

**MILTON'S EDITORS AND COMMENTATORS
FROM PATRICK HUME TO HENRY JOHN TODD
(1695—1801)**

A STUDY IN CRITICAL VIEWS AND METHODS

BY

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PART II

TARTU (DORPAT) 1931

9. BISHOP NEWTON AND HIS COLLABORATORS.

PARADISE LOST. A POEM, IN TWELVE BOOKS. The AUTHOR JOHN MILTON. A NEW EDITION, With NOTES of various AUTHORS, By THOMAS NEWTON, D. D. VOLUME the FIRST. LONDON: Printed for J. and R. TONSON and S. DRAPER in the *Strand*. MDCCXLIX.

4^o: 2 vols: pp. [18] + LXVI + 16 + [12] + 459; pp. 444 + [132]. *Contents*: Vol. I: p. [1], title; pp. [3—10], dedictn to the Earl of Bath; pp. [11—18], preface; pp. I—LXI, life of Milton; pp. LXII—LXIII, S. Barrow's; and pp. LXIV—LXV, A. Marvell's verses on P. L.; p. LXVI, "The Verse"; pp. 1—16, Addison's Critique; pp. [1—12], list of subscribers; pp. 1—459, text of bks. I—VI with notes. Vol. II: p. [1], title; pp. 3—432, text and notes to bks. VII—XII; pp. 433—444, appendix containing some additional notes; pp. [1—16], subject index; pp. [17—132], "A Verbal Index". The edition contains one plate to each book of the poem, and two portraits.

In "THE SECOND EDITION", that of 1750, some further publishers are mentioned in the imprint. The number of plates is the same, except that there is only one portrait of the author <8^o, pp. [23] + LXXXV + [27] + 510; pp. 456 + [212]>. The edition contains no list of subscribers. The arrangement of the matter is in all other respects as above, except for the insertion of the additional notes in their proper places, under the text, and a postscript on the Lauder affair, dated Dec. 5. 1750 (cf. vol. II, pp. 449—456). The next edition, that of 1754, 4^o, contains some further matter on the Lauder case. The main interpolations and forgeries of Lauder are added to the Postscript (vol. II, pp. 455—460). Otherwise, the arrangement is as before. The first volume has [18] + LXIX + [21] + 491, the second 460 + [116] pages. In this edition there are two portraits, as well as one plate to each book of the poem (in the B. Mus. copy Richardson's portrait of Milton is pasted on a blank-leaf at the end of the second volume).

J. Baskerville's editions of 1758 and 1759 are also printed "for J. and R. Tonson" like the previous ones, but they contain no notes. The edition of 1760, which is mentioned in connection with Newton's name in the British Museum catalogue, seems

to have been lost or mislaid. It is possible that Newton's fourth and fifth editions are to be looked for among these last⁵⁶⁹). The edition of 1763, 8^o, "THE SIXTH EDITION", has the following imprint: "LONDON: Printed for J. and R. Tonson, B. Dodd, H. Woodfell, J. Rivington, R. Baldwin, T. Longman, L. Hawes, Clark and Collins, E. Dilly, T. Caston, C. Corbet, T. Lownds, and the Executors of J. Richardson. MDCCLXIII". Otherwise the title is as in Newton's first edition. The number of pages is [23] + LXXXVI + [26] + 510 in the first, and 463 + [182] in the second volume. The matter is, on the whole, the same as in 1754 and the number of portraits and plates illustrating the text is also identical. In the 1770 edition, Newton's new episcopal dignity is alluded to in the title: "...THE SEVENTH EDITION, WITH NOTES of various AUTHORS, By THOMAS NEWTON, D. D. Now Lord Bishop of BRISTOL. VOLUME THE FIRST. LONDON: Printed for J. BEECROFT, W. STRAHAN, J. and F. RIVINGTON... MDCCLXX." <8^o, 2 vols: vol. I. pp. [23] + LXXXVI + [26] + 510; vol. II. pp. 463 + [182]>. The matter and the number of plates are the same. The edition of 1778 ("The EIGHTH EDITION" according to the title-page, published "IN TWO VOLUMES... LONDON: Printed for W. STRAHAN, J. F. and C. RIVINGTON, L. DAVIS... MDCCLXXVIII", 8^o, number of pages and illustrations as in the previous edition, but containing one portrait only) seems to differ only in the title, like that of 1790 ("Late Lord Bishop of Bristol" substituted after the editor's name, the imprint different: "LONDON: Printed for J. F. and C. RIVINGTON, L. DAVIS, B. WHITE and SON... MDCCXC", 8^o, number of pages and plates the same). In 1795 an abridged 12^o edition appeared in three volumes, with a "Preface to the Pocket Edition, with the Notes of Various Authors", signed C. M. in pp. V—IX of vol. I.⁵⁷⁰).

⁵⁶⁹) Todd's bibliography (ed. 1842, Vol. IV) mentions an 8-vo ed. by Newton, published in 1757. No particulars are given as to the place or publisher.

⁵⁷⁰) The title of the first volume is as follows: PARADISE LOST. A POEM, IN TWELVE BOOKS. THE AUTHOR JOHN MILTON. PRINTED FROM THE TEXT OF TONSON'S CORRECT EDITION OF 1711. A NEW EDITION, WITH NOTES AND THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR, IN THREE VOLUMES, BY THOMAS NEWTON, D. D. LATE LORD BISHOP OF BRISTOL, AND OTHERS. VOL. I. LONDON: PRINTED FOR THE PROPRIETORS. 1795." The third volume has a special title: "NOTES ON THE PARADISE LOST OF JOHN MILTON, BY NEWTON, BENTLEY, RICHARDSON, HUME, ADDISON, WARBURTON, THYER, PEARCE, & c. VOL. III. LONDON: PRINTED FOR THE PROPRIETORS. 1795." <Vol. I: pp. IX + 298; vol. II: pp. [II] + 270; vol. III:

This preface states that "the aim of the Editor has been to observe a proper medium between the meagreness of some Annotators and the excessive profusion of Newton, who has certainly overloaded his Publication with a number of remarks unnecessary, trite, and frivolous" (pp. VIII—IX).

PARADISE REGAIN'D. A POEM, IN FOUR BOOKS. To which is added SAMSON AGONISTES: AND POEMS upon SEVERAL OCCASIONS. THE AUTHOR JOHN MILTON. A NEW EDITION, With NOTES of various AUTHORS, By THOMAS NEWTON, D. D. LONDON: Printed for J. and R. TONSON and S. DRAPER in the *Strand*. MDCCLII.

4^o: pp. [8] + 690 + [2]. *Contents*: p. [1], title; pp. [3—6], preface; pp. [7—8], table of contents; pp. 1—189, "Paradise Regained" with notes; pp. 190—305, "Samson Agonistes", with notes; pp. 307—690, the minor poems, including the translations and Latin and Greek verses, with notes, and, on pp. 581—587, a transcript of the dramatic drafts in the Trinity College MS.; pp. [1—2], an index of the less common words explained and illustrated in the notes. 5 plates illustrate the poems, one portrait is prefixed to the volume, another (in the Brit. Mus. copy) pasted on a blank leaf following the text.

"The SECOND EDITION"; "Printed for J. and R. Tonson and S. Draper; and for T. Longman, S. Birt, C. Hitch, R. Ware, J. Hodges, C. Corbet, J. Brindley, and J. Ward. MDCCLIII", appeared in two 8^o volumes, <pp. [8] + 335 and [7] + 386 + [4]>, with the same matter but some rearrangements due to the division into two parts. The first volume contains the preliminary matter, P. R., S. A. and the Trinity drafts, the second volume the rest as above. The edition has six plates, one of these a portrait.

In 1773, the poem was brought out in exactly the same form, with the same number of pages and plates (after the name of the editor, "Now LORD BISHOP of BRISTOL" is inserted, and the imprint is: "LONDON: Printed for J. BEECROFT, W. STRAHAN, J. and F. RIVINGTON... MDCCLXXIII"). The edition of 1777 differs as to the size, but the matter is arranged in the same way. It is a 4^o volume containing [8] + 690 + [2] pages, "Printed for W. STRAHAN, J. F. and C. RIVINGTON, B. WHITE, T. CASLON... MDCCLXXVII", as the title-page indicates. In 1785 the size of the edition is again 8^o, the number of volumes, pages and

pp. [II] + 248>. The general arrangement is as before but vol. I contains bks. I—V, vol. II bks. VI—XII, the verbal index and dedication are omitted, and the notes have been transferred to the third volume.

illustrations and the arrangement being exactly the same as in 1753.

Newton's important edition — as a variorum edition, the first attempt to collect all the valuable work so far done in the field of Milton annotation — was modelled on similar publications by classical scholars. "My design in the present edition is to publish the *Paradise Lost*, as the work of a classic author cum notis variorum" ⁵⁷¹), is Newton's description of his idea. This applies equally to the subsequent volumes containing the rest of Milton's poetical works. Newton wished the publication to become a pendant to the "new and correct editions of the works of approved authors", defending his plan of undertaking with regard to English literature what others had done in the department of classical scholarship. He insists on the need for an accurate text based on Milton's authentic editions, instead of that indefinite "floating [*sic*] in the wide ocean of conjecture" which distinguishes the labours of the editors of Shakespeare ⁵⁷²).

Despite this very sound doctrine, Newton's practice is not entirely without subjective arbitrariness. The punctuation follows Milton more or less strictly, for Newton finds his pointing "generally right", assuming that the poet and his friends had carefully supervised it, but in the spellings a somewhat unsatisfactorily defined distinction is drawn between those peculiar to Milton and those general at his time ⁵⁷³). Newton states it as his principle to adopt what is right and to reject what is wrong, transcribing the excellences but not the errors of the authentic editions ⁵⁷⁴). This is a dangerous ideal as long as the concepts of right and wrong are not very carefully defined. Fortunately, Newton generally manages to refrain from the Bentleian attitude of omniscience, confining himself to normalizing the spellings without introducing any peculiarities of his own, or at least usually explaining his deviations from this method in foot-notes. Not infrequently typical Miltonic spellings are retained.

Newton is not always fair to his predecessors. His prefaces

⁵⁷¹) Vol. I, sig. a₂r of 1-st ed. of Newton.

⁵⁷²) Vol. I, sig. a₂r, op. cit.

⁵⁷³) *Ibid.* & sig. a₂v.

⁵⁷⁴) Sig. a₂v.

profess to give a survey of their work but some important sources are omitted. Thus, Peck is not mentioned in the preface to "Paradise Lost". Newton had made use of several of his parallels and syntactic observations⁵⁷⁵), and the grudging acknowledgement of his indebtedness to Peck in the preface to the edition of "Paradise Regained" and the Minor Poems does not make up for this neglect. Newton admits having "pickt out some grains from among the chaff of Mr. Peck's remarks"⁵⁷⁶), a judgment which seems too severe on Peck, as Newton has borrowed more than he cares to acknowledge. But the injustice done to Hume is far more serious. Our appendix, which traces the main debts to the earlier commentators in Newton's notes to book II of "Paradise Lost", should make this clear. Newton's references to Hume are extremely slighting. He admits that he "laid the foundation" but "laid it among infinite heaps of rubbish". His work is described as a "dull dictionary of the most common words, a tedious fardel of the most trivial observations", though it is also found to contain "a great deal that is useful", there being "gold among its dross"⁵⁷⁷). The main objection to be made to this criticism is that Newton has found far more gold among the dross than he ever admits, much more than in Peck's book, generally without even an indication of it.

The importance of Addison's essays is acknowledged by their wholesale insertion in the work, partly as a separate treatise and partly as foot-notes. A number of the sounder remarks of Bentley, whose attempts to rewrite Milton's poetry Newton calls „most miserable bungling work", are reprinted, but the part his critic Pearce takes in the edition is much greater. He is admitted to have "perused and corrected" the MS. and assisted Newton "from the beginning to the end"⁵⁷⁸). His notes are drawn upon rather copiously and receive ample praise as being "a pattern to all future critics, of sound learning and just reasoning joined with the greatest candor and gentleness of manners"⁵⁷⁹). The comments of the Richardsons are found sometimes to hit "the true meaning

⁵⁷⁵) Cf. below.

⁵⁷⁶) P. R. Vol. I, sig. A₃r, ed. 1752.

⁵⁷⁷) P. L. Vol. I, sig. a₂v, ed. 1749.

⁵⁷⁸) Vol. I, sig. a₃r, ed. 1749.

⁵⁷⁹) *Ibid.*

of the author surprisingly", though they contain some "strange inequalities" and "extravagances". Nearly everything valuable in them has been made use of, either with or without acknowledgement. The other published sources mentioned in the preface to "Paradise Lost" are: Warburton's notes to the first three books of the poem in the "History of the Works of the Learned" ⁵⁸⁰); the pamphlets "An Essay upon Milton's Imitations of the Ancients" and "Letters concerning Poetical Translations", of which especially the latter is important as having provided Newton with most of his better metrical remarks ⁵⁸¹); and the "learned Mr. Upton's Critical Observations on Shakespeare" ⁵⁸²) containing some chance notes on Milton. It is difficult to ascertain all Newton's debts, particularly to works not mainly concerned with criticism of Milton. He says himself: "like the bee, I have been studious of gathering sweets wherever I could find them growing" ⁵⁸³). Paterson and the so-called "St. Maur" are not mentioned. Newton's silence as to many of his borrowings from Hume and Peck justifies the assumption that he may have used other unacknowledged sources. In the present treatise, only his indebtedness to his acknowledged predecessors in Milton annotation is traced consistently. An attempt has been made by the present writer to find out as exactly as possible what is Newton's own and

⁵⁸⁰) Anonymous, in April 1740, pp. 273—280. Mainly against Bentley.

⁵⁸¹) AN ESSAY upon MILTON'S IMITATIONS OF THE ANCIENTS, IN HIS PARADISE LOST. With some Observations on the *Paradise Regain'd*. [Motto]. LONDON: Printed for J. ROBERTS in *Warwick-Lane*. MDCCXLI. Price One Shilling.

8^o: pp. [2] + 62.

LETTERS CONCERNING Poetical Translations, AND VIRGIL'S and MILTON'S ARTS OF VERSE, & c. LONDON. Printed for J. ROBERTS, near the *Oxford-Arms* in *Warwick-Lane*. MDCCXXXIX.

8^o: pp. [4] + 83.

The Bodleian copy bears the inscription "Ar: Onslow. The Gift of the Author, M^r Auditor Benson." Todd, the DNB & c. also ascribe the pamphlet to William Benson, the same to whom Peck dedicated his "New Memoirs, & c."

⁵⁸²) CRITICAL OBSERVATIONS ON SHAKESPEARE. By JOHN UPTON Prebendary of *Rochester* [Motto] LONDON: Printed for G. HAWKINS, in *Fleet-street*. M,DCC,XLVI.

8^o: pp. IV + 346 + [16] + [2].

Contains some notes on Milton. 2d ed. 1748, 8^o.

⁵⁸³) Vol. I, sig. a₃v, ed. 1749.

what is merely borrowed. It has been necessary to eliminate all mere reformulations or abridgements of earlier matter, concentrating exclusively on what seemed to be original work. As there is relatively little of the latter, the results may appear disappointing. Many an interesting point may seem to have been unduly omitted, though in most cases this would probably be due to the fact that the observation concerned is borrowed. The appendix on book II was partly written to support this statement.

Newton's prefaces mention the people who had sent him special contributions. The edition of "Paradise Lost" contains such mainly by Heylin, Jortin, Warburton, the younger Richardson, Thyer, "the Librarian at Manchester... a man of great learning, and as great humanity", and some anonymous persons⁵⁸⁴). Some oral remarks made by the Speaker of the House of Commons⁵⁸⁵) are also taken into consideration. Heylin, according to Newton, had himself proposed to publish a new edition of "Paradise Lost", but, hearing of Bentley's plan, had communicated to him the notes already written for that purpose. Bentley is said to have exploited them without any acknowledgment. Points unused by Bentley which suited Newton, were extracted by the latter from Heylin's MS. Jortin's remarks, which were conveyed to Newton by Pearce and deal mainly with Milton's imitations of the classics, are highly praised by the editor, though no special characterization of Jortin's virtues as a critic is given. The contributions of Warburton, who, as Newton observes, recommends his Milton edition in the preface to his Shakespeare⁵⁸⁶), are found to be similar to light sketches of great masters in painting, "...worth more than the labor'd pieces of others"⁵⁸⁷), and great praise is given to Warburton's conjectural experiments in Shakespeare criticism⁵⁸⁸).

⁵⁸⁴) Heylin is apparently John Heylyn (1685?—1759), educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, D. D. 1728, editor of theological works, sermons, & c. Called the 'Mystic Doctor' (cf. DNB). John Jortin (1698—1770), educated at Jesus College, Cant., wrote "The Life of Erasmus" 1758, "Remarks on Spenser", & c. Robert Thyer (1709—1781), born at Manchester, of Brasenose, Oxford, editor of Samuel Butler's "Remains", was Chetham librarian at Manchester.

⁵⁸⁵) P. L. Vol. I, sig. a₄v, ed. 1749.

⁵⁸⁶) Cf. preface to Newton's P. L., sig. a₃v, ed. 1749.

⁵⁸⁷) *Ibid.*

⁵⁸⁸) *Ib.* sig. a₂r.

Only slight use is said to have been made of the younger Richardson's "very copious collection of fine passages out of ancient and modern authors, by which Milton profited", because of the late arrival of these notes ⁵⁸⁹). Thyer had originally composed a great number of observations in an interleaved copy of Milton, which, as Newton writes, was unfortunately dropped on the road while being sent to him, so that Thyer had to restore them as best he could.

Newton describes the main objects of his notes ⁵⁹⁰). He says he has written them: (1) to establish "the true genuin [*sic*] text of Milton" and to discuss the various readings; (2) "to illustrate the sense and meaning, to point out the beauties and defects of sentiment and character, and to commend or censure the conduct of the poem" — that is to say, to explain Milton's work and give a critical account of it; (3) to examine the style and language, the uncommon words, as well as the uncommon significations of common expressions; (4) to study the metre, the pauses, the "adaptness of the sound to the sense"; (5) to point out Milton's imitations or allusions. He originally intended to deal with these matters in separate essays to be prefixed to the work but found the method of foot-notes more convenient, as enabling the reader to peruse the criticisms in connection with the passages to which they refer. The above objects, as stated in the preface, contain nothing very new, which entirely agrees with Newton's general eclectic manner. His independent contributions to knowledge and critical method have to be traced from the notes themselves, and can be found out only by a very minute examination of these, since they are interspersed with too much that is borrowed or imitated.

The same principles apply to the edition of the rest of Milton's poetical works. Newton's preface points out that pioneer-work had to be done here, as no detailed commentary upon these works had so far been attempted. Meadowcourt's notes on "Paradise Regained", which had been published separately, were very slight ⁵⁹¹). So the materials found in Newton's edition are nearly

⁵⁸⁹) *Ib.* sig. a₄r.

⁵⁹⁰) *Ib.* sig. a₄v.

⁵⁹¹) A CRITIQUE ON MILTON'S PARADISE REGAIN'D. — simul et jucunda et idonea dicere vitae. LONDON: Printed for HENRY LINTOT,

all of them new. Warburton, Jortin, Thyer, the younger Richardson continue their special contributions, and Peck is also quoted. Sympson and Calton of Marton in Lincolnshire are new names ⁵⁹²). Some of these seem to be particularly qualified to comment on Milton's early poems, *e. g.* Thyer, who, as a great "master of the Italian language and Italian poetry, which in Spenser's time was the study and delight of all the men of letters", is urgently advised to "gratify the public with his equally learned [*sic*] equally elegant observations" upon Spenser ⁵⁹³). Only some chance remarks are contributed by Sympson, a critic described by Newton as "particularly well read in our old English authors, as appears from his share in the late excellent edition of Beaumont's and Fletcher's works". Newton calls him his friend and acknowledges that Sympson has assisted him in his edition of "Paradise Lost", but without specifying the character of this assistance ⁵⁹⁴).

The Latin and Greek poems, which are included in the edition, are left without a commentary. The Trinity College Manuscript has been made use of, particularly for the sake of the dramatic schemes already reprinted in Birch's edition of Milton's prose and in Peck's "New Memoirs". The text is based on the editions published at Milton's lifetime, yet not without the alteration of

at the *Cross-Keys*, against *St. Dunstan's Church* in *Fleet-street*. MDCCXXXII. (Price One Shilling.)

4^o: 2 leaves, blank, unnumbered, — 1 leaf, unnumbered, containing the title, — pp. 30, text.

A Critical Dissertation with NOTES ON MILTON'S PARADISE REGAIN'D. By the Reverend Mr. MEADOWCOURT, Canon of *Worcester*. [motto as above] The SECOND EDITION, corrected. LONDON: Printed for A. MILLAR, opposite *Catherine-Street* in the *Strand*: And Sold by M. COOPER, at the *Globe* in *Pater-noster-Row*. 1748. (Price One Shilling.)

8^o: pp. 49 (blank-leaves torn off in Brit. Mus. copy). The same as the preceding with some additions, but otherwise no perceptible alterations. The DNB (*i. e.* Gerald le Grys Norgate) calls the author, Richard Meadowcourt (1695—1760), "a sympathetic and a learned critic" but "deficient in insight".

⁵⁹²) Both absent in DNB. Sympson edited the 1750 edition of Beaumont and Fletcher together with Theobald, Seward, and others.

⁵⁹³) P. R. Vol. I, sig. A₂v, ed. 1752.

⁵⁹⁴) *Ibid.*

"what", as Newton thinks, "the author himself would have corrected" ⁵⁹⁵).

The study of Newton's life of Milton, which is prefixed to the edition of "Paradise Lost", does not concern us here. In the following, the notes of Newton's collaborators are examined first ⁵⁹⁶), since they form part of the basis he had to work upon, and therefore are likely to have influenced him. Newton's share in the Lauder controversy is passed over as having too little to do with the development of serious Milton criticism.

A. ROBERT THYER.

Thyer is perhaps the most conspicuous among the new contributors to Newton's Milton edition, both as regards the number and the value of his notes, which deal with "Paradise Lost" as well as with the rest of Milton's poetical works. Newton's prefaces make full acknowledgment of the fact. According to the preface to "Paradise Lost" ⁵⁹⁷), Newton did not know Thyer personally, though, as has been shown, he describes him as "a man of great learning, and as great humanity". The same source states that Thyer's original contributions to Newton's commentary were lost by an accident, though the author afterwards restored as much as he could, "sending a sheet or two full of remarks almost every post for several weeks together". A few notes which arrived too late were added in an appendix in the first edition, but afterwards they were inserted in their proper places.

"Good sense, and learning, and ingenuity" are the qualities praised by Newton in Thyer's remarks ⁵⁹⁸). Thyer's classical scholarship appears to be considerable, but he does not deal widely with older English literature. An important asset is his knowledge

⁵⁹⁵) *Ib.* sig. A₂r.

⁵⁹⁶) The younger Richardson and Heylin are not dealt with separately. As is shown in the above, only fragments of their collections were used by Newton. It would be difficult to attach great value to their contributions, which consist mainly of literary parallels, with little analysis. Richardson's comments on "Lycidas" are more varied, and evince a genuine though not very original sense of poetic beauty.

⁵⁹⁷) Sig. a₄, ed. 1749.

⁵⁹⁸) Cf. preface to P. R., sig. A₂v, ed. 1752.

of Italian ⁵⁹⁹). It has been pointed out that Newton for this reason advised him to edit Spenser ⁶⁰⁰). The above characterization seems to be correct. Thyer has commonsense and clever ideas as well as a wide knowledge of history and literature, and takes a genuine human and artistic interest in Milton's personality and poetry ⁶⁰¹). The harmonious combination of these qualities makes him superior to Newton as a critic, and places him above Newton's other contributors, though some of these may exhibit their erudition more ostentatiously or excel in certain points. Thyer's intellect is balanced and free from pedantry, though not quite unprejudiced. A considerable artistic instinct adds the necessary literary touch, though he never indulges in unrestrained enthusiasm. On the other hand, he generally manages to keep free from a fault peculiar to many commentators, that of accumulating facts without sufficiently explaining their artistic significance.

Thyer is still subject to some of the limitations of his period. He is not yet able to distinguish with sufficient clearness between the conditions of his own time and those of Milton's and seems to expect from the poet a knowledge of the scientific achievements of the eighteenth century — almost as Bentley did, forgetting like Bentley that he is dealing with poetry ⁶⁰²). It is not surprising, on the other hand, that he dislikes what he regards as a very crude anachronism, *viz.* the introduction of "cuirassiers" into a description of the world at the time of Christ ⁶⁰³). Though Newton

⁵⁹⁹) Cf. preface to P. R., sig. A₃r.

⁶⁰⁰) That Thyer's knowledge of the Italians surpassed that of the average amateur, seems to be indicated by his discoveries of Italian phraseology in Milton. Milton's "dun air", in P. L. III. 72, is derived by him from the Italian "aer bruno", the image of the sun "smiting the open field" (P. L. IV. 244) is compared with Ariosto's "Percote il sol ardente il vicin colle", the "high disdain" of P. L. I. 98 with "alto sdegno", & c.

⁶⁰¹) Some of Thyer's remarks on the influence of the circumstances of Milton's life on his poetry are subtle and observant. He connects the weakness of Milton's eyes with the "very singular" notice "which he takes of the twilight, whenever he has occasion to speak of the evening" (P. L. IV. 598 n.). Thyer's description of the twilight shows his sensitiveness to nature. He speaks of "something so agreeable in that soft and gentle light", and of the "peculiar fragrance" that "attends it in the summer months" (*Ibid.*).

⁶⁰²) Cf. P. L. X. 659 n.

⁶⁰³) P. R. III. 328 n.

adduces some evidence to refute this, there can hardly be any doubt that Thyer, who had not seen this evidence, wrote in good faith. Here his point of view is intelligible, for in this passage Milton apparently aims at historical exactness, which makes anachronism out of place⁶⁰⁴). Nevertheless, Thyer has moments when he is prepared to forgive even blunders for the sake of a "fine strain of poetry", as in P. L. X. 245 *n.* where the artistic effect is made possible by the introduction of a "now exploded notion". Milton's unauthorized genealogy of the Graces in "L'Allegro" finds not merely forgiveness but even praise, as it "suited the nature of his subject better"⁶⁰⁵). However, Thyer becomes apologetic in discussing Milton's description of mediæval "tilts and torneaments" in the same poem. The fact that the poet describes things no longer in use at his period is excused mainly because his critic takes into account "how short a time they had laid aside, and what a considerable figure they make in Milton's favorite authors"⁶⁰⁶), that is to say, largely because the anachronism is very slight, though Thyer evidently finds it blamable in itself. Here the case is different from the first example discussed in this connection, for the world depicted in "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso" obviously does not pretend to be a reproduction of the world as actually seen, but rather of an idealized domain modelled partly on pastoral poetry and partly on classical antiquity (cf. the classical names), on romance, & c. It may not be judged by the standards of consistent realism — exactly as "Lycidas" can only be understood if the scenery is regarded as a very free combination of the present with the national as well as the classical past. It is evident that Thyer's instinctive leaning towards a more liberal attitude is struggling with the concepts inherited from contemporary literature, causing the above inconsistencies. In certain cases Milton's poetic licences are approved as far as they enhance the effect, whereas at other times conventions handicap the critic.

The intellectual discipline shown in the theorizing and argumentative parts of Milton's poetry might be expected to appeal to Thyer's scholarly mind. Nevertheless, his artistic sensitiveness

⁶⁰⁴) Cf. also S. A. 934 *n.*

⁶⁰⁵) L'A. 14 *n.*

⁶⁰⁶) L'A. 119 *n.*

makes it surprising to find his principles so entirely in agreement with the didacticism of his contemporaries. Instruction, in Thyer's opinion, still remains one of the main objects of poetry. He admires it, "in how short a compass" Milton "has compris'd, and with what strength and clearness he has express'd the various actings of God towards mankind, and the most sublime and deep truths both of the Jewish and Christian theology" ⁶⁰⁷). Poetry in his view even becomes a sort of *ancilla theologiae*, for he remarks with apparent approval that Milton "is scarcely ever so far hurried on by the fire of his Muse, as to forget the main end of all good writing, the recommendation of virtue and religion" ⁶⁰⁸).

