystal Palace—the eighth wonder of the world—at Sydenham, would never have been built had it not been for the exertions of Mr. Francis Fuller and those who came forward to purchase, at the suggestion of Mr. Leech, the building of the Exhibition of 1851. Here again did Sir Joseph Paxton shew his master mind; and however many may be the faults committed in the erection of The Crystal Palace, it stands alone as one of the most marvellous buildings of the age. His great design of a conservatory roadway round London, cleansed by monster fountains, remains to be accomplished. Grant Sir Joseph Paxton a few millions, and there ends the difficulty!!

SIR SAMUEL MORTON PETO, BART.,

The constructor of many of the greatest engineering works of the present century, was born at Woking, in 1809. He acquired a practical knowledge of a builder's business during the seven years he served in the several departments of his uncle's establishment. In 1830, on the death of his uncle, Mr. Henry Peto, he succeeded to a moiety of his uncle's very large business, his partner being Mr. Grissell (also a nephew). This partnership was dissolved in 1845; and he has since constructed

a large portion of the railway works in England and a vast railway in Canada, as well as the Norwegian Grand Trunk Railway and the Royal Danish line. Upon the opening of the latter in 1854 he received from the hands of the King of Denmark the Order of the Danebrog. At the close of 1854 he undertook gratuitously the construction of the Balaclava Railway in the Crimea, originated by the Duke of Newcastle, and in consequence relinquished his seat for Norwich, which he had held since 1847. In appreciation of this patriotic service he was created a baronet.

SIR WILLIAM PETTY, KNT., M.D., F.R.C.P., F.R.S., P.R.I.A.,

Born at Rumsey, in Hampshire, and educated at the grammar-school there. In 1649 he was elected, on the recommendation of the Parliament, to a Fellowship at Brazen-nose College, Oxford, made void by the ejection of the Royalists, and at the same time received the honorary degree of M.D. In 1650 he was appointed to the Anatomical Professorship in that University; and in the following year succeeded Dr. Knight in the Professorship of Music at Gresham College. In 1652 he was appointed Physician to the Army in Ireland, and subsequently became Secretary to Henry Cromwell and the three following Viceroy's of that country. In 1655 he was elected Fellow of the College of Physicians of London. In 1661 he was appointed a Commissioner of the Court of Claims, in Ireland, by Charles II., who conferred upon him the honour of knighthood. On the institution of the Royal Society, he was nominated on the Council. In 1666 he published his "Verbum Sapienti;" and in 1684 he established a Philosophical Society at Dublin, in imitation of the Royal Society, of which he was elected President. His "Political Arithmetic" was the first work on Political Economy which appeared in this country. From him have sprung the noble family of Lansdowne. He died on Dec. 16, 1687, having acquired a very large fortune by his talents.

DR. LYON PLAYFAIR, C.B., PH.D., F.R.S., F.G.S., F.C.S.

He was born in Bengal in 1819. He was educated at St. Andrew's, and in 1834 entered himself as a pupil in chemistry under Professor Graham in Glasgow University. In 1835 he went out to India, and on his return resumed his studies under Professor Graham, who was then Professor of Chemistry in University College, London. In 1838 he was attracted to Giessen by the fame of Liebig, and took the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in that University. On his return to England he published a translation of Liebig's "Reports on the Progress of Organic Chemistry." In 1843 he accepted the post of Professor of Chemistry at the Royal Institution of Manchester. While he held this office he was placed on the Commission for Investigating the State of Health of the large Towns of England. He was subsequently appointed Chemist to the Museum of Economic Geology. In 1848 he was elected Fellow of the Royal Society. In 1851 he was appointed Special Commissioner to communicate with Local Committees on the Arrangements preliminary to the opening of the Great Exhibition. For his services in connection with the Great Exhibition he was made a Companion of the Bath, and received the appointment of Gentlemen Usher in the Prince Consort's Household. In 1853 he was appointed joint Secretary of the Government Department of Science and Art, and in 1855 sole Secretary. In 1858 he was elected Professor of Chemistry in the University of Edinburgh, which office he now holds.



SIR ROBERT KER PORTER, K.C.H.,

Was born at Durham about 1775. When nine or ten years of age he was spending the evening with the celebrated Flora Macdonald, who seeing him intently gazing on a battle-piece of '45, explained to him all its details, and from that time he was incessantly sketching battles. About 1790 his mother introduced him to Mr. Benjamin West, R.A., who procured for him his admission as a student into the

Royal Academy. In 1792 he received a commission to paint "Moses" and "Aaron," for Shoreditch Church. His most extraordinary productions were his battle-pieces, of which the "Storming of Seringapatam," an immense picture, 120 feet long, he is said to have been only six weeks in painting, and yet the execution was in no part neglected. This picture was destroyed by fire in a friend's warehouse. In 1804 he went to Russia, and was appointed Historical Painter to the Emperor, and in 1811 he married a Russian Princess, who survived him. In 1813 he published "An Account of the Russian Campaign," and was knighted by the Prince Regent in the same year. From 1817 to 1820 he travelled in Asia, an account of which he published under the title of "Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylon, etc.," in 1821-2. In 1836 Sir Robert was created Knight Commander of the Hanoverian Order by William IV. In 1841 he made his last visit to St. Petersburg, on his return from Venezuela, where he had filled the office of British Consul. On the 3rd of May, 1842, he was struck with apoplexy, and expired on the following morning.

SIR UVEDALE PRICE, BART.,

Was born in 1747, of an ancient Welsh family settled at Foxley, in Herefordshire. He was educated at Oxford. The work on which his reputation mainly rests was "An Essay on the Picturesque, as compared with the Sublime and Beautiful;" and on the "Use of Studying Pictures for the Purpose of Improving Real Landscape," published in 1794, which went through three editions. He was also the author of several works on Landscape Gardening, and in 1827 he published "An Essay on the Modern Pronunciation of the Greek and Latin Languages." In 1828 he was created a Baronet; and in the following year, on Sep. 11, he died at his residence, at Foxley.

SIR JOHN PRINGLE, BART., M.D., P.R.S.,

Born in Roxburghshire in 1707. After having received his early classical education under a private tutor, he entered the University of St. Andrew's and kept the ordinary number of terms there. In 1727 he removed to Edinburgh to qualify himself for the medical profession; but he left that university in the following year and proceeded to Leyden, where he took the degree of Doctor of Physic in 1730. Thence he proceeded to Paris where he completed his medical studies, and then settled in Edinburgh as a physician. In 1734 he was appointed Professor of Moral Philosophy in that university. In 1742 he was nominated Physician to the Earl of Stair, at that time Commander of the Allied Armies of England and Austria; and was afterwards appointed by the Duke of Cumberland Physician General to His Majesty's Forces in the Low Countries, whereupon he resigned his Professorship. In 1752 he published his Treatise "On the Diseases of the Army," which passed through seven editions, and was translated into the French, German, and Italian languages. In 1745 he was recalled from Flanders, and accompanied the Duke of Cumberland in suppressing the Scotch Rebellion; and in the same year was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. In 1750 he obtained the Copley Medal; and in 1753 was elected on the Council. In this year he relinquished his appointment in the army, and was admitted a Licentiate of the College of Physicians. In 1761, soon after the accession of George III., he was appointed Physician to the Queen's Household, and in 1763 Physician Extraordinary to Her Majesty; and in the same year was chosen a Member of the Academy of Sciences at Haarlem, and a Fellow of the College of Physicians, London. In 1766 he was elected a Member of the Royal Society of Sciences at Gottingen, and created a Baronet by George III. In 1772 he was elected President of the Royal Society, and in 1774 was appointed Physician Extraordinary to His Majesty. In 1776 he became a member of several foreign societies. In 1778 he succeeded Linnæus as Foreign Member of the Academy of Sciences at Paris, and was also elected Foreign Member of the Academy of Sciences and Belles Lettres at Naples; and in 1781 a Fellow of the Royal Society of Antiquaries, Edinburgh. In 1778 he resigned the Presidency of

the Royal Society, in consequence of its having been proposed to him by some members, whose hostility against Franklin, on the breaking out of the American Revolution, was carried to an absurd extent, to advocate the substitution of knobs instead of points on electric conductors as recommended by Franklin, and among the number was their patron George III. Sir John hinted that the laws of nature were unalterable at royal pleasure; whereupon it was intimated to him that a President of the Royal Society entertaining such an opinion ought to resign, which he accordingly did. In 1781 Sir John removed to Edinburgh, and presented to the College of Physicians there three manuscript volumes in folio, on condition that they should not be printed. In the same year he returned to London, where he died on January 18, 1782.

