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Library Notes

Some Inferences about Literary History from the John Milton Collection in the Margaret I. King Library

John T. Shawcross

The Margaret I. King Library of the University of Kentucky yields some unexpected treasures in British literature prior to 1800. Here, for example, are Raphael Holinshed's undeniably significant Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland (1587), which supplied so much narrative and information to Shakespeare for his history plays; the important Thomas Speght edition of The Workes of Our Ancient and Learned English Poet, Geoffrey Chaucer (1602), which was influential in establishing canon and text; John Gerard, The Herball, or Generall Historie of Plantes (enlarged, 1636), a source for imagery to many generations of Elizabethan and seventeenth-century authors; The Workes of Ben Jonson (1640) and Letters to Severall Persons of Honour Written by John Donne (1651); both significant editions of Anthony Wood's magnum opus Athenae Oxonienses (1691 and 1721), the latter, the gift of W. Hugh Peal, beautifully bound by Roger Payne (1739-1797) and formerly owned by the British scholar W. W. Greg; the first (1732) and second (1733) editions of Alexander Pope's Of the Uses of Riches, an Epistle to the Right Honorable Allen Lord Bathurst, the third of the "Moral Essays"; as well as the first edition of that overwhelming biography, The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL. D. (1791) by James Boswell. One specific collection of national note is the Milton Collection, which came into being by the purchase in 1972 of a major gathering of editions and some critical or related items. It joined a respectable, though small and random, group of similar volumes, and a number of items which have not generally been associated with Milton and his works. For example, the library already owned a copy of Edmund Spenser's Works, a major influence on Milton's poetry, which was the edition he owned and used; a copy of "The second Edition" of the Westminster
Assembly's The Confession of Faith (1658), which makes reference to Milton's divorce views in Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce in Chapter XXIV, Section 6 (correctly paged as 95-96); and Samuel Wesley's Elegies on the Queen and Archbishop (1695), with a poem "On the Death of Her Late Sacred Majesty Mary, Queen of England" not previously cited as imitating Paradise Lost X, 831-34, in Stanza XV (p. 11).

Just a few titles in the Milton Collection will suggest its coverage: Areopagitica, the first edition of 1644; the minor Poems, the first edition of 1645 as well as the second edition of 1673; Eikon Basilike, supposedly written by King Charles I when he was in prison awaiting execution (1649) and the volume against whose popular influence Milton wrote Eikonoklastes (1649)—the library owns copies of fifteen different seventeenth-century editions of Eikon Basilike—; Paradise Lost, four issues of the first edition (1668-69), and the second edition (1674); Paradise Regain'd and Samson Agonistes, both states of the first edition (1671) and the second (1680); the 1695 edition of The Poetical Works with the still extremely useful Annotations on Milton's Paradise Lost by Patrick Hume, the first extensive notes for an English poem printed—it runs 321 large folio pages; and both early collections of the prose, that in 1697 and that in 1698 in three volumes, and including John Toland's Life of Milton. For a study of Milton, his age, and his reputation the collection and the numerous additional volumes in the library offer much substance. To date there is no bibliography of Milton's works for the years before 1800, and only selected studies or references here and there document his influence in the areas of poetry, aesthetic theory, politics, and the like. But there are unnoticed references which imply further or other influence, such as Milton's possible effect upon the aesthetic ideas of Francis Hutcheson, or his authority in establishing "strange facts," like the verification of the existence of pygmies, or his inspiration for William Hogarth.

In this article I call attention to items in the Milton Collection which raise questions about the literary history we believe we know. Of necessity I shall offer only a sampling of items, and, indeed, only a sampling of some of the questions that might be raised. We will come to realize that even such seemingly well-established scholarly areas as the complete canon of his works, the definitive statement of translations of his poems, and a full listing of editions are subject to revision and amplification just through
rambling around in library holdings. Critical matters, too, will be seen needing of review, and with them Milton's reputation.