In spite of these express statements, Thyer's artistic instincts seem to carry him in the opposite direction, that of art for art's sake. The inconsistency is the same here as in his treatment of anachronisms. The key-note of his remarks on „Paradise Regained" is apparently the desire to prove that the poet is constantly aiming at imaginative effects, the didactic and intellectual touch of the whole depending mainly on the subject. Like Bentley ⁶⁰⁹), Thyer admires Milton's skill in overcoming the narrowness of his theme ⁶¹⁰), and attempts to analyse his method. In this connection, he states his fundamental conception of epic poetry, which is not profound and disagrees with the attitude often found in his critical practice. According to this formulation, an epic poem "ought to consist of a proper and happy mixture of the instructive and the delightful" ⁶¹¹) — a view which is in keeping with the main trend of his age when no deeper emotional gratification was demanded from poetry, the main emotion expected being easy pleasure. Yet Thyer's quest for imaginative excellence is somewhat too impassioned to fit in with this eulogy of the golden mean. He is anxious to trace the elements of pure artistry hidden behind the more obvious rationalist and didactic style of "Paradise Regained", and tries (in contradistinction to Newton — cf. below) to vindicate the competence and spontaneity of Milton's imagination, finding the main difference

⁶⁰⁷) P. L. XII. 11 n.

⁶⁰⁸) P. L. VI. 661 n.

⁶⁰⁹) Cf. P. L. X. 182 n. in Bentley's ed.

⁶¹⁰) P. R. II. 1 n.

⁶¹¹) *Ibid.*

between the two epics in their subjects⁶¹²). The "argumentative cast" of the theme paralyses Milton's muse, who nevertheless "emerges upon every favorable occasion, and like the sun from under a cloud bursts out into the same bright vein of poetry, which shines out more frequently, tho' not more strongly, in the *Paradise Lost*"⁶¹³).

This is in accord with Thyer's comment on Lord Shaftesbury's opinion that, as the annotator quotes him, "Milton's beauties generally depend upon solid thought, strong reasoning, noble passion, and a continued thread of moral doctrin"⁶¹⁴), *i. e.* a definition which, though admitting the poet's emotional power, shifts the centre of gravity towards reason and morality, in the manner just shown in Thyer's own remarks. Here Thyer objects to this application of the principles which elsewhere he so readily acknowledges, criticizing Shaftesbury from the point of view of pure poetry. He calls attention to Milton's art of working up a simple idea "into half a score of as fine lines as any in the whole poem" which show "what an exalted fancy and mere force of poetry can do"⁶¹⁵). The "picturesque manner of Spenser"⁶¹⁶), whom Thyer so frequently quotes, as well as the Italians, may have taught him to appreciate this "exalted fancy". His high valuation of "*Lycidas*" shows the same tendency. Newton prefers "*L'Allegro*" and "*Il Penseroso*" to "*Lycidas*" owing to some irregularities in the latter⁶¹⁷). In Thyer's opinion it is exactly the "natural and agreeable wildness and irregularity which runs quite through it" which gives „the greatest grace" to the whole⁶¹⁸). He ascribes these qualities to "the warm affection which Milton had for his friend, and the extreme grief he was in for the loss of him." This has been doubted by various critics, *e. g.* by Thomas Warton⁶¹⁹). But the important part of Thyer's remark is the theoretical attitude implied in it. He recognizes the rights of emotion even if it clashes with the rules. "Grief is

⁶¹²) Cf. P. R. II. 1 *n.* end, P. R. II. 363 *n.*

⁶¹³) P. R. IV. 237 *n.*

⁶¹⁴) P. L. VII. 98 *n.*

⁶¹⁵) *Ibid.*

⁶¹⁶) P. L. XI. 489 *n.*

⁶¹⁷) L'A. 45 *n.*

⁶¹⁸) Lyc. 193 *n.*

⁶¹⁹) See Warton's final note to "*Lycidas*".

eloquent, but not formal", is his conclusion. He was not the man to side with merely formal poetry.

His appreciation of the spontaneous, lyrical element in Milton is elsewhere stated even more clearly than in the above observation. He likes the poet's delight in sacred music⁶²⁰), praising him for his freedom from the prejudices of the Puritans, "the enthusiastic madness of that fanatic age against Church Music" ⁶²¹). The outbursts of Milton's imaginative powers are referred to with much warmth in a remark on his allusions to this art. Thyer emphasizes how his "imagination glows with a particular brightness . . . where he has occasion to describe the power of music" ⁶²²). The words "sudden", "rapturous" recur very frequently in similar observations, *e. g.* when Thyer speaks of the "rapturous start of the poet's fancy" ⁶²³), or when he responds to Milton's delectable revellings in visual impressions ⁶²⁴): "There is in my opinion great beauty in this abrupt and rapturous start of the poet's imagination, as it . . . carries a very pretty allusion to those sudden gleams of vernal delight which break in upon the mind at the sight of a fine prospect."

This is the right frame of mind for the appreciation of unexpected and bold expressions. "Satan bowing low His grey dissimulation", a passage which "your little word-catching critic will very probably censure, but readers of true taste admire", is described as "a true instance of the *feliciter audet*" ⁶²⁵), and another impressive poetic licence of the same kind is found in the expression: ". . . while the hand Sung with the voice" ⁶²⁶).

Too high-flown conceits in the Italian manner are nevertheless repugnant to Thyer's taste. His admiration for imaginative qualities has its limits where the imagination forgets all moderation. Certain exceptional cases of baroque profusion happen to appeal to him, *e. g.* Marino's skill in varying the same idea through six stanzas ⁶²⁷), even though he finds Milton's "graver

⁶²⁰) II P. 161 *n.*

⁶²¹) *Ibid.*

⁶²²) L'A. 135 *n.*

⁶²³) II P. 61 *n.*

⁶²⁴) L'A. 69 *n.*

⁶²⁵) P. R. I. 497 *n.*

⁶²⁶) l. 171, *ibid.*

⁶²⁷) Cf. P. L. VIII. 476 *n.*

turn" and the "divine character" of his subject incompatible with this style ⁶²⁸). He is impressed by Marino's "surprising redundancy of fancy and beauty of expression", but the heavier manifestations of the same tendency, such as Boiardo's long description of heraldry and decorative detail, are condemned ⁶²⁹). Certain limits have to be observed, otherwise the result strikes him as "rant and rhapsody" ⁶³⁰). What one "may easily imagine might have really happen'd" ⁶³¹) is what he values in the description of Eve where Satan admires her, preparing for the temptation.

This Italian prolixity is opposed by Thyer for very sound psychological considerations. He knows that the main object of a poetical text is to stimulate the mind. In applying this knowledge to Milton's criticism he foreshadows the attitude of Warton ⁶³²), who, however, draws the inevitable conclusions as to the value of certain poetic devices, whereas Thyer states the main principle only. In his opinion, the Italians "have never said enough whilst any thing remains unsaid" ⁶³³). Instead of intensifying the impression, this volubility only weakens it, impairing the reader's mental activity. "When once enough is said to excite in the reader's mind a proper idea of what the poet is representing, whatever is added, however beautiful, serves only to teize the fancy instead of pleasing it, and rather cools than improves that glow of pleasure, which arises in the mind upon the contemplation of any surprising scene of nature well painted out" ⁶³⁴). The ideal representation gives few circumstances "but selected with great judgment, and expressed with no less spirit and beauty" ⁶³⁵). Thus, the very basis of Thyer's conception of poetry leads him to the recognition of classicist moderation, preventing him, at the same time, from deviating into classicist dogmatism, the main emphasis being laid on the activity of the mind and not on dead rules.

The elasticity and vividness of Thyer's imagination enable

⁶²⁸) *Ibid.*

⁶²⁹) P. L. IX. 34 n.

⁶³⁰) P. L. IX. 457 n.

⁶³¹) *Ibid.*

⁶³²) Cf. below, chapter on Warton.

⁶³³) P. L. IX. 457 n.

⁶³⁴) *Ibid.*

⁶³⁵) *Ibid.*

him to trace the impulses of Milton's characters, the interplay of their varying moods. The reserve and moderation of the commentator's manner agree with the fact that he succeeds mainly in the treatment of quiet, delicate emotions. The "piety of the saint, and the tenderness of the mother", *i. e.* of the Virgin Mary⁶³⁶), her anxiety and self-restraint, are described with a keen sense of the continuously changing flow of her emotions. Thyer sees "that sudden start of fond impatience in the third line, *But where delays he now?* breaking in so abruptly upon the compos'd resignation express'd in the preceding ones", as well as "her suddenly checking herself, and resuming her calm and resign'd character again"⁶³⁷). Descriptions of conflicting or apparently contradictory feelings seem to attract him. Warburton did not understand the expression: "dim sadness . . . mixt With pitie, violated not thir bliss"⁶³⁸). He sees a contradiction in the passage: "the latter passion [he evidently means pity] is so far from alleviating the former, that it adds weight to it"⁶³⁹). Thyer sees the possibility of combining such seemingly incompatible emotions as pity and bliss, speaking of the "blessedness of a benevolent temper"⁶⁴⁰). The emotional character of the word "fervent"⁶⁴¹) is analysed with much delicacy, the situation being carefully examined. Its subdued though not unimpassioned tone is ascribed to the mental state typical of the sinless life in Paradise. It is found to "imply some emotion" yet to carry nothing in its idea inconsistent with that "subserviency of the passions, which subsisted before the fall". Thyer's tendency to study complicated emotional states of mind appears in all the above instances. Sometimes his sensitiveness verges on sentimentality, *e. g.* when the scene of Adam's reconciliation to his wife⁶⁴²) is described as "extremely beautiful, I had almost said, beyond any thing in the whole poem," so that "that reader must have a very sour and unfriendly turn of mind, whose heart does not *relent* with Adam's..."

"Samson Agonistes" evidently impresses Thyer very deeply,

⁶³⁶) P. R. II. 93 *n.*

⁶³⁷) *Ibid.*

⁶³⁸) P. L. X. 23 *n.*

⁶³⁹) *Ibid.*

⁶⁴⁰) *Ibid.*

⁶⁴¹) P. L. IX. 342 *n.*

⁶⁴²) P. L. X. 940 *n.*

and his notes show that his critical powers did not flag in dealing with its outbursts of violent and unrestrained emotion, despite his predilection for more idyllic features. Here again the tendency to study irregular, shifting moods appears, and the word "sudden" is used repeatedly in a characteristic manner.

"Something vastly grand and noble" is found in Samson's "sudden gust of indignation and passionate self-reproach" upon a mention of his former weakness of mind ⁶⁴³). The "wildness" appreciated by Thyer in "Lycidas" is valued by him in "Samson Agonistes" also, though no traces of the "agreeable" quality which he praised in the early poem are found in the play. In defending the recurrence of certain ideas in the speeches of Samson he uses almost exactly the same words as in the above-quoted note on "Lycidas": "Grief though eloquent is not tied to forms, and is besides apt in its own nature frequently to recur to and repeat its source and object" ⁶⁴⁴). The rough, impulsive character of Samson's speech is traced in the structure of the verse: "Those sudden starts of impatience are very natural to persons in such circumstances, and this rough and unequal measure of the verses is very well suited to it" ⁶⁴⁵).

Despite some inconsistencies between his conservative principles and his unconventional feeling for imaginative excellence, Thyer, on the whole, remains one of the subtlest commentators on Milton in the whole century, mainly through his artistic sense and his faculty for delicate description. Not so much his theories as his practice contribute to a deeper insight into the achievements of Milton as an artist, though his recognition of the impression on the mind as the main criterion of the value of a literary work is far in advance of the somewhat helpless dogmatism of Newton himself, showing the beginnings of a more adequate theoretical attitude.

B. BISHOP WARBURTON.

Warburton's notes, which are not very numerous, deal less with technical matters and more with artistic problems than those of Newton's other contributors, with the sole exception of

⁶⁴³) S. A. 411.

⁶⁴⁴) S. A. 633 *n.* Cf. also S. A. 340 *n.*

⁶⁴⁵) S. A. 606 *n.*

Thyer. Warburton's individual, eccentric manner does not lessen the stimulating effect of his remarks, though at times his attitude may be obviously wrong.

He has some religious prejudices against Milton and objects to the application of human analogies to divine things ⁶⁴⁶). The "unreasonable as well as untheological" supposition that God gave to man the knowledge of his fellow-creatures before that of the nature of the creator himself ⁶⁴⁷), and the doctrine of the spiritualization of matter ⁶⁴⁸) are both received with little favour.

Warburton's views on the character of literary creation are somewhat simple-minded and short-sighted. He appears to be ignorant of Virgil's untiring labour at the *Æneid* and of Milton's long preparations for "Paradise Lost". His opinion of these works and of the Homeric epics is that they were the result of sudden eruptions of inspiration: "each of these poems was struck out at a heat and came to perfection from its first essay" ⁶⁴⁹). This is the very reverse of the attitude of Peck and Pope who assumed very little spontaneity in Milton ⁶⁵⁰). Inspiration is regarded as all-powerful, patient, assiduous work is ignored. This is the typical point of view of the extreme advocate of the imagination.

The same lack of critical restraint causes Warburton to forget the relativity of the value of all human achievement. He dogmatically extols the two ancient poets and Milton as the culmination of epic poetry, and finds them to have exhausted all spheres of human action, Homer having treated of "the province of *morality*, Virgil of *politics*", so that nothing is left for Milton "but that of religion" ⁶⁵¹). The conclusion of the note is very categorical: "Here then the grand scene closes, and all further improvement of the epic is at an end." Joseph Warton derides this notion as "totally groundless and chimerical", attacking Warburton's doctrinairian narrowmindedness ⁶⁵²).

Warburton's knowledge of Elizabethan poetry may have in-

⁶⁴⁶) P. L. VIII. 221.

⁶⁴⁷) P. L. VIII. 357 *n.*

⁶⁴⁸) Co. 462 *n.*

⁶⁴⁹) P. L. IX. 28 *n.*

⁶⁵⁰) Cf. above, on Peck.

⁶⁵¹) IX. 28 *n.*

⁶⁵²) Todd's ed., P. L. IX. 28 *n.*

fluenced his taste. His over-valuation of poetic inspiration might at least in part be due to this ⁶⁵³). The same fact might also explain his fondness for conceits, in which respect he differs from most Milton commentators of that period. The ingenious play of the imagination seems to interest him more than any considerations of moderation and restraint. Milton's conceits are even developed considerably further, with a readiness betraying the critic's predilection for this style, as in Co. 249 *n.* where Warburton in dealing with the image of sound floating on the wings of silence introduces a new high-flown idea, that of the hostility of silence and sound: "This is extremely poetical, and insinuates this sublime idea and imagery, that even silence herself was content to convey her mortal enemy, sound, on her wings, so greatly was she charmed with its harmony". Shakespeare seems to have taught Warburton to do justice to the Elizabethan richness of "Comus". Warburton even prefers to the rest the passages imitated from Shakespeare. The "brighter vein of poetry" and the "ease and delicacy of expression very superior to his [= Milton's] natural manner" found in the echoes of Shakespeare's fairy scenes are dwelt on with especial emphasis ⁶⁵⁴). This is the reverse of Newton's attitude ⁶⁵⁵). Originality is valued by Warburton, even in the treatment of classical tradition. To his mind, Milton's genealogy of Echo ⁶⁵⁶) is "much nobler and more poetical than any of the ancient mythology". The mixture of mediæval fable and classical mythology in "Comus" is not condemned ⁶⁵⁷). Some of these notes seem to lead out of the age of reason into the twilight spheres of Young and Macpherson. Such is the remark describing how "darkness sets the imagination

⁶⁵³) His Shakespeare notes seem to prove this. In his remark on "the sea-maid's music" in *MidsND.* he describes Shakespeare's power of carrying his readers into fairyland, his being "borne away by the magic of his enthusiasm" and hurrying one "with him into these ancient regions of poetry, by that power of verse which we may well fancy to be like what, — *Olim fauni vatesque canebant*". Traces of this enthusiastic attitude appear in Warburton's Milton criticism, though the scarcity of his notes makes it difficult to form a definite idea of his views.

⁶⁵⁴) Co. 1 *n.*

⁶⁵⁵) Cf. below.

⁶⁵⁶) Co. 241 *n.*

⁶⁵⁷) Co. 46 *n.*

at work, to create ideal forms and beings" ⁶⁵⁸). Warburton's lack of critical reserve fortunately did not impair his ability to appreciate individuality and imagination.

C. JOHN JORTIN.

Jortin's Milton notes are pre-eminently those of a classical scholar. He discusses problems of classical textual criticism which relate little to Milton ⁶⁵⁹). Classical parallels from obscure authors are not infrequent. P. L. I. 199 *n.* mentions in the space of a few lines Pomponius Mela, Nonnus, Pindar, Farnaby's commentary on Ovid, & *c.*, and in P. R. III. 47 *n.*, a note called by Newton immediately before "a learned collection out of the Heathen moralists", Jortin hurries through Plato, Tacitus, Seneca, Cicero, Epictete and Marcus Aurelius to give a survey of the ancient ideas of glory. English poets are seldom mentioned ⁶⁶⁰). His remarks make somewhat dull reading but his principles are less pedantic than his style. "Vulgar errors" and legends are admitted into verse because they "adorn the poems" ⁶⁶¹). Inconsistencies in Milton's early work which enhance the poetic effect, such as the tendency of this "most antipapistical" poet and his like to "canonize and then to invoke their friends as saints" ⁶⁶²) appeal to the critic. Some sensitive observation of nature appears in his explanation of Lyc. 142 ("the rathe primrose that forsaken dies", Lyc. 142 *n.*). He seems to have observed that the primrose, as an early flower, "continues till it is put out of countenance by those which are more beautiful, and so *dies forsaken* and neglected". This may not be correct — it is questioned by Thomas Warton ⁶⁶³) — but it is not the idea of a pedant.

Some of Jortin's emendations could, however, hardly be regarded as free from pedantry. P. R. I. 402 *n.* alters "each mans"

⁶⁵⁸) L'A. 6 *n.*

⁶⁵⁹) P. L. XI. 565 *n.*

⁶⁶⁰) Cf. P. L. II. 684, II P. 151 *n.*

⁶⁶¹) P. R. I. 456 *n.*

⁶⁶²) Lyc. 183 *n.*

⁶⁶³) Cf. his note to this passage.

into "each one's" mainly because the expression refers to Satan, who is not a "man". Jortin entirely forgets the anthropomorphism of human language, which uses in a metaphorical sense expressions that could scarcely be replaced by more definite words without adding a touch of academic dullness. The more concrete though less precise expression may heighten the vividness of the passage. Moreover, Satan appears, in this particular place, to be speaking not only of himself but also of men — the "companions of his misery" to whom the previous lines referred.

The weight of Jortin's critical remarks is hardly sufficient to justify Newton's assertion in his preface to the edition of "Paradise Lost" ⁶⁶⁴) that "every thing that proceeds from him is of value, whether in poetry, criticism or divinity", though his erudition seems to be solid enough and though certain indications of an unbiassed critical attitude may be discovered.

D. RICHARD MEADOWCOURT.

Meadowcourt whose "Critique on Milton's Paradise Regain'd" ⁶⁶⁵) was published, as has been said, in 1732 and 1748, has contributed only a few notes, which add little that is of any importance, though some of them show his considerable reading ⁶⁶⁶). His sense of actual facts and knowledge of local English traditions are shown to much advantage in his explanation of the probable allusion to St. Michael's in Lyc. 159 & c., but his feeling for poetical qualities is primitive. The above-mentioned pamphlet had already proved that his standpoint was perfectly in keeping with the spirit of the period, in a manner reminding one of the rationalist and classicist exaggerations of Bentley's commentary which was published in the same year. According to Meadowcourt, the object of poetry is instruction. In order to attract attention, as he thinks, instruction must be accompanied by pleasure, and for the purpose of achieving pleasure, the whole technique of poetry has been invented: "...the secondary Aim of Poets has

⁶⁶⁴) Vol. I. sig. a₄r.

⁶⁶⁵) Cf. above, introd. part of this chapter.

⁶⁶⁶) Cf. P. R. II. 313 n. on the names of *Thebes* and *Thebez*, and P. R. IV. 564 n.

always been to please, in order to instruct with greater Success. Hence have they invented Harmony in Sounds, and different Measures of Verse: From hence sprung Figures and Tropes, and all the Ornaments of Language: From hence the whole Art of Poetry derives its Birth" ⁶⁶⁷). The main value of "Paradise Regained" from the standpoint of this theory is naturally its didacticism and theoretical wisdom ("A Performance that abounds with such instructive Doctrines, and with Sentiments of Morality so just, so useful, and so refined, the World has not yet receiv'd" — *ibid.* p. 2). There is very little penetration in Meadowcourt's analysis of the characters of the poem. Satan is the typical cunning tempter and Christ's behaviour "becoming a Person of Divine Extraction" ⁶⁶⁸). Milton's "Similitudes and Allusions" as far as derived "from Romance and Fable" and "thereby mixing up suppos'd Realities with unacknowledg'd Fictions" are regarded as "disfiguring and deforming his Subject", "lessening what he should augment; and overlaying thick Shade where he ought to throw on the strongest Light" ⁶⁶⁹). The frankness and outspokenness of this artistic utilitarianism and classicism is that of a clergyman apparently more intent on professional sermonizing and instruction than on the study of literary subtleties.

E. CALTON.

Some learning and diligence do not make up for Calton's inability to do justice to the terseness of Milton's style. He finds it too complicated, and is puzzled by the poet's "unnatural conciseness" and "exceedingly elleiptical" [*sic*] language ⁶⁷⁰). This is not only a matter of taste. His attitude is evidently caused by his inability to understand Milton's method of expression. Calton seems to have been spoiled by the smooth and easy manner of his contemporaries. He is unable to follow Milton's less obvious but more substantial style. Certain passages, hardly very difficult, impress him as inexplicable. P. R. I. 19 *n.* evidently misinterprets

⁶⁶⁷) Cf. p. 1 of ed. 1732.

⁶⁶⁸) *Ibid.* p. 3.

⁶⁶⁹) Cf. p. 28.

⁶⁷⁰) P. R. II. 60 *n.*

the meaning of the passage: "Now had the great Proclaimer . . . cri'd Repentance, and Heavens Kingdom nigh at hand To all Baptiz'd". Calton relates "To all Baptiz'd" to both accusatives of the verb "cri'd", failing to note that it might possibly refer to the second only (= heaven's kingdom *which is* nigh at hand to all baptized). His interpretation involves the incongruity that the prophet attempted to convert those who, as a sign of their conversion, had already been baptized: "Whereas in the nature of things as well as in the Gospel history, his preaching must be, and was, preparatory to his baptism" ⁶⁷¹). All these difficulties disappear, if the comma after "repentance" is taken into consideration and "To all Baptiz'd" related only to the second accusative, as Newton proposes.

A similar difficulty is discussed in P. R. II. 419 *n*. The passage has no verb which might according to ordinary standards of language be supposed to govern the accusative "Multitude" in line 419 ("Or at thy heels the dizzy Multitude"). The construction is obviously elliptic. Calton does not acknowledge the Miltonic reading and boldly proposes an emendation, which normalizes the grammar but endangers the metre: "Or at thy heels to keep the dizzy multitude". He attempts to save the situation by pointing out the existence in Milton of hypercatalectic verses ⁶⁷²). His attitude is here rather liberal, for he acknowledges that "Milton's verses are not always to be measur'd by counting syllables on the fingers' ends". Newton's opinion is precisely the reverse: he is liberal as to the grammatical and conservative as to the metrical point, objecting to the hypercatalectic verse but accepting "the *dizzy multitude* as the accusative case after the verb *gain*, making favorable allowances for a little inaccuracy of expression".

The conventionalism of Calton's views on language and the inconsiderate boldness of his emendations remind one of Bentley's editorial practice.

⁶⁷¹) *Ibid.*

⁶⁷²) He refers to S. A. 655, 868 and P. L. IX. 249.

F. SYMPSON.

Sympson's notes, which are relatively few, evince a good deal of erudition but he shows a lack of insight, particularly in some of his emendations. P. R. II. 319 *n.* where he alters the text because he apparently does not study the context with sufficient care, is a typical example of his attitude. Newton in the same note points out his blunder. An equal lack of care and penetration appears in P. R. II. 177 *n.*

Sympson's views on Milton's verse, however, have their very definite merits. He does justice to the rich, varied metre of the songs of the chorus in "Samson Agonistes", comparing them with the tedious regularity of Ben Jonson's imitations of the classical chorus: "Old Ben's are of a poor similar regular contexture; our author's truly Grecian and noble, diversified with all the measures our language and poetry are capable of" . . . ⁶⁷³). It is true that he qualifies this praise by doubting if these metres could possibly be pronounced in the manner designed by Milton ⁶⁷⁴). Slight remarks on the stage pronunciation of Milton's verse — directions for asides — are found in Co. 756, 800 *nn.* The liberalism of Sympson's prosodical views seems to be due to his study of the Elizabethans ⁶⁷⁵).

G. NEWTON'S CRITICAL QUALIFICATION AND OPINIONS.

In Newton we find a typical erudite divine, a man of more culture and intelligence than originality. He is more skilful in adapting and summing up the opinions of others than in formulating any of his own and a very large part of his notes is a mere restatement of the substance of earlier remarks in a scholarly style. His erudition is as solid as his style and method. He is competent in the ordinary branches of academic learning, particularly in classical scholarship and Scriptural lore, and his knowledge of English literature is not contemptible although it bears few

⁶⁷³) S. A. 147 *n.*

⁶⁷⁴) *Ibid.*

⁶⁷⁵) Cf. above, introd. part of this chapter.

traces of the spirit of adventurous research which distinguished Peck and was to distinguish the Miltonic studies of Thomas Warton. Any comparison with the erudition of Warton would be out of place. While Newton is no more than a learned, cultured man with no mean intelligence, Warton is the very incarnation of eager, sensitive literary antiquarianism.

Shakespeare and Spenser are Newton's favourite authors, to judge from the frequency of his references to them, wherein he follows the model of his predecessors. One of his last notes on "Paradise Lost" dwells on his reasons for referring so often to Shakespeare. It considers Milton's admiration for him as well as the national pride in his works: "And throughout the course of our remarks we have been the more willing to explain and illustrate our author by similar expressions and sentiments in Shakespeare, not only because Milton was a great reader and admirer of his works, but also because we conceive Shakespear and Milton to be two of the most extraordinary geniuses and greatest poets, whom any country or any time has produced" ⁶⁷⁶). As a result, allusions to Shakespeare are probably more conspicuous than in any earlier Milton commentary, with the possible exception of that of Peck. The sonnets ⁶⁷⁷) and narrative poems ⁶⁷⁸) and some of the poems wrongly attributed at that time to Shakespeare ⁶⁷⁹) are mentioned and partly quoted ⁶⁸⁰). Spenser's "Faery Queen" is alluded to very frequently ⁶⁸¹) and now and then one finds references to the other poems ⁶⁸²).

Newton seldom mentions mediæval authors. He has references to the "Canterbury Tales" ⁶⁸³) as in most commentaries.

⁶⁷⁶) Cf. P. L. XII. 630 *n.*

⁶⁷⁷) Cf. Co. 695 *n.*

⁶⁷⁸) *E. g.* Venus and Adonis, cf. Co. 743 *n.*

⁶⁷⁹) Cf. L'A. 151 *n.* on the "two beautiful little pieces of Shakespeare, entitled The Passionate Shepherd to his Love, and the Nymph's Reply to the Shepherd".

⁶⁸⁰) Newton knew the two last-mentioned poems from Warburton's notes on the "Merry Wives of Windsor", as he himself observes.