SIR HENRY RAEBURN, KNT., R.A., F.R.S.E.,

A Portrait Painter, of great eminence in his time, born at Stockbridge, near Edinburgh, in 1756. He was originally apprenticed to a goldsmith, and during the period of his apprenticeship was so successful in painting miniatures, that he obtained considerable reputation by them, and usually finished two a week. His master, wishing to promote his success as a miniature painter, cancelled his indentures, receiving, as an equivalent for the period he had to serve, a part of the young painter's earnings. After this agreement terminated, he discontinued miniature painting and took portraits in oil, and gained a very extensive practice. About 1780 he repaired to London, and was much noticed by Sir Joshua Reynolds, by whose advice he visited Italy, where he remained two years, carefully studying the works of the great Masters. In 1787 he returned to Edinburgh, where he soon became the chief portrait painter, and was made a member of the Royal Society of that city. In 1812 he was elected an Associate, and in 1815 a Member of the Royal Academy. In 1822 he received the honour of knighthood from George IV., at Hopetown House, and in the following year was appointed Portrait Painter to his Majesty for Scotland. He was a Member of the Imperial Academy of Florence, and of the South Carolina and New York Academies. He died on July 8, 1823.

SIR THOMAS STAMFORD RAFFLES, KNT.,

Was born at sea, off Jamaica, in 1781. At fourteen, after having been at school only two years, he obtained a Clerkship in the India-House, and so improved his education by private study, that his abilities obtained for him, in 1805, the Assistant-Secretaryship of Pulo Penang. In 1806 he was appointed principal Secretary and Registrar; and in 1811 Lieutenant-General of Java, the expedition against which had been planned by him. In 1816 he returned to England, and prepared for the press his "History of Java," which appeared in 2 vols. in 1817. In the same year he was knighted, and obtained the appointment to the Residency of Bencoolen. After Java had been resigned to the Dutch he was, in 1819, appointed to the government of Singapore, which had been placed under British protection by his advice. In 1824 he returned to England, from ill health. His collection in Natural History he gave to the Zoological Museum in Bruton Street, of which, in conjunction with Sir H. Davy, he formed the plan, and established. He died on July 5, 1826.

LIEUT.-COL. SIR HENRY CRESWICKE RAWLINSON, K.C.B., F.R.S.,

Born at Chadlington in Oxfordshire, in 1810. He entered the East India Company's Military Service in 1826, and rose to the rank of Major in 1836, and Lieut.-Col. in 1850. On Jan. 1, 1833, he transmitted to the Secretary of the Asiatic Society a specimen of his copy and reading of the Behistun inscription in Kurdistan, in the cuneiform character; and in 1839 he sent a précis of the whole inscription, which was published in 1846, and the Babylonian version in 1851. In 1843 he was appointed political Resident at Baghdad, where he studied the inscriptions of Nineveh. In 1844 he received the commission of Consul there, and Consul-General in 1851. He was elected a Fellow of



the Royal Society in 1850, and in the same year received from the University of Oxford the honorary degree of D.C.L. In 1856 he was appointed a Crown Director of the East India Company, and created a K.C.B. In 1858 he was elected M.P. for Reigate, but shortly after resigned his seat on accepting the office of a Member of the Council of India. In 1859 he was appointed Her Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of the Shah, and was granted the rank of Major-General in Persia. Besides his numerous papers in the Journals of the Asiatic and Geographical Societies, he published, in 1852, "Outline of the History of Assyria, &c.;" and in 1855, "Memorandum on the Publication of the Cuneiform Inscriptions."

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR WILLIAM REID, K.C.B., F.R.S.,

Was born, in 1791, at Kinglassie in Fifeshire. He was educated in the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, and entered the army as Lieutenant of Royal Engineers in 1809. He served under the Duke of Wellington in the Peninsula, and after the peace under General Lambert in America, and again under the Duke in Belgium. In 1816, having attained the rank of Captain, he served in the expedition against Algiers. For some time afterwards he was Adjutant of the corps of Sappers and Miners, and attended the lectures of the Professors of the Royal Institution; from whose lectures he derived that knowledge which afterwards distinguished him as a man of science. In 1839 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. In 1838 he had attained the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and was appointed Governor of Bermuda, and in 1846 Governor of the Windward Islands. In 1849 he was appointed Governor of Woolwich; and in 1850 he directed the officers of Engineers and the Sappers and Miners in their operations at the Great Exhibition, and was appointed Chairman of the Executive Committee on the resignation of Mr. R. Stephenson. For his unremitting attention to the duties of this office until the close of the Exhibition, he received the honour of K.C.B. In 1815 he was appointed Governor of Malta; and in 1856 attained the rank of Major-General. To this scientific officer we are indebted for "An Attempt to Develop the Law of Storms by means of Facts arranged according to Place and Time," which was published in 1838, and was followed, in 1849, by another work on "The Progress of the Development of the Law of Storms, and of the Variable Winds," etc. He died Oct. 31st, 1858. A monument has been erected to his memory at Bermuda, of which island he was Governor from 1839 to 1846.

SIR JOHN RENNIE, KNT., F.R.S.,

Is the second son of Mr. John Rennie, the eminent civil engineer and manufacturer of machinery. Having entered into partnership with his elder brother, George, they completed the unfinished great undertakings of their father, and, among others, the New London Bridge. They also executed on their own account numerous engineering works in this country and abroad. In 1845 this partnership was dissolved, and Sir John has since practised as an architect. In 1823 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, and received the honour of knighthood from William IV on the opening of London Bridge, an honour which engineers, by a tacit understanding among themselves, generally decline to accept.

SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS, P.R.A., D.C.L., F.S.A.,

The Founder of the British School of Painting, was born at Plympton, in Devonshire, on July 16, 1723. In 1741 he was placed under Hudson, as his preceptor in the art of painting, by whom, through jealousy, he was dismissed in 1743. In 1749 he visited Rome for the first time, where he spent three years, returning to England in 1752. In 1760 was formed the design of exhibiting the works of British artists, which resulted in the foundation of the Royal Academy in 1768. To this exhibition, opened at a large room belonging to the Society of Arts in the Strand, Sir Joshua sent

four of his pictures; and to the second, in 1761, at Spring Gardens, he sent five. He was elected President of the Royal Academy on its institution in 1768, having, it is said, stipulated for the honour of knighthood, which he obtained in that year. His "Discourses" on art, which were volunteered by him on his election, continue to be the best body of critical instruction the artist possesses. From the opening of the Royal Academy to 1790, inclusive, he sent no less than two hundred and fifty-four pictures. In 1773 he was created a Doctor of Civil Law at Oxford, having been previously admitted a member of the Antiquarian and Dilettanti Societies. In 1783 he published Mason's translation of Du Fresnoy's *Art of Painting*, with notes by himself. In 1784 he succeeded Ramsay as king's painter. In 1790 he resigned the Presidency of the Royal Academy, and on February 23, 1792, he expired. At his funeral, his pall was supported by three Dukes, two Marquesses, and five other noblemen. He was buried by the side of Sir Christopher Wren, in St. Paul's, where a statue has been raised to his memory by Flaxman.

SIR JOHN RICHARDSON, KNT., M.D., F.R.S., F.L.S.