The standard texts of the state papers which Milton wrote as Secretary for Foreign Tongues to the Council of State under Oliver and Richard Cromwell are those published posthumously as

LITERAe Pseudo-Senatus Anglicani, CROMWELLI, Reliquorumque Perduellium nomine ac jussu con- scriptæ A JOANNE MILTONO. [basket of fruit] Impressæ Anno 1676. /

The printers were Peter and John Blaeu in Amsterdam, and it is speculated that their texts came from a manuscript once held by the London bookseller Moses Pitt, who may have received it from Daniel Skinner, Milton's last amanuensis, who had tried to have the letters published in Amsterdam before being stopped by Sir Joseph Williamson, the Secretary of State. Thus, all the letters are accepted as Milton's work (translation into Latin of English letters written by members of the Council or compositions in Latin of ideas and language supplied by members of the Council) and their texts are generally reproduced as fairly accurate. Some alterations are made (largely in matters of date, addressee, and salutation or complimentary close, particularly where the printed texts are defective in one of these matters) usually from extant originals or contemporary copies. This first edition was quickly pirated by E. Fricx in Brussels, who attempted to make his printing a duplicate of the first. (The library owns both editions, the second of which is easily distinguished by the Medusa's face instead of the basket of fruit on its title page.) However, two manuscripts, long known, should have called some of this reliance on the 1676 printing into question. A manuscript in the Public Record Office, London (SP 9/194), in Skinner's hand and usually dated around 1675, omits thirteen of the letters included in Literae, but adds fourteen not included there, and these are accepted as canonical because of their provenance; and a manuscript in the Columbia University Library (MS X823 M64 / S51), in two scribal hands and dated after 1659, omits three of the letters included in Literae, and adds ten others not included there, but these ten are not fully accepted as canonical. It should be clear that there were various manuscripts of the state papers, that the texts might differ by omission or addition
of material, that some differences in the texts might have evolved from scribal error or confusion, and most important of all though not acknowledged by most scholars is that the state papers that Milton produced for the Council of State may have been more than appear in the 1676 edition, which does not have any more claim to authenticity in view of the facts as we know them than other printings might have. I pointed this out a few years ago when citing the printing of a number of the “authenticated” state papers in Gregorio Leti’s Historia, e Memorie recondite sopra alla vita di Oliviero Cromwele, Detto il Tiranno senza vizi, il Principe senza virtù (1692, Vol. II, also published in Amsterdam by the Blaeus).4 Frequently we have here better texts by their supplying demonstrably accurate information missing from the 1676 printing. Leti’s texts did not come from 1676, nor did they come directly from the same manuscript tradition. In 1970 Leo Miller published his important discovery of numerous state papers that he found in a rare three-volume work5 (which thankfully is owned by the library):

LITERAE / PROCERUM / EUROPÆ, / AB / IMPERATORIBUS, / ELECTORIBUS, PRINCIPIBUS, / STATIBUSQUE SACRI IMPERII / ROMANO-GERMANICI, / AD / REGES, PRINCIPES, RESPUBL. / LIBERAS, ET VICE VERSA, / [etc.] / IN TRES PARTES DIVISÆ, / ET IN LUCEM EDITÆ / a / JO. CHRISTIANO LÜNIG. / CUM ELENCH. ET INDICE. / [rule] / LIPSÆ, / Apud / JO. FRIDER. GLEDITSCH & FILIUM. / Anno M. D. C. C. XII. /

Not included are twenty-one letters found in the 1676 printing, but again those that do appear often have additional information, and five letters, not assigned to Philip Meadowes or Edward Montague, are added, interspersed with canonical ones. Miller cautiously does not make any claims for those letters, but I, unaccepting of the 1676 collection as any more superior than these others, wonder. Surely the existence of the Lünig edition casts in doubt our literary history concerning Milton’s full canon of works, the provenance of text, and biographical matters related to his last years after the Restoration and particularly in the last year of his life, 1674, when Skinner worked for him. The Lünig text is different from that of 1676, the Skinner MS, the Columbia MS, and the Leti, and
apparently we have five distinct manuscript traditions; but no one has yet tried to determine their stemma.

If then ascription of state papers may be raised, it should be raised, for example, for two letters printed by Roger Coke in *A Detection of the Court and State* (1696), one to the State of Holland, dated 1 April 1653, and one to the States General, also dated 1 April 1653, for he also gives the Articles of Peace with the Dutch (Columbia No. 167E). (Copy owned by the Newberry Library.) There is in the Milton Collection a very rare volume which prints the accepted state paper from Cromwell to Gustavus of Sweden, Columbia No. 63:

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LITERAE / AB / OLIVARIO / PROTECTORE / ANGLIAE
&c. / AD / Sacram Regiam Majestatem / Sueciae. / Datae 7.
Februrarij ANNO M,DC.LVI. / 6
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Perhaps other single printings of state papers should be examined for additions to the canon; e.g. *Briefe van Engelandt* (1654) gives Cromwell's letter, October 1654, to Zeeland.