⁶⁸¹) Cf. II P. 109 *n.*, Arc. 57 *n.*, N. O. 64 *n.*, & *c.* & *c.*

⁶⁸²) "The Shepherd's Calendar" Co. 542 *n.*, Lyc. 114 *n.*, "Epithalamion" P. L. V. 711 *n.*, "Muiopotmos" P. R. II. 401 *n.*, the "Hymn of Heavenly Love" P. L. I. 17 *n.* and the "Hymn of Heavenly Beauty" *ibid.*, "Colin Clout's Come Home Again" P. L. II. 489 *n.*, & *c.* & *c.*

⁶⁸³) Cf. P. R. II. 401 *n.*, II P. 7 *n.*, *id.* 109 *n.*, & *c.*

Geoffrey of Monmouth⁶⁸⁴) and "The Cuckoo and the Nightingale"⁶⁸⁵) are a greater surprise. On the whole, in his mentions of, and quotations from, earlier authors, Newton adds relatively little to the research of his predecessors. Sidney (his "Arcadia" is mentioned repeatedly, *e. g.*, together with the "Defence of Poetry", in P. R. II. 401 *n.*), as has been shown, was well-known even to Bentley. Ben Jonson⁶⁸⁶), Fairfax's Tasso⁶⁸⁷), Harrington's Ariost⁶⁸⁸), to enumerate the most conspicuous favourites of Newton among the authors not yet mentioned, were familiar to many of the earlier Milton students discussed in the present treatise. Beaumont and Fletcher⁶⁸⁹), but quite especially J. Fletcher's "The Faithful Shepherdess" (see particularly the notes to "Comus") should be added to the above. Their occurrence is even less striking than that of the rest, for one of the editors of their works, Sympson, contributed to Newton's notes and is called his friend in the preface to "Paradise Regained". Taken as a whole, Newton's knowledge of older authors is not contemptible but it hardly opens up any new paths. The editor evidently confined himself to the study of those writers who interested the larger circles of the literary public of that time.

Italian names, except those of Tasso and Ariost, are not frequent, though, judging from his quotations and comments upon them, Newton seems to have known Italian. Well-read informants sometimes supply him with curious and unexpected parallels, for example the "ingenious friend" who communicates with regard to P. L. IV. 750 *et seq.* "that this address to wedded love is borrow'd from one of Tasso's letters, *O dolce congiuntione* [sic!] *de'cuori, a* [sic!] *soave unione de gli animi nostri, o legitimo nodo, & c.*" Some of Newton's remarks on Italian poetry will be dealt with below.

The study of Milton's MSS. enables Newton to call attention to many corrupt readings (*cf.* particularly the notes on the sonnets). And besides purely literary studies, much miscellaneous

⁶⁸⁴) P. L. I. 575 *n.*

⁶⁸⁵) Son. I. 1 *n.*

⁶⁸⁶) Cf. L'A. 132 *n.*, P. R. II. 401 *n.*, P. L. V. 439 *n.*, & *c.*

⁶⁸⁷) Cf. P. L. I. 105 *n.*, II. 628 *n.*, & *c.* & *c.*

⁶⁸⁸) Cf. P. R. II. 6 *n.*, P. R. IV. 541 *n.*

⁶⁸⁹) Cf. *e. g.* P. R. II. 344 *n.*

delving into special works was needed, pre-eminently into geographical and historical publications, but to enumerate these would be valueless. Classical historians and geographers like Josephus⁶⁹⁰), Valerius Maximus⁶⁹¹), Polybius⁶⁹²), Livy⁶⁹³), Strabo⁶⁹⁴), & c. & c., are referred to or quoted at greath length. Modern works, such as Dr. Shaw's "physical observations on Arabia Petræa", as Newton calls it⁶⁹⁵), Tavernier's "Travels into Persia"⁶⁹⁶), & c., are consulted, particularly in the notes to the numerous geographical allusions in "Paradise Regained". Nevertheless, Newton's learning cannot be called exceptional. He has done respectable work, but even the undisciplined Peck's inquisitiveness seems to lead more frequently to interesting discoveries than the somewhat conventional scholarship of Newton.

His treatment of "Paradise Regained", "Samson Agonistes" and the Minor Poems is somewhat less thorough than that of "Paradise Lost", apparently because the preliminary work done by his predecessors was incomparably slighter in this case. In treating of Milton's minor productions, Newton was compelled to proceed more independently and thus to expose all the deficiencies of his method and erudition.

The academic conservatism and dogmatism of Newton's attitude appear rather clearly in his treatment of Milton's personal life and views. And since some of his remarks on these latter are very typical, they should be dealt with before the purely critical part of Newton's work. It is true that his careful, conscientious research is concerned more with the establishment of the actual facts of Milton's life and the explanation of the personal and topical allusions in his poetry than with tracing their influence on the author's art. Especially the edition of the Minor Poems where the personal element is so conspicuous, affords Newton ample opportunity of exploring Milton's personal history, though

⁶⁹⁰) P. R. II. 423 n.

⁶⁹¹) P. R. II. 199 n.

⁶⁹²) *Ibid.*

⁶⁹³) *Ibid.*

⁶⁹⁴) P. R. III. 253 n.

⁶⁹⁵) P. R. I. 340 n.

⁶⁹⁶) Cf. P. R. I. 323 n.

his work in this field cannot in any way be compared to that of Warton ⁶⁹⁷).

A considerable part of the notes falling under this personal category deal with Milton's religious views. In spite of some flashes of liberalism, they are typical of Newton's conservative outlook, and his fundamental opinions are stated very clearly, *e. g.* the view that "they are only would-be-wits, who do not believe and worship a God" ⁶⁹⁸). He even ventures the debatable statement that "The greatest geniuses in all ages from Homer to Milton appear plainly by their writing to have been men of piety and religion" ⁶⁹⁹). He accordingly takes great pains to prove that Milton was orthodox in the main points of religious doctrine and seems to be anxious to controvert the opinion that the poet may have adhered to Arianism. The passage: "Equal to God, and equally enjoying God-like fruition" ⁷⁰⁰) is used to emphasize that "This deserves notice as an instance of Milton's orthodoxy with relation to the divinity of God the Son". The same "truly orthodox" tendency appears in P. L. VII, 602 *n.* Yet Newton also finds features which, in his opinion, deserve censure. He opposes most resolutely the theory of the spiritualization of matter: "Our author should have considered things better, for by attributing his own false notions in philosophy to an Arch-Angel he has really lessen'd the character, which he intended to raise" ⁷⁰¹). The conclusion reached towards the end of this note apparently implies a reproach to Milton for thinking too logically and systematically in theological matters: "For Milton, as he was too much of a materialist in his philosophy, so was too much of a systematist in his divinity". Even such problems of theology as whether the angels did actually eat or no are seriously discussed by Newton, and decided in the affirmative ⁷⁰²).

This does not mean that the presence of strong evidence should not at times induce Newton to adopt more liberal views on certain matters, *e. g.* on the problem whether Milton regarded

⁶⁹⁷) Cf. below, chapter on Warton.

⁶⁹⁸) P. L. IX. 199 *n.*

⁶⁹⁹) *Ibid.*

⁷⁰⁰) P. L. III. 306—7.

⁷⁰¹) P. L. V. 478 *n.*

⁷⁰²) P. L. V. 435 *n.*

himself as inspired from above ⁷⁰³). Heylin seems to doubt how far the poet's invocation of the Holy Ghost to inspire him is admissible, trying to prove that the concept of "inspiration" ought to be interpreted in a larger sense ⁷⁰⁴). The biographical data collected by Newton led him to the conclusion that Milton understood it literally, which view is supported by similar invocations in earlier poetry.

Newton's general lack of enthusiasm appears in his observations on Milton's love of freedom, *e. g.* in P. L. XI. 798 *n.* (on the verse: "Shall with thir freedom lost all vertu loose"). There is here no trace of the exaggerated emotionalism of the Richardsons. One thinks, rather, of a somewhat narrow-minded, almost schoolmaster-like attitude: "Milton everywhere shows his love of liberty, and here he observes very rightly that the loss of liberty is soon follow'd by the loss of all virtue and religion. There are such sentiments in several parts of his prose works, as well as in Aristotle and other masters of politics" ⁷⁰⁵). This treatment of one of the main passions of Milton's life — the description of his frequent hot-headed battles for the cause of liberty as merely some "such sentiments in several parts of his prose-works" — is typical. The reserve and conservatism of this note appear in many of Newton's remarks, where the more radical features of the poet's art are described, though he sometimes succeeds in doing justice to the less orthodox characteristics of Milton.

He shares the exaggerated respect for the authority of classical antiquity so often found in Milton annotation — however, with the reservation that he (like many of his predecessors) regards Milton's genius as able to carry him even beyond the competition of the classics. Classical precedents suffice to justify peculiarities which in themselves seem to clash with Newton's literary principles. The ancients are the "best poets" whose authority has to be respected ⁷⁰⁶). The only arguments used in P. L. II. 965 *n.* to defend Milton's introduction of "shadowy" allegorical beings is that Virgil, Seneca, Claudian & *c.* did similar things and that Virgil's descriptions of them are pleasing. Hence

⁷⁰³) P. L. I. 17 *n.*

⁷⁰⁴) *Ibid.*

⁷⁰⁵) P. L. XI. 798 *n.*

⁷⁰⁶) P. L. IX. 462 *n.*

the conclusion that "it is impossible to be pleased with Virgil and to be displeased with Milton" ⁷⁰⁷). The reason *why* Virgil appeals to the reader does not interest the commentator, the particulars of the two cases are not examined by him at all. However, it must be remembered that Newton later on, towards the end of his edition of "Paradise Lost" ⁷⁰⁸), chances to deal with the problem once more, making up in some degree for his superficiality ⁷⁰⁹).

Things that are not found in the works of the ancients appear to be objectionable for this very reason, though Milton's greatness is sometimes deemed sufficient to justify his independence. Newton gives serious consideration to the condemnatory verdict passed by some critics on Milton's description of his own personal misfortune at the beginning of book IX of "Paradise Lost", for, as he says, "we find no such digression in the Iliad or Æneid; it is a liberty that can be taken only by such a genius as Milton" ⁷¹⁰). However, it is a sign of advance on the simple-minded recognition of classical authority by some of his predecessors that Newton tries to point out its reason, attributing it to the influence of traditional education: the classical associations become so familiar as to be made "such an essential part of poetry" that they can be hardly separated from it ⁷¹¹). This recognition of the fact that the value of a classical style depends on the influence of convention should be equivalent to recognizing the relativity of this style, though Newton generally forgets this.

But his study of the ancients produced more than the merely negative result of a prejudiced outlook. The examination of Vergil and probably also of others taught him that the value of poetry is not mainly in the novelty of its themes but even more in its manner of treating these. Classicists such as Pope may have led him to the same conclusion. Similes need not be new if they are poetic ⁷¹²). Milton's imitations are important literary achievements, so Newton analyses these, finding that Milton, the "universal scholar", who "took hints from the Moderns as well as the Ancients", "was a great genius, but a great genius form'd by

⁷⁰⁷) *Ibid.*

⁷⁰⁸) P. L. X. 230 *n.*

⁷⁰⁹) Cf. below.

⁷¹⁰) P. L. IX. 1 *n.*

⁷¹¹) P. L. XI. 8 *n.*

⁷¹²) P. L. V. 708 *n.*

reading; and as it was said of Virgil, he collected gold out of the dung of other authors" ⁷¹³). He was great enough to improve even on the greatest models, not merely on little-known writers such as Odoricus Valmarana to whom Newton supposes him to be indebted ⁷¹⁴). The idea is not new but Newton's treatment of it adds some interesting items to the observations of earlier writers. The greater subtlety of the analogies and allusions in Milton's recast of the Homeric and Virgilian descriptions of the heavenly scales of fate ⁷¹⁵) justifies Newton's inference that this is no "imitating servilely" the excellence of his models but rather the creation of a new original through the poet's "manner of varying and improving" them. Milton succeeds in assimilating the style of his original so entirely and so creatively that he surpasses his model. The description of the heavenly battle is found to be "very much in Homer's manner", but though Milton owes much to the ancient poet, he exceeds him: "Homer taught him to excel Homer" ⁷¹⁶). Newton's trained mind sees Milton's technical superiority to Homer, the deliberate, intelligent art substituted by him for some of Homer's rigid conventionalities. Homer's heralds often deliver their messages in literally the same expressions in which they receive them. Even "in the heat and hurry of battle" they repeat them word for word, "and sometimes a thing is repeated so often that it becomes almost tedious" ⁷¹⁷). Milton, on the contrary, borrows "all the beauty and simplicity of Homer, without any of his faults" ⁷¹⁸). Instead of a single speech, he repeats parts of various earlier speeches, which have their peculiar significance, for they emphasize matters important for the development of the poem, and the repeated words are originally the utterances of God himself whose expressions piety forbids to alter. (Cf. ll. 96—98 and 48 of the same book.)

There is very little emotionalism in Newton's attitude. Some of his analyses are keen, but Thyer's artistic sensibility is almost entirely absent. It is therefore not the emotional aspect of

⁷¹³) P. L. V. 689 n.

⁷¹⁴) *Ibid.*

⁷¹⁵) P. L. IV. 1003 n.

⁷¹⁶) P. L. VI. 239 n.

⁷¹⁷) P. L. XI. 261 n.

⁷¹⁸) *Ibid.*

Milton's works that attracts Newton most, though at least one of his notes deals with the sweeping effect of the "highth and fury" of the poet's descriptions ⁷¹⁹), which cause him to forget the rules. He takes a keener interest in purely intellectual and technical problems, sometimes becoming almost pedantic in the treatment of relatively unimportant details. Thus, he finds Virgil's and Milton's lists of warriors to fall short of "Homer's excellence and beauty", merely because they happen to mention the names of persons who take no part in the subsequent action ⁷²⁰). On the other hand, the accuracy lacking there is sometimes found by Newton in Milton's similes. He praises these as "very apposite" and corresponding "exactly in all the particulars" ⁷²¹).

Newton does not go so far in his demand for regularity as to deny to poetry the use of uncommon language, though it is not quite so certain what he thinks of uncommon matter ⁷²²): unusual, artificial imagery, such as the sophisticated "horses tails and sphinxes and dragons and other terrible animals on the helmets of the ancient heroes", or the Chimæra on the crest of Turnus ⁷²³), is found to be inferior to Milton's simpler personification of horror sitting plumed on Satan's crest ⁷²⁴). The classicist ideal of grand, impassioned simplicity appears to be more congenial to Newton than most artistic doctrines. The parallel to Bentley is obvious (cf. above). According to Newton, "Nothing in all the ancient tragedies is more moving and pathetic" than Adam's passionate desire to die after the fall ⁷²⁵). Milton's "great and masterly" manner is preferred to that of Ovid, for "the Roman poet has lessen'd the grandeur of his by puerile conceits and quaint antitheses" ⁷²⁶). However, the extremes of passion have to be avoided. The "folly and impiety of Eve", which might easily impress one as "extravagant and monstrous", appear to

⁷¹⁹) P. L. VI. 856 *n.*

⁷²⁰) P. L. I. 506 *n.*

⁷²¹) P. L. III. 431 *n.*

⁷²²) P. L. III. 555 *n.*: "poetry delights to say the most common things in an uncommon manner".

⁷²³) *Æn.* VII. 785.

⁷²⁴) P. L. IV. 989 *n.*

⁷²⁵) P. L. X. 859 *n.*

⁷²⁶) P. L. II. 898 *n.*

Newton to be bearable only in a diluted form ⁷²⁷). "Decorum" remains predominant: Homer's description of the conjugal love of Jupiter and Juno is indecent but Milton has been able to make a "moral lesson" out of an "impious fiction" ⁷²⁸). The general drift carries somewhat too obviously towards the standards of the more commonplace and conventional criticism of the period.

Certain prejudiced views Newton seems to have derived directly from Bentley. The preliminary mention of the infernal bridge in P. L. II. 1023 *et seq.* (which may be regarded as the careful preparation of an important point), is condemned as "wrong conduct and want of oeconomy for the whole poem" because it lessens the surprise in book X — an important additional argument being that "we cannot recollect a parallel instance in Homer or Virgil, or any authorised poet" ⁷²⁹). The first of the above quotations from this note echoes Bentley's own words and reflects this critic's unusual dislike of repetitions of any kind. Newton's sense of epic dignity is offended by the passage on the Limbo of Vanity which strikes him as "fitter for a mock-heroic poem than for the true epic" ⁷³⁰). The element of grim mockery which lends a certain imaginative breadth and sweep to the description escapes him altogether. He distinguishes far more strictly between the poetic categories than was the fashion of Milton's time. The mixed style, which is so characteristic of Milton's teachers, the Elizabethans, appears to be repugnant to Newton.

Unusual *events* are met with approval, if they are not of the most extreme kind. The kind appealing to Newton is apparently that described by him as both "natural and surprising" ⁷³¹). But only Newton's careful manner of expression distinguishes his condemnation of the romances of chivalry from the similar observations of Bentley ⁷³²). His regret of Milton's early fondness for romances goes so far as to make him express the desire that these "had better never been read" by the poet ⁷³³). This is far more

⁷²⁷) P. L. IX. 739 *n.*

⁷²⁸) P. L. IX. 1029 *n.*

⁷²⁹) P. L. II. 1023 *n.*

⁷³⁰) P. L. III. 459 *n.*

⁷³¹) P. L. IV. 359 *n.*

⁷³²) P. L. I. 575 *n.*, cf. also above, chapter on Bentley.

⁷³³) *Ibid.*

conservative than Thyer's attitude, but some resemblance to the statements of Thyer ⁷³⁴) is found in Newton's desire that poetry should be sensible, pleasurable and in conformity to the Bible, or, as he puts it, "agreeable to reason and revelation" and "pleasing to the imagination" ⁷³⁵). It is evident that real historical events correspond more exactly than fiction to the first of these requirements. Hence Newton's preference of some of the imitations of Homer in "Paradise Lost" to Homer himself, for the former are said to represent "real histories and matters of fact" ⁷³⁶).

Thus, poetry to Newton remains essentially a means of pleasure and instruction. It may not deviate too far into extravagances and should take into account all the demands of religious orthodoxy, refraining from fiction, except where classicist convention has made the latter an habitual ornament. The absence of emotionalism, the interest in technical problems, the insistence on perfection and elaboration instead of novelty, are typical features of classicism. The admission of certain chance irregularities shows only that the liberal tendencies discoverable in most of the previous commentators, who had nearly all been studied by Newton, had left their marks on his attitude.

This is not the best frame of mind to bring to a study of Milton's early poetry. It is true that Newton admired these poems, as he admired Handel's music to some of them. He is deeply impressed by these compositions: "That great artist [= Handel] has done... justice to our author's *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*, as if the same spirit possessed both masters, and as if the God of music and of verse was still one and the same" ⁷³⁷). The poems in the volume of 1695 receive high praise: "and if he had left no other monuments of his poetical genius behind him, these would have been sufficient to render his name immortal" ⁷³⁸).

Yet some of the main features of these poems now regarded

⁷³⁴) While discussing the rarity of descriptive passages in "Paradise Regained", Thyer, as has been shown, finds that an epic poem "ought to consist of a proper and happy mixture of the instructive and the delightful" — P. R. II. 1 n. — but he obviously lays stress on the latter element which is by no means opposed to the character of romance.

⁷³⁵) P. L. IV. 671 n.

⁷³⁶) P. L. XI. 660 n.

⁷³⁷) Vol. I, p. LXII; ed. 1750 of P. L.

⁷³⁸) Cf. p. XXVI, opus cit.

as valuable are depreciated by him. Their whimsical manner which Milton drew from the Elizabethans strikes him as mere youthful fermentation. He quotes and translates Cicero's approval of this quality as the foreboding of a rich maturity (*De Orat.*): "...in a young genius there should always be something to lop and prune away" — but it ought not to be forgotten that this may have been partly due to Newton's usual tendency to quote widely, sometimes with only a very loose application to the text, the more so as this is a classical quotation, a device common in academic disquisitions⁷³⁹). In some other, apparently more independent, notes, Milton's use of figurative language is treated more superciliously. In *Co.* 732 *n.* it is called "exceeding childish". "The Cynosure of neighbouring eyes" is regarded as "an affected expression"⁷⁴⁰). The somewhat contemptuous description of the heavy humour of the poems on the university carrier as "that sort of wit, which was then in request at Cambridge"⁷⁴¹) is certainly more justified.

The imagery of the "fanciful Italians", "allegorical poets or painters"⁷⁴²), meets with little sympathy, though the disciplined style of the Italian sonnet appeals to Newton. Petrarca is praised "for the tenderness and delicacy of his passion, as well as for the beauty and elegance of his sentiments and language"⁷⁴³), but the more masculine virtues of some of Milton's own sonnets are not overlooked, either: a bold and heroic couplet in the sonnet to Cromwell is extolled as "two glorious lines"⁷⁴⁴). The more capricious masculinity of grotesque Elizabethan realism (the Trinity MS. reading of *Co.* 608: "and cleave his scalpe downe to the hips"), which is abundantly illustrated by Newton himself from the plays of Ben Jonson and Shakespeare, is nevertheless condemned. The authority of Shakespeare does not seem to weigh with him so much as that of the "authoriz'd" classical writers.

This is seen in his comparison of Milton's and Shakespeare's fairy-scenes. Warburton's knowledge and appreciation of Shakespeare enabled him to relish the ease of his romances,

⁷³⁹) *Co.* 557 *n.*

⁷⁴⁰) *L'A.* 80 *n.*

⁷⁴¹) *U. C.* I and II, note.

⁷⁴²) *Il P.* 52 *n.*

⁷⁴³) *Son.* I *n.*

⁷⁴⁴) *Sonnet to Cromwell*, 5 *n.*

preferring Milton's imitations of them to his independent writing⁷⁴⁵). Newton arrives at exactly the opposite conclusion as to the respective merits of the two authors. Milton's guardian-spirit in "Comus" is considered superior to Shakespeare's Ariel, much stress being laid on the fact that the poet "was well acquainted with the Platonic notions of Spirits or Demons"⁷⁴⁶). Here, Milton's learned apparatus seems to incline the scales in his favour.

Newton quite naturally regards "Paradise Lost" as the crowning achievement of Milton's poetry. It is "the flower of epic poetry, and the noblest effort of genius"⁷⁴⁷), though the other poems "are no less excellent in their kind", and, if not equally sublime, "are at least equally beautiful and pleasing to the imagination"⁷⁴⁸). "Paradise Regained" is described as more even in execution, "more argumentative" and perhaps also "superior in sentiment" but distinctly inferior as regards imaginative qualities⁷⁴⁹), though Milton's skill in adorning the barrenness of the subject is acknowledged⁷⁵⁰). If Thyer found that Milton attained to his former perfection wherever the subject admitted of it⁷⁵¹), Newton assumes that he even tried to avoid any chance of comparison with his former work, being too conscious of the inferiority of his second epic⁷⁵²). Thyer was in love with the rich imagery of some passages in "Paradise Regained" whereas Newton takes little notice of it. This appears to be typical of the fundamental difference between the two.

It seems to be true that the very plan of the epic encouraged an argumentative style and that a superabundance of descriptive matter might have obscured the main design of the poem. A strict refraining from poetical embroidery was suited to the theorizing matter — though a number of passages show, as Thyer no doubt very rightly pointed out, that Milton could take up his old style when he thought fit.

⁷⁴⁵) Cf. above.

⁷⁴⁶) Co. 1 *n.*

⁷⁴⁷) Preface to P. R., sig. A₂r, ed. 1752.

⁷⁴⁸) *Ibid.*

⁷⁴⁹) Life, p. XLIII, ed. 1749.

⁷⁵⁰) P. R. II. 6 *n.*

⁷⁵¹) Cf. above.

⁷⁵²) P. R. I. 44, 500 *nn.*

The less ornate, abstract style which predominates leads to the creation of a generalized type of imagery — agreeing with Newton's somewhat devitalized though not unscholarly taste. Newton describes a particular kind of it, referring to Milton's manner of combining the features of various individuals: "as Apelles from the different beauties of several nymphs of Greece drew his portrait of Venus, the Goddess of beauty" ⁷⁵³). This device, reminiscent of Peck's ideal of "compound beauty" ⁷⁵⁴), is, in accordance with Newton's academic taste, regarded as "the best method that can be taken of describing general characters".

Newton's classical trend appears in his interest in literary classification. He attempts a definition of the poetic category to which "Paradise Regained" belongs ⁷⁵⁵), though he does not sufficiently examine how far Milton's views on this question influenced the actual plan and execution of the work. This formal method of approach is justified up to a point, for Milton himself speaks of the various classes of epic poems in his "Reason of Church Government" ⁷⁵⁶), distinguishing between a larger, classical, and a somewhat briefer, didactic type of epic. Newton points to the resemblance of the work to the book of Job, which Milton mentions as an instance of the less traditional variety. Both works are found to have in common the subject ("a good man triumphing over temptation"), the dialogue form and the moralizing, reflecting character. Hence, "Paradise Regained" is regarded as a specimen of the latter species. This idea is already found in Peck, but Newton, in his usual manner, elaborates the parallel.

In the notes to "Samson Agonistes" his method of almost purely formal criticism is modified in certain cases. The work impresses him very strongly ⁷⁵⁷) but not for its academic perfections. He dwells repeatedly on its sincerity, on the genuine feeling caused by the fact that Milton here partly describes his own old age. The close resemblance between the subject of the play and Milton's situation after the restoration was noticed by

⁷⁵³) P. R. III. 71 *n.*

⁷⁵⁴) Cf. above, chapter on Peck.

⁷⁵⁵) P. R. IV. 624 *n.*

⁷⁵⁶) See the introd. to the second book, cf. our chapter on Peck.

⁷⁵⁷) Cf. S. A. 3 *n.*

others, *e. g.* by Peck, but Newton's analysis of its connection with the artistic character of the work reveals new prospects. He regrets ⁷⁵⁸) that Milton by philosophizing overmuch impairs the impressiveness of Samson's complaint on his blindness, and finds it inferior to the very similar complaint in the beginning of "Paradise Lost", as only in the latter the poet speaks in his own person and gives direct expression to his feelings. Nevertheless, Milton in other parts of the play is found to describe "what he thought in some of his melancholy hours" ⁷⁵⁹), writing so well because he does it "from his own feeling and experience", so that "the very flow of the verses is melancholy and excellently adapted to the subject" ⁷⁶⁰). It seems as if the powerful impression produced on Newton by the work had at least temporarily changed his literary ideals, so that intense, genuine personal feeling supersedes the formalism of his usual doctrines.

That the "academic" aspects of the tragedy are not forgotten, is, in the present case, more than natural, considering the importance attributed by Milton himself to the similarities between his own work and the drama of classical antiquity. Newton refers to Horace's "Ars poetica" in order to define the rôle of the chorus ⁷⁶¹). He compares the idea of making the characters take for prophecies the unwitting words of others with similar features in the ancients ⁷⁶²). Important questions of dramatic structure are discussed, *e. g.* the gradual revelation of the action (the persons serving to reveal it being scarcely conscious of the matter — a good observation on the connection between the behaviour of the *dramatis personae* and the development of the plot), as well as the device of leading the expectation of a happy solution to its climax immediately before the catastrophe takes place. Here again Newton finds much opportunity for exerting his purely logical, intellectual faculties. His usual overvaluation of the ancients seems to have disappeared. Though he acknowledges that the play is written "in the very spirit" of the classical drama, he regards it no more than "Paradise Lost" as a mere imitation: in his opinion it "equals, if not exceeds, any of the most

⁷⁵⁸) S. A. 90 n.

⁷⁵⁹) S. A. 594 n.

⁷⁶⁰) *Ibid.*

⁷⁶¹) S. A. 210 n.

⁷⁶²) S. A. 472 n.

perfect tragedies, which were ever exhibited on the Athenian stage when Greece was in its glory" ⁷⁶³), the only argument in favour of the Greek tragedy being that it is two thousand years older ⁷⁶⁴). But more significant than his recognition of the literary perfection of the work, in which he is certainly not alone, is the importance here attributed to the intensely personal, emotional elements of Milton's art.

H. NEWTON'S OBSERVATIONS ON MILTON'S STYLE AND LANGUAGE.

Newton's treatment of Milton's style seems to depend in some degree on Pearce. Pearce's close connection with the enterprise, and particularly his revision of the notes, may have influenced this aspect of them. The cautious method, the accurate documentation, the unemotional manner of expression all remind one of Pearce, though Newton is less acute and adds less material to the stock accumulated by editors earlier than Pearce, besides accepting the conventions of his own time much more readily than the latter.