This Arctic Traveller was born at Dumfries in 1787. He was educated in the Grammar School of his native town, and in 1801 was admitted of the University of Edinburgh, where he studied for the medical profession. In 1807 he entered the navy as an assistant-surgeon, without having taken his M.D. degree, but which he took in 1816. In 1819 he accompanied Capt. Franklin as surgeon and naturalist on his first Arctic Expedition; and again in 1825, and returned in 1827. In 1829 he commenced the publication of the "*Fauna Boreali-Americana, or, the Zoology of the Northern Parts of British America, containing Descriptions of the Objects of Natural History collected on the late Northern Land Expedition, under the command of Sir John Franklin,*" which was completed in 1837. In 1838 he was appointed Physician to the Fleet. In 1840 he was promoted to an Inspectorship of Hospitals, and received the honour of knighthood in 1846: as part of his official duty, he had the superintendence of the museum at Haslar Hospital. In 1848, the Government having determined to send out three expeditions in search of Sir John Franklin, who had left England in 1845 and had not since been heard of, Sir John Richardson had the command of that which was to search the coasts between the Mackenzie and Coppermine rivers, and the shores of Victoria Land and Wollaston Land, opposite Cape Krusenstern. This search he was, after undergoing many hardships, obliged to relinquish; and he returned to England in 1849. In 1851 he published an account of this expedition, "*Arctic Searching Expedition,*" etc., in 2 vols. 8vo. Sir John retired from service as a naval medical officer in 1855. He has contributed to the natural history of the works published detailing the Arctic voyages of the several navigators.

REAR-ADMIRAL SIR JOHN ROSS, KNT., F.R.S., F.L.S.

An Arctic Navigator, born at Balsarroch in Wigtownshire. He entered the navy as a first class volunteer in 1786. He was in the merchant service for some years; and in 1799 was appointed a Midshipman, and a Lieutenant in 1805. He obtained a pension of £98 per annum, in 1808, for wounds received in cutting out a Spanish vessel under the batteries of Bilboa in 1806; increased in 1815 to £150. In 1812 he attained the rank of Commander. In 1818 he was appointed to the command of the "*Isabella,*" accompanied by Lieutenant Parry in the "*Alexander,*" on a voyage for discovery of the north-west passage. They returned in November 1818, without having effected the object of their voyage, much to the disappointment of Lieutenant Parry, who did not coincide in Lieutenant Ross's opinion that there was no outlet from the Lancaster Sound. In December of the same year he was raised to the rank of Post-Captain. In 1827 Captain Ross submitted to the Admiralty the plan of another voyage of discovery to the Arctic Seas, which was declined. But after some delay Mr. Booth (now Sir Felix) equipped a steam-ship at his own expense, and gave the command of it to Captain Ross, who with his nephew, Commander James Clark Ross, as second in

command, left the Thames in 1829. He expected to find a north-west passage through Prince Regent Inlet; but from the 8th of October, 1829, till September 1831, they were, with the exception of some short intervals, frozen up in that Inlet, and on the 29th of May they finally abandoned the ship. They struggled on till August 1833, when the ice broke, and they were enabled to set sail in the boats, and were picked up by the "Isabella" of Hull (the ship which Captain Ross had formerly commanded when in the merchant service), and arrived at that port on the 13th of September. On the 24th of December, 1834, Captain Ross received the honour of knighthood, together with the Companionship of the Bath. In 1839 Sir John was appointed Consul at Stockholm, an appointment which he held till 1845. In 1850 he went out in search of Sir John Franklin, but was unsuccessful. He attained his rank of Rear-Admiral in 1851. Sir John was the author of "A Voyage of Discovery," published in 1819, in 2 vols. 8vo. He died August 30, 1856.

REAR-ADMIRAL SIR JAMES CLARK ROSS, KNT., F.R.S., D.C.L., F.L.S., F.R.A.S., & F.G.S.

This Naval Officer is the nephew of the above, Admiral Sir John Ross. He was born in London in 1800. He entered the navy in 1812 as a first-class volunteer. He accompanied his uncle as an Admiralty midshipman in his first voyage in search of a north-west passage. From 1819 to 1825 he sailed under the command of Captain Parry in his three voyages for the same purpose, and was, in 1822, promoted to the rank of Lieutenant. In 1827 he again accompanied Captain Parry in his attempt to reach the north pole. On his return to England in 1827 he was raised to the rank of Commander. From 1829 to 1833 he again served under his uncle in his second Arctic voyage, during which he discovered the northern magnetic pole, and was rewarded in 1834 by Post rank. In 1839 he was appointed to the command of the "Erebus," accompanied by Captain Crozier in the "Terror," on a voyage to the Antarctic Seas, for the purpose of pursuing magnetic investigations as to the lines of variation, dip, and intensity; and also the position of the southern magnetic pole or poles. Both ships returned in 1843, having lost only four men during the voyage,—three by accident, and one by illness. They reached within 157 miles of the south pole. In addition to the discoveries made during this voyage in geography, geology, zoology, and botany, a vast continent was discovered, bordered with ice, 150 feet high, named Victoria Land; and an active volcano, 12,000 feet high, in the region of perpetual snow, which they named Mount Erebus. He was knighted in 1844, and received the honorary degree of D.C.L. from the University of Oxford. In 1848 Sir James was appointed to the "Enterprise," on a voyage to Baffin's Bay, in an unsuccessful attempt to discover Sir John Franklin. For his services the Admiralty awarded him the good service pension, which he held until his promotion to the rank of Rear-Admiral in 1856. In 1823 he was elected a Fellow of the Linnean Society, and in 1828 a Fellow of the Royal Society. He is also a Fellow of the Royal Astronomical and Geographical Societies, and a Corresponding Member of several foreign societies. In 1841 he was presented with the founder's gold medal of the London Geographical Society, and in 1842 with the gold medal of the Geographical Society of Paris. In 1847 he published, in 2 vols. 8vo, an account of his voyage in the southern and Antarctic regions.

SIR WILLIAM CHARLES ROSS, KNT., R.A.,

Was born in London, in 1794. His father and mother were both artists, and under their instruction he made so much progress that he was admitted a student of the Royal Academy when only ten years of age. In his thirteenth year he gained a silver palette, at the Society of Arts, for a copy in chalk of his uncle Smith's engraving of "The Death of Wat Tyler;" and in each of the four following years he received other prizes from the same Society. In 1817 he obtained the Society's gold medal, and the silver medal of the Royal Academy. He commenced his career as a portrait and historical painter; but feeling the difficulty of attaining eminence in the higher departments of art, he determined to apply himself to miniature painting, in which branch he has been most successful. He

was appointed Miniature Painter to Her Majesty in 1837; in 1838 he was elected an Associate of the Royal Academy, and a Royal Academician in Feb. 1842; and was knighted in June of that year. Though devoted to miniature painting, he did not wholly disregard historic painting; for, in the competition for the decoration of the Houses of Parliament, Sir William sent in his cartoon of "The Angel Raphael discoursing with Adam," and obtained one of the additional premiums of £100. He died Jan. 20, 1860.

SIR DANIEL KEYTE SANDFORD, KNT., D.C.L.,

Professor of Greek in Glasgow University, and one of the representatives in Parliament of that city, was the son of Dr. Daniel Sandford, a bishop of the Scotch Episcopal Church. He was educated at the High School, Edinburgh, where he distinguished himself; and in 1817 entered as a commoner of Christ Church, Oxford, where he gained, in 1821, the Chancellor's prize for an Essay on the Study of Modern History. He took his A.M. degree, as a grand compounder, in 1825, and D.C.L. in 1833. He had but just attained his majority when he was elected to the Greek Professorship in the University of Glasgow. In 1830 he was knighted in consideration of his literary eminence. After an unsuccessful contest for Glasgow, during the excitement of the Reform Bill, he was returned to Parliament for Paisley; but was soon obliged, by ill health, to resign his seat. Many of his lectures on Greek literature were published as articles in the "Edinburgh Review," and he remodelled some of the elementary books on that language. He died of typhus fever, on Feb. 9, 1838.