Translation of an author's works is important as a guide to possible influence in another country and, of course, reputation. The library owns a translation of *Samson Agonistes* into Danish in 1815, which has not previously been noticed:

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Parker lists no translation of the dramatic poem into Danish at any time: prior to 1900 only *Paradise Lost* (Copenhagen, 1790) and *Paradise Regain'd* (Copenhagen, 1792) have been known in Danish.

One can not be sure about an alleged edition of *Le Paradis perdu* in London, 1725, which is listed along with *Le Paradis perdu* from Paris in 1729 in *Catalogue des livres de feu M Paillet des Brunieres* (Paris: Chez G. F. Debure, 1754), also to be found in the King Library. The first French translation of the full work (a brief section
had been translated by Armand de la Chapelle in 1724) was Raymond de Saint-Maur’s (Nicholas François Dupré’s) prose version in 1727 but not published until 1729, when it was revised by C. J. Chéron de Boismorand. Paillet’s catalogue refers to one of the two 1729 editions, but the 1725 translation from London is otherwise unknown. Some error may have been made, of course, in compiling the catalogue (the twelfth edition had been printed by Jacob Tonson in London in 1725), yet it is a datum (since Paillet uses English for English titles) which raises a question about our knowledge of those years in France when Voltaire was publishing his Essay Upon the Epick Poetry of the European Nations From Homer to Milton (1727), in English however. It has been assumed that he read Paradise Lost in English, but perhaps not.

And what of the copy in the library of a German 1783 edition of the epic otherwise unnoticed:


It is a German prose translation in two volumes and without arguments; there is a frontispiece of a bust of Milton by Egid Verhelst (the younger), unlike others in its heaviness of face. Verhelst (1742-1818), a university professor in Mannheim at one period in his life, is not mentioned in discussions of Milton portraiture. The 1783 version is a revision of Johann Jakob Bodmer’s German prose translation, first published in 1742 in Leipzig (his earlier prose translation in “Schweizerdeutsch” was finished in 1724 and published in 1732). It is clear that this Mannheim edition was conceived as a companion to Otto Heinrich von Gemmingen’s German prose translations of L’Allegro and Il Penseroso, published in Mannheim the year before, 1782, with facing English texts.

A record of editions may also be significant in gauging reputation and importance in a given period of time, and Milton’s A Mask was decidedly popular in the eighteenth century, in its adaptation for the stage, called Comus. This version by John Dalton with music by Thomas Arne was later simplified by George Colman,
and numerous editions appeared, particularly from John Bell and John Wenman in the British Theatre and Theatrical Magazine. One printing of Colman’s version I have not found cited is owned by the King Library: 11

COMUS; / A / MASQUE. / BY / MILTON. / Taken from the / MANAGER’s BOOK, / AT THE / Theatre-Royal, Covent Garden. [black letter] / [swelled rule] / LONDON: / PRINTED for the PROPRIETORS, and sold by RACHAEL / RANDALL, No. 116, Shoe-Lane, Fleet-Street; and all / Booksellers in England, Scotland, and Ireland. / [half rule] / M.DCC. LXXXVII. /

The “proprietors” are obviously capitalizing upon a popular work, filling in a gap between an edition in 1785 and another in 1790. (There was also one in 1786 but in Edinburgh.) But important for stage history is the frontispiece, which pictures “Mrs. Martyr in Euphrosyne,” engraved by N. C. Goodnight. Neither the actress nor the engraver is mentioned in Joseph A. Wittreich’s detailed survey of Milton illustrators in Vol. 4 of A Milton Encyclopedia (Lewisburg, Pennsylvania: Bucknell University Press, 1978), pp. 55-78.