His adherence to the accepted standards appears in his handling of Milton's spellings. They are usually normalized though many of the original forms are retained, in accordance with the preface ⁷⁶⁵). His conventional attitude at times apparently causes him to neglect the phonetic value of Milton's orthography in favour of the usual norms or, which is typical of his learned tendencies, in favour of the etymological forms. On the other hand, certain unusual spellings which seem to be of a purely spectacular interest, are kept intact. These matters are interesting, as Newton's notes show that he regarded them as of considerable importance. The alteration of "voutsafe" into "vouchsafe" in P. L. II. 332 illustrates his occasional disregard of the phonetic aspect. Though he admits that Milton's form "is rather of a softer sound", the other spelling is preferred as being "more agreeable to the etymology of the word". The same

⁷⁶³) Life, p. LXII.

⁷⁶⁴) S. A. 3 n.

⁷⁶⁵) Cf. above.

tendency is conspicuous in his substitution of the harsh form "perfect" for Milton's "perfet" ⁷⁶⁶), which is to a considerable extent due to Newton's classical prejudices. He somewhat contemptuously rejects the form borrowed from the derivative modern languages (he mentions the French "parfait" and the Italian "perfetto"), following the principle that "in general it is better surely to derive our language from the original Latin than to make it only the copy of a copy" ⁷⁶⁷). This is done despite his conviction that "there are several such words that want mollifying in our language" ⁷⁶⁸).

The occasional care of Newton in questions of the language of older English poetry is probably best seen in his treatment of Milton's old accents, particularly of those of classical origin. His other linguistic remarks are less interesting, as a rule, but in this department he takes care to study the usage of the Elizabethans, especially of Spenser and Fairfax. He has evidently made good use of the verbal index added to his edition of "Paradise Lost", *e. g.* in his study of the stress of "blasphemous". He shows from P. L. V. 809 and VI. 360 that Milton apparently accentuated the second syllable of the word ⁷⁶⁹). The only further example in Milton's poetry (in P. R. IV. 181) is not mentioned, probably because there was no exact index to the other works. The form is illustrated from Spenser. Similar observations ⁷⁷⁰) are found repeatedly.

⁷⁶⁶) P. L. V. 399 — *cf.* Peck's chapter on style, § 3, on the problem of the "softening" of words.

⁷⁶⁷) The following list of not quite common Miltonic spellings retained by Newton in book I of "Paradise Lost", which for various reasons appear to be of interest, might help to realize the intentions of the editor: "adventurous" l. 13, "rhime" l. 16, "center" l. 74, "beest" l. 84, "skaly" l. 206, "Farewel" l. 249, "watry" l. 397, "fertil" l. 468, "swage" l. 556, "dazling" l. 564, "Sluc'd" l. 702, "jocond" l. 787. Some of these may have been left in the text accidentally, but the above-mentioned remark in Newton's preface makes it likely that the retention of at least part of them was deliberate. Such forms as "skaly", "swage", "beest" may have attracted Newton by their picturesqueness, as it is not quite clear what peculiar phonetic meaning he may have ascribed to them.

⁷⁶⁸) P. L. III. 627 *n.*

⁷⁶⁹) P. L. V. 809 *n.*

⁷⁷⁰) On "future" P. L. X. 840 *n.*, "Proserpin" *ib.* IV. 268 *n.*, "surface" *ib.* VI. 472 *n.*, "prostrate" *ib.* VI. 841 *n.*

Newton's objection to what is unusual, and consequently to most things peculiar to his author, except in so far as the taste of the eighteenth century had accepted them, appears in his notes on the poet's manner of expression. Milton's borrowings from the style of the romances of chivalry are treated with the same dislike as his early enthusiasm for them⁷⁷¹). "Soldan" instead of "Sultan", "Panim" instead of "Pagan", "Rhene" and "Danaw" instead of "Rhine" and "Danube" — all of them forms occurring in romantic poetry, as Newton probably knew, for at least "Soldan" and "Panim" are shown by him to be found in Spenser — are met with disapproval⁷⁷²). He seems to ignore the archaic atmosphere apparently aimed at in these and other expressions⁷⁷³). Uncommonness of style is attacked by him, in the spirit of Bentley. The use of uncommon words, "when the common ones would suit the measure as well", is found to be mere affectation⁷⁷⁴). Milton's supposed belief that this "added to the dignity of his language" is received sarcastically. Newton finds no affectation in other expressions equally uncommon but taken from the sphere of classical antiquity. He must have felt the pleasing associations of classical words more keenly than those of a romantic vocabulary, exactly as he understood the atmosphere of classical mythology better than that of the fictions of romance⁷⁷⁵). "Friz'd hair implicit"⁷⁷⁶) finds his approval. Here he even decides that the unusual words improve the style: "The subject is low, and therefore he [= Milton] is forc'd to raise the expression" (*ibid.*) — this in spite of a certain artificiality and preciousness in the metaphor. The probable classical origin of the phrase seems to impress him here, for he explains it himself as alluding to the ancient sense of "coma" [here = "leaves, twigs and branches"]. Again another device of style imparting to the language a certain "cast of antiquity" due to classical and biblical associations, is praised in P. L. IV. 660 *n.*

Newton's conservatism does not go so far as to deny to Milton

⁷⁷¹) Cf. above.

⁷⁷²) P. L. I. 764 *n.*

⁷⁷³) Cf. the references to Aspramont, Montalban, & c. in I. 583 *et seq.*

⁷⁷⁴) P. L. I. 764 *n.*

⁷⁷⁵) Cf. above.

⁷⁷⁶) P. L. VII. 323 *n.*

the right of coining new words. "Hosting" ⁷⁷⁷) is found to be a "very expressive word" the coinage of which is justified because "the occasion is so new and extraordinary". It has, however, to be taken into account that Newton's opinion may not be independent, for Pearce had already defended this expression, vindicating the poet's right of verbal invention.

Peck appears to have been Newton's model in his treatment of Milton's use of one part of speech in the sense of another. Both the approach to the problem and its illustration resemble those in Peck's book, as particularly P. L. IX. 227 *n.* shows, where nearly every detail seems to have been taken from Peck's remarks ⁷⁷⁸) although Newton's method is rather more analytical ⁷⁷⁹).

Milton's word-order, which had been dealt with repeatedly ⁷⁸⁰), is discussed in some of the more characteristic remarks of Newton. It is natural that the perfectly "regular" device of Milton's symmetrical arrangements of words does not fail to appeal to Newton ⁷⁸¹). The emphatic effect produced by the position of identical, synonymous or contrasted expressions first at the beginning and then at the end of a syntactic unit is pointed out by him ⁷⁸²). A case of similar though even more rigid symmetry is found in P. L. II. 559, where the addition of epithets to the repeated nouns varies and deepens the impression. Newton's interpretation of this device is largely borrowed from Richardson ⁷⁸³) who, like Newton, mentions the analogy of the "mazes" of the mind described there to the "Wandering Maze" of the word-order. Newton here uses his habitual method of elaborating the suggestions of earlier critics. He adds some observations on the technical aspect of the matter, indicating that the peculiar effect is caused by the "turn of the words", *i. e.* by their inver-

⁷⁷⁷) P. L. VI. 93 *n.*

⁷⁷⁸) Cf. Peck, chapter on style.

⁷⁷⁹) Cf. also P. L. IX. 169 *n.*

⁷⁸⁰) Cf. above, and see Peck's section on this problem in his chapter on Milton's style.

⁷⁸¹) Cf. P. L. II. 737, X. 572 *nn.*

⁷⁸²) Cf. P. L. X. 570 *n.* — here the contrast between: "so oft they fell" — "once lapst".

⁷⁸³) P. L. II. 558 *n.*

sion, and showing the strengthening of the nouns by means of characteristic adjectives ⁷⁸⁴).

Despite the endeavours of his predecessors to do justice to Milton's elliptic style, Newton still feels uncertain as to some cases of it. An interesting example is P. L. III. 49 *n.* Lines 46—50 ⁷⁸⁵) apparently constitute a number of parallel participial clauses subordinated to the pronoun "me" ⁷⁸⁶) and an absolute sentence which is co-ordinated with these clauses, though not very clearly, and though it does not formally depend on the pronoun. Verity describes it as "an absolute construction, added rather loosely as a sort of climax to the whole sentence" ⁷⁸⁷), quoting several convincing examples of similar carelessly connected absolute participial constructions ⁷⁸⁸).

Pearce, who had his special reasons, (he evidently disliked, as did Bentley, the inaccuracy of the expression "A universal blank of Nature's works"), proposed to alter "Of Nature's" into "All Nature's". Newton likes the emendation, but for considerations of his own. He is puzzled by the absence of a link to connect the last part of the period with what precedes: "... it is not easy to say what the conjunction *And* copulates *wisdom* to". It appears that the possibility of bold omissions of conjunctions like those exemplified by Verity does not even occur to him. There have also been other explanations. Todd ⁷⁸⁹) recommends to regard

⁷⁸⁴) Another feature of Milton's word-order, which was also dealt with by Peck (chapter on style § XXV), *viz.* the position of a verb between two accusatives governed by it, is discussed by a "great man" who remains anonymous (P. L. VI. 713 *n.*). He proposes an emendation restoring the ordinary syntax, without respecting Milton's individual style, though this latter seems particularly suitable here, if only for the retardation of the otherwise possibly too colloquial flow of the passage. Newton quotes his opinion without the least sign of disagreement.

⁷⁸⁵)

..... ever-during dark
Surrounds me, from the chearful waies of men
Cut off, and for the Book of knowledg fair
Presented with a Universal blanc
Of Natures works to mee expung'd and ras'd,
And wisdome at one entrance quite shut out.

⁷⁸⁶) l. 46.

⁷⁸⁷) Ed. of P. L., III. 50 *n.*

⁷⁸⁸) From Lyc. 128, 129, and the "Animadversions".

⁷⁸⁹) P. L. III. 48 *n.*

"wisdom as the genetive case; of nature's works, and of wisdom & c." but he adds no parallels to support his conjecture. Yet even according to this interpretation the construction would remain elliptic. Newton apparently regarded the matter too much from the point of view of the everyday language of his time in which the use of ellipses had become less general.

The same lack of historical perspective is shown by his explanation of the unusual accusative in "muttering thunder" ⁷⁹⁰). Newton describes it as an "ablative case absolute", though in this case the verb ought to follow the noun. Dunster proposes the more natural solution that thunder is an accusative, which is confirmed by the parallel cited by Todd from Co. 804: . . . "the wrath of *Jove* Speaks thunder" ⁷⁹¹).

It would be unfair to assert that the majority of Newton's remarks contain only negative features like the above. A considerable number of notes help to throw light on points of style. Even the emotional background of certain syntactical irregularities is taken into account, as in P. L. X. 758 *n.* where the changes of the grammatical person in Adam's soliloquy are described. The "change of passions" and the "change of persons" seem indeed to go hand in hand, as Newton maintains. Adam partly talks of himself in the ordinary manner, using the first person, and partly addresses himself in the second person, whenever he becomes particularly emotional or rhetorical ⁷⁹²).

A structural device evidently designed to keep a long and involved sentence clear is described in P. L. VI. 472 *n.* The nominative "which of us" ⁷⁹³) is so wide apart from the verb belonging to it that a new nominative ("whose eye", l. 476) has to be thrown in.

Emotional influences on the structure of sentences are taken into consideration where the breaking, splitting influence of haste is described. This had been done by others ⁷⁹⁴) but Newton traces this feature with particular attention. The "hurry of the Angels" is supposed to have caused the "short periods, without any partic-

⁷⁹⁰) P. L. IX. 1002 *n.*

⁷⁹¹) Cf. Todd's note on the same passage.

⁷⁹²) Cf. Verity P. L. X. 758: "*thou didst*, addressing himself, not his Maker, as in 743—55. The abrupt transitions show his emotion."

⁷⁹³) VI. 472.

⁷⁹⁴) Cf. above, on Bentley.

les to connect them" in P. L. VI. 507 *et seq.* ⁷⁹⁵). Similar cases of *asyndeta* were already taken notice of by Bentley ⁷⁹⁶). A short sentence following a long period appears to denote a similar mood in P. L. IV. 560. Newton finds "This abruptness . . . very elegant and proper to express the haste that he [= Uriel] was in" ⁷⁹⁷). The "broken" style of P. L. IX. 1162 ⁷⁹⁸) is explained in a very similar manner: "As Adam is now first angry, his speech is abrupt and his sentences broken". The lack of a link to connect P. L. V. 211 ("On to thir mornings rural work" . . .) with the preceding lines displeases both Bentley and Pearce. They try to emend it resp. to explain it away. Even Pearce would prefer a smoother construction. Newton accepts the irregularity, finding a sufficient explanation in the impression of haste it produces, though at the same time he tentatively proposes an "easy alteration".

The opposite tendency, that of retardation, of producing the effect of slowness, is discussed in a note dealing with a special device of Milton, which, it is true, falls beyond the scope of syntax. Milton in depicting Vulcan's fall in P. L. I. 742 *et seq.* dwells carefully on the various moments of the fall, apparently in order to make its duration more intensely felt. Here the effect of *concrete details* is well traced, with a penetration which strikes one sometimes though not frequently in Newton's notes on matters requiring no very deep psychological insight.

In the above, only a selection was given of Newton's more typical remarks on technical problems of style. They should suffice to give some idea of his methods of observation and analysis. His classical propensities, his respect for the authority of the Bible, appear here as almost everywhere else. His deficient understanding of some of the fundamental peculiarities of Milton often prevents his conscientious research from attaining to considerable results. "Regular" features suit him better than irregularities, as, for example, his treatment of Milton's word-order shows. His study of the psychological agents influencing Milton's syntax does not go very far, but even here some details

⁷⁹⁵) P. L. VI. 507 *n.*

⁷⁹⁶) Cf. above, on Bentley, as before.

⁷⁹⁷) P. L. IV. 560 *n.*

⁷⁹⁸) Cf. *n. ibid.*

are shown quite successfully, as the preceding pages may have proved.

Beside Newton's own notes, there are scattered all over his commentary a number of observations by unknown contributors, in which there is more insight and skill of illustration than in his own remarks. His preface to the edition of "Paradise Lost" ⁷⁹⁹) mentions the receipt of some contributions by people who wished to remain anonymous or were unknown to him. In the passage on the Paradise of Fools ⁸⁰⁰) the apparently defective phrase "many more too long", which seems to lack a verb and a connecting-link with the next verse, leads Pearce to the conjecture that a line must have been omitted. According to Newton's note, a "very ingenious person" supposes this to be a mere "appearance of inaccuracy and negligence" designed "to express his [= Milton's] contempt of their *trumpery* as he calls it, by hustling it all together in this disorder and confusion". The supposition, whether right or wrong, takes into account the general mood of the passage. That Pearce's conjecture does not correspond with the facts, is definitely proved by a reference to P. R. II. 188—9 where exactly the same phrase is found, being divided between two lines, so as to make any insertion impossible.

A remarkable figure, a typical "irregularity", is described and excellently illustrated in another anonymous note ⁸⁰¹). The contributor (called by Newton "a very learned and ingenious friend") accepts as genuine and intentional the apparently incongruous device of first treating of the part of some larger unit and then unexpectedly continuing as if not the part but the whole was meant ["'th' Eternal eye... saw Rebellion rising... And smiling to his only Son thus said"]. That this is not only a chance whim or casual slip but quite probably a device common to the period of Milton or of his immediate predecessors is indicated by some quotations from Spenser's "Epithalamion". Spenser describes "Her long loose yellow locks" which "Do like a golden mantle her attire", but at the same time "being crowned with a garland green, *Seem* like some maiden queen", and similarly "Her modest eyes" that "blush to hear her praises sung so loud,

⁷⁹⁹) Ed. 1749, sig. a₄v.

⁸⁰⁰) P. L. III. 473.

⁸⁰¹) P. L. V. 711 n.

So far from being proud". Here one and the same device occurs twice in the same stanza and therefore could hardly be attributed to a mere accident. The historical method used here makes it more than probable that the same is true of the Miltonic passage.

J. NEWTON ON MILTON'S CHARACTERS.

It sometimes happens that Newton feels attracted by the extreme, violent features of Milton's characters. He is evidently impressed by the "truly diabolical sentiment", as he called it, of Satan's menaces of revenge: „So he can but be any ways reveng'd, he does not value tho' his revenge recoil on himself" ⁸⁰²). But such cases of involuntary admiration for grandeur as such, no matter whether it takes a form which is traditionally good or evil, are exceptional. Newton's general moderation agrees better with the Aristotelian doctrine used by him to justify the poet's sympathetic treatment of Satan: "...herein he has follow'd the rule of Aristotle in his Poetics, chapter 15, that the manner should be as good as the nature of the subject will possibly admit. A Devil all made up of wickedness would be too shocking to any reader or writer" ⁸⁰³). It is apparently this "shocking" quality which most of all deters Newton. He prefers gentler features. It is instructive to compare his interpretation of Adam's question to Raphael in P. L. V. 467 with Dunster's explanation in Todd's edition of Milton. Adam's "wary speech" describes the angel's condescension to eat earthly food, as if it were equal to the repasts of Heaven. He concludes by exclaiming: "yet what compare?". Newton interprets this as an indirect, respectful expression of his desire to know whether there could be any comparison between those two kinds of repasts, whereas Dunster regards it as "the exclamation of admiration at the superior joys of Heaven, as suggested by the superior nature, the 'radiant form and divine effulgence', of his heavenly visitor". Both interpretations seem plausible but Newton's insistence on Adam's modesty and reserve is typical.

⁸⁰²) P. L. IX. 173 *n.*

⁸⁰³) P. L. II. 483 *n.*

It is no exceptional feature if Milton makes his characters express his own personal opinions instead of conforming to the rules of verisimilitude. Newton notices the inconsistencies in Milton's representation of Adam. He condemns Adam's anachronistic utterances, the notions of a "Peripatetick" expressed in his despairing soliloquy after the fall⁸⁰⁴) as well as the "trifles, quirks, jingles, and other such prettinesses" incompatible with his character. His inference is that this is a blunder on the poet's part: "Aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus". It is true that his note follows Bentley's corresponding remark very closely but he apparently assimilates the latter's opinions so as actually to make them his own. Nevertheless, he is surprised sixty lines later⁸⁰⁵) at Adam's statement that contradictions are impossible in God, as they are arguments "Of weakness, not of Power". Instead of regarding this introduction of complicated philosophy as one of the usual inconsistencies of Milton, he speculates as to where Adam might have heard this scholastic doctrine, as if he were a real being, not the creation of a poet. He draws the inference that he must have learned it from the angels: "we must suppose that it was *held* likewise by the Angels, of whom he might have learned it in discourse". One might regard this as irony, did not Newton elsewhere in all earnest discuss the question whether the angels use food or not, arriving at an affirmative conclusion⁸⁰⁶). He apparently deals with the whole matter as if it were real, instead of regarding the anachronism of Adam's scholastic mode of thought as an instance of Homer nodding.

At times Newton shows greater ability to understand the relativity of all characterization, insisting less on the necessity of verisimilitude and taking into account the general character of the work. It has already been shown that the only excuse he found in P. L. II. 965 *n.* for Milton's introduction of the improbable allegorical figures of Sin and Death was the occurrence of similar characters in ancient poetry. In a later note Newton points out that nearly all the events take place in the invisible world, and that "such fictitious beings may better have a place there", as the actions of Sin and Death are "at least as probable as those ascribed

⁸⁰⁴) P. L. X. 740 *n.*

⁸⁰⁵) P. L. X. 800 *n.*

⁸⁰⁶) Cf. P. L. V. 435 *n.* and above.

to the good or evil Angels" ⁸⁰⁷). This unusual concession to the imagination is, however, supported by the authority of the Bible, in accordance with Newton's habit of taking recourse either to the Scriptures or the classics: "...the characters of Sin and Death are perfectly agreeable to the hints and sketches, which are given of them in Scripture" ⁸⁰⁸). The view that fiction as such is justified in itself, apart from any accepted literary models, seems to be foreign to Newton.

However, even the authority of the Bible is insufficient to reconcile Newton to some of the cruder expressions used by Milton's God, which have approximate parallels in Scripture. In P. L. X. 616 *n.* he finds the metaphors in the speech of God to his heavenly audience "wonderfully coarse indeed" and "beneath the dignity of an epic poem" as well as "unbecoming the majesty of the divine Speaker". There is naturally less objection to these offences against the "grand style" where they occur in the speeches of the infernal angels. The much-censured puns in book VI of "Paradise Lost" are excused where they happen to be made by Belial, whereas this "sportive manner" is found to agree very little with the temper of some of the less depraved fallen spirits (such as Beelzebub or Moloch, cf. P. L. VI. 620 *n.*). Dunster afterwards points out (*ibid.*, ed. Todd) that not only Belial but even Satan, that more heroic spirit, uses this style. Newton, though he does not defend Satan's behaviour ⁸⁰⁹), quotes without any objection Thyer's remark on the appropriateness of this manner to the rebellious angels: "such kind of insulting wit being most peculiar to proud contemptuous Spirits" ⁸¹⁰). He apparently agrees with this observation, but it is typical that the actual formulation of this freer attitude is by Thyer.

Sometimes Newton goes deep into a situation, calculating minutely the gestures and even the metre used to express the moods of Milton's characters. His keen sense of concrete details, which has to make up for his lack of Thyer's sensitiveness to shifting, complicated frames of mind, is his greatest help here, *e. g.* in a note objecting to Bentley's alteration of P. L. VI. 189

⁸⁰⁷) P. L. X. 230 *n.*

⁸⁰⁸) *Ibid.*

⁸⁰⁹) Cf. P. L. VI. 568 *n.*

⁸¹⁰) *Ibid.*

("So saying, a noble stroke he lifted high"> "So said" . . . & c.). Milton's very dramatic reading which in one moment comprizes two actions — those of speaking and striking — appeals more to Newton than "Dr. Bentley's reading *So said*, as if he had not aim'd his blow, till after he had spoken" ⁸¹¹). The intensesness of the situation is traced also in the metre. "Saying" adds a vibration to the line, expressing the agitation of the speaker, or, as Newton puts it, "*Saying* is here contracted into one syllable, or is to be pronounc'd as two short ones, which very well expresses the eagerness of the angel".

Yet these excursions into independent observation are far less conspicuous than Newton's ordinary commonplace accentuation of decorum and conventional beauty. Eve's modest behaviour, her retirement from the abstruse conversations of Adam and the angel, are in conformity to his ideals ⁸¹²), though he is not unconscious of the greater classicist principle of dignity and grandeur, for in the same note he dwells on the combination of "majesty and grace" with the "lowliness" of Eve's deport. Nevertheless, this remains a somewhat homely ideal compared with Satan's superhuman greatness which apparently was somewhat beyond the range of the critical code of Newton.

K. NEWTON'S VIEWS ON MILTON'S VERSE.

Newton's treatment of Milton's verse is very considerably influenced by the "Letters concerning Poetical Translations" ⁸¹³), a work repeatedly quoted by him ⁸¹⁴). This pamphlet contains a number of interesting observations, and the remarks borrowed from it differ from Newton's own notes in their greater insight and livelier style. Most of them deal with problems of metre and euphony. They should be examined here, as their influence on Newton's own views is obvious.

The briefest formulation of what is probably the main metrical principle of Newton is found in his note on the two last

⁸¹¹) P. L. VI. 189 n.

⁸¹²) P. L. VIII. 40 n.

⁸¹³) Cf. above, footnote.

⁸¹⁴) Cf. e. g. P. L. XI. 141, 707 nn.

lines of "Paradise Lost". It is the principle of metrical variety achieved by a varied disposition of the pauses: "the varying of the pauses, which is the life and soul of all versification in all languages". "It is this chiefly which makes Virgil's verse better than Ovid's, and Milton's superior to any other English poet's" (*ibid.*). Newton most resolutely opposes the monotony of the French practice, possibly thinking also of Pope whom he mentions in a similar connection in his first note to the poem. The lack of variety in the pauses is in his view the only reason why "the French heroic verse has never, and can never come up to the English". The monotonous French pauses in his opinion "either offend the reader, or lull him asleep" (*ibid.*). Newton's radicalism is surprising considering his habitual conservatism but it loses some of its strikingness by being traced back to a passage in "Poet. Transl." which differs from Newton's note only in its style ⁸¹⁵).

The practice of English poetry may be taken as proof that the more liberal attitude is justified, as its influence on literature has been more fertile than that of the narrow standards of conservative critics. Newton deals with the matter in his first note to "Paradise Lost" ⁸¹⁶). There he expressly contradicts a remark made by Pope in a letter to Walsh, according to which "in any smooth English verse of ten syllables, there is naturally a pause at the fourth, fifth, or sixth syllable, and upon the judicious change and management of these depends the variety of versification". Milton, on the contrary, uses pauses in all parts of the verse, "and scarce ever suffers it [= the pause] to rest upon the same syllable in more than two, and seldom in so many as two, verses together", "by which means he is master of greater harmony than any other English poet". These statements are carefully illustrated by Newton. As an example, the first six verses of "Paradise Lost" are quoted, down to the words "Sing heav'nly Muse". The same passage is cited in p. 40 of the pamphlet, for exactly the same purpose of exemplifying Milton's skill in varying the pauses.

⁸¹⁵) "...the eternal Repetition of the same Pause is the Reverse of Harmony: Three Feet and three Feet for thousands of Lines together, make exactly the same Musick as the ting, tong, tang of the same Number of Bells in a Country-Church" (p. 74).

⁸¹⁶) P. L. I. 1 n.

Newton adds instances of every kind of pause possible within the limits of a blank-verse line, starting with the pause after the first syllable and ending with the break before the last. An analogical case is found in p. 36 of "Poet. Transl.", though the arrangement is the reverse of that given by Newton: the position of the pause moves from the end of the verse towards the beginning, the last verse quoted having it after the first foot.

Newton apparently takes quite an unusual interest in the pause following the first syllable of a blank-verse line. He generally finds it used after a verb, in order "to mark the action more strongly ⁸¹⁷). This he supposes to be regularly the case with Homer's pauses after the first foot, whereas Milton is shown to use the break also where a line begins with a noun or an adjective ⁸¹⁸). His own examples are mainly of pauses after verbs ⁸¹⁹). He seems to be following the lead of "Poet. Transl." for there it is discussed more than once, and in at least one case Newton undeniably becomes a mere copyist. Newton's note on P. L. XI. 489 is in part an accurate repetition of the substance of a remark on p. 45 of "Poet. Transl." though the words are altered ⁸²⁰).

The comprehensive note on P. L. I. 1 treats not only of Milton's pauses but also of the problems of accent and quantity in his verse. Newton finds that Milton's metre "is to be measur'd

⁸¹⁷) P. L. IX. 122 n.

⁸¹⁸) *Ibid.*

⁸¹⁹) Cf. P. L. VII. 548 n., P. L. IV. 351 n.

⁸²⁰) Both critics comment there on the passage (P. L. XI. 491—2): "And over them triumphant Death his Dart Shook, but delaid to strike..." Both of them dwell on the effect of the verb "shook" being placed before the isolating pause. In "Poet. Transl." it is described how "This Passage makes the Reader see Death with his Dart in his Hand, shaking it over the Heads of the unhappy Creatures describ'd in the *Lazar-house*, as plainly as if the whole was painted upon Canvas" (p. 46). Newton seems to echo this: "One thinks one almost sees the dart shaking" (XI. 489 n.). In the pamphlet an experiment is made: „But let this Line be alter'd thus: Over their Heads Death shook his dreadful Dart. How much of the Fire and Spirit of this Passage is lost, will be easily perceiv'd" (p. 46). Newton's imitation of this is very faithful, although his alteration keeps more closely to Milton's text: "If the line was to be alter'd, as thus, And o'er them Death triumphant shook his Dart, much of the fire and spirit would be lost" (Ubi supra). Examples of almost equally faithful borrowings might be found without much difficulty.

by the tone and accent, as well as by the time and quantity". He apparently tries to prove this by quoting some "almost pure Iambics", where, as a matter of fact, length and stress coincide with considerable regularity:

"He call'd so loud, that all the hollow Deep
Of Hell resounded" ⁸²¹).

In a number of other examples there is no such coincidence. The ordinary stress and the scansion clash ⁸²²), though the common pronunciation would fit perfectly into the metrical scheme. Newton even scans the verses so as to upset the metre, as in the example of the tribrachus, blindly applying the principle of quantity even though it makes the verse unreadable.