SIR ROBT. HERMANN SCHOMBURGK, KNT.,

Was born in Thuringia in 1804. He early devoted himself to the study of Geography and Natural History. In 1831 he was sent out to explore Cenegada, one of the Virgin Islands; and in 1835 he was engaged by the Geographical Society of London to explore the interior of Guiana. During this exploratory journey, in making his way up the Berbice river, in 1837, he discovered the Victoria Regia Water Lily, the most magnificent aquatic plant known to exist. On his return to England, in 1839, he received the gold medal of the Royal Geographical Society. In 1840 he was sent out by Government to make a survey of British Guiana, and was knighted on his return. He shortly after published an interesting account of the country, under the title of "A Description of British Guiana." In 1847 he published a "History of Barbadoes," a very valuable work. In 1848 Sir Robert was appointed British Consul to the Republic of St. Domingo, a post which he still holds. His reputation has extended throughout Europe, and has obtained for him the following honours: Knight of the Prussian Order of the Red Eagle, in 1840; of the Saxon Order of Merit, in 1845; and a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour, in 1847. He was elected Doctor of Philosophy by the University of Königsberg; and an honorary member of several of the learned societies of Europe and America.

SIR WALTER SCOTT, BART.

This celebrated Novelist and Poet was born in Edinburgh in 1771. Before he was two years old he became lame of his right leg; and it was not until he had attained his eighth year that he was deemed strong enough to be sent to the High School. In 1784 he entered the University; and in 1792 was called to the bar. His first literary achievement was the Translation of Bürger's "Leonora," and the "Wild Huntsman," in 1796. In Dec. 1799 he was appointed Sheriff of Selkirkshire, and in 1806 one of the principal Clerks of the Court of Session. Before he determined to make literature "a staff—not a crutch," he followed up his first appeal to the public by his "William and Helen;" and in 1799 he translated Göthe's "Götz of Berlichingen." This was followed by his "Border Minstrelsy"; a work which introduced him to Mr. Ballantine, in whose commercial speculations

he became ultimately involved. In 1805 he commenced his career as the most popular poet of the day, by the publication of "The Lay of the Last Minstrel"; followed, in 1808, by "Marmion"; "The Lady of the Lake" in 1809; and "Don Roderick" in 1811. His other poetical works appeared in rapid succession. In 1814 he published anonymously "Waverley." The rapidity with which that novel rose in public estimation induced him to proceed in this field of literature, in which he has obtained immortal fame. In 1826 occurred the commercial crisis which attended the firms of Messrs. Constable & Co. and Messrs. Ballantine & Co.; in the latter of which he was proved to be a partner, and his liabilities amounted to £147,000. From this responsibility he did not flinch; and he said to his creditors,—“Gentlemen, Time and I against any two. Let me take this good ally into my company, and I believe I shall be able to pay you every farthing.” His debts, which were materially diminished during his life by his literary labours, have been since entirely liquidated by the profits of the collected editions of his works,—an object which he sacrificed himself to obtain. The consciousness of honourable and manly endurance, and the devoted love of his children, smoothed his passage to the grave; and after fourteen days of total insensibility, he expired at Abbotsford, on Sept. 21, 1832. There are few more striking examples of the truth of the remark, that “man proposes, but God disposes,” than that of Sir Walter Scott. By his own exertions he was raised to affluence. He purchased and built Abbotsford in the vain hope of founding a family residence; but his wealth vanished from his grasp, and he was obliged to exchange his noble mansion with “all its auld nick-nackets,” for a humble lodging; and his fond desire of handing down to posterity his name and baronetcy has been dissipated by the death of all his own children, and of his grandson, Walter Scott Lockhart.

SIR CHARLES SCUDAMORE, KNT., M.D., F.R.S.,

Was born in 1779, at Wye, in Kent. He studied medicine in the University of Glasgow, where he took his M.D. degree. He devoted his attention principally to the treatment and cure of the gout, upon which he has written several Treatises, the most successful being “A Treatise on the Nature and Cure of the Gout and Gravel, with Observations on Rheumatism,” and has passed through four editions. In 1824 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society; and was knighted, in 1829, by the Duke of Northumberland, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He died Aug. 4, 1849.

SIR ROBERT SEPPINGS, KNT., F.R.S.,

A distinguished Naval Architect, was born in 1768. He received his education as a shipwright under Sir John Henslow, and continued in the service of the Dockyards for a period of nearly fifty years. He was the author of numerous and important improvements in naval architecture, the principal of which, the system of diagonal bracing and trussing, he devised while Master Shipwright of Chatham Dockyard. These improvements were universally adopted in the Navy, and their merit acknowledged by his appointment as Surveyor-General of that department, and the award of the Copley Medal of the Royal Society, of which he was elected a Fellow, Nov. 10, 1814. While Master-Shipwright Assistant in Plymouth Dockyard, he invented an improved block for supporting vessels, by which their keels and lower timbers were more easily repaired; for this he received from the Admiralty the reward of £1000, and the gold medal of the Royal Society in 1804. The most valuable of all his reforms in Naval Architecture was the substitution of round for flat sterns. For these and other improvements, which have tended greatly to economise labour and expenditure, he received the marked approbation of both Houses of Parliament. Foreign Nations also acknowledged the value of his improvements. The Emperor Alexander of Russia and the Kings of Denmark and Holland presented him with memorials of their appreciation of his merits. Sir R. Seppings was an honorary Member of the Cambridge University Philosophical Society, and a corresponding Member of the Philosophical Society of Rotterdam. He was prevented by illness from receiving the honorary degree of D.C.L.

intended to have been conferred upon him by the University of Oxford in 1836. The honour of a knight-banneret was conferred upon him in 1819, on board the Royal George yacht under sail, and the royal standard flying. He died April 25, 1840.

SIR MARTIN ARCHER SHEE, KNT., P.R.A.

This fashionable Portrait Painter was born in 1770, at Dublin. At an early age, by his own desire, he was entered as a student of the Dublin Society, and before he was twelve years old he carried off the three chief prizes for figure, landscape, and flower drawing; and at the age of sixteen he is said to have found ample occupation as a portrait painter. In 1788 he came to London, and was entered a student of the Royal Academy, and in the following year became an exhibitor. In 1798 he was elected an Associate, and in 1800 a Royal Academician. His presentation picture was a Belisarius. In 1805 he appeared before the public in the character of a poet, in a work intitled, "Rhymes on Art," described by himself as "a Poem on Painting, in which, more particularly, the Early Progress of the Student is Attempted to be Illustrated and Encouraged." He also wrote a Tragedy, "Alasco," in which John Kemble was to have sustained the principal character; but it was not allowed by Colman, the licenser of plays, to be performed. He also wrote a novel, which has not added much to his reputation. In 1830 he succeeded Sir Thomas Lawrence in the President's Chair of the Royal Academy, which he obtained by a large majority over his competitor, Wilkie; and soon afterwards received the honour of knighthood. He died Aug. 13, 1850.

SIR EDWARD SHERBURNE, KNT.,

Born in London in 1618. He succeeded his father, in 1641, in the Clerkship of His Majesty's Ordnance. Being a Roman Catholic and staunch Royalist, he was ejected from the office by a warrant of the House of Lords in the following year. He then actively engaged in the service of the king, who appointed him Commissary General of the Royal Artillery. He attended the King at Oxford, where he took his A.M. degree in 1642. On the Restoration he obtained his old situation in the Ordnance, and was knighted in 1682. He was author of poetical translations of the "Medea" and "Troades" of Seneca, and of Manilius: to the latter work is added an "Appendix," containing lives of scientific men, his contemporaries, giving valuable information respecting them, not to be met with elsewhere. He died in poverty on Nov. 4, 1702.

SIR ROBERT SIBBALD, KNT., M.D.,

A Physician and Botanist, born near Leslic, in Fifeshire, about 1643. He was appointed Physician and Geographer to Charles II., by whom he was knighted. The College of Physicians at Edinburgh was founded by his exertions, and he was its first President. He was the author of numerous works, among which we may notice "Scotia Illustrata," and "The Liberty and Independence of the Kingdom and Church of Scotland." He died in 1712.

SIR GEORGE SIMPSON, KNT.,

Was born at Lochbroom, Ross-shire, about 1796. In early youth he was sent out to America, and by his tact effected a coalition between the chartered Hudson's Bay Company and the unchartered North-West Company of Canada, between which Companies a troublesome contest was then raging; and was soon after appointed Governor of the Hudson Bay Company's territories,—an office which he now holds. In 1836 he was instructed by the Directors of the Company to make arrangements for the equipment of an expedition to connect the discoveries of Captains Ross and Back. This he executed with such zeal and forethought, that the expedition was entirely successful, under the

conduct of his nephew, the late Thos. Simpson, noted in Arctic discovery, who traced the Arctic coast of America from the mouth of the Mackenzie River to Point Barrow, and from the mouth of the Copper Mine River to the Gulf of Boothia. In consideration of the Governor's services, Her Majesty, in 1841, conferred upon him the honour of knighthood.