In 1658 Milton edited a manuscript he owned, allegedly by Sir Walter Ralegh, The Cabinet-Council, to which he prefaced a signed two-page “To the Reader.” (The library owns a copy of this as well as of later editions.) I have nowhere seen reference in connection with Milton of a volume in the library entitled, The Life of Sir Walter Ralegh, From his Birth to his Death on the Scaffold (London: Printed for the Booksellers in Town and Country, 1740); it was written by William Oldys. On pp. 395-96 and note, The Cabinet-Council is discussed and Milton’s “To the Reader” is reprinted.

Clearly a popular edition of Paradise Lost, with illustrations, was one in 1739 “Printed for a Company of Stationers”—not, it should be noted, “the Company of Stationers.” Apparently a companion volume without date is an edition of Notes upon the Twelve Books of Milton’s Paradise Lost, by Joseph Addison. Both volumes are sixmo (a common gathering in the eighteenth century, though not recognized in some standard bibliographic studies), collating: π4 [A]-Z Aa-Bb6(Bb3) Cc-Gg6, with the stub of the cancel appearing between Aa6 and Bb1; and A-M6. The illustrations for Paradise
Lost are those of the 1688 fourth edition (the library owns all three issues of this major printing) by Sir John Baptista Medina and Henry Aldrich, here reengraved by John Lightbody, who is not in Wittreich's listing. The frontispiece is a double fold-out leaf, giving Jacobus (James) Smith's rendering of the Westminster Abbey bust by Michael Rysbrack, designed by H. Gravelet, and the inscription. I find neither volume in Milton bibliographic listings, but it is an important edition because of its bid for public sales. It also includes Elijah Fenton's "Life of Milton," first published in 1725. This seems to be a pirated edition (common in the early part of the century) since all these items were held by the Tonson company.

One of the major printing ventures of the mid-eighteenth century was the production of Milton's full poetical corpus in two volumes by the very important printer John Baskerville, who employed the texts of Thomas Newton, first published in 1749 and 1751. Baskerville's volumes appeared in 1758, again in 1759 and 1760; the library owns copies of all three editions, and there were various issues of most of the individual volumes. The year before in 1757 Baskerville announced his intentions and made a bid for sales with a now scarce prospectus, a copy of which is in the Milton Collection:

PROPOSALS / For PRINTING by / SUBSCRIPTION. / THE / POETICAL WORKS / OF / JOHN MILTON. / IN TWO VOLUMES. / From the Text of / THOMAS NEWTON, D. D. / BIRMINGHAM / Printed by JOHN BASKERVILLE for / J. and R. TONSON in LONDON. / MDCCLVII. /

Collation: A³; xvi pp. [i], title page; [iii], Conditions of Printing; [iii-v], Preface; [vi], blank; [vii], half title for Paradise Lost (sample of printing, as are the remaining pages); [viii-ix], Samuel Barrow's poem on the epic; [x-xi], Andrew Marvell's poem on the epic; [xii], The Verse; [xiii], half title for Book I; [xiv], Argument; [xv-xvi], first two pages of Paradise Lost I, pp. [1]-2. For the history of publication such proposals are clearly significant, and they begin to appear from time to time in the eighteenth century for important publication ventures. Publication by subscription of an English poem began in 1688 with the fourth edition of Paradise Lost out of Christchurch, Oxford, noted before. The audience intended for the Baskerville editions contrasts nicely with the audience for which the
1739 editions of *Paradise Lost* and Addison's *Notes*, discussed before, were produced.

One other contrastive item should be noted, since I have not previously found it discussed in Milton reference. I refer to a beautifully printed two-volume collection of ninety-four plates by various artists, illustrating various poems by various authors:

[drawn title page] / THE / CABINET OF GENIUS / containing FRONTISPIECES AND CHARACTERS / adapted to / the most POPULAR POEMS, &c. / with the Poems &c at large. / [device] / LONDON, Printed for C. Taylor No. 10 near Castle Street, Holborn. / 1787. /

Each poem is separately paged; there are no signatures; the illustrations are tipped in. A second printing appeared in 1792. Printed in volume one is *L'Allegro*, six pages, preceded by an illustration of "Morning" with two lines from the poem, by C. Taylor, and including an illustration of "Evening" also with two lines from the poem, also by C. Taylor. In the second volume is the section from *L'allegro* integrated into *Comus* by Dalton, one page, with a preceding print of "Euphrosyne," with a half line from the poem, by S. Shelley and engraved by W. Nutter. Not until we have a fairly sure bibliographic listing of all such editions of poems and printings of various illustrations (Taylor, Shelley, and Nutter are not listed in *A Milton Encyclopedia*) can we make truly reliable generalizations about the history of Milton's reputation, the nature of art work connected with his works or him, or the influence of one artist on another or "originality" in Milton illustration.14