It is not unlikely that the "Poet. Transl." contributed to this confusion. Its author's interpretation of the concept of quantity is not quite clear. He protests against those foreigners, particularly Vossius, who, as he says, assert that "there is no such thing as Measure or Feet, or long or short Syllables in *English Words*" ⁸²³). Nevertheless, he does not regard English verse as purely quantitative. He either thinks that it is capable of combining both stress and quantity, or else he employs the wrong word, using "quantity" in the sense of stress. The examples of perfect Iambics which he gives like Newton, would dispose one in favour of the former possibility, for like those given by Newton they nearly satisfy the requirements of ancient prosody, being also regular from the point of view of accentuated verse (*e. g.* "Divine, Attend, Directs", "The Lord"). In a case like "The Map" the length of the second syllable is questionable though contemporary phonetics would prove that it is much longer than the first, unstressed one. One or two cases of scansion might possibly be due to the critic's adoption of the quantitative principle, *e. g.* "Thus to his Son au-dī-bly spake" (p. 50 of "Poet. Transl.": "For so it must be read and not after the common manner") or "Thro' the in-fi-nite Host" (*ibid.*). Yet the author's description of what

⁸²¹) P. L. I. 314 & c.

⁸²²) Cf. *ibid.* the example of the "Anapaest or foot of two short and one long syllable ˘˘—...".

Myriāds though bright! If he whom mutual league"... or of the "Tribrachus or foot of three short syllables ˘˘˘...".

To māny a row of pipes the sound-board breathes"...

⁸²³) p. 69.

he regards as a long syllable might equally well apply to mere stress. He says of the examples "The Lord, The Man, The Rock" that "... the last Syllable strikes the Ear more than the first, or, in other Words, the last is longer than the first, which is all that makes an Iambic *Latin Foot*". The impression that the sounds "strike the ear" is even more typical of stress than of quantity, which is mere duration, though in the classical metrical tradition it is apparently *combined* with stress.

The treatment in Newton's notes of contraction and elision is inconsistent. Milton's "contractions" are defined as two syllables "contracted into one or pronounc'd as two short ones" (V. 482 *n.* — here said with regard to the word "spirits"). The only conclusion that may be drawn more or less safely is that two syllables are supposed to act as one with respect to the metrical scheme. It remains a problem whether the actual pronunciation is merely considered to be more rapid and brief than usual or the vowel to be dropped altogether. Newton's treatment of elision would incline one to assume the latter, for he conjectures that Milton like "Shakespear and others of our old poets ... in imitation of the Greeks and Latins often cuts off the vowel at the end of a word, when the next word begins with a vowel" ⁸²⁴). The vowel according to him seems to be retained only in the spelling ⁸²⁵): "he does not like the Greeks wholly drop the vowel, but still retains it in writing like the Latins" ⁸²⁶).

Alliteration and descriptive effects of various kinds are repeatedly discussed by Newton, the "ridiculous degree of affectation" to which the former device is said to have been carried by the "Moderns" being contrasted with Milton's sparing use of it ⁸²⁷). Here again the "Poet. Transl." are followed, as in VII. 470 *n.* where the same Miltonic and Virgilian instances are quoted. In general, in his notes on metre, Newton shows little logic, as in his conception of quantity, and very little independence, even his main principle, that of the variety of the pauses, being obviously borrowed in nearly all its details.

⁸²⁴) P. L. I. 38 *n.*

⁸²⁵) But cf. P. L. VI. 189 *n.* where a case of contraction is apparently pronounced without omitting the supernumerary vowel (cf. above).

⁸²⁶) *Ibid.*

⁸²⁷) P. L. IX. 901.

10. THE PERIOD BETWEEN NEWTON'S AND THOMAS WARTON'S EDITIONS (1749—1785).

The publication of Newton's edition was an event of considerable importance and seems to have discouraged Milton scholars from undertaking anything on a similar scale, at least for a while. Of the commentary on "Paradise Lost" by Callander of Craigforth which was more comprehensive than the popularizing publications fashionable at that time, only the first book was published, the rest being deposited with the Society of Scottish Antiquaries⁸²⁸). Its design is different from that of Newton's edition. According to the advertisement, its chief object is to illustrate Milton's mythological allusions and to quote classical parallels to his poem. The suggestion has been made that the work is, to a great extent, a plagiarism from Hume's commentary⁸²⁹). The copious parallels given by the accuser prove, in the opinion of the present writer, that Callander did not scruple to borrow without acknowledgment, but the same, as is shown in our appendix, is true of Newton. A minute comparison might discover further debts to earlier Miltonic research. It is clear, for instance, that Callander owes much to Addison. The note on the exordium of the poem is a fair example of the influence of the "Spectator" articles on many of the more theoretical notes in the volume. Both Callander and Addison — the latter towards the beginning of his first article on "Paradise Lost" — describe Milton's classicist practice of plunging into *medias res* and afterwards relating the

⁸²⁸ MILTON'S PARADISE LOST, BOOK I. — ΚΑΛΟΝ ΑΚΟΥΕΜΕΝ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΑΟΙΛΟΥ ΤΟΙΟΥΤΕ ΟΙΟΣ ΟΛΕ ΕΣΤΙ, ΘΕΟΙΣ ΕΝΑΔΙΓΚΙΟΣ ΑΥΔΗΝ. HOM. GLASGOW: PRINTED AND SOLD BY ROBERT AND ANDREW FOULIS PRINTERS TO THE UNIVERSITY. M.DCC.L.

4^o: pp. [4] + 167.

The author is, according to the DNB, the Scottish antiquary John Callander of Craigforth, Stirlingshire, fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. He presented the Society with various MSS., among others with 9 volumes of notes on Milton, whereof only those contained in the above-mentioned publication were ever brought out.

⁸²⁹ A contributor to "Blackwood's Magazine" (IV. 658—62) compared the two commentaries, whereupon the Society of Scottish Antiquaries appointed a committee to settle the problem. The result was that only a comparatively small proportion of Callander's notes were found to be borrowed from Hume but his obligations to be insufficiently acknowledged (cf. DNB).

earlier events by way of episodes. Both adduce the same classical examples and mention, in almost identical words, Horace's remark on the ridiculous effect which might have been produced had Homer started his account of the Trojan war with a description of Leda's offspring. Similar parallels are frequent.

Callander's knowledge of historical and mythological works is very considerable and his notes abound in learned references. However, he hardly succeeds in interpreting the spirit and artistic significance of the material collected by him, though his method is logical and orderly. Only in some chance notes are traces of the commentator's critical views to be found.

Callander's theoretical views show a classicism hardly less extreme than Newton's, though the former critic is probably more cultured and intelligent, as indicated by the very fluency and subtlety of his style. The classical theorists of poetry are Callander's chief authorities; Aristotle and Quintilian are not infrequently mentioned by him⁸³⁰). Classical precedents are overrated and sometimes become the writer's main criteria⁸³¹), whereas romantic subjects are often depreciated⁸³²). All this, no less than the objections to deviation from history⁸³³), reminds one of Newton, although the unhistorical mention of the name of Busiris as the Pharaoh who was drowned in the Red Sea is excused, possibly in imitation of Pearce, for the reason that Milton presumably did not mean it to be fictitious and may have borrowed it from historians, *e. g.* from Sir Walter Raleigh⁸³⁴). This, as a mere apology for the poet, does not greatly affect the fundamental point of view. Digressions from reality and history are regarded as excusable under certain conditions though still in themselves faulty. Accuracy in representing historical facts or ancient mythology is, on the contrary, valued⁸³⁵), and Callander makes a careful study of the actual circumstances connected with the names and events mentioned by Milton⁸³⁶). Particular value seems to be attached to accuracy in scriptural matters, and the

⁸³⁰) *E. g.* ll. 48, 282 *nn.*

⁸³¹) Cf. ll. 198, 229 *nn.*

⁸³²) Cf. p. 123.

⁸³³) Cf. p. 123.

⁸³⁴) I. 307 *n.*

⁸³⁵) See ll. 438, 449 *nn.*

⁸³⁶) Cf. pp. 52—53 on the description of the Northern invasions.

alteration of a biblical name is regarded as admissible only because the name is derived from an apocryphal book ⁸³⁷).

Imagery connected with contemporary subjects is sometimes praised, but apparently only where it is true to fact, as *e. g.* in the astronomical simile describing the studies of the "Tuscan Artist" in Valdarno ⁸³⁸). The exact correspondence of similes to the subjects they illustrate receives much attention and appreciation, *e. g.* in I. 302 *n.* where emphasis is laid upon the greater variety and elaboration of Milton as compared with the classics.

Callander's careful analysis is scholarly and delicate. Sometimes his inquiries into the actual background of Milton's fiction lead to the discovery of details which may have been present to the poet's mind and influenced the artistic character of his work. Callander's investigation of the scenery of the Red Sea enables him to point to the suggestive pale greenish colour of its sedge, a feature harmonizing with the "withered glory" of the angels ⁸³⁹). The value of this observation depends to a great extent on the sensitiveness to visual effects shown repeatedly by the critic, *e. g.* in the remark on the typical Miltonic "sudden blaze" ⁸⁴⁰), which is found to surpass the corresponding effects of illumination in Homer, Lucretius and Virgil owing to its use of contrast.

Callander's scholarly cast of mind appears in his references to technicalities of classical poetry and to their echoes in Milton. Thus, the commentator points out the resemblance of Milton's mention of the places where he supposes his muse to reside, to the *πολυωνομία* of the classics ⁸⁴¹). More ingenuity is sometimes shown in the examination of allusions to classical *realia*. The likening of Satan's shield in P. L. I. 288 to the moon with its mountains and rivers is compared to the classical manner of raising figures on shields — a practice which, as Callander shows, is mentioned by Milton himself in P. L. VI. 83—84 ("Shields Various, with boastful Argument portraid"). This analogy, not

⁸³⁷) See p. 155.

⁸³⁸) I. 290 *n.*

⁸³⁹) I. 306 *n.*

⁸⁴⁰) I. 665 *n.*

⁸⁴¹) I. 10 *n.*

previously noticed, undoubtedly diversifies the impression produced by the poet's imagery. However, Callander's tendency to encyclopædic completeness produces merely a more or less detailed account of classical instances of the above habit instead of an analysis of Milton's artistry.

Older English poetry is not drawn upon very frequently but some of its peculiarities are discussed. The invention of fantastic names by Spenser is referred to in connection with the Miltonic proper name "Pandæmonium" ⁸⁴²). Callander knows that Spenser named his heroes according to their characters, forming their names "indifferently from any language, that best suited his purpose. Our poet has imitated him in this liberty". Shakespeare ⁸⁴³) and Chaucer ⁸⁴⁴) are mentioned repeatedly, while mediæval matters are investigated with much erudition ⁸⁴⁵). The great number of authorities on the dark ages quoted by Callander proves his interest in this period though he shows no understanding of the atmosphere of Milton's mediæval allusions. He confines himself to a parade of his own wide reading, instead of studying the sources used by Milton and their effect on his poetry.

Callander's culture and erudition make the work pleasant reading though it contributes little to the understanding of Milton's artistic intentions. It is undertaken on a large scale, differing in this respect from the popularizing editions of that period. A typical instance of this latter class is the edition of "Paradise Lost" by John Marchant ⁸⁴⁶).

⁸⁴²) Cf. p. 159.

⁸⁴³) Cf. ll. 241, 266 *nn.*

⁸⁴⁴) *E. g.* p. 160.

⁸⁴⁵) Cf. p. 160 on mediæval ways of combat, & *c.*

⁸⁴⁶) MILTON'S PARADISE LOST. A POEM, IN TWELVE BOOKS. WITH NOTES, Etymological, Critical, Classical, and Explanatory. Collected from Dr. Bentley; Dr. Pearce, the present Bishop of Bangor; Richardson and Son; Addison; Paterson; Newton, and other Authors; intended as a Key to this Divine POEM; whereby Persons unacquainted with the Learned Languages, and Polite Literature, will be introduced into a familiar Acquaintance with the various Beauties and Excellencies of this Master piece [*sic*] of Heroic POETRY. DEDICATED to the KING, By JOHN MARCHANT, *Gent.* Author of the *Exposition of the Old and New Testament*, & *c.* LONDON: Printed by R. WALKER, in the *Little Old Bailey*. MDCCLI.

Two volumes, 12-mo. Vol. I: pp. 428. Vol. II: pp. 429—746. — Contains Fenton's life of Milton. With 14 plates.

Marchant's edition is almost entirely based on Newton, from whom most of its notes are taken, the main exceptions being a number of remarks by Paterson and some by the editor himself. Though the work is dedicated to the king and contains some obvious flattery, the editor finds it possible to defend the author's political views, ascribing the supposed hostility to the poet during the first years after the publication of the poem to partiality caused by his republicanism — an attitude which, as he thinks, would have been inevitable even if Milton had "wrote with the Pen of an Angel" ⁸⁴⁷).

The praise bestowed on the poem is enthusiastic and refers mainly to its moral intent and learning, "the Nobleness of its Plan, and the rich Treasure of Erudition it contains" ⁸⁴⁸). The reputation of the work is regarded as "so prodigiously increased, that it's now the Standard of Heroic Poetry; and he who professes he has no Taste for MILTON, is justly deemed to have no Taste for Polite Literature" ⁸⁴⁹). But Marchant regards the poem as more than a mere literary achievement. Anyone who dared to alter the work "even in the minutest Iota, he has been attack'd with as much Vigour and Warmth, as if he had robb'd a Church, or endeavour'd to alter or abolish the establish'd Religion of his Country" ⁸⁵⁰), as Marchant describes. This is perhaps the highest praise that could be given to a literary work, were these eulogies not dogmatic, unfounded upon analysis.

The popularizing character of Marchant's edition agrees with his view of Addison's "Critique" that it is too learned ⁸⁵¹). Marchant apparently aims at conciseness, the manner of the Richardsons is found to be too "verbose", though their "curious and uncommon Thoughts" are acknowledged to be valuable. That the editor's aims went beyond mere learning, is clearly indicated by his censure of Paterson who is denied to "enter into the Spirit of our Author" or to "lay down any Rule to direct the Judgment in gathering the Flowers that so profusely grow in this fragrant and ever-blooming Garden." Newton's edition is praised as a

⁸⁴⁷) Cf. the dedicatory matter.

⁸⁴⁸) Cf. the preface.

⁸⁴⁹) *Ibid.*

⁸⁵⁰) *Ibid.*

⁸⁵¹) *Ibid.*

"judicious compilation" but Marchant's own is evidently meant for a different public, for he emphasizes his intention of bringing it out at a cheaper price.

Attacks on Newton's heavy, learned quotations ⁸⁵²) show that Marchant preferred to work with a lighter apparatus. He does not, however, add any very illuminating or lively remarks on artistic features. The few observations made by himself, though not unsound, are of no particular value. Newton's and Bentley's short-sightedness in condemning Milton's early foreshadowing of an episode later described at greater length, as "wrong Conduct, and want of Oeconomy" ⁸⁵³), is not imitated by Marchant. He understands that slight preliminary sketches may be of use, and shows convincingly that Milton was in the habit of drawing such sketches ⁸⁵⁴). Yet these isolated remarks are too slight to enable one to trace the editor's views on poetry in general and that of Milton in particular. The most prominent feature is his unqualified and indiscriminative praise of the poem, showing the height to which Milton's reputation had attained.

The next independent commentary on Milton's poetry is that by W. Massey ⁸⁵⁵). The contemporary reviews are not at all consistent in their views on this publication. The "Critical Review" of 1762 ⁸⁵⁶) finds the notes "executed with care and judgment" and probably "of great service to the readers and admirers of Milton", though it is emphasized that this applies "especially to the young and illiterate, who are incapable of relishing many of his [= Milton's] beauties from their ignorance of ancient and modern history". Another reviewer (in the "Monthly Review", vol. 25, pp. 497—8, 1761) finds almost exclusively negative features in the book, deriding its truisms and ex-

⁸⁵²) *E. g.* P. L. IV. 158 *n.*

⁸⁵³) Cf. P. L. II. 1023 *n.* in Newton's edition.

⁸⁵⁴) II. 1021 *n.*

⁸⁵⁵) REMARKS UPON MILTON'S PARADISE LOST. HISTORICAL, GEOGRAPHICAL, PHILOLOGICAL, CRITICAL AND EXPLANATORY. By W. MASSEY. HIC AMOR, HOC STUDIUM. Ovid. LONDON: Printed for G. KEITH, at the *Bible and Crown*, in *Grace-church Street*. MDCCLXI.

12-mo: pp. XXV + 276.

William Massey (1691—1764?) was a miscellaneous writer who translated Ovid and others (cf. DNB).

⁸⁵⁶) Vol. XIII. p. 433.

cessive display of learning and calling attention to the absurd inconsistency of first declaring the gardens of the Hesperides to be mere fable and conjecture and then speculating as to the real character of the golden apples in the gardens, which, as Massey thinks, were oranges ⁸⁵⁷).

These deficiencies, as well as a good many more, must be admitted, and yet there remains much in the commentary that is valuable. There are, it is true, unmistakeable traces in it of the old prejudice that an epic based on divine revelation is more reliable and therefore more valuable than one founded on mere fiction ⁸⁵⁸). "Paradise Lost" is regarded as superior to the epics of Homer and Virgil because it rests "on a more certain and interesting Argument", their basis "being extremely fabulous" whereas Milton's goes back to heavenly inspiration. Nevertheless the right of poetry to use fiction is acknowledged in other places, as if the critic was hesitating between two principles. Certain improbabilities are excused as having "to be understood in the Sense of an *imaginative Poet*, rather than of a philosophic Reasoner" ⁸⁵⁹). Massey even goes so far as to praise the "imaginary Beings" invented by Spenser, as productions of a remarkable "creative Genius" ⁸⁶⁰). Massey's artistic instincts apparently induce him to trespass against the principle by which he acknowledges only the representation of reality, wherever some example of beautiful fiction pleases him in an unusual degree. Travellers' stories which are evidently regarded by him as quite incredible are praised as "ornaments to poetry" ⁸⁶¹). A totally fictitious and fantastic passage like that on the Limbo of Vanity, which, moreover, was condemned by Newton as falling short of the dignity of epic poetry ⁸⁶²), is admired by Massey for its abundant imagery, its "Pindaric Copiousness of Invention", *i. e.* its purely imaginative, artistic excellence.

This harmonizes with the commentator's great fondness for Spenser, who to him is the prototype of a spontaneous poetic mind. Shakespeare is forgotten and Spenser "of all our *English Poets*"

⁸⁵⁷) Cf. III. 568 *n.*

⁸⁵⁸) IX. 14 *n.*

⁸⁵⁹) VIII. 615 *n.*

⁸⁶⁰) II. 960 *n.*

⁸⁶¹) IV. 161 *n.*

⁸⁶²) III. 447 *n.*

found to excel in "a natural *Genius* and *lively Invention*"⁸⁶³). His "fruitful Imagination for lively Description" is found to surpass that of any other poet whom Milton might have imitated⁸⁶⁴). It is evident that Massey's sympathies ran counter to the formalistic attitude of classicism. Though he does not appear to have any definite theory of poetry, any imaginative stimuli seem to affect him strongly, for example those of suggestive vagueness and haziness, as in the indefinite expressions used by Milton to describe the vastness of Chaos and original night. Massey finds "something astonishingly descriptive" in the expression,

"the void profound
Of unessential Night",

pointing out the exciting impression it produces: "Every Word expresses a horrible Uncertainty, that, wide-gaping, was to receive the *infernal Monarch* . . ." The "Stretch of Imagination" shown by Milton in connecting "the Ideas of *void, profound, unessential, and Night*", whereof "the Assemblage is enough to terrify the Thoughts of any Creature less than Devil"⁸⁶⁵), attracts him by its mysterious effect.

The whole attitude is decidedly in advance of Newton's as regards the commentator's sensitiveness to imaginative qualities. Inconsistencies and blunders are studied but sometimes excused if found to be due to "Warmth of Imagination"⁸⁶⁶). A bold, stirring style stimulates the critic even though he may find it to clash with his ideals. Sometimes the contrast between the principles acknowledged intellectually and the qualities enjoyed instinctively is striking. Some features he condemns though he is unable to deny the delight he derives from them. There are "some *daring* Expressions in the best of Poets" which "may be justly found Fault with" yet "give us more Pleasure perhaps than if they had been unexceptionable"⁸⁶⁷). These are evidently the stirrings of a new sense of poetry which had developed in him in spite of the inability of his theoretical insight to keep pace with it.

⁸⁶³) XI. 481 *n.*

⁸⁶⁴) III. 640 *n.*

⁸⁶⁵) II. 438 *n.*

⁸⁶⁶) II. 874 *n.*

⁸⁶⁷) I. 63 *n.*

Massey's references to older literature are mainly confined to Chaucer ⁸⁶⁸), Spenser ⁸⁶⁹), Sandys's Ovid ⁸⁷⁰) and Sir Richard Blackmore ⁸⁷¹). He seems to have studied Hicckes ⁸⁷²), yet some of his linguistic instances are grotesque and lead to a complete misunderstanding of Milton's imagery. Thus, it is quite intelligible that Massey sees "a catachrestical Liberty" in Milton's use of the expression "sail-broad vans" for the angel's wings in P. L. II. 927, for he is ignorant of the Italian expression "vanni" meaning "wings", seeing only two possibilities: (1) that the word means "Fanns, that they winnow Corn with, in some Counties of England", or (2) "the Sails of a Wind-mill, which are also termed *Vanes*" ⁸⁷³). The heroical associations connected with "brand" in its traditional acceptation: "a sword" seem to be foreign to Massey who seems to regard it as a mere metaphorical use of the Saxon expression employed in the sense of "a Piece of Stick, of burning Wood, or a red-hot Iron", failing to note that the traces of this meaning must be relatively feeble in a word which has been used for centuries in a different signification. Massey apparently associates Milton's "flaming brand" in XII. 643 *n.* with the more realistic acceptation, lowering the dignity of the passage. Thus the conclusion drawn by Massey that the supposed audacity of Milton, that "bold Adventurer in adapting old Words to new Meanings", is so extreme that it "would hardly be tolerated in any other Writer", becomes intelligible, considering the critic's inability to appreciate the exact value of his author's expressions. His deficient knowledge of older literature and language would disqualify him from commenting on Milton, particularly if his obsolete theoretical views are taken into account, were it not for his instincts, which go with the new movements in poetry, enabling him to throw light on the importance of the purely imaginative elements in the poet's works.

The same number of the "Critical Review" which acknowledged the "care and judgment" of Massey's performance attacks

⁸⁶⁸) Cf. I. 12 *n.*, VII. 457 *n.*, I. 307 *n.*, & c. & c.

⁸⁶⁹) Cf. above.

⁸⁷⁰) *E. g.* I. 728 *n.*

⁸⁷¹) *E. g.* I. 17, II. 874 *nn.*

⁸⁷²) Cf. I. 673 *n.*

⁸⁷³) II. 927 *n.*

another commentary, that edited by "the Rev. Mr. Dodd", as good "for none but the very young, ignorant, and illiterate" ⁸⁷⁴), and the "Monthly Review" of the same year ⁸⁷⁵) derides it even more contemptuously, exclaiming that it "May do well enough for children! Alas! poor Milton! Who knows but thou mayest yet be transformed into a Spelling-book?" The publication to which these observations refer may be said to deserve this ridicule. It differs from most other commentaries in explaining difficult words and concepts not in the order of Milton's text but arranging them alphabetically. The explanations are extremely obvious and hardly add anything new to what had been said before Dodd. Slipshod explanations, *e. g.* that of the word „Meteor" as "Any bodies in the air or sky that are of a flux and transitory nature" or of "Roseate" as "Rosy, full of roses" ⁸⁷⁶) are not very rare. Sometimes the picturesque definitions of earlier annotators are copied word for word, *e. g.* that of the colouring of the opal (*cf.* under "opal") where Hume's and Richardson's expressions as found in Newton's edition ⁸⁷⁷) are very faithfully repeated ⁸⁷⁸). Much of the book is mere encyclopædic information of a primitive kind ⁸⁷⁹). The value of the commentary is quite negligible. The preface shows that Dodd is not the author of the notes but had only accepted the offer to write them and afterwards commended the enterprise to a gentleman who has executed his task, as Dodd says, "with good Judgment and Propriety".

Very little is to be said in favour of Wesley's annotated

⁸⁷⁴) 1762, vol. XIII, pp. 433—434.

⁸⁷⁵) Vol. 26, p. 478.

⁸⁷⁶) Though the only case of this word in Milton's poetry, "roseate dews" in P. L. V. 646, evidently cannot have the latter meaning.

⁸⁷⁷) P. L. II. 1049 *n.*

⁸⁷⁸) A FAMILIAR EXPLANATION OF THE POETICAL WORKS OF MILTON. To which is prefixed Mr. ADDISON'S CRITICISM on PARADISE LOST. With a PREFACE By The Rev. Mr. DODD. LONDON: Printed for J. and R. Tonson, in the Strand; and J. NEWBERRY, in St. Paul's Church-Yard. MDCCLXII.

12-mo: pp. VII + 144 + [94].

The Rev. Dodd is apparently William Dodd, LL. D., Chaplain to the king, forger and author of the blank-verse poem "Thoughts in Prison" (1777), editor of "Beauties of Shakespeare" (1752).

⁸⁷⁹) *E. g.* the note on "Diamond".

edition of "Paradise Lost" ⁸⁸⁰) which endeavours in a very crude manner to popularize Milton in his capacity as a religious poet. This edition is intended for the simplest readers, for those who are of only a "common Education". For their benefit, Wesley has added "short and easy Notes, intelligible to any uneducated Person, of a tolerably good Understanding" ⁸⁸¹). All those lines which Wesley "despaired of explaining to the unlearned, without using abundance of words", *i. e.* most of the mythological allusions and learned similes, are ruthlessly dropped, whereas the accumulations of biblical names to be found now and then in the work are retained, evidently as being intelligible even to the commonest reader. The result is very similar to that of the excisions of Bentley, who objected on principle to the passages which Wesley omits for practical reasons. The notes are generally explanatory of very elementary matters, and little is to be seen of the editor's personal views. His theological bias is, however, unmistakable and makes it possible that Satan's description of the power of the mind to make "a Heav'n of Hell, a Hell of Heav'n" ⁸⁸²) is ridiculed as "a fit Rant for a Stoic of a Devil". The excisions are made deftly enough, so as relatively seldom to make alterations of the text itself indispensable, though now and then some expressions have had to be changed for metrical considerations, after the intermediate verses had been dropped.

The posthumous edition of the first six books of "Paradise Lost" by Buchanan ⁸⁸³) is a work of an entirely scholastic

⁸⁸⁰) AN EXTRACT FROM MILTON'S PARADISE LOST. With NOTES LONDON: PRINTED IN THE YEAR MDCCXCI.

12-mo: pp. 335.

The prefatory address "To the Reader" is signed "John Wesley".

⁸⁸¹) Cf. Preface.

⁸⁸²) I. 255 *n.*

⁸⁸³) THE FIRST SIX BOOKS OF MILTON'S PARADISE LOST, Rendered into GRAMMATICAL Construction; the Words of the TEXT being arranged, at the bottom of each Page, in the same natural Order with the Conceptions of the mind; and the *Ellipsis* properly supplied, without any Alteration in the Diction of the Poem. WITH NOTES Grammatical, Geographical, Historical, Critical, and Explanatory. To which are prefixed REMARKS on ELLIPSIS and TRANSPOSITION, exhibiting an easy Method of construing and reading with Judgment, either Prose or verse. DESIGNED For the USE of our most eminent Schools, and of private Gentlemen and Ladies; and also of Foreigners of Distinction, who would

character and does not aim at elucidating the original meaning of Milton's text. It is meant "for young readers chiefly", particularly for "our youth of distinction" ⁸⁸⁴), its object being to make young people, but also ladies in general, "for whose interest the author professes a very great regard", "tolerable masters of ellipsis and transpositions" ⁸⁸⁵), the two main difficulties in Milton's language, as the editor supposes. The title-page of the edition shows Buchanan's method with sufficient clearness. The paraphrases at the bottom of each page normalize the style, though not, as the title suggests, "without any Alteration in the Diction of the Poem". The editor apparently does not understand that Milton's ellipses and peculiar word-order constitute two of the main characteristics of his language and cannot be abolished without affecting the personal idiosyncrasy of his style. A regular, ordinary manner of expression is thought to be preferable, especially as regards the word-order, violent transpositions in prose being found "disgusting" and inconsistent with the style of the "purest writers" ⁸⁸⁶). "Irregularities" are condemned as mere carelessness on the part of the writers, even when they are to be observed in the language of the best eighteenth century authors, which might suggest that the divergence from ordinary usage may be deliberate. Thus, Buchanan misunderstands Milton's use of the old preterite form "wert" ⁸⁸⁷). He thinks it a subjunctive and deplores the impropriety of the use "of *were* for *was*" . . . "in several of our best writers besides Milton, *viz.* Pope, Dryden, Swift, Addison, Prior, Atterbury, & *c.* who must have been led into such inaccuracies merely from inadvertency" ⁸⁸⁸).