THE RIGHT HON. SIR JOHN SINCLAIR, BART.,

Was born at Thurso Castle, in the County of Caithness, in 1754. He was admitted a Member of the Faculty of Advocates in Scotland in 1755, and was called to the English bar in 1782. In 1780 he was returned to Parliament for Caithness, and sat in several successive parliaments for his native county and other places. He was created a Baronet in 1786, and in 1810 was made a Privy Councillor. He was a member of several learned societies, and distinguished for his numerous writings, among which may be mentioned his "Statistical Account of Scotland," a work displaying an almost incredible amount of labour and research. By his exertions was formed the Board of Agriculture, in 1793, of which he was the first President. He died on Dec. 21, 1835.

SIR WILLIAM HENRY SLEEMAN, K.C.B.,

Born at Stratton, Cornwall, in 1788. In 1808 he entered the East India Company's Service as a Cadet. During a lengthened period of nearly fifty years he employed his energies in the extinction of the atrocious systems of Thuggee and Dacoity, and in various commissions under successive Governors-General, which he performed with signal success, and obtained for him the honour of a Knight Commander of the Bath, at the special request of Lord Dalhousie, in 1856. He was the author of two works on Political Economy, a "Diary in Onde," and "Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Officer," the latter of which gives a most faithful picture of the religious, moral, and social condition of the natives of that country. He died at sea, on his return to England, on Feb. 10, 1856.

SIR HANS SLOANE, BART., P.R.S., P.R.C.P.

This eminent Physician was born at Killelagh, in Ireland, April 16, 1660. Having entered the Medical Profession, he came over to England, and studied Chemistry under the celebrated Stahl, and Botany in the Apothecaries' Garden at Chelsea, the ground of which he (on subsequently purchasing the manor) gave to the Company. In 1683 he set out for Paris, where he attended the anatomical lectures of Duverney, and those on Botany by Tournefort. In 1685 he was elected Fellow of the Royal Society, and Secretary in 1693: the duties of this office he discharged gratuitously for a period of twenty years; and on the decease of Sir Isaac Newton in 1727 he was elected President, an honour he retained for fourteen years. In April 1687 he was elected a Fellow of the College of Physicians; and in the same year accepted the appointment of Physician to the Duke of Albemarle, who was going out as Governor of Jamaica. In that and the neighbouring islands he made an immense collection of plants, and returned to England in 1689. In 1694 he was chosen one of the Physicians of Christ's Hospital; the salary for this office (which he held for thirty years), although he regularly received, he returned immediately to the Hospital. He attended Queen Anne in her last illness, and was created a Baronet in 1716, on the accession of George I., being the first Physician upon whom that honour was conferred. He was at the same time made Physician-General to the Army,—an appointment which he resigned on being constituted Physician in Ordinary to George II. In 1719 he was elected President of the College of Physicians,—an office which he held for sixteen years; and took an active part in establishing the Dispensary initiated by the College for providing the poor with medical attendance and physic gratuitously. The plan of the Foundling Hospital originated with him. The whole of his Collection of Medals, Natural History, Books, Manuscripts, &c. he bequeathed to the Public, on condition that a sum of £20,000 (not one fourth of its value) should

be paid to his executors. This sum was voted by Parliament, and hence commenced the formation of the British Museum. His first work "A Catalogue of the Native Plants of Jamaica," was published in 1696. He died at Chelsea, Jan. 11, 1753.

SIR ROBERT SMIRKE, KNT., R.A.,

A celebrated Architect, was born in 1780. He acquired the rudiments of art under his father, who, before the time of Wilkie, was one of the most distinguished English *genre* painters. In his travels in Italy, Sicily, Greece, and Germany, he directed his attention to the remains of ancient art; and shortly after his return in 1805, the results of his investigations appeared in Donaldson's "Antiquities of Athens," and other works. In 1806 he published "Specimens of Continental Architecture," in folio. His first public building was Covent Garden Theatre, commenced in 1808, in the Doric order. In 1811 he erected the Royal Mint, also in the Doric order. A still more important work (the Post Office) was entrusted to him, which he commenced in 1823 and completed in 1829, the porticoes of which are of the Ionic order. The College of Physicians, several of the Club Houses, King's College, the Library of the Inner Temple, and the Restoration of York Minster after the fire in 1829, were from his designs, and completed under his superintendence. His great work is the British Museum, commenced in 1823, but not completed till 1847. This extensive pile of building is in the Ionic order, and is the largest and most imposing Grecian structure in the metropolis; and as originally constructed inclosed an open quadrangle, which has since been almost entirely occupied by the New Reading Room recently completed. He was elected a Member of the Royal Academy in 1810, and was for some years Treasurer of that Institution. He was one of the Architects of the Board of Works, till the abolition of the office in 1831, when he was knighted. His advancing years and declining health have induced him to resign his professional duties.

SIR JAMES EDWARD SMITH, KNT., M.D.,

The Founder of the Linnæan Society, was born at Norwich in 1759. In 1781 he commenced the study of Medicine at Edinburgh, and in 1782 obtained Dr. Hope's gold medal for the best botanical collection. On his return to London he heard from Sir J. Banks that the whole of the collection of books, manuscripts, and natural history of Linnæus had been offered to him for 1000 guineas, which he had declined. Of this collection he determined to become the purchaser, and by the assistance of his father he was enabled to buy it. Two years after this collection had passed into his hands he travelled on the continent and took his degree of M.D. at Leyden. In 1788, with the co-operation of Sir J. Banks and others, he founded the Linnæan Society, and was its first President. In 1792 he was employed to instruct Queen Charlotte and the Princesses in Botany. In 1814 he received the honour of knighthood from the Prince Regent, on the presentation of a copy of the "Transactions" of the Linnæan Society, as the Institutor and President of the Society. Of his works, which are very voluminous, a full list is given in the "Memoir of his Life and Correspondence," published by his widow. His "English Botany," in 36 vols., with 2592 coloured figures by Mr. Sowerby, is his most extensive work. Sir James died on March 17, 1828.

SIR JOHN SOANE, KNT., R.A., F.R.S.,

Was the son of a bricklayer or small builder, and born at Reading in 1752. At an early age he entered the office of Mr. Dance, the architect, as an attendant or errand boy, but was afterwards placed on the footing of a pupil. He subsequently entered the office of Mr. Holland, another architect of eminence, where he designed a triumphal bridge, which obtained for him the gold medal, and, at the recommendation of Sir W. Chambers, the travelling studentship of the Royal Academy. While



in Italy, from 1777 to 1780, he became acquainted with Mr. Thomas Pitt, afterwards Lord Camelford, to whom he is said to have been mainly indebted for his appointment as Architect of the Bank of England. Upon obtaining this lucrative office he married Miss Smith, the niece of a wealthy builder, Mr. George Wyatt, at whose death he became possessed of a large fortune in right of his wife. In 1791 he was appointed Clerk of the Works to St. James's Palace; Architect to the Woods and Forests in 1795; and Surveyor to Chelsea Hospital in 1807. In 1806 he was appointed Professor of Architecture at the Royal Academy. In 1828 he published a folio volume of "Public and Private Buildings," intended by him to be a record of his long professional career. In 1831 he received the honour of knighthood, having refused a baronetcy, not wishing that honour to descend upon his only surviving son, with whom he had been at variance for several years. In 1833 he obtained an Act of Parliament vesting his Museum, Library, &c. (valued at £50,000) in trustees, for the use of the public after his death, which took place at his house in Lincoln's Inn Fields, Jan. 20, 1837.

SIR JAMES SOUTH, KNT., F.R.S.L. AND E., HON. M.R.I.A., M.R.C.S., F.L.S., F.R.A.S.