A different kind of Miltonic presence, not previously pointed out, lies in quotations drawn directly from *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* in Algernon Sidney's *The Very Copy of a Paper Delivered to the Sheriffs, Upon the Scaffold on Tower-hill, on Friday Decemb. 7. 1683. By Algernon Sidney, Esq; before his Execution there*, p. 2. The library owns a copy of one of two issues of this three-page folio printing of Sidney's political ideas, whose promulgation in argument against the succession of James II, preceding the death of Charles II, and whose alleged conspiracy to kill the king resulted in his execution. The colophon reads: "London: for R. H. J. B. and J. R. and are to be sold by Walter Davis, 1683."15 The next year appeared *The Arraignment, Tryal & Condemnation of Algernon Sidney, Esq; for High-Treason*
A topic that caused much discussion during the Restoration and eighteenth century was the position of women, and Milton’s treatment of Adam and Eve was frequently cited on both sides of the issue. His divorce views often were overlooked in these discussions. *An Essay in Defence of the Female Sex*, probably by Mary Astell and frequently reprinted, has an allusion to Milton; the library owns the first issue of the first edition in 1696 (collation: A8 B4 B8 etc.), with the allusion on p. 50. Robert Gould in *Love Given Over: Or, a Satyr against the Pride, Lust, and Inconstancy, &c. of Woman* (London, 1686), imitates *Paradise Lost* on p. 2, and the counterstatement of S[arah] F[ige], *The Female Advocate: Or, an Answer to a Late Satyr against the Pride, Lust and Inconstancy, &c. of Woman* (London, 1686), shows influence from the epic in its first part and reference to Milton’s divorce views on p. 3. *The Great Birth of Man: Or, the Excellency of Man’s Creation and Endowments above the Original of Woman. A Poem* (London, 1686), by M[athew?] S[tevens?], imitates *Paradise Lost* throughout, particularly in narrative elements dealing with Adam and Eve. Only the last has previously been associated with Milton. Two volumes in the library from the next century, carrying on the controversy and not previously cited in Milton studies, are *The Gentleman’s Library, Containing Rules for Conduct in All Parts of Life* (London, 1715), in which *Paradise Lost* IV, 750-70, is quoted and favorably discussed on pp. 242-44 (“Essay XV: Marriage and Conjugal Virtue”); and opposing, *Man Superior to Woman; or, A Vindication of Man’s Natural Right of Sovereign Authority over the Woman* (London, 1739), which quotes approvingly *Paradise Lost* X, 883-95. The opposed readings of Milton have continued to the present day, evidencing perhaps that one reads what one wants to read but overlooking Milton’s contribution (whichever way he has been read) to the altered status of woman over the years. We should also remark how *Paradise Lost* functions outside a purely literary realm for some people.
Milton’s appearance in compendia like *Biographia Britannica* (1747-66) and Samuel Johnson’s *Dictionary* (1755) is well known, but we also find him prominently in Lacombe’s *Dictionnaire Portatif des Beaux-Arts*, cited before (see pp. 24 [Addison], 438-39 [Milton], and 521 [Philips]); in Daniel Fenning’s *The Royal English Dictionary: or, A Treasury of the English Language* (see the library’s copy of “The Second Edition Improved,” London, 1763, with language citations throughout);17 and in David Erskine Baker’s *The Companion to the Play-House: Or, An Historical Account of all the Dramatic Writers (and their Works) that have appeared in Great Britain and Ireland* (see the library’s first edition, London, 1764; there are entries for *Arcades*, *Comus*, *Masque at Ludlow Castle*, *Sampson* [Handel’s oratorio], *Sampson Agonistes*, and allusions under Dryden’s *Aureng-Zebe*, *Caractacus*, *Locrine*, and Dryden’s *The State of Innocence*).