Many of the notes that are of any interest are adaptations or even positive plagiarisms. Massey particularly seems to have

read this admirable POEM with Unstanding [*sic*] and Taste. By the late JAMES BUCHANAN, Author of the BRITISH GRAMMAR, a Regular ENGLISH SYNTAX, & *c.* The Manuscript was left with Dr JAMES ROBERTSON, Professor of Hebrew, who has published it for the benefit of Mr BUCHANAN'S WIDOW. EDINBURGH: Printed for A. KINCAID and W. CREECH, and J. BALFOUR. MDCCLXXIII.

⁸⁰: pp. [4] + 444.

⁸⁸⁴) Cf. preface.

⁸⁸⁵) *Ibid.*

⁸⁸⁶) Cf. preface.

⁸⁸⁷) III. 9 *n.*

⁸⁸⁸) *Ibid.*

been drawn upon very frequently. His characteristically appreciative pronouncement on the *Paradise of Fools* is repeated almost word for word ⁸⁸⁹). The "mixture of pride, envy, contempt, and resentment" found in Satan's behaviour at the beginning of book IV, as well as even the emphatic tone of the repetition of the pronoun "thy" in P. L. IV. 32 are described with the identical expressions in both commentaries ⁸⁹⁰). Even the derivation of the angel's "vans" from "the sails of a wind-mill, which are called Vanes" is found here too, as it was in Massey's corresponding note ⁸⁹¹). The cited examples are chosen from a much larger number.

The whole period from the edition of Newton to that of Warton may be characterized as one of popularization, as the above should have proved. Warton's important edition of Milton's minor poems marks the beginning of a new era, that of a more profound study of Milton's sources and his literary and historical background as well as of a far subtler artistic analysis of his poetry. Moreover, the classicist attitude which prevailed in most of the publications discussed in the present chapter, in Warton's edition gives way to newer and freer tendencies, and the dogmatism to be found so frequently up to then is replaced by a psychological method concentrating more closely upon the character of the poet and the æsthetic effect upon the reader.

⁸⁸⁹) Cf. III. 447 *n.*

⁸⁹⁰) Cf. notes to this passage.

⁸⁹¹) II. 927 *n.* in both books.

11. THOMAS WARTON'S EDITION OF THE MINOR POEMS.

POEMS UPON SEVERAL OCCASIONS, ENGLISH, ITALIAN, AND LATIN, WITH TRANSLATIONS, BY JOHN MILTON. VIZ. LYCIDAS, L'ALLEGRO, IL PENSEROSO, ARCADES, COMUS, ODES, SONNETS, MISCELLANIES, ENGLISH PSALMS, ELEGIARUM LIBER, EPIGRAMMATUM LIBER, SYLVARUM LIBER. WITH NOTES CRITICAL AND EXPLANATORY, AND OTHER ILLUSTRATIONS, BY THOMAS WARTON, FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE AND LATE PROFESSOR OF POETRY AT OXFORD. LONDON, PRINTED FOR JAMES DODSLEY IN PALL-MALL. MDCCLXXXV.

8^o, pp. XXVIII + 620. *Contents*: p. [I], title; pp. III—XXIV, preface; pp. XXV—XXVIII, table of contents; pp. 1—590, text of poems with notes (including extensive final remarks on "Lycidas", "L'Allegro", "Il Penseroso", "Ad Joannem Rousium"; preliminary remarks on "Comus", p. 112 *et seq.*, dealing with Ludlow Castle, the Egerton family, & c.; p. 126 & c., on some sources of "Comus"; pp. 591—593, appendix to the notes on "Comus", treating mainly of Milton's possible imitation of George Peele; pp. 594—605 & c., corrections and supplemental observations; pp. 606—618, various readings from the Camb. MS.; pp. 618—620, list of editions.

The title-page of the second edition differs after the editor's name, where it reads as follows: "...B. D. LATE FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, PROFESSOR OF POETRY, AND CAMDEN PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, AT OXFORD. THE SECOND EDITION, WITH MANY ALTERATIONS, AND LARGE ADDITIONS. [motto] LONDON, PRINTED FOR G. G. J. AND J. ROBINSON, PATER-NOSTER ROW. MDCCXCI.

8^o; pp. XLVI + 608. *Contents*: p. [I], title; pp. III—XXVI, preface; pp. XXVII—XLII, the nuncupative will of Milton, with the editor's notes, and other documents; pp. XLIII—XLVI, list of contents; pp. 1—574, text of the poems with notes and explanatory matter ("Comus" in this edition preceded by a series of special articles on "Ludlow Castle", "John Earl of Bridgewater and his family", "Henry Lawes" and the "Origin of Comus", pp. 123—136; pp. 403—407 contains an "Appendix to notes on the English poems" including some of Robert Baron's imitations of Milton); pp. 575—577, appendix to the notes on

"Comus", mainly on Milton's literary debts to George Peele; pp. 578—590, the Trinity College MS. readings; pp. 591—605, appendix containing remarks on the Greek verses of Milton by Charles Burney; pp. 606—608, list of editions.

Warton's edition⁸⁹²) is evidently intended as a weapon against the one-sided, artificial style of his period, against "Wit and rhyme, sentiment and satire, polished numbers, sparkling couplets, and pointed periods", features which he finds to have "kept undisturbed possession in our poetry", excluding from it "fiction and fancy", "picturesque description, and romantic imagery"⁸⁹³).

⁸⁹²) Warton's is no variorum edition such as Newton's. "It was no part of my plan to add to my own the Notes of my predecessors" (p. XXII, ed. 1785). A few "Notes by Mr. Bowle, the learned and ingenious publisher of Don Quixote, extracted from his interleaved copy of Milton's second edition of these poems" and some remarks by Warton's brother Joseph Warton are all the contributions acknowledged by the editor in the first edition. In the second edition, a number of remarks by Hurd should be noted. Bowle does hardly anything but adducing parallels from older English literature and from writers of the Latin countries, mediæval as well as of the time of the Renaissance, but his erudition is remarkable. Joseph Warton's notes, which are not very numerous, show his critical views more clearly. A considerable sense of imaginative excellence is combined in him with conventional prejudices. He notices a "natural little circumstance" of great suggestiveness such as "the minute drops from off the eaves" in *Il P.* 130, and the exquisite strain of "Lycidas", "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso" is thought by him sufficient to make Milton's name immortal. The picturesqueness and wildness of the imagery in "Comus" are pointed out, but no less its sentiment and moral (*Co.* 496 *n.*). Some of his notes are nevertheless rather valuable from an artistic point of view, *e. g.* the one containing a selection of Milton's compound epithets (*Co.* 233 *n.*). He defends Milton's use of the alternation of Iambic and Trochaic verses, though he does not define the character or reasons of their pleasing impression. His knowledge of Italian literature is displayed in notes on Tasso's life and loves (*p.* 491) and on the Italian sonnet (*Son. I. n.*, *p.* 336), that of late Latin poetry in a couple of observations (*El. I.* 92 *n.*, *Pass.* 26 *n.*) but nothing like the penetrating analyses of his brother is given.

The mixture of conventional views with a vivid sense of imaginative beauty reminds one of the article on the "Blemishes of Paradise Lost" in "The Adventurer" of 1754 (*N.* 101) ascribed to Joseph Warton (*cf. e. g.* Todd's bibliography in his edition of Milton). Moderation and intellectualism prevent the critic there from a full appreciation of his poet. The modesty of Adam and Eve leaving Paradise is particularly praised, the disorderly splendour of Milton's early poetry regarded as satisfactory only to those who exercise no faculty but fancy and refrain from thinking.

⁸⁹³) *Cf. p.* III, *op. cit.*

These latter, and even some weightier qualities, are, in his opinion, typical of Milton's early poetry, and he opposes the judgment of Sir Henry Wotton, who, in the letter usually prefixed to "Comus", praises the "Doric mellifluence" of the lyrical parts of the masque. Warton sees more than this in the work, appreciating "its graver and more majestic tones", as well as the "solemnity and variety of its peculiar vein of original invention"⁸⁹⁴), *i. e.* exactly those features which most of all distinguish Milton's poetry from the usual easy, polished verse of the 18th century.

Warton describes and deplures the neglect into which these poems had fallen. He is right in the assumption that their peculiar excellence had not been generally appreciated partly at least because they had not yet found a really congenial interpreter. It was Warton's destiny to help to establish a more or less adequate valuation of Milton's early works. The method by which he proposes to do this is in part the same as that of his predecessors, if his own definition is to be trusted. He describes it as his object "to explain our author's allusions, to illustrate or to vindicate his beauties, to point out his imitations both of others and of himself, to elucidate his obsolete diction, and by the abduction and juxtaposition of parallels universally gleaned both from his poetry and prose, to ascertain his favorite words, and to shew the peculiarities of his phraseology"⁸⁹⁵). There is hardly anything in this scheme that is new except the stress laid on the study of Milton's peculiarities of language. Pearce already had diligently studied these, as has been shown, but Warton did this, like most other things, on a much larger scale and with a far greater competence. His plan as stated here, however, does not show sufficiently his contribution to Milton scholarship. This must be discovered mainly from his critical practice.

The critical analyses in Warton's edition are more minute and keener than those in any of the earlier Milton commentaries. Warton's brilliant erudition, particularly in the department of older English literature⁸⁹⁶), but also in that of other countries

⁸⁹⁴) Cf. p. IV.

⁸⁹⁵) Cf. p. XIX.

⁸⁹⁶) Warton is perfectly conscious of the importance of his wide reading in old English literature for the elucidation of the *artistic* aspect of Milton's poetry. He knows that Milton's "style, expression, and more extensive combinations of diction, together with many of his thoughts, are...

and periods, *e. g.* of Italy and France, and notably of classical antiquity, as is shown by his notes on Milton's Latin poems, as well as his liberal, cultured taste and his acute intellect enabled him to attain to a far more adequate conception both of Milton's poetry itself and of its literary background, than earlier criticism had reached. The very remarkable thoroughness of his knowledge of Milton's own works helped him greatly. He had at his disposal a large number of illustrations from Milton and other authors for nearly everything he wished to exemplify. He may, in this respect, be regarded as the very reverse of Addison, who probably did more for the elucidation of Milton's artistic qualities than most critics before Warton, if Dr. Johnson be left out of account. Addison's method was typically ratiocinative, the illustrations were relatively few, and were taken almost exclusively from Milton himself and from the classics. His exemplifications from Milton are seldom of quite the same interest as Warton's, and he impresses one as generalizing somewhat vaguely, not diversifying and enlivening his remarks by characteristic and vivid details. He had no such immense materials as Warton's at his command and was therefore totally incapable of building up a critical structure which should embrace not only Milton's poetry itself and its relations to his personal life but also the historical groundwork, the various contemporary and other allusions, the whole literary and social frame of his writings. His successors did much to approach this ideal. Particularly Peck and Newton with his collaborators contributed a great deal to the study of the setting of Milton's poetry, ransacking old archives and miscellaneous publications and manuscripts on questions relating to him. However, their labours only skimmed the surface of the welter of material waiting for investigation. The "Gothic" libraries of England, which, it is true, attracted Peck in an unusual degree, remained

to be traced in other English poets, who were either his contemporaries or predecessors, and of whom many are now not commonly known" (p. XX). He is aware that the neglect of the old black-letter publications, which was one of Newton's faults, led to the overlooking or misinterpreting of many subtleties: "and thus the force of many strikingly poetical passages has been weakened or unperceived, because their origin was unknown, unexplored, or misunderstood" (*ibid.*). Milton to him is "an old English poet", at least in his early productions.

none the less unscrutinized except for a few chance excursions into their riches. Warton's earlier activities, on the contrary, eminently qualified him for this task. His studies in Spenser, and his extensive inquiries into the history of English poetry, though they resulted in a work not quite systematic enough to be called a real history in the modern sense, undoubtedly showed an exceptional knowledge of his field of research and made him unusually fit for all kinds of historical illustration. Moreover, the sympathy with the spirit of Milton's poetry evinced by him in his own lyrical pieces together with his considerable descriptive powers furnished him with the weapons needed for the management of this erudite apparatus.

Newton's edition of Milton's *Minor Poems*, though meritorious enough as a first attempt, suffered from the editor's lack of the temper of passionate literary antiquarianism, besides being relatively superficial and prejudiced in its critical part. Peck, who had this temper, and did not lack a sense of historical atmosphere, was not nearly intelligent and systematic enough in the collection and utilization of his materials, and Callander, though he seems to have been a zealous amateur in antiquarian research, did not succeed in applying his considerable erudition to the task of interpreting Milton's art. Warton, on the contrary, combined most of the good qualities of those scholars with a far higher intellectual level, possessing, besides, a knowledge of English literature and social history of a thoroughness never even approached by the two former commentators. Furthermore, neither of these were genuine men of letters, whereas Warton's powers as a writer were considerable. There is nothing in him of Peck's helplessness or of the somewhat anæmic academic manner of Callander. This enables him to present his many-sided and sometimes not very entertaining material in an attractive form, commenting and interpreting instead of piling quotation on quotation. He is no very eager student of the intricacies of Milton's philosophy, but the balance is restored by his remarkable understanding of the artistic and personal elements in Milton's writings.

As the result of Warton's method, we have a large picturesque survey of Milton's early poetry and its setting, necessarily rather disconnected as it must be traced from foot-notes, but vivid enough even in this shape. Warton possesses the genuine

commentator's gift of fixing his attention so intently on little items as to reach the heart of the matter and see the connection of the details with larger issues. This cannot be done without a considerable capacity for logical analysis, and an intense imagination. The Richardsons, at all events the elder, possessed the latter faculty, but their logical powers lacked discipline and training. Their deficient method rendered unreliable the conclusions they drew from the perceptions of their notable sense of concrete detail; it also impaired the value of the suggestions of their impulsive instinct for emotional values. Warton may here and there trespass on accuracy but he still remains the very type of a scholar, though, of course, liable to human failings. Moreover, his wide literary erudition enabled him to judge of poetry with a very wholesome impartiality, without being shackled to the standards prescribed by the official taste of his time.

A. WARTON'S STUDY OF THE SETTING OF MILTON'S POETRY.

A detailed account of Warton's erudition as shown in his commentary would lead us too far afield. It may suffice to cast a glance at the main spheres of his research and to describe his manner of approaching them.

He shows the greatest care in collecting data on the *personal* in Milton's writings. No one before him had taken the trouble to peruse a similar amount of documents on Milton's life and on the miscellaneous contemporary allusions in his poetry. In consequence, his introductory notes to some of Milton's poems are of the size, and contain more than the ordinary substance, of small independent articles, for example that on the Greek poem "In Effigiei Ejus Sculptorem" which describes the extant portraits of Milton⁸⁹⁷), or those on "Comus"⁸⁹⁸) and on the letter by Sir Henry Wotton prefixed to the play, & c. The information supplied by Warton often goes beyond the limits of what is necessary for the understanding of Milton's works. At times he appears merely to avail himself of a chance of communi-

⁸⁹⁷) Cf. pp. 544—546 of Warton's first edition.

⁸⁹⁸) Cf. pp. 112—114 *ibid.*

cating his valuable miscellaneous discoveries to the public. Particular value should be attributed to the notes in which biographical facts are used for elucidating characteristic features of Milton's art or the interplay between the personal or more or less casual and the strictly literary elements in it — a method which never before in Milton scholarship had been made use of to the same extent. The reflection of the poet's everyday habits in his works is *e. g.* pointed out in a note describing in some detail the connection between Milton's early rising and his fondness for treating of "the beauties of the morning, which he so frequently contemplated with delight, and has therefore so repeatedly described, in all their various appearances", delineating them "with the lively pencil of a lover" ⁸⁹⁹). The illustrations of this statement from Milton's early and late poetry, and also from his prose, which, as is shown by numerous references, Warton knew particularly well, are convincing and vivid, proving the poet's unusual predilection for this theme. A number of remarks show interesting correlations between the elements of fiction and real life in his works. The intrusion of personal allusions into the texture of Milton's fictitious plot and their disturbing influence on the progress of the dramatic action is treated in Co. 494 *n.* Warton suggests that Milton's impulsive eulogies on Henry Lawes threaten to interfere with the natural development of the play, so that its movement slows down without any satisfactory reason. The brothers, instead of proceeding resolutely to save their sister, who is in the power of Comus, while away their time "in a needless encomium, and in idle inquiries how the shepherd could possibly find out this solitary part of the forest". Dunster differs from this way of explaining the effect of the digression ⁹⁰⁰) but Warton has the merits of starting the inquiry into the problem and of suggesting a plausible interpretation. Ambiguous hints which refer at the same time to fictitious and to real characters are studied with some care, *e. g.* in Co. 244 *n.* where several cases of this kind are discussed. The allusion to the voice "of my most honour'd Lady" ⁹⁰¹), *i. e.* evidently of the actress of the rôle, which is found in the description of the strains that "might create

⁸⁹⁹) Lyc. 27 *n.*

⁹⁰⁰) Cf. Todd's ed., Co. 494 *n.*

⁹⁰¹) Cf. l. 564.

a soul Under the ribs of Death", is pointed out, with the remark that "the real and assumed characters of the speaker are blended". Warton's study of these small but typical traits helps the reader to realize the circumstances of the actual performance as Milton imagined it, and thus to attain to a better understanding of the author's point of view.

His investigation of social and historical matters and of the whole environment of Milton's early poetry is even more adventurously many-sided than Peck's though its thoroughness and neatness are on quite a different level. Peck, as was observed, examined poetry, popular ballads, dances, games, customs, superstitions, even culinary curiosities, & c. & c. Warton studied all these and many other matters⁹⁰²), expanding Peck's stray hints into detailed inquiries. The arts and gardening, town architecture and rural life, details of court-life and chivalry are described with zeal and devotion. It seems as if the atmosphere of Warton's own academic surroundings at Oxford with all the traditions of the university, which are frequently referred to in his notes, had particularly inspired him and enabled him to reproduce the style of the olden time⁹⁰³).

Oxford and its neighbourhood afforded him ample opportunity for studying typical monuments of ancient architecture. This is important, as similar surroundings are reflected in Elizabethan poetry and in the early verse of Milton. Warton was free to develop a taste for painting and interior decoration and valuable antiquarian objects of great artistic distinction. The vividness of his representation of the poet's time and of the time preceding it gains therefore very considerably. He appears to have a thorough knowledge of the hanging of halls and state-apartments with tapestry as well as of the poetical treatment of this subject in older English literature⁹⁰⁴). Shakespeare, "Britannia's Pastorals", Cowley, Drayton, Beaumont and Fletcher, and — which is

⁹⁰²) Drinks and drinking customs of the past are studied by him more than once. Much material is collected on the various shades of meaning of the word "wassailers" (Co. 178 n.). Even the exact recipe of the "Spicy Nut-brown Ale" in "L'Allegro" (L'A. 100 n.) is given ("ale, nutmeg, sugar, toast, and toasted crabs or apples") and various allusions to this "delectable beverage" are traced (*ibid.*).

⁹⁰³) Cf. Co. 707, 719, & c., & c.

⁹⁰⁴) Co. 322 n.

noteworthy, as no one before him had studied this part of Milton's poetry with sufficient care — also the author's own Latin pieces, which are often drawn upon in his remarks⁹⁰⁵), constitute his sources for the illustration of a small point such as this. The superabundance of quotations might impress one as tedious, were these not selected with a keen literary sense. Old paintings and engravings — objects which were easily accessible at Oxford — are used by Warton very skilfully to explain obscure points in Milton's poetry. Bowle seems to have been his model here, for in II P. 12 *n*. Warton quotes an observation of his concerning the influence of Dürer's "Melancholia" on Milton's conception of melancholy and contemplation whereas on the next page a note by Warton himself compares a different passage of the same poem with another work of art, a representation of the "Starr'd *Ethiope* Queen" Cassiopea. It is "an old Gothic print of the constellations" found "in early editions of the Astronomers, where this queen is represented with a black body marked with white stars"⁹⁰⁶). Verity's comprehensive commentary does not mention the point at all. This is regrettable, as it seems to throw a rather vivid light on the symbolic use of blackness made here by Milton, and the emphasis laid upon it throughout the first part of his poem. Its conspicuousness in the print discovered by Warton may very easily have been the germ of the peculiar visual effect aimed at by the poet in describing the beauty of the dark-complexioned sister of Prince Memnon who becomes even more

⁹⁰⁵) Warton's preface (p. XIII) emphasizes that in his edition Milton's Latin poems are for the first time "accompanied with a series of Notes of proportionably equal extent with those attached to the English text". Milton's Latin verse is compared with the poetry of Ovid, being found "more clear, intelligible, and flowing; less desultory, less familiar, and less embarrassed with a frequent recurrence of periods." Ovid is found to want dignity and to be too conversational, whereas Milton, whose dignified style is emphasized by this contrast, is supposed to lack "the simplicity of Lucretius, Virgil, and Tibullus", preferring "prolixity of paragraph and length of sentence" (p. XV). Nevertheless, he is described as superior to the "false and extravagant thoughts" of Cowley's Latin compositions (p. XVIII), because of his being "a more just thinker, and therefore a more just writer", as well as being "more deeply tinctured with the excellencies of antient literature" (*ibid.*). The emphasis laid on the classicist features in Milton ought to be taken notice of, for similar traits will be dealt with in a different connection in the next section of the present chapter.

⁹⁰⁶) II P. 19 *n*.

imposing if imagined as residing among the stars, as in the old picture. Other old illustrated black-letter editions are studied by Warton for various purposes, *e. g.* in order to explain Milton's conception of the art of gardening⁹⁰⁷). Never before had these by-ways of literature apparently dear to Milton, and familiar only to consummate scholars and antiquarians, been explored by a student of the poet with a care and understanding approaching Warton's.

Much attention is given to the study of the Elizabethan drama as well as of the stage-craft of that period. Warton's essay on the sources of "Comus" shows this with particular definiteness⁹⁰⁸). The conditions of the Elizabethan stage are examined in connection with "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso", as well as in the notes to "Comus", where, naturally enough, the masque mainly is studied. Warton handles these matters with the confident grasp of the specialist, finding numerous ways of approach to the solution of the problems suggested by Milton's text. The figure of Hymen "In Saffron robe, with Taper clear"⁹⁰⁹) is traced back to the "masques, pageantries, spectacles, and revelries" of the Elizabethans, Echo in Milton's song addressed to "Sweet Echo, sweetest nymph" in "Comus" is derived from the goddess Echo as occurring in the stage performances of that time⁹¹⁰). A very bold and not quite improbable conjecture showing the zeal with which Warton examined the slightest indications of allusions of this kind is his supposition that the "sweet musick" breathing "Above, about, or underneath" to Il Penseroso, sent by "som spirit to mortals good" or by the genius of the woods, is a reminiscence of the secret music of hidden nymphs in the masques as conducted by Inigo Jones⁹¹¹). It is evident that the machinery of the stage of that period, so far as explored at Warton's time, was vividly present to his mind.

In view of the pastoral style of much of Milton's juvenile poetry, it is a fact of some importance that Warton evinces a far more considerable knowledge of country life than earlier Milton

⁹⁰⁷) Il P. 50 *n.*

⁹⁰⁸) Cf. p. 591 *et seq.*

⁹⁰⁹) L'A. 125 *n.*

⁹¹⁰) Co. 243 *n.*

⁹¹¹) Il P. 151 *n.*

scholars, not excepting Peck. The surroundings of Oxford afforded him much opportunity for studying rural conditions. Most of his notes on this subject are spiced with literary reminiscences and references to learned works, showing that he had made a special study of the life of the democratic part of society, just as he had acquired a detailed knowledge of the atmosphere in which the higher classes lived. A comparison with the corresponding note of Peck shows the far greater reliability and erudition of Warton in the examination of the prototypes of the "jocond rebeck" ⁹¹²). Peck seems originally to have been Warton's model, but the casual remark of Peck is expanded into a considerable special investigation of the problem. First-hand mediæval documents are used, including even "the old French writers", to which Du Cange, Steevens's Shakespeare studies and other learned authorities are added. An important stimulating influence in these inquiries is Warton's fondness for the genial spirit of old pre-puritan England, in which he resembles Peck. He is violently opposed to the one-sided solemnity and rigour which characterize Milton's later works. The poet's disapproval of festivities and holidays in *S. A. 1418 et seq.* is interpreted as "a concealed attack on the ritual of the church of England" ⁹¹³), a tendency odious to the conservative critic who, on his own part, devotes much space to a description of the mirth and various diversions of the people as well as to their serious and humorous legends and superstitions ⁹¹⁴).

Nature also is among his favourite themes. Small but poetically important details, such as the description of the „rathe primrose" that dies forsaken ⁹¹⁵) are explained according to Warton's own observations. He disputes Jortin's explanation, which ascribes the lonely decay of the flower to its grief at being put out of countenance by later and more gorgeous blossoms. Warton knows that the "true reason" is its growing "in the shade, uncherished or unseen by the sun, which was supposed to be in love with some sorts of flowers". His vivid description of those features of "Lycidas" regarded by him as real natural painting

⁹¹²) L'A. 94 n.

⁹¹³) L'A. 131 n.

⁹¹⁴) Cf. e. g. L'A. 103 n.

⁹¹⁵) Lyc. 142 n.

and no mere "bucolic cant"⁹¹⁶) — the day-break with "the faint appearance of the upland lawns under the first gleams of light", or the sunset with the "buzzing of the chaffer", and the fresh dews which the approaching night sheds on the flocks — seem to indicate a diligent first-hand study of nature.

A further result of Warton's interest in the country seems to be his familiarity with special local idioms and terms, a class of expressions which forms an important part of Milton's pastoral style, as, for instance, with the expressions used in various parts of England to denote peculiarities of rural scenery. Warton ridicules Peck's simple-minded definition of "dingle" as meaning boughs hanging "dingle-dangle" over the edge of a dell⁹¹⁷). He makes various additions to Newton's and Thyer's communications on these matters, which in a chance way referred to provincial language, as Thyer had had opportunity of studying the speech of the surroundings of Manchester⁹¹⁸). A good example is Warton's treatment of "bourn"⁹¹⁹), in connection with which he traces the meanings of the word in the hilly parts of England as well as in the "waste and open countries", taking care to add copious literary illustrations and to study the history of the expression in works of scholars such as Du Cange and Furetière.

A department in which very little work had been done previous to Warton, is the examination of the connection of Milton's poetry with local traditions and history. An excellent instance showing at once Warton's wide knowledge of the latter and his skill of utilizing this knowledge for literary interpretation is his inquiry into the allusion to the apparition on St. Michael's Mount in *Lyc.* 159 & *c.* It is true that the note embodies without any acknowledgement the results of Meadowcourt's studies of the same passage. The latter had already done some valuable work, identifying part of the geographical and legendary names and availing himself of the aid of Camden's erudition to ascertain the meaning of the reference to "Namanco's and Bayona's hold". The exact identification of these names is the merit of Todd, but Camden had already stated in a passage not specified by Meadowcourt

⁹¹⁶) *Lyc.* 193 *n.*

⁹¹⁷) *Co.* 312 *n.*

⁹¹⁸) *Cf. Co.* 312 *n.*

⁹¹⁹) *Co.* 313 *n.*

that the mount is the only part of England pointing directly towards Spain ⁹²⁰). However, neither Meadowcourt nor Newton attempt to explain the allusion to the "great vision". Here Warton shows his knowledge and acumen. The material added by him is more helpful for the understanding of the passage than that which he has borrowed. Carew's "Survey of Cornwall", Caxton's "Golden Legend", William of Worcester's "Itinerarium" and particularly local documents and traditions are made use of to establish the fact that Milton intends the vision to be that of St. Michael which according to a popular belief appears on the mountain. The epithet "guarded" is stated to refer to a fortress formerly situated there, the word "mount" to be used as the "peculiar appropriated appellation" of the promontory. These inquiries, which also show an intimate knowledge of the scenery and betray Warton's endeavour to arrive at a full realization of the visual impression present to the poet's mind while he wrote, culminate in the conclusion that the "Angel" mentioned in v. 163 is not the spirit of Lycidas looking down from heaven, as Thyer thought ⁹²¹), but the archangel himself. This is supported by the circumstance that the invocation in v. 163 is apparently designed to contrast with the preceding description of the apparition looking towards the sea. The antithesis would be very considerably impaired if the references were to different persons. Warton points this out, besides mentioning a number of additional arguments, and his conjecture is strongly defended by recent editors such as Verity ⁹²²). Thorough research and trained logical thinking combine here to explain this passage, which gains much in impressiveness by the substitution of the great imposing vision of the angel for the gentle spirit of "young Lycidas".

B. WARTON'S CRITICAL VIEWS AND METHODS.

Warton's great miscellaneous learning, his antiquarian instinct and his knowledge of the atmosphere of town and country, of aristocracy and peasantry, only helped him to collect the material which his gift of representation and his trained sense of literary analysis had to shape and utilize. He was out of sympathy

⁹²⁰) Cf. Lyc. 160 *n.*, ed. Newton.

⁹²¹) Cf. note in Newton's ed.

⁹²²) Cf. his ed. of Lyc., Notes.

with certain features of Milton's poetry. The puritanic and republican tendencies in Milton's poetry he found to be harmful to some of its best qualities. The "splendours of society", the "*studious cloysters pale*, and the *high embowed roof*", the "storied windows richly dight", the "*pealing organ* and the *full-voiced quire*" are regarded by him as "totally inconsistent" with the "very repugnant and unpoetical principles" afterwards adopted by Milton⁹²³). "The delights arising from these objects were to be sacrificed to the cold and philosophical spirit of calvinism, which furnished no pleasures to the imagination" (924). Warton is extremely conservative, and Milton's tendency "to subvert monarchy, to destroy subordination, and to level all distinctions of rank" (925) offends his sense of loyalty to existing institutions. The most extreme high-church tendencies of to-day would possibly have been after his mind, for he finds papacy a "very poetical" religion (926).

All this might have been expected to make it somewhat difficult for him to attain to an unbiassed appreciation of "Paradise Lost" and Milton's later works. His early poetry, in which imagination and bright, varied description are so prominent, could be very well appreciated by such a temper — without doubt infinitely better than by the dogmatic classicist Newton. Warton becomes its main interpreter, one of the heralds of the cause of imagination, in a far higher degree than Richardson or Thyer had been, though it must be remembered in justice to Thyer that his original notes were lost and that there is extant only a set of fragments set down in great haste.

Yet Warton's literary horizon is sufficiently wide to make it possible for him to understand some aspects of Milton's poetry almost radically opposed to the trend of thought just described. He values certain features which are conspicuous in Milton's later "puritanic" period but occur only very rarely in the works of his youth and early manhood. More than that — he rates them above everything else in Milton's early poetry. The ideal of sublime simplicity favoured alike by such divergent personalities as Bentley and Thyer is indirectly acknowledged by Warton to be the highest

923) Cf. II P., final note.

924) *Ibid.*

925) *Ibid.*

926) This attitude is reflected in Warton's pronouncements on Milton's prose, *e. g.* in the final note to the Latin poems of Milton.

literary doctrine to be discovered in Milton. The manner of the poet's greatest works seems to have impressed him sufficiently deeply to neutralize his other literary sympathies, though they were as genuine, and suited his character as perfectly, as the tendency mentioned above. The last verses of the poem "At a Solemn Music" elicit the verdict that possibly there are "no finer lines in Milton, less obscured by conceit, less embarrassed by affected expressions, and less weakened by pompous epithets" ⁹²⁷). He praises this "perspicuous and simple style" in which there "are conveyed some of the noblest ideas of a most sublime philosophy, heightened by metaphors and allusions suitable to the subject". It is, however, to be noted that Warton does not insist on inculcating this philosophy. He does not recommend the obtrusively pedagogic style eulogized by Newton and even by Thyer.

Warton finds many traces of this grand manner in Milton's early poetry. The reproach referred to by him that the poet "never learned the art of doing little things with grace" is met by the retort that "If by *little* things we are to understand *short* poems, Milton had the art of giving them another sort of excellence" ⁹²⁸) — the excellence of sublimity, as is evident from the same note. It resembles the sublimity ascribed by Bentley to the flights of Milton's imagination through the universe ⁹²⁹). It is identical with the "great reach of imagination" which is admired by Warton in his description of a huge archetype of Man, "stalking in some remote unknown region of the earth, and lifting his head so high as to be dreaded by the gods" ⁹³⁰). The "great and lofty imagery" which Milton manages to raise from a "trifling and unimportant circumstance" in the sixth elegy ⁹³¹), the "high strain of philosophy, delivered in as high strains of eloquence and poetry" in Co. 584 *et seq.* fall under the same category and find full acknowledgement. That mere moralizing and volubility did not satisfy Warton, is, however, obvious from his treatment of the learned dialogue of the two brothers in "Comus" which, in spite of the "flowers of eloquence" that adorned it, is regarded as "little more than a solitary declamation in blank verse", greatly resembl-

⁹²⁷) Sol. Mus. 17 *n.*

⁹²⁸) Cf. Passion, introductory note.

⁹²⁹) Cf. above, chapter on Bentley.

⁹³⁰) Id. Plat. 3 *n.*

⁹³¹) Cf. El. VI, final note.

ing the immature "manner of our author's Latin Prolusions at Cambridge, where philosophy is inforced by pagan fable and poetical allusion" ⁹³²). The impressive, masculine grandeur of really "cosmic" passages, such as the poet's "sublime mode of describing the study of natural philosophy" by a symbolic relation of how he passed through the elements after beholding "each blissful Deity" "at Heav'n's door", is, on the contrary, dwelt upon with much enthusiasm ⁹³³), and Warton sees promise of "Paradise Lost" in the interplanetary roamings described immediately before these verses. It seems evident that he deemed the manner of Milton's great epic superior to that of his early attempts, though the picturesque style of "Comus" is regarded by him as falling just short of the perfection of the poet's masterpiece ⁹³⁴). Yet even in discussing "Comus" he lays particular stress on its classicist features ⁹³⁵), on its simplicity and on the "principles and form of rational composition" to which he finds the old English masque there reduced for the first time ⁹³⁶). It is true that in the same note the "sublime sentiment", the "fanciful imagery of the richest vein", the "ornamental expression" characterizing the work are admitted and praised.

However, his valuation of these is extended to them only within certain bounds. The dislike of the "affected expressions" and "pompous epithets" mentioned in the above-quoted criticism on the poem "At a Solemn Music" evidently made Warton disinclined to approve of the Italian style. In this he concurs with so great an admirer of imaginative excellence as Thyer. His attitude appears very clearly in the judgement he passes on Milton's Italian sonnets, in which he praises those features which are the reverse of the usual Italian manner, the "natural severity of mind" appearing there and the "remarkable air of gravity and dignity" which it lends even to the poet's love-verses ⁹³⁷). "They are free from the metaphysics of Petrarch, and more in the manner of Dante", is his definition of their relation to the classical poets of Italy. The word "metaphysics", which may have been used

⁹³²) Co. 458 *n.*

⁹³³) V. Ex. 40 *n.*

⁹³⁴) Cf. Comus, final note.

⁹³⁵) Cf. also Warton's preface on Milton's Latin poetry, see above.

⁹³⁶) Comus, final note.

⁹³⁷) Cf. p. 338.

here in allusion to the English metaphysicists, seems to indicate the grounds of his objection to the Italians. The reference apparently is to the logical distortions, the eccentric flights of thought that distinguished the school of Donne and Cowley⁹³⁸). This tendency impresses one as a lingering trace of the spirit of *rationalism* which Warton, on the whole, seems to have been able to overcome. He appears to distinguish between a mere exaggerated richness of description, which, as shown above, may appeal to his sensitive mind, and the lack of clear, straightforward logic. The "forced thoughts" the occurrence of which at the end of sonnet V⁹³⁹) is considered "intolerable", disturb him more than the somewhat "unnatural" profusion of imagery in Co. 932 *et seq.*⁹⁴⁰) which he finds it possible to forgive as being meant to represent not "truth and reality" but poetry. In certain cases, his dislike of a seemingly arbitrary, unjustified strangeness in the angle of vision seems to blind him to the *emotional* value of this peculiarity, as appears from his comparison of a passage from Milton with one from Pope. There seems to be a touch of incongruity in the action described in the following sentence which Warton quotes from Milton's book on Reformation: "God, when we least deserved, sent out a *gentle gale*, and message of peace, from the *wings* of those his Cherubims that FAN his mercy-seat"⁹⁴¹). The "gentle gale, and message of peace", fanned from the wings of the angels, is certainly a more elaborate and less common image than the "perfumes" in the verse by Pope adduced to show the superiority of a style which is "natural, rational, and highly poetical without extravagance":

"The wings of Seraphs shed divine perfumes".

The word "rational" ought to be noted. Yet it seems as if the very commonness of Pope's phrase would impair its poetic value. Milton's "puerile Italian conceit", as Warton calls it, appears to be charged with genuine emotion and is therefore more impressive than Pope's conventional line. Warton's hostile attitude may in part have been prompted by religious and political considerations, which would explain the violence of his tone. He regards Milton's

⁹³⁸) Cf. Warton's preface pp. XV—XVIII on Cowley. Cowley's "false and extravagant thoughts" are Warton's main reason for attacking him there.

⁹³⁹) Sonnet V, final note.

⁹⁴⁰) Co. 932 *n.*

⁹⁴¹) D. F. J. 57 *n.*

sentence with apparent contempt as a combination of "the enthusiasm of puritanical devotion" with "the mystic visions of monastic quietism". There is certainly some enthusiasm in it, but hardly in any bad sense, and the "mystic visions" are closely connected with the atmosphere of inspiration and poetry which Warton seemed to recognize in Roman Catholicism, as was shown above. The critic apparently considers it the extravagance of a Puritan indulging in the follies of a fanatic Romanism. He is far more intelligible when he calls Lyly's "Euphues" a "book full of affected phraseology" ⁹⁴²), contrasting it with Milton's "superior genius" which is said to raise him "above the level of the fashionable rhymers" ⁹⁴³).

This occasional tendency towards rationalism which, generally speaking, is not obtrusive, does not destroy Warton's genuine appreciation of rich and ornate imagery nor does it prevent him from analysing it with great eagerness and understanding, so long as a certain moderation is observed and as sound commonsense does not appear too palpably to be trespassed against. The "brilliancy of romance" distinguishing Milton's Ligea from the Ligea of Ovid, is not condemned ⁹⁴⁴). The critic's skilful study of fine pictorial effects in the luxurious manner of the Elizabethans and perhaps even some overvaluation of artificial magnificence are shown in his treatment of Milton's metaphor of the "sea-girt isles" that like "rich and various gems" inlay "the unadorned bosom of the deep" ⁹⁴⁵). He compares this with Shakespeare's metaphorical description of England as "This precious stone set in the silver sea" ⁹⁴⁶) where the "silver sea" strikes him as a "petty conceit" and the "conception of a jeweller". He seems to forget the vividness with which the epithet "silver" renders the impression of the sparkling surface of the sea. Milton's simile is even more elaborate and artificial, and gives no help in visualizing the scene described. However, it has a decorative merit of its own, despite its lack of verisimilitude, and Warton points out the artistic refinement achieved by contrasting the "rich inlay" of the islands

⁹⁴²) V. Ex. 18 n.

⁹⁴³) *Ibid.*

⁹⁴⁴) Co. 880 n.

⁹⁴⁵) Co. 22 n.

⁹⁴⁶) Rich. II, ii. 1.

with the "simple ground" of the sea, "else unadorned" ⁹⁴⁷), a device not to be found in Shakespeare's phrase.

This keen appreciation of the effect of sensuous perception enables Warton to do justice to the not uncommon Elizabethan method of likening the impressions of one sense to those of another or of positively identifying them. This practice may have resulted from the extreme sensitiveness to physical impressions observable in the writers of that age and recurring from time to time at periods of great general sensibility, *e. g.* in the poetry of Coleridge, Keats and Shelley, as well as in that of the French symbolists and their precursors, for instance Baudelaire, Rimbaud, Mallarmé. Warton notices it in "Comus" ⁹⁴⁸) and quotes some typical parallels from Ben Jonson's "Vision of Delight" and from Bacon's essays. All these cases compare sound to odour or *vice versa*. The annotator is apparently anxious to ascertain the exact nature of the sensorial impressions used by Milton, for he studies the MS. draft of the masque, calling attention to the epithet originally used instead of "rich distill'd" as applied to perfumes. It was "slow-distilled", a word indicating, as Warton says, "the gradual increase and diffusion of odours in the process of distilling perfumes". This is found to correspond with the structure of the musical air composed by Lawes for the song of Echo, "which", according to Warton, "begins with the softest strains". This deft analysis of the most complex interplays of sensory effects would have been impossible without a highly developed sensibility on the critic's part.

Warton's skill in the observation of characteristic inobtrusive details helps him in the study of Milton's *epithets*. He is conscious of their importance, knowing like the Richardsons that a slight individualizing touch may alter the whole character of a passage ⁹⁴⁹). The Richardsons noticed this only with regard to

⁹⁴⁷) *Ibid.*

⁹⁴⁸) Cf. ll. 555—8.

⁹⁴⁹) An example where Warton notices a slight change of the point of view which none the less alters the whole impression is II P. 85 *n.* He deals with the verses: "Or let my Lamp at midnight hour, Be seen in som high lonely Towr". The simple sense of these verses is, according to Warton, turned into "a picture... which strikes the imagination" by the sole addition of "the extraneous circumstance *be seen*". It would only mean "Let me study at midnight by a lamp in a lofty tower" but for this additional

pictorial details. Warton does so in a more general way in dealing with Milton's Latin verse: "Me tenet urbs reflua quam Thamesis alluit unda" ⁹⁵⁰). The epithet "reflua" is found to rescue the verse from the commonplace. The "peculiar circumstance of the reflux of the tide" makes "new, poetical, and appropriated" what otherwise would have been "a general and a trite allusion" ⁹⁵¹).

Warton is keenly bent on establishing the literary ancestry of Milton's epithets, apparently recognizing that the sources of an expression largely determine its associations. He is particularly successful in tracing epithets and phrases borrowed from the romances of chivalry, as in the case of Milton's invocation of Euphrosyne in "L'Allegro": "thou Goddess fair and free". The note to this line shows the frequent occurrence of this combination of adjectives in works of a romantic character, and especially of "free" as a common epithet for a lady. This archaic flavour, if, as seems likely, it was intended by Milton, must have been meant to contribute to that peculiar atmosphere of classical mythology mixed with mediæval romance which strikes one immediately in the twin poems ⁹⁵²). A similar study is made of many other expressions from similar sources, *e. g.* of the combination "hall or bower" which is quoted from Spenser, Chaucer, & *c.* ⁹⁵³), or of "temple and tower" ⁹⁵⁴), a phrase lending an air of romantic richness to a poem combining mediæval notions of knightly honour with allusions to the glory of classical poetry.

Various refinements in Milton's use of words had been studied by Hume who examined with particular zeal the ambiguity of many of Milton's Latinisms and Græcisms where the old co-existed with the modern meaning. Similarly, Warton notices some curious instances of the ambiguous combination of literal and metaphorical senses of words. In *Il P.* 40 *n.* the epithet "rapt"

feature. Warton appears to be right, for the idea of an observer watching the lonely scholar from outside adds a touch of dramatic tension to the situation.

⁹⁵⁰) *El. I.* 9 *n.*

⁹⁵¹) *Ibid.*

⁹⁵²) *Cf. e. g.* the parallel case of "bucksom, blith, and debonair" in *L'A.* 24, resembling Spenser's use of the word "debonair" as applied to ladies and knights.

⁹⁵³) *Co.* 45 *n.*

⁹⁵⁴) *Sonnet VIII,* l. 11 *n.*

is traced in the poetry of the Elizabethans and almost throughout Milton's poetical works, and Warton discovers a number of passages where the meanings "snatched away" and "enraptured" seem to be intended simultaneously ⁹⁵⁵).

The keen appreciation of poetic artistry and workmanship shown by this and many similar observations points to the independent literary activity of the critic ⁹⁵⁶). Himself a trained craftsman in the composition of verse, Warton is able to enjoy technical and purely æsthetic features with an acuteness which is beyond the reach of the mere scholar, even when highly cultured. The superior subtlety of Warton's observations is apparent from the relative frequency with which cases of ambiguous associations of ideas are analysed, (*e. g.* the above-mentioned blending of the literal and metaphorical meanings of words, of the characters of Milton's *dramatis personæ* with those of the actors, of the perceptions of different senses) — a tendency differing radically from the 18th century ideal of simplicity. Both the ability to appreciate æsthetic values as such, conceived apart from moral dogmas, and the penetration which, refusing to accept appearances, considers the various implications of seemingly simple phenomena, are shown in the more comprehensive studies of the individual poems generally affixed by way of summaries to Warton's comments on separate passages. To these qualities is added a vivid sense of the author's personality, of the moods giving rise to his works.

All these elements seem to have influenced Warton's understanding of the concept of "theme" or "substance" in poetry. To him, it is not mainly by its execution of a professed intention that a work must be judged. The fundamental mood, the poet's manner of approach to his subject, his various ways of relieving his mind from the burden of poetical inspiration are, as it seems, regarded as more important than the announced theme. This may

⁹⁵⁵) P. L. XI. 706, P. L. VIII. 23, possibly also P. R. II. 40, and some examples from Pope, the "Faery Queen", Berni and "Orlando Innamorato".

⁹⁵⁶) Milton's versification, however, seems to present serious difficulties to Warton's understanding. He dislikes its redundant syllables, particularly those in the blank verse of "Comus" and, notwithstanding Milton's "singular skill in music", charges him with having had "a very bad ear" — a judgement which proves how even a sensitive mind may commit the most striking blunders in matters of æsthetic perception.

quite possibly be used as a conscious or unconscious pretext for the treatment of quite different matters. Further, literary inspiration, the glow of the imagination, seem, in his opinion, to outweigh an absence of sincerity or at any rate of emotional warmth in the treatment of the proposed subject even in such a conspicuous case as Milton's expressions of sorrow for Edward King, the hero of "Lycidas". This is the very reverse of the attitude which demanded solemn instruction and moral feelings from the higher type of poetry. Warton, on the contrary, in the present case tends towards an extreme æstheticism. The impassioned artistry of the work he seems to consider a sufficient substitute for less esoteric emotions. The literary passion becomes of equal value with commoner passions ⁹⁵⁷). Warton admits the possible lack of real affliction in the elegy and the artificial nature of its imagery, but the "peculiar and irresistible" charm of the poem is found to pervade even its conventional symbolism and scenery. Warton's summary of the matter is that "in this piece there is perhaps more poetry than sorrow. But let us read it for its poetry" ⁹⁵⁸).

Much of the same penetration is found in Warton's criticism of "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso". Here, however, his ways of approach are not purely æsthetic. In trying to discover the personal feelings behind these poems Warton detects traits which appear to be more fundamental in his author's mind than the æsthetic attitude which he finds in "Lycidas". Warton here proves his competence to probe deeply into human consciousness. In his analysis of the two poems he tends to explain every detail from the point of view of the poet's personality which lurks behind the serene disguise of "L'Allegro" while appearing no less in the dreams and speculations of his more thoughtful companion. The author's character affords the connecting link serving to combine and explain the varying individual features of these poems. This is the main difference of Warton's method from the methods of many of his predecessors, particularly from that of Newton, who treated the diverse characteristics of Milton's works separately, far too seldom regarding them as one organic whole. Warton shows definitely that the title of "L'Allegro" ought to

⁹⁵⁷) Cf. *Lyc.*, final note.

⁹⁵⁸) *Ibid.*

deceive no one and that the complicated problem of the melancholy pleasures of the hero of the poem is easily solved if L'Allegro and Il Penseroso are assumed to be the same person, namely the author, Milton himself: "Both poems are the result of the same feelings, and the same habits of thought" ⁹⁵⁹). "It was impossible for the author of IL PENSEROSO to be more cheerful, or to paint levity" ⁹⁶⁰). These statements are supported by a careful analysis of the expression which this mood has found in the external details of "L'Allegro". It is pointed out that the personifications of laughter and jollity are never exemplified and that quips and cranks and wanton wiles are named only in general terms. The landscape, though it has flocks and flowery meadows, everywhere betrays the author's turn of mind, wearing "a shade of pensiveness" on its "*russet* laws [*sic*], fallows *gray*, and barren mountains, overhung with *labouring* clouds". "Even his most brilliant imagery is mellowed with the sober hues of philosophic meditation" ⁹⁶¹). Warton, under the impression of this scenery, even asserts that "There is specifically no mirth in contemplating a fine landscape" ⁹⁶²). It is perhaps not quite certain whether this was a permanent doctrine with him or a passing remark but it is in conformity with that ideal of solemn, profoundly emotional beauty which under the influence of such poets as Young and Gray had taken hold of the literature of the period.

Here his demand for serious, sublime poetry, which was dealt with before, again asserts itself. It was shown that Warton's delight in purely artistic qualities was able to reconcile him to the absence of intense human sympathies and passions. Yet exclusively æsthetic poetry is most obviously not his highest ideal. The very note which finds poetry and feigned, or tepid, sorrow to be compatible, dwells on the relieving effect of the "graces of sentiment" in "Lycidas". Yet the sentiment discovered in "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso" is deeper. There is no violence in it. It is so subdued that Warton feels entitled to speak of the "sober hues of philosophic meditation" ⁹⁶³), but it is evident that he does not mean the "cold and philosophical" spirit of Calvinism

⁹⁵⁹) Il P., final note.

⁹⁶⁰) *Ibid.*

⁹⁶¹) *Ibid.*

⁹⁶²) *Ibid.*

⁹⁶³) Il P., final note.

which is denounced in this note. There is much emotion behind its sobriety. It is "a train of solemn and romantic, perhaps melancholy, reflection" ⁹⁶⁴). This is the mood regarded by Warton as inspiring "the colours of higher poetry", which he found to be inconsistent with levity ⁹⁶⁵). The very highest type of poetry acknowledged by him, that of sublime simplicity as found in the lines "At a Solemn Music" shares with the present its gravity, though it exceeds it in terse intensity. Warton shows by these and various similar observations that he was equally well qualified for studying the emotional and the formal aspects of poetry and that the scope of his criticism, extending from classicism to Elizabethan exuberance, from popular humour to solemn seriousness, and from æstheticism to the enjoyment of genuine, deep feeling, as well as the delicate, flexible art of his analyses enabled him to approach the shifting moods of Milton's lyrics with a competence never matched before.

This same faculty for getting at the core of his author's personality enables Warton to see the unity and inner coherence of features which might otherwise appear whimsical and irregular. This is important in his handling of a "wild" and grotesque style. Apparent incongruities can be explained as being ruled by some inner principle, though this generally remains unintelligible until the author's mood is considered. This is the clue to them and can be discovered only by a sensitive temper.

Warton's perpetual sifting of chaotic historical and literary materials had forced him to strain his sensitiveness to the utmost. He was accustomed to the task of concentrating on minutiae and of picking out the grains of psychological information from heaps of chaff. Eloquent details seem to have been sufficient to compensate him for the dullness and incoherence of the whole. He could appreciate works the main charm of which depended on occasional flashes of poetry and invention. His description of his impression of Burton's "Anatomy of Melancholy" shows this gift, a gift indispensable to the literary antiquarian. He apparently looked mainly for the curious personal touches in that work. Peck appears to have valued the book highly, but to have found it difficult to sum up his opinion ⁹⁶⁶). Warton evinces this ability

⁹⁶⁴) *Ibid.*

⁹⁶⁵) *Ibid.*

⁹⁶⁶) Cf. above.

in a considerable degree. His criticism proves, at the same time, that he could regard singularity and quaintness as desirable literary qualities, in spite of his praise of 18th century neatness in some of the observations discussed above.

His opinion of this "very elaborate work" is that "the writer's variety of learning, his quotations from scarce and curious books, his pedantry sparkling with rude wit and shapeless elegance, miscellaneous matter, intermixture of agreeable tales and illustrations, and perhaps, above all, the singularities of his feeling clothed [*sic*] in an uncommon quaintness of style, have contributed to render it, even to modern readers, a valuable repository of amusement and information" ⁹⁶⁷). Almost every detail shows that Warton had formed a definite idea of the author's personality, of the disorderly but rich and original mind felt to live among the somewhat amorphous profusion of material presented in the book.

A critic able to detect the unity of atmosphere in the extreme irregularity and eccentricity of Burton's work was hardly likely to be deterred by Milton's peculiarities. Warton did not approve of them all, as was pointed out, but he rarely condemned them wholesale, trying, as a rule, to find their real significance. To do this was much easier in the case of Milton than in that of Burton, since the former's artistic intentions were beyond doubt incomparably more definite, while his terseness and power of expression conveyed his emotions in a highly suggestive way, making a misunderstanding of his meaning much more difficult. The apparent disorder in some of his works could be more easily reduced to its leading principle. The expressive nature of his extravagances of style and imagery, their correspondence with the general mood, usually prevented Warton from taking up a condemnatory attitude. This seems to be true of his analysis of "Lycidas". It has to be admitted that he does not approve of its mixture of "religious disputes with pagan and pastoral ideas", merely excusing it as "irregularities and incongruities" not to be tried by modern criticism because the poem was composed at a time when "our poetry was not yet purged from its Gothic combinations" ⁹⁶⁸). The "legitimate notions of discrimination and propriety" in the 18th century sense are recommended but not very

⁹⁶⁷) II P., final note.

⁹⁶⁸) Lye., final note.

urgently ⁹⁶⁹). The element of "agreeable wildness" pointed out by Thyer ⁹⁷⁰) evidently impresses Warton as one of the main attractions of the elegy. He dwells on the "unexpected touches of picturesque beauty", the "novelties of original genius" striking one among the varying and shifting matter of the poem ⁹⁷¹), and the superabundance of classical imagery censured by Johnson as college pedantry ⁹⁷²) is defended by him because of the vividness, the "fancy and poetical description" it introduces ⁹⁷³). The anachronistic device of "transferring the classical seats of the Muses to Britain" and substituting "places of the most romantic kind, inhabited by Druids, and consecrated by the visions of the British bards" is called a sign of "great force and felicity of fancy", and contrasted with Pope's "cold and unpoetical" though "very correct" pastorals. The rough, gigantic, weird scenery of the elegy, all its "wild imagery", is described at some length and with an impressiveness showing the critic's sensitiveness to its peculiar glamour. The "tombs of the Druids, dispersed over the solitary mountains of Denbighshire, the shaggy summits of Mona, and the wizard waters of Deva" attract him by their wildness ⁹⁷⁴). He appears to grasp the effect of mysterious breadth and suggestiveness caused by the introduction of "the old British traditions and fabulous histories" ⁹⁷⁵). All these features contrast very sharply with the smoothness and narrowness of common 18th century classicism.

Warton succeeds in finding a theoretical basis for his attitude. In a note on the baroque description of heathen deities in the "Nativity Ode" ⁹⁷⁶) he defines the "wildness" of the passage as "most interesting to the fancy". Here the mainspring of all literary experience is touched upon. It is intimated that the value of the description depends on the impression produced on the reader's mind. As Warton studies the author's mental attitude, so he repeatedly treats of the mental state of the reader or spectator on receiving artistic or literary impressions. This leads to

⁹⁶⁹) *Ibid.*

⁹⁷⁰) Cf. above, section on Thyer in chapter on Newton's Milton.

⁹⁷¹) Lyc., final note.

⁹⁷²) Cf. Life of Milton, on "Lycidas".

⁹⁷³) Lyc., final note.

⁹⁷⁴) Lyc. 55 n.

⁹⁷⁵) *Ibid.*

⁹⁷⁶) N. O. 205 n.

the ultimate recognition of the imagination as the main agent in poetry.

Thyer already stated clearly enough that the most important aspect of a literary work is its effect upon the reader⁹⁷⁷) — far more than the completeness or elaboration of the details of the text. The author has to stimulate the mind, not to suffocate its activity by an overwhelming abundance of detail. The logical conclusion to be drawn is that the slightest and vaguest literary stimulus is sufficient, provided it fulfils its object of calling forth a certain mood in the reader. Vagueness and incompleteness may even be desirable in so far as they force him to continue independently in the direction indicated by the author. These truths, as will be shown, are recognized and in part clearly formulated by Warton.

He describes in a vividly written note how the impressions received by Milton in his youth contributed to the development of the imaginative element in him⁹⁷⁸). It is apparently the very vagueness and suggestiveness of the dim interior of Gothic churches which are supposed to have left their traces in his mind. Warton depicts the original cathedral of St. Paul, this "most stately and venerable pattern of the Gothic style", situated in the close neighbourhood of St. Paul's school where Milton was educated. The "solemnities of the antient [*sic*] ecclesiastical architecture, its vaults, shrines, iles, pillars, and painted glass, rendered yet more awful [!] by the accompaniment of the choral service" are thought to have impressed him "with an early reverence" and are compared with the present church by Sir Christopher Wren, the "Grecian proportions" of which may "gratify the judgment" with their "Truth and propriety" but "do not affect the imagination".

These views correspond with the description which the poet himself gives of the effect produced on him by the "dim religious light"⁹⁷⁹) of a church. Some other notes by Warton treat more clearly of analogical impressions, giving definite theoretical formulations of them. A typical case is his treatment of the incomplete representation of certain details of landscape⁹⁸⁰) in connection with its effect on the spectator. Milton describes

⁹⁷⁷) Cf. above, section on Thyer.

⁹⁷⁸) II P. 157 *n.*

⁹⁷⁹) II P. 160.

⁹⁸⁰) L'A. 77 *n.*

"Towers and Battlements... Boosom'd high in tufted Trees". Warton's opinion is that these "symptoms of an old palace, especially when thus disposed, have a greater effect, than a discovery of larger parts, and even a full display of the whole edifice", for "Where only a little is seen, more is left to the imagination" ⁹⁸¹). The combination of "the spreading tops of a tall grove" with the "embosomed battlements" "interests the fancy" and just enough is given "to compose a picturesque association" ⁹⁸²). This, to Warton's mind, is one of the main attractions of the architecture of "our Gothic ancestors" as opposed to that of modern country seats which "are seldom so deeply ambushed" and disclose their beauty at once, instead of exciting expectation "by concealment, by gradual approaches, and by interrupted appearances" ⁹⁸³).

There is only one step from this appreciation of suggestive incompleteness to the conscious theoretical recognition of the stimulating effect of a vagueness resembling the manner of Ossian. The latter method may be even more effective as it gives more scope to the imagination. Warton deprecates the tendency always to look for a definite meaning in a poetic passage. The author may have meant to be indistinct, as in the case of the vague personification of horror in P. L. IV. 989 ⁹⁸⁴), which the commentator finds fully justified, in opposition to Newton, who identifies its abstract quality with a definite concrete object, assuming that horror is here literally "made the plume of his [= Satan's] helmet". Warton regards this almost as a profanation of Milton's poetry: "...we detract from the sublimity of the passage in endeavouring to explain it, and to give a distinct signification". The less definite conception of the expression gives it a peculiar, significant effect, "a nameless terrible grace, resulting from a mixture of ideas, and a confusion of imagery". This is the very principle which explains the effect of Coleridge's masterpieces. "The Ancient Mariner", "Christabel" and "Kubla Khan" are the best evidence in favour of Warton's statement. Confusion itself is regarded as a laudable æsthetic quality. It would be difficult to acknowledge further the rights of the imagination as opposed to classical perspicuity and definiteness.

⁹⁸¹) *Ibid.*

⁹⁸²) *Ibid.*

⁹⁸³) *Ibid.*

⁹⁸⁴) Cf. V. Nov. 148 n.

12. THE COMMENTARIES BETWEEN WARTON AND TODD (1785—1798).

A. MINOR PUBLICATIONS.

It was mentioned in the introduction to the present treatise ⁹⁸⁵) how enthusiastically some critics received Warton's edition. This welcome was not quite unanimous. The pamphlet we have to treat of ⁹⁸⁶) attacks Warton's Milton from the point of view of staunch literary conservatism. Warton's "Spleen, Prejudice, or Party-Spirit" are condemned. The pamphleteer professes to be no Calvinist himself ⁹⁸⁷) but he sneers at the Church of England and censures Warton for his hostility to Calvinism ⁹⁸⁸). This tendency agrees with the critic's anti-romantic trend, in accordance with the spirit of the religion he defends. Warton's predilection for popular poetry and "the English *blacke Letter Classics*" are ridiculed, "the present age" being accused of manifesting "an uncommon Relish for all such Reading as was never read" ⁹⁸⁹). These writers are considered "very well" for children: "*Young Ravens must have Food*". Shakespeare is, however, exempted from this condemnatory verdict. The critic finds that he "can hardly be published too often" ⁹⁹⁰).

Much attention is given to the looseness of the editor's method, particularly to his excessive quotations ⁹⁹¹).

Some attacks on Pope and Newton in Warton's edition are rigorously censured ⁹⁹²), but the remarks made by the writer on Bishop Parker ⁹⁹³) are so hostile that his right of criticizing

⁹⁸⁵) Cf. p. 18.

⁹⁸⁶) A LETTER TO THE REV. MR. T. WARTON, ON HIS LATE EDITION OF MILTON'S JUVENILE POEMS. LONDON: Printed for C. BATHURST, in Fleet-street. MDCCLXXXV.

[Price One Shilling.]

8^o: pp. [2] + 41. Anonymous.

⁹⁸⁷) Cf. p. 38.

⁹⁸⁸) Cf. pp. 37—38.

⁹⁸⁹) Cf. p. 40.

⁹⁹⁰) *Ibid.*

⁹⁹¹) Pp. 16 *et seq.*

⁹⁹²) Pp. 21—23.

⁹⁹³) P. 32.

the comparatively reserved strictures of Warton seems very questionable. Yet some of the retorts in the pamphlet show its author's positive qualities in a more favourable light than this. Occasionally he shows some imaginative insight, *e. g.* in his explanation of "amber stream" in P. R. III. 288⁹⁹⁴). According to Warton, this word means clearness, when applied to water, and a bright yellow, when used of hair. His critic finds that "A clear transparent Stream, rolling over a fine yellow Sand, suggests the Idea of Amber", a hint which would seem to agree with the situation described by Milton. Now and then, the writer shows some knowledge of philology, *e. g.* in his discussion of the original meaning of "kirtle"⁹⁹⁵), and Warton's descriptions of country life are criticized and supplemented by him⁹⁹⁶). All this does not mean that the critic disapproves of Warton's work as a whole. The very beginning of the pamphlet welcomes the edition, stating, however, that the writer's principal aim is to study its defects. His inability to do justice to the most conspicuous feature of Warton's labours, his rehabilitation of older English literature, proves, nevertheless, that the opponent was not particularly well qualified for his task.

David Steel's "Elements of Punctuation"⁹⁹⁷) contain some notes on Miltonic passages. Most of these elaborate the punctuation without contributing to the elucidation of the text. In certain cases, emendations are proposed which show some sense of artistic effects, as *e. g.* the suggestion to regard "however small" P. L. V. 257 as referring to "no cloud or . . . Starr" P. L. V. 257—8 instead of connecting it with "Earth and the Gard'n of God" P. L. V. 260. Steel wishes to intensify the visual effect of the scene and asks whether it would not "give a stronger idea of the amazing clearness of the prospect, to say, *no cloud or star*, however small,

⁹⁹⁴) P. 17, cf. Warton Co. 863 *n.*

⁹⁹⁵) Cf. p. 7.

⁹⁹⁶) Cf. p. 9, see Warton p. 169.

⁹⁹⁷) ELEMENTS OF PUNCTUATION: CONTAINING REMARKS ON AN "ESSAY ON PUNCTUATION"; AND CRITICAL OBSERVATIONS ON SOME PASSAGES IN MILTON. By DAVID STEEL, junior. [*Motto from Horace.*] LONDON: Printed for the Author; and sold by Mess. G. G. J. and J. Robinson, Pater-noster Row [+ 4 more names]. MDCC.LXXXVI.

⁸°: pp. XV + 175. — Pp. 121—129 contain "CRITICAL OBSERVATIONS ON MILTON".

interpos'd to obstruct his sight?" A comma after "small" in P. L. V. 258 would be sufficient to achieve this effect. But the instances where Steel adds anything essential to the analyses of his predecessors are rare.

The edition of Gillies⁹⁹⁸) contains little beside biblical parallels. The few explanatory notes subjoined by him are insignificant. He seems to be anxious to disprove that Milton might have suggested the possibility of any sordid thought in Mammon before the rebellion of the angels⁹⁹⁹) and objects to Newton's hint that Milton avoided religious rites in his family¹⁰⁰⁰). An attempt towards a more adequate understanding of the characters of the poem is made in VI. 568 *n.* where the puns of Satan and the other devils are described as "proud malignant scoffing", which seems to agree with the gloomy temper of the fallen angels. But these are merely chance observations. The main aim of this edition is, according to its preface, "to show *this only*, that Paradise Lost owes its chief excellence to the Holy Scriptures". Hence Gillies's careful study of scriptural parallelisms.

B. CAPEL LOFFT'S EDITION OF "PARADISE LOST".

PARADISE LOST. A POEM IN TWELVE BOOKS. THE AUTHOR JOHN MILTON. Printed from the FIRST and SECOND Editions collated. THE ORIGINAL SYSTEM OF ORTHOGRAPHY RESTORED; THE PUNCTUATION CORRECTED AND EXTENDED. WITH VARIOUS READINGS: AND NOTES; CHIEFLY RHYTHMICAL. By CAPEL LOFFT. "Ego" (*hic quidem loci*) " *sic scribendum Quicque judico quo-*

⁹⁹⁸) Milton's Paradise Lost ILLUSTRATED WITH TEXTS OF SCRIPTURE, by JOHN GILLIES, D. D. ONE OF THE MINISTERS IN GLASGOW. [Motto from P. L. III. 26 & *c.*] LONDON: PRINTED FOR J. F. AND C. RIVINGTON, L. DAVIS, B. WHITE AND SON, T. LONGMAN... [altogether 22 names]... MDCCLXXXVIII.

12^o: pp. [2] + XXIV + 384 + [22]. *Contents*: p. [1], title; p. I, dedctn; pp. III—IV, preface; pp. V—XIX, Fenton's life with postscript; pp. XX—XXIII, laudatory verses on P. L.; p. XXIV, The Verse; p. 1—384, text of P. L. with notes; pp. [1—22], index.

The second edition, 12^o, 1793, is slightly different. Both this and the third edition, 12^o, 1804, have lists of Milton's imitations of the classics at the end of each book. The names of the publishers in the imprints differ.

⁹⁹⁹) I. 679 *n.*

¹⁰⁰⁰) IV. 720 *n.*

modo sonet. Hic enim usus est Litterarum, ut custodiant voces, et velut Depositum reddant legentibus. Itaque id exprimere debent quod dicturi sumus." QUINTIL. 1. 7. *Worthy of sacred Silence to be heard! In nobilissimo Poemate MILTONUS: cujus celebritas crescit indies; cum MILTONUS non sit tam hominis nomen quàm Ingenii et Libertatis.* Wakefield SILV. CRIT. II. § 101. BURY ST. EDMUND'S: PRINTED AND SOLD by J. RACKHAM. AND SOLD ALSO by J. STOCKDALE, PICCADILLY; J. PHILLIPS, GEORGE YARD, LOMBARD-STREET; T. C. RICKMAN, UPPER MARYBONE-STREET, LONDON; W. STEVENSON, NORWICH; AND W. H. LUNN, CAMBRIDGE. MDCCXCII.

4^o: pp. [4] + LXIV [numeration wrong: numbers XLIX—LIX used twice, so that actually = pp. LXXIV] + sign. B—D⁴, E⁴. *Contents*: p. [1], title; p. [3], advertisement; p. [4], errata & c.; pp. I—LXII, prefatory matter; p. LXIII, half-title to bk. I of P. L.; signn. B—E⁴r, text of bk. I with notes.

THE FIRST AND SECOND BOOKS OF PARADISE LOST. THE AUTHOR JOHN MILTON. Printed from the FIRST and SECOND Editions collated. THE ORIGINAL SYSTEM OF ORTHOGRAPHY RESTORED; THE PUNCTUATION CORRECTED AND EXTENDED. WITH THE VARIOUS READINGS: AND NOTES; CHIEFLY RHYTHMICAL. BY CAPEL LOFFT, BURY ST. EDMUND'S: PRINTED AND SOLD BY J. RACKHAM, STATIONER. AND SOLD ALSO BY J. STOCKDALE, PICCADILLY; J. PHILLIPS, GEORGE-YARD, LOMBARD-STREET; T. C. RICKMAN, UPPER MARYBONE-STREET, LONDON; W. STEVENSON, NORWICH; AND W. H. LUNN, CAMBRIDGE. MDCCXCIII.

4^o. As before, but added: advertisement to ed. II., with special numeration [pp. I—IV], text of bk. II (signn. F—L₂v), with notes, a portrait and a facsimile from the Trin. Coll. MS.

Capel Lofft's edition, or what has been published of it, contains few notes, but the preliminary matter announces what he intended to do.

The title-page already indicates the main aspects under which he proposes to investigate the poem. Milton's rhythm, orthography and punctuation, as well as the various readings of his text, are mentioned there and apparently constitute the principal subjects of his study. Elsewhere he writes of subjoining "a copious *Index*; a *Table* illustrative of MILTON's Use and Application of Scripture; an Extract from the *Criticisms* of JOHNSON; and perhaps the critical Essay of ADDISON; and some, possibly, of the most remarkable of the modern TESTIMONIES", but no life of the

poet, for want of space ¹⁰⁰¹). The introductory part of the book contains a considerable amount of bibliographical and textual information which cannot be dealt with in detail here, as it falls outside the scope of the present thesis. A minute account of the authentic editions ¹⁰⁰²), a table of all the editions known to Lofft, a bibliographical description of two of the earliest posthumous ones, *viz.* those of 1688 and 1707, and various miscellaneous matter prove the editors care and thoroughness.

However, Lofft's studies in Milton's spellings, punctuation, rhythm, and, in connection with these, notably also in his intonation, remain the principal part of his introductory matter. He examines these features from a phonetic point of view, investigating the artistic effects produced by their aid. The authentic editions are scrutinized in order to understand the poet's phonetic intentions. The editor's method of approaching his subject is systematic, and his knowledge of phonetics that of a specialist, or at least of a remarkably well-informed amateur. He acknowledges his indebtedness in these matters to various scholars, *e. g.* in his study of Milton's punctuation, to his uncle, the Shakespeare editor Edward Capel ¹⁰⁰³), in points of orthography to J. Walker, the author of the "Rhetorical Grammar" ¹⁰⁰⁴), the elder Richardson ¹⁰⁰⁵), & *c.*

Lofft's remarks on Milton's *orthography* mean to show that the poet purported both to mark "the usual pronunciation with more certainty and consistency from the common mode" and to suggest a pronunciation more acceptable to the ear than the usual one — one that is "more dignified, or more impressively solemn ¹⁰⁰⁶).

A conspicuous defect of Lofft's disquisitions is his excessive tendency to theorize, often without adducing any sufficient evidence. His interpretation of his materials strikes one as rather arbitrary, though his ideas considered apart from the data of Milton's text are ingenious enough. Only two instances are given of the poet's supposed method of doubling the consonants in order

¹⁰⁰¹) Cf. p. XXVII.

¹⁰⁰²) Cf. p. II & *seq.* and p. LIII & *seq.*

¹⁰⁰³) Cf. Lofft, p. XV.

¹⁰⁰⁴) Cf. p. VIII.

¹⁰⁰⁵) Cf. p. I.

¹⁰⁰⁶) Cf. p. VII.

to indicate that the preceding vowel is short, but neither of these examples ("solid, metal") is very convincing¹⁰⁰⁷). Both the double and the single spellings of the consonants are found in Milton's poetry in these cases, "solid" even being generally spelt with a single *l*. The same carelessness appears in Lofft's statements as to the spellings of "ball" and "hill". According to him, Milton uses a single *l* in these words. As a matter of fact, the double spelling predominates in "ball", and "hill" is generally written in the contemporary fashion. This unreliable basis is used by Lofft for a superstructure of theories. In his view, the single spelling of *l* in "ball" is due to the desire to avoid the clash of the double consonant with "the long and open power of the vowel"¹⁰⁰⁸). In "hill", the same method of spelling is ascribed to the circumstance that "the vowel, short in its own power, has no need of doubling the consonant to show it to be short"¹⁰⁰⁹). This is evidently inconsistent with the assumption that the double spelling of the consonants in the cases mentioned above indicates a short vowel, for even there the vowels are "short in their own power", no matter how the consonants are spelt. The manner of expression is vague, to say the least.

Conjectural spellings based on theories as to the pronunciation of Milton's verse that sometimes are of a rather questionable character, occur repeatedly. An example is the distinction drawn by Lofft between the phonetic value of *y* and *ie* ["*Y* in termination is very similar to the short *i*; when the vowel rests a little longer upon it, *ie* will express its power better", p. X]. The observation that a vowel is weakened (or, according to Lofft, shortened) when following a strongly stressed syllable¹⁰¹⁰), is in accord with contemporary phonetics, but there are hardly any traces of Milton having attempted any discrimination of this sort, at any rate not among the instances adduced by Lofft. Parallel spellings such as "massy" and "massie", "luxury" and "luxurie", "cloudy" and "cloudie", "happy" and "happie", "every" and "everie" are frequent in "Paradise Lost", as a glance at the concordance would prove, and it would probably be very difficult to find in them

¹⁰⁰⁷) Cf. p. X.

¹⁰⁰⁸) Cf. p. IX.

¹⁰⁰⁹) *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹⁰) Cf. p. X.

any indications of differences in the pronunciation of the ending. Lofft's spelling of these words is independent of Milton.

In spite of these and other failures, Lofft succeeds in bringing out the phonetic character of some of Milton's spellings. This was already the elder Richardson's aim ¹⁰¹¹). Etymological preconceptions blinded the more narrow-minded Newton to this important aspect of Milton's orthography ¹⁰¹²). In his distinction between emphatic and non-emphatic forms ¹⁰¹³), Lofft seems to be guided by Richardson and J. Walker, the author of the "Rhetorical Grammar" ¹⁰¹⁴). The category of "softened" or "mollified" forms observed by Newton and Peck ¹⁰¹⁵) is dealt with in connection with such cases as "perfet" for "perfect", "counterfet" for "counterfeit", & c. (p. IX). The phonetic intention in a spelling such as "wrauth" for "wrath", where it is unmistakable, is indicated with sufficient precision, and Aubrey's testimony, which is not mentioned by Lofft, corroborates the assumption that Milton may have felt induced to double the *r* in order to indicate "a more forcible and animated utterance" ¹⁰¹⁶) (cf. warr II. 41 & c., farr II. 98 & c., scarr II. 401, demurr II. 431). Though the idea of bringing home Milton's care in conveying phonetic effects by orthographic means is not new, Lofft is the first to carry it out on a large scale, and even his less convincing conjectures in this department are often stimulating, as most of the examples dealt with in the preceding paragraph may show.

The boldest part of Lofft's enterprise is his attempt to mark Milton's "ambiguities of Accent, Emphasis, or Cadence" (which evidently means *intonation, stress and rhythm*; Lofft distinguishes between acute, grave and compound or circumflex accent, e. g. p. XV, and cadence and rhythm are identified, *ibid.*). His admiration for the "majestic flow of numbers" in "Paradise Lost", which he considers "analogous to a grand *Concerto* Composition for

¹⁰¹¹) Cf. above, chapter on Richardson.

¹⁰¹²) Cf. chapter on Newton.

¹⁰¹³) E. g. "thir" and "their", "he" and "hee", & c., cf. p. L.

¹⁰¹⁴) Cf. p. VIII.

¹⁰¹⁵) Cf. above, on Newton and Peck.

¹⁰¹⁶) Cf. Aubrey, Bodleian MS., fol 63v: "He pronounced letter
very hard" . . . ye R

the favourite instrument of *Milton*, the ORGAN", causes him to adopt a new, more varied system of punctuation. He wishes to help "the understanding, the ear, and the heart" towards an appreciation of the full effect of Milton's verse¹⁰¹⁷), evidently "so as to approximate, as much as might be, to the Design of the Author"¹⁰¹⁸). But this is done in a somewhat arbitrary manner. Partly owing to the influence of his uncle Edward Capel, his punctuation becomes so minute that no security remains of its corresponding with Milton's actual intentions. Not only the ordinary stops are given, though Lofft professes to confine himself to them as far as possible¹⁰¹⁹). Quite new marks are introduced in order to convey the subtler effects of Milton's verse as Lofft himself interprets them. What his punctuation expresses, is mainly his personal way of reading Milton.

Some of the most conspicuous marks used by Lofft are: 1) dots to denote "an agitated Pause; from the Influence of some powerful Emotion", 2) "double breaks" for indicating "longer and more disconnected" pauses and "a less regular Continuance of the succeeding Passage" caused rather by "Perplexity and Perturbation, as of Shame and Remorse", than by "the high and vehement Emotions", 3) so-called "suspensive pauses" used to mark sometimes "the *merely Rhythmical Cadence*", sometimes "the Cadence, as relative to the Sentiment and Expression; but usually both" and comparable to "the *Pesick*, enumerated amongst the *tonic Accents* of the Hebrew Poetry", but also in certain cases "to the *Ἄγων*, or *Ductus Rhythmicus* of the Antients"; 4) marks for ironical turns of language, as well as a considerable number of other symbols¹⁰²⁰). It is noteworthy that in most of these marks the *emotional* values of rhythm, stress and intonation are taken into account.

Sometimes Lofft pays attention to the hints actually given by Milton concerning these features, though more often he seems to be following his own imagination. He takes into consideration the remarks which now and then precede the speeches of Milton's characters to describe their rhythm. Thus,

¹⁰¹⁷) *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹⁸) Cf. p. XXVI.

¹⁰¹⁹) Cf. p. XV.

¹⁰²⁰) Cf. p. XXXII.

according to him, "in the first Book, the *bold* Words previously ascribed to the first Speech, the quickness of Reply to the second, the *Despair* (in the parenthetic *Epiphonema*) to the third, give the general Movement almost as distinctly as indicated at the head of a Piece of Music" ¹⁰²¹). The last part of this sentence shows, however, the confidence with which Lofft drew inferences from the vague hints he found.

Lofft's judicious method of basing his conjectures on a study of the peculiarities of the English language instead of adopting conventional notions derived from classical scholarship, prevents him from interpreting the apostrophe ['] as an indication of the complete omission of a vowel. He apparently describes the impression of his own ear in calling it "The mark of greatest Acceleration, when placed over a vowel: rarely of *Apocope* or *Elision*: which is not suited to the genius of our Language" ¹⁰²²). His careful study of the connection between form and emotion appears from a remark on Bentley's treatment of Milton's metre. Bentley tries to avoid all redundant syllables ¹⁰²³), to which Lofft objects, finding such cases of metrical redundancies frequent in Milton in passages so "full of Passion and Agitation" as the one under consideration ¹⁰²⁴).

Lofft's adherence to the principle of investigating Milton's literary practice by the aid of authentic data ought to have been more strict to lead to satisfactory results. His critical self-control is much inferior to his ingenuity and his interest in artistic effects. Nevertheless, his experiment is remarkable as an attempt at applying new scientific standards to the study of Milton's art.

C. CHARLES DUNSTER'S EDITION OF "PARADISE REGAINED".

PARADISE REGAINED, A POEM, IN FOUR BOOKS, BY JOHN MILTON. A NEW EDITION, WITH NOTES OF VARIOUS AUTHORS, By CHARLES DUNSTER, M. A. [*Motto from Plato*]. London: PRINTED FOR T. CADELL, JUN. AND W. DAVIES, (SUCCESSORS TO MR. CADELL), IN THE STRAND. 1795.

¹⁰²¹) Cf. p. XIV.

¹⁰²²) Cf. p. XXXII.

¹⁰²³) Cf. chap. 3, sec. B.

¹⁰²⁴) P. L. I. 91.

4^o: pp. [4] + IV + [4] + 280. *Contents*: p. [1], title; p. [3], dedctn to the Earl of Egremont; pp. I—IV, preface; p. [1], half-title to book I; p. [3], argument of bk I (like the arguments to the other books, by Dunster); pp. 1—270, text of the poem with notes and retrospective summaries added to each book; pp. 271—280, "Corrections and Supplemental Notes".

The second edition appeared probably in 1800 (= B. Mus. Cat.), though the title-page does not indicate the date: PARADISE REGAINED A POEM BY JOHN MILTON, with NOTES, of various Authors, BY CHARLES DUNSTER, M. A. [illustration] LONDON Printed by Geo. Stafford, Crane Court Fleet Street; and Sold by R. H. Evans, Pall Mall; T. Payne, Mews Gate; J. Robson, Bond Street; J. Nicholls, Red Lion Passage Fleet Street. — Archer DUBLIN; and Layng EDINBURGH.

The size and most of the contents the same as in the first edition. Added: a full-page illustration from Salvator Rosa, a map of the places mentioned by Milton, a dedicatory poem (page unnumbered) and some introductory matter (pp. III—VI; the numeration wrong, for numbers III and IV here for the second time). The additional prefatory matter includes a comparison of a scene in the poem with the picture of S. Rosa and speculations on the circumstances of the composition of the epic.

Warton seems to have left the mark of his method on much that is found in Dunster's edition. The latter's preface, which, though acknowledging the merits of Newton's edition of "Paradise Lost", speaks slightly of his „Paradise Regained", on the contrary, bestows the highest praise on Warton's "eminence in every branch of criticism", which "so particularly qualified him for the office" of editing "Paradise Regained" and "Samson Agonistes" in accordance with a plan frustrated only by the critic's death. According to a further remark in Dunster's prefatory matter, Joseph Warton had been willing to lend him his deceased brother's interleaved copy of "Paradise Regained" but was unable to find it. There are distinct traces of Dunster being influenced by Warton's method. He adopts Warton's practice of adducing copious parallels from Milton's own works, referring to the arguments in favour of this method found in "the excellent OBSERVATIONS ON THE FAERY QUEEN" by Warton, *i. e.* to its value as showing the poet's favourite images, as making it possible to trace his different ways of putting similar ideas, and as leading to the elucidation of the meaning of difficult

passages and words¹⁰²⁵). Similarly, the relative frequency and manysidedness of Dunster's illustrations from other authors seems to indicate that the attention which Warton paid to this branch of his studies has stimulated the industry of his successor. However, the differences between the tastes of the two critics are conspicuous. Dunster's inclinations seem to suit the task of editing "Paradise Regained" better than that of dealing with his early poems. He is indeed interested in Milton's English predecessors, as many notes in his edition as well as his inquiries into the relationship between Milton and Joshua Sylvester¹⁰²⁶) and his contributions to Todd's later edition of Milton's poetry distinctly prove. Nevertheless, he could not be compared to Warton in this respect. His first-hand knowledge of the literature of various languages, especially of Italian¹⁰²⁷) and Neo-Latin¹⁰²⁸) writers, is exploited less consistently than his thorough familiarity with scriptural and classical lore. His erudition in this latter field is exactly what was needed for the explanation of the main difficulties in "Paradise Regained". Particularly his minute observations on historical, geographical, social and other problems of a non-literary character show his competence in these remoter departments of scholarship. A good example of his care in these matters is found in his treatment of the problem from what mountain Milton supposes Christ and the Tempter to be looking down in P. R. III. 253. Dunster's interest in biblical questions¹⁰²⁹) and a certain religious tendency¹⁰³⁰) qualify him for the study of the sacred

¹⁰²⁵) Cf. pp. III and IV of the preface.

¹⁰²⁶) On Milton and J. Sylvester: CONSIDERATIONS ON MILTON'S EARLY READING, AND THE PRIMA STAMINA OF HIS PARADISE LOST; TOGETHER WITH EXTRACTS FROM