This celebrated Astronomer is the son of a dispensing druggist in Southwark. In 1809 he was admitted a Member of the Royal College of Surgeons, and commenced practice in Blackman-street; which he soon gave up, and removed to Campden Hill, Kensington, where he built his celebrated Observatory. He was one of the founders of the Astronomical Society in 1820, of which he has filled the Presidential Chair. He was knighted in 1830, and enjoys a pension of £300 per annum on the Civil List, for his discoveries in Astronomical Science. The account of his astronomical observations while residing in Blackman-street, where he compiled, in conjunction with Sir J. Herschel, a catalogue of three hundred and eighty double stars, has been published in the "Philosophical Transactions for 1825." In 1821 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society; he is also a Fellow of several other societies, both British and Foreign.

SIR RICHARD STEELE, KNT.,

The originator of the Periodical Essays, was born in Dublin about 1676. He was educated at the Charterhouse, from whence he proceeded to Merton College, Oxford, which he left without taking his degree, and entered the army. In 1709, in conjunction with Swift, he commenced "The Tatler"; and in March 1710-11, upon discontinuing that periodical, he brought out "The Spectator," in concert with Addison; which was followed by "The Guardian" and other similar publications. He also wrote several successful comedies. In 1713 he was elected member for Stockbridge, and commenced "The Crisis"; for an article in which he was, on March 12, 1713-14, expelled the House. In 1715, on presenting an address from the lieutenancy of Middlesex to George I., he was knighted, and was soon after appointed Surveyor of the Royal Stables at Hampton Court. He died Sept. 21, 1729.

RIGHT HON. SIR JAMES STEPHEN, K.C.B.,

Was born in 1789. He was educated at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, where he graduated in 1812. He had been previously, in 1811, called to the bar by the Society of Lincoln's Inn. Under the Melbourne Administration, in 1833, he was appointed Under Secretary in the Colonial Department, an office which he resigned in 1847, when he was made K.C.B., Civil Division, knighted, and nominated a Member of the Board of Council for Trade and Foreign Plantations. In 1838 he commenced writing for the "Edinburgh Review"; and a collection of his articles in that journal appeared in 1849 in a separate volume, intitled "Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography." In 1849 he was appointed Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge, and has since

published two volumes of Lectures on the History of France. He also held the Professorship of Modern History at Haileybury College for some years before the breaking up of that institution. He died at Coblenz on Sept. 12, 1860.

SIR ROWLAND MACDONALD STEPHENSON, KNT.,

Born in London in 1808. He was educated at Harrow, and entered upon his profession of a Civil Engineer in 1830, and became Secretary to the Association established in 1835 for securing steam communication with India, and Managing Director of the East Indian Railway Company in 1845. For his public services in these capacities he received the honour of knighthood in 1856. He is the author of the article "Railways" in Weale's Series.

SIR JOHN ANDREW STEVENSON, KNT., MUS. D.,

A distinguished Composer, was born in Dublin in 1761, and received his musical instruction under Dr. Woodward of Christ Church, from 1771 to 1778. In 1783 he became a Choral Vicar of the Cathedral of St. Patrick, and after some delay was also admitted to the Chapter of Christ Church. In 1779 he composed some of the airs for O'Keefe's farce of "Dead Alive." His anthems, which were performed by the choirs of both cathedrals, stamped him as a successful author in the sublimest scale of musical creations. The honorary degree of Doctor of Music was conferred upon him by the University of Dublin; and in 1802 he was knighted by the Earl of Hardwicke, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. From 1800 to 1816 he was engaged in adapting the Irish airs to Moore's Melodies. He also published some Psalms and Cathedral Anthems. The last and greatest of his musical productions was his Oratorio of the Thanksgiving performed at the Dublin Cathedral. He died Sep. 14, 1833. A subscription was entered into shortly after his death for the erection of a monument to him in Christ Church Cathedral.

SIR JOHN STODDART, KNT., D.C.L.

This learned Linguist and accomplished Writer was born at Salisbury in 1773, and received his early education in the grammar school of that city. He was entered at Christ Church, Oxford, in 1790, and graduated in Arts in 1794, and in Civil Law in 1798, and took his Doctor's degree in 1801. In the latter year he was admitted a Member of the College of Advocates, and in 1803 was appointed King's Advocate and Admiralty Advocate in Malta, an office he held for four years, when he returned to London and resumed his practice at Doctors' Commons. In 1812 he became political editor of the *Times*, and obtained the sobriquet of Dr. Slop. In 1816 his connexion with that journal ceased; and in 1817 he brought out a paper in opposition to it, "The New Times," which was unsuccessful. In 1826 he was appointed Chief Justice and Judge of the Admiralty Court of Malta, and received the honour of knighthood. He wrote an "Introduction to General History," and other works, and commenced, but did not live to complete, a great Etymological work intitled "Glossology." He died on Feb. 16, 1856.

SIR ROBERT STRANGE, KNT.,

A celebrated Engraver, born at Pomona, one of the Orkneys, on July 14, 1721. At first he was destined for the law, a study he soon relinquished, and entered the Navy. He subsequently became an adherent of the Pretender, and narrowly escaped capture and execution. In 1751 he settled in London, having previously studied under Le Bas in Paris, and obtained great reputation as an historical engraver, of which class he is considered to be the first in the English school. In 1787 he was

knighted. He executed above fifty plates from pictures of the most celebrated foreign Masters. His only engraving from the painting of an English artist is West's "Apotheosis of the King's Children." He died on July 5, 1792.

REAR-ADMIRAL SIR WILLIAM SYMONDS, KNT., C.B. F.R.S.,

Was born in 1782. He entered the Navy at an early age, and was engaged in active service on the Coasts of France and Spain, and in the West Indies. But his fame rests on his skill as a Naval Architect, in which character he procured the removal of all the restrictions with respect to tonnage and dimensions that had previously trammelled his predecessors. He was allowed to construct a corvette, the Columbine, according to his own plans, and was appointed to the command of her in 1826; and so great was the success which attended his experimental cruises in the following twelve months, that, as a reward, he was raised to post rank in 1827. In 1831, by the munificence of the late Duke of Portland, he was enabled to build, as an improvement upon the Columbine, a ten-gun brig, the Pantaloon; the triumph of which vessel led to the construction, under his superintendence, of the Vernon, 50; Vestal, 26; Snake, 16; and other ships. In 1832 he succeeded Sir R. Seppings as Surveyor of the Navy. Of the 180 vessels built during the sixteen years he held that office, it was remarked in 1849, two years after his retirement, that not one had foundered. The honour of knighthood was conferred upon him in 1836. In 1830 he received the thanks of the Admiralty for his "Sailing Directions for the Adriatic Sea;" and again in 1837 for "the valuable Qualities of his several Ships, and for Improvements introduced by him into the Navy." In 1835 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. In 1848 Sir Robert was nominated a Commander of the Bath, Civil Division, and became a Rear-Admiral on the retired list in 1854. He died on March 30, 1856.

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE, BART.,

An eminent Statesman and Author, born in London in 1628. He was educated successively at Penshurst and Bishop-Stortford schools, and was afterwards entered at Emanuel College, Cambridge. In 1665 he was created a baronet on receiving an official commission to be resident at Brussels. He is distinguished for having negotiated with consummate skill the triple league between England, Holland, and Sweden, at the latter end of 1665, and the treaty of marriage of the Prince of Orange with the Lady Mary, daughter of the Duke of York. He was author of "Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands"; Essays on various subjects, intitled "Miscellanies"; and an "Introduction to the History of England," etc. He died at Sheen, in January 1699.

SIR JAMES EMERSON TENNENT, KNT., LL.D.,

Was born at Belfast in 1804. He was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, and was called to the bar by the Society of Lincoln's Inn in 1831, but never practised. His first work, "Travels in Greece in 1825," as well as his two following, were published in his own surname of Emerson. But in 1831, having married the heiress of William Tennent, Esq., who succeeded to the family estates on the death of her father in the following year, he assumed the additional name of Tennent. In 1832 he was returned to Parliament for Belfast. In 1841 he was appointed Secretary to the India Board; and in 1845 he accepted the office of Civil Secretary to the Colonial Government of Ceylon, and received the honour of knighthood. He returned to England at the end of 1850, and in 1852 was appointed to the Secretaryship of the Poor Law Board; and from November of that year he has been one of the joint Secretaries of the Board of Trade. During his parliamentary and official

life, from 1841 to the present time, he has continued his labours as an author, and has published several works, the result of knowledge acquired in the discharge of his duties at Ceylon and on the Board of Trade.

SIR JAMES THORNHILL, KNT., F.R.S.,

Was born in Dorsetshire in 1676. This almost self-taught Artist was appointed by Queen Anne to paint the history of St. Paul in the dome of St. Paul's cathedral, and the allegorical figures on the ceiling at Hampton Court Palace representing the Queen and her Consort. But his great work is the painting in the Refectory and Saloon of Greenwich Hospital. He sat in parliament for Dorsetshire for several years. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1723. In 1720 he was knighted, on being appointed Historical Painter to George I.; of which office he was deprived by George II. in 1731. This greatly affected his health, and hastened his death, which took place on May 4, 1734.

SIR JOHN VANBRUGH, KNT.

The birth of this Dramatic Poet and Architect is supposed to have been in 1666. He was originally an officer in the army, from which he retired, and became a writer of several plays of variable success and exceptionable morality. His first play, "The Relapse," was brought out in 1697. Of his architectural talent, Blenheim Palace and St. John's church, Westminster, are examples. In 1703 he was appointed, by the Earl of Carlisle (Earl Marshal), Clarendieux King of Arms. He was knighted in 1714; and died on March 26, 1726.

SIR BALDWIN WAKE WALKER, BART., K.C.B.

This Naval Officer was born in 1803. He was present at the capture of St. Jean d'Acre in 1840, where he distinguished himself, and received the honour of K.C.B. He became a Rear-Admiral of the Blue in the British service in 1858. He is also an admiral in the Turkish service. He succeeded Sir William Symonds as Surveyer and Comptroller of the Navy in 1847. When he entered upon this office, our navy, with the exception of a few paddle-wheel steamers, was composed of sailing ships; but under his auspices the screw has been introduced into the service, with which most of our ships of war are now supplied. For his important services during the Russian war, and in this reconstruction of our navy, he was rewarded with a baronetcy in 1856. Being desirous of active service afloat, he resigned his office in 1860, and was appointed to the command of the Cape of Good Hope station. His retiring pension has been fixed by the Lords of the Admiralty at a fraction below £700 per annum. He has received the cross of the Legion of Honour, and is a knight of several foreign orders.

SIR RICHARD WESTMACOTT, KNT., R.A., D.C.L.

This Sculptor was born in London in 1775. His education commenced in the studio of his father, who had obtained some eminence in his day. In 1793 he went to Rome, and had the benefit of Canova's instruction. In 1794 he obtained the first prize for sculpture in the Academy of Florence, of which he was elected a member in the following year, when he also obtained the Pope's medal. The most popular of his works is the statue of "Psyche," which he executed for the Duke of Bedford. Among these in alto and bas-relief may be mentioned the pediment of the British Museum. A considerable portion of his time has been employed in executing public monumental statues of warriors and statesmen for erection in Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's, and in

places of public resort. In 1805 he was elected an Associate of the Royal Academy, and R.A. in 1816. In 1827 he succeeded Flaxman as Professor of Sculpture at the Royal Academy; which office he held until his death, on Sept. 1, 1856. He was knighted by her present Majesty in 1837, and the University of Oxford has conferred upon him the honorary degree of D.C.L.

SIR DAVID WILKIE, KNT., R.A.,

Was born at Cults, in Fifeshire, in 1785. At the age of seven he was sent to the parish school of Pitlessie, where his slate and paper were soon converted to other purposes than figures and penmanship. He became the portrait painter of the school, and was usually surrounded by a group of boys and girls waiting to have their likenesses taken in turn. From this school he was removed to Kettle and Cupar in succession. But in none did he make any proficiency in the ordinary departments of education, his thoughts and time being entirely devoted to his favourite pursuit: his father therefore obtained his admission into the Trustees' Academy in Edinburgh, at which time he was fourteen years of age. Here he remained five years, and obtained a ten-guinea prize. He then returned to Cults, and there designed his "Fair of Pitlessie," of which the grouping and incidents were original, but the characters were taken from living persons, principally during the service at the parish church, when in a dozing state. After having taken the portraits of most of those in Fife, who were ambitious of seeing their likenesses on canvas, he determined to establish himself in London, and repaired there in 1805, and entered the Royal Academy as a probationer and a student at the end of the year. His merits were now brought into notice, and the Earl of Mansfield commissioned him to paint "The Village Politicians," which was placed in the Exhibition, and obtained universal admiration. His fame was at once established, and his other great works followed in rapid succession. In 1809 he was made an Associate of the Royal Academy; and in 1811 he was elected a Royal Academician, being then only twenty-six years of age. In 1812 he made an exhibition of his pictures, twenty-nine in number; which, although it added to his reputation, was a failure as a profitable speculation. In 1813 he exhibited his picture of "Blindman's Buff," painted for the Prince Regent. In 1821 he produced his masterpiece, "The Chelsea Pensioners," for the Duke of Wellington, for which he received twelve hundred guineas. In 1823 he was appointed Limner to the King in Scotland. In 1824 he made a protracted visit to the Continent to recruit his health; and at Rome a public dinner was given to him, presided over by the Duke of Hamilton. He returned to England in 1828. On the death of Sir Thomas Lawrence, in 1830, Wilkie was appointed Painter in Ordinary to His Majesty, and became a candidate, with Mr. Shee, for the Presidentship of the Royal Academy; in which contest he was unsuccessful, having obtained only one vote. In 1836 he was knighted by William IV. In 1840 Sir David set out on his tour to the East; and upon his homeward voyage, having been for three months unwell, he expired off Gibraltar on June 1, 1841, and on the evening of the same day his body was committed to the deep. A monument is erected to his memory in the inner hall of the National Gallery, the result of subscriptions at a public dinner presided over by Sir Robert Peel.

SIR CHARLES WILKINS, KNT., K.C.H.,

Was born in 1749, at Frome, in Somersetshire. Having obtained a Writership, he proceeded to Calcutta in 1770, and in the course of a few years acquired considerable knowledge of Arabic and Persian, as well as of some of the spoken languages of India. He aided the efforts of the Governor-General Hastings in improving the education of the Company's servants, by the establishment of a printing-office, in the manufacture of the types for which he was obliged to discharge the duties of metallurgist, engraver, and founder,—and to superintend the use of them as printer. His labours in promoting the study of the native languages obtained for him the appellation of "The Father of Sanscrit

Literature." In 1784, in conjunction with Sir William Jones, he aided in establishing the Literary Society of Calcutta. His translation of the Bhagvatgita, one of the episodes of the Mahabharata, the great national poem of the Hindoos, was printed at the expense of the Company. In 1786, from failing health, he returned to England, and soon afterwards began to arrange the materials for a Sanscrit Grammar, which he had brought with him from India, and formed with his own hands a set of punches of the Devanagari characters, and made the matrices and moulds from which he cast a fount of types. Unfortunately, a fire broke out in his house when he had completed about twenty pages of his grammar, which destroyed or rendered useless all his types; and it was not until 1806 that he was enabled to resume his labours; and in about two years he completed the grammar, the greatest of his works. In 1801 he was appointed Librarian to the East India Company; and in 1805 Visitor and Examiner of the Students in the Oriental Department at Haileybury and Addiscombe, which offices he held until his death on May 13, 1836. In 1833 the honour of Knight Bachelor and Knight Commander of the Guelphic Order was conferred upon him by George IV. He received, in 1825, the gold medal of the Royal Society of Literature, and was a Member of the Royal Institute of Paris, and many other learned Societies

SIR JOHN GARDNER WILKINSON, KNT., F.R.S., D.C.L., F.R.G.S.

This celebrated Traveller and Archæologist was born in 1798. He was educated at Harrow, whence he proceeded to Exeter College, Oxford. He afterwards went to Egypt, where he remained twelve years, devoting himself to the study of the antiquities of that country. He resided a considerable time in a tomb at Thebes, and made accurate surveys of the district, and drawings of the stupendous architectural monuments. The works he has published, of which we may particularize that on the Ancient Egyptians, sufficiently attest the care and skill with which his investigations were conducted. In 1840 he received the honour of knighthood for his labours in literature and archæology. In 1834 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society; and the University of Oxford have conferred upon him the honorary degree of D.C.L. He is also a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, and a member of most of the leading literary and scientific societies of Europe.

SIR NATHANIEL WILLIAM WRAXALL, BART.,

Was born at Bristol in 1751. After having received his education in his native city, he entered the Civil Service of the East India Company, and proceeded to Bombay in 1769. In 1771 he accompanied the expeditions against Guzerat and Baroche as Judge Advocate and Paymaster. In 1772 he quitted India and landed at Lisbon, from whence he proceeded on his continental travels, and visited the principal parts of Europe and Lapland. During this period, in 1774-5, he was employed in a confidential mission from the Queen of Denmark to her brother George III., who presented him with 1000 guineas for his services. In 1775 he published his first work, "Cursory Remarks made in a Tour through some of the Northern Parts of Europe, &c." which went through several editions. In 1780 he was returned to Parliament, and became an adherent of Pitt. In 1813 he was created a baronet. In 1815 he published "Historical Memoirs of my Own Time:" an indictment for libel was brought against him for an accusation in this work against the character of Count Woronzow, the Russian Ambassador, and he was sentenced to pay a fine of £500 and to suffer six months imprisonment. His publications are numerous and interesting, but not always to be relied upon. He died Nov. 7, 1831.

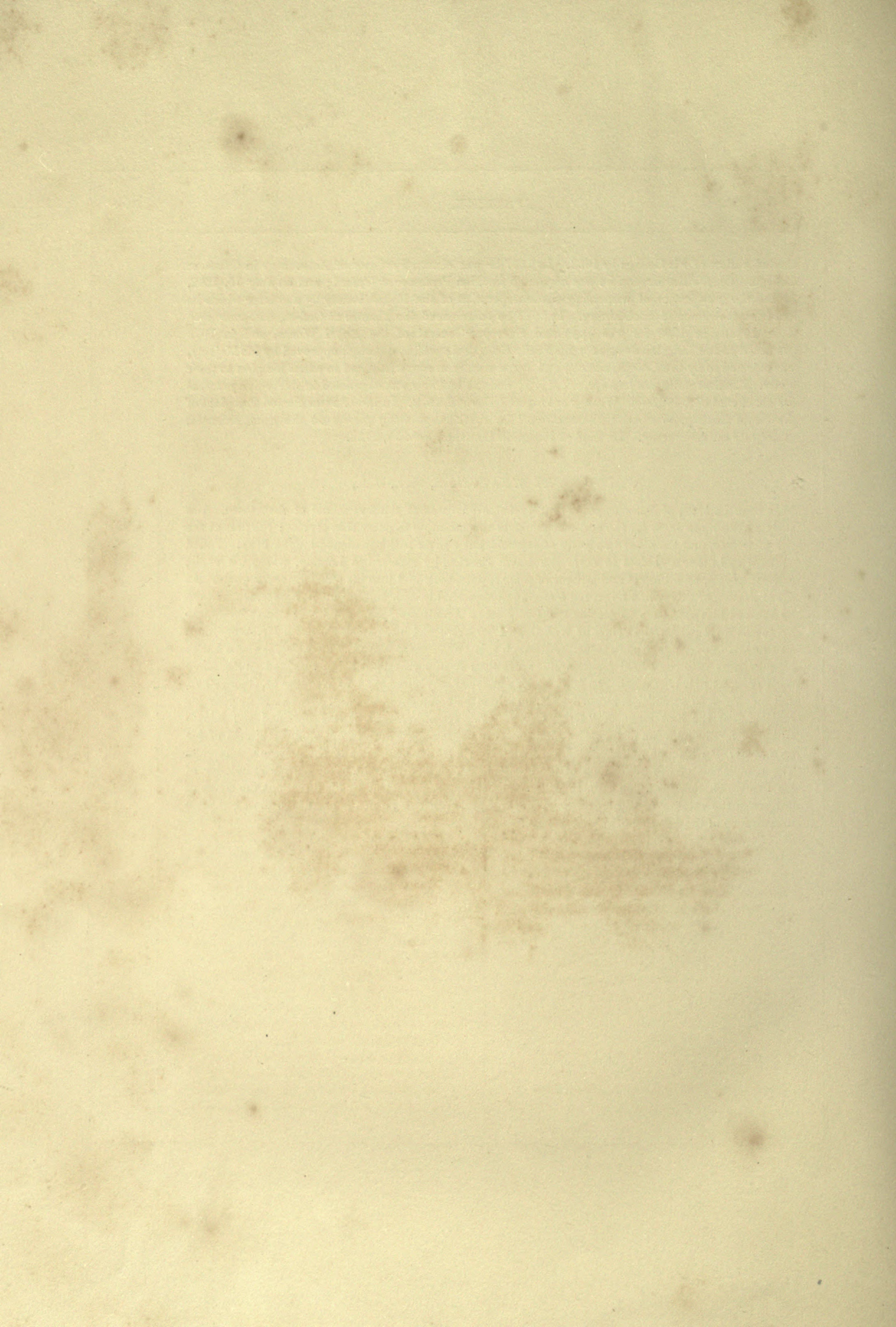
SIR CHRISTOPHER WREN, KNT., P.R.S.

This great Architect was born at East Knoyle, in Wiltshire, on Oct. 20, 1632. He entered as a Gentleman Commoner at Wadham College, Oxford, in 1646, graduated in Arts in 1650, and was

elected Fellow of his College in 1653. In 1657 he was chosen Professor of Astronomy in Gresham College. On the Restoration he was appointed Savilian Professor at Oxford; and on July 15, 1662, he had the gratification of witnessing the incorporation of the Royal Society by a charter which he had been instrumental in obtaining. In 1663 he commenced the Theatre at Oxford, and completed it in 1668. In 1669 he was appointed Surveyor-General of the Royal Works, and in 1672 presented to the King his design for St. Paul's Cathedral; which, although approved by his Majesty, was objected to by the Commissioners, and Wren was, with regret, obliged to adapt his plan to their views. The first stone was laid June 21, 1675; and the building was completed in thirty-five years, at the small cost of £736,000. Wren was knighted Nov. 20, 1673. In 1680 he was elected President of the Royal Society, to whose "Transactions" he contributed many papers on the exact sciences, principally on Astronomy. He died at Hampton Court, on Feb. 25, 1723.

SIR JEFFRY WYATVILLE, KNT., R.A.,

Was born in 1766, at Burton-upon-Trent, and was educated at the free-school of that town. His early predilections were for the sea, and he made two attempts to enter that service; the first at the age of twelve, and the other two years afterwards, but was on both occasions brought back. Foiled in these and other attempts to enter the Naval Service, he repaired to London, where his uncle, Samuel Wyatt, an architect and builder of some repute, took him into his office for seven years. At the expiration of this period he served a second apprenticeship with another uncle, James, from whom he imbibed his preference for Gothic and Old English Architecture, and obtained an introduction to his future royal patron, the Prince of Wales. In 1799 he entered into partnership with Mr. Armstrong, an extensive government contractor. Although this engagement was very lucrative, it was a bar to his admission into the Royal Academy for more than twenty years, not being admitted an Associate until 1822, and R.A. in 1824. In 1824 he was unexpectedly summoned to Windsor by George IV., and employed to remodel Windsor Castle, on which he commenced at once. In the same year his Majesty laid the first stone of "King George IV.'s Gateway," and Wyatt obtained the King's authority for the addition of "ville" to his name, to distinguish himself from other architects of his own name. In 1828 he was knighted, on his Majesty's taking possession of the private apartments. The completion of the alterations of the Castle, at a cost of £700,000, occupied the remainder of his life, which terminated on Feb. 18, 1840. His executors published by his directions the series of designs of the exterior of Windsor Castle, in 2 vols., folio, in 1841, which is one of the most complete illustrations of the exterior of any edifice ever given to the public.





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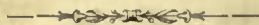
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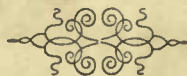
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