Some less usual allusions (not noted in print before) will be found in the following disparate volumes, all owned by the library: Thomas Gordon’s *A Political Dissertation upon Bull-Baiting and Evening Lectures* (London, 1718),18 reference to and quotation of *Paradise Lost* II, 709-11, p. 29; Frances Moore Brooke’s novel *The History of Emily Montague* (London, 1769), four volumes, with quotation of *Paradise Lost* IV, 141, in Vol. I, p. 61; and George Chalmers’s *An Estimate of the Comparative Strength of Great-Britain, During the Present and Four Preceding Reigns* (London, 1794), new edition, references to and quotations from *Paradise Lost* VI, 435-36 and VIII, 188-97 (p. xli), *PL* VII, 172-73 (p. lxxxviii), *Sonnet 15* (p. ciii), *PL* I, 181-83 (p. cxxvi), *PL* XI, 817-21 (p. 53), *PL* I, 721-22 (p. 149), and *PL* I, 644-45 (p. 282). What this kind of information implies, of course, is great familiarity with Milton’s works on the part of authors dealing with a range of subjects or kinds of writing, and some expectation of audience recognition. We can not avoid concluding that Milton was more pervasively well known than has often been thought; that is, that his significance was not limited to poetic and religious influence.

The research of George F. Sensabaugh in *Milton in Early America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964) was deeply detailed and comprehensive, yet certain volumes in the King Library—I do not cite all, by any means—extend his research and make even more noteworthy Milton’s importance to American life after the first of many editions of his work published in the Colonies appeared in 1777. (Prior to that time editions from
England had laid the foundation for a knowledge and use of Milton and his work.)¹⁰ In *Jerubbaal, or Tyranny's Grove Destroyed, and the Altar of Liberty Finished* (Newbury-Port: Printed by John Mycall, 1784), John Murray employed Milton's image in *The Reason of Church-Government*, p. 62, to describe defeated England: "Consider that haughty government, like Samson, shorn of his locks, tamely sitting down with the loss of all this territory" (p. 66). *The American Spectator, or Matrimonial Preceptor. A Collection (with additions and variations) of Essays, Epistles, Precepts and Examples, Relating to the Married State* (Boston: Printed by Manning & Loring, For David West, 1797) often employs Miltoniana and continued concerns of male-female relationships which we noted before. No. 1, p. 13, uses *Paradise Lost* VIII, 470-75, as epigraph, and p. 15 quotes *PL* XI, 618-20. No. 14, by John Aikin, p. 71, uses *PL* IV, 750-60, as epigraph. No. 15 from the *Spectator*, p. 82, quotes *PL* VIII, 596-606; and No. 41, from *The Museum*, p. 178, quotes *PL* IV, 750-64. William Munford's *Poems, and Compositions in Prose on Several Occasions* (Richmond: Printed by Samuel Pleasants, Jun., 1798), has an allusion, p. 14, in a poem entitled, "A Lamentation for the Patriots, Who Fell November 4th, 1791," and shows influence from *Paradise Lost* and *Comus* in another work, the play "Almoran and Hamet"; see, for example, p. 70 (Act III, Scene iii). *The Poetical and Miscellaneous Works of James Elliot* (Greenfield, Mass.: Printed by Thomas Dickman, for the author, 1798) has numerous Milton references. "The Progress of Freedom," pp. 48-62, shows general influence from *Paradise Lost* and there is an allusion on p. 53; Elliot's translation of Horace's *Ode V*, "To Pyrrha," is influenced in its first two stanzas by Milton's rendition, p. 85; and there is an allusion in "Valedictory Address to the Muses," p. 104. "Sketches, Political, Geographical, &c. Extracted from the Journal of James Elliot, During a Period of Three Years Service in the Legion of the United States," quotes *L'Allegro*, ll. 41-42, on p. 160, and gives an allusion on p. 161. *The Rural Moralist*, No. VI, p. 225, has an allusion, and p. 226, a variant quotation of *PL* III, 40-42; No. XIII uses *Comus*, ll. 453-56, as epigraph, p. 231; No. XVIII has an allusion on p. 236; and No. XXXV has an allusion on p. 263.²⁰

Perhaps we think of Milton as most important in his influence on poetry (whether for good or bad). A full understanding of that influence will not be acquired by paying attention to only major
and successful poets like Alexander Pope or William Collins or Thomas Gray, but to ordinary verse writers who for the most part have disappeared from the histories of literature. The library has in its collections a number of poetical volumes which evidence imitation and influence of Milton (not exclusively from *Paradise Lost*), and which have not been recorded in discussions of Milton; I cite only a small sample:


Madame Du Boccage. *La Colombiade, ou La Foi Partée au Nouveau Monde, Poème Par Madame Duboccage* (Paris, Et se vend A Francfort, en Foire, Chez J. F. Bassompierre & Fils, J. Vandeu Bergheu, 1758). In “Neuvième Chant,” pp. 163-64, Milton is called, “l’Homère du Nord / De nos premiers Parens y chante l’heureux sort.” There are two biographical notes and notice of Andreini’s *L’Adamo*, which Voltaire had alleged was the original of *Paradise Lost*.


It should be clear from the preceding that literary history is always subject to change, and most significant is revision which derives from the kind of factual evidence we have glanced at here. For Milton a painstaking bibliography of primary and secondary materials for the years leading up to 1800 is manifestly needed. Investigation can be expected to result in an inundation of previously unnoticed items, which will alter our perceptions about his reputation.

NOTES

1See King Library’s copy of the second edition of Francis Hutcheson’s *An Inquiry into the Original of Our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue* (London, 1726), pp. 84, 89, 145, 164.

2In “A Demonstration that the Relations in Mr. Gulliver’s Voyages are no fictions,” *Gentleman’s Magazine*, 9 (1739) 57 (owned by King Library).

3See *Biographical Anecdotes of William Hogarth; with a Catalogue of His Works Chronologically Arranged; and Occasional Remarks* (1782), Ed. 2, pp. 9, 269, 319, 331-32 (owned by King Library).

4See *Achievements of the Left Hand: Essays on the Prose of John Milton*, ed. Michael Lieb and John T. Shawcross (Amherst: University of


6 The only other copies are in the British Library and the Bibliothèque Nationale; it is not listed in the Wing, *Short-Title Catalogue*, or the NUC.

7 However, the NUC lists a copy at Harvard, but not that at Kentucky.


9 The translator of all three poems was Johann Henrici Schönheyder.

10 The NUC lists a copy at Harvard only.

11 Four copies (not including that at Kentucky) are listed in the NUC.

12 Four copies of this edition of *Paradise Lost* (not including that at Kentucky) are listed in the NUC, and one copy of *Notes* is recorded at Princeton.

13 The NUC lists copies at Yale and Harvard only.

14 The now standard study of *Milton and English Art* by Marcia R. Pointon (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970) is adequate at best.

15 This issue is not listed in the Wing STC. A number of copies of the work, without distinction of issues, are listed in the NUC.

16 Sensabaugh notes both these works and discusses Sidney's posthumous *Discourses Concerning Government* (London, 1698) in relationship to Milton's *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio*, but does not indicate Sidney's quotation of *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*. The second edition of *Discourses* (1704) is in the library; there is a quotation from PL IX on p. 46.

17 The NUC lists only four copies including Kentucky's.

18 The NUC cites a copy only at Harvard.

19 The earliest edition of Milton published in the Colonies that the library owns is *Paradise Lost*, printed in Philadelphia in 1788. It is a sixmo in two volumes (A-L 6 M 3; A-N 6 O 4); it includes Fenton's Life and divides the poem oddly into Books I-V and VI-XII. The NUC lists three copies in addition to Kentucky's.

20 Sensabaugh does note Elliot among the "Americans [who] found Milton instructive on manners and morals in a number of ways," p. 195 n., citing only p. 231 (that is, *The Rural Moralist*, No. XIII, the epigraph from *Comus*).

21 Raymond Dexter Havens does not mention these poems in *The Influence of Milton on English Poetry* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1922; New York: Russell & Russell, 1961); he has other entries on Duck, Chapone, and Robinson. The NUC listing of copies of these books is: *Poems*, Harvard and Yale as well as Kentucky; *Duck*, six copies but not Kentucky's; *Dorinda*, nine copies but not Kentucky's; DuBoccage, six copies as well as Kentucky's; *Union*, only one other in the Library of Congress; Chapone, this edition, only Kentucky; Robinson, many copies; Mathias, four copies but not Kentucky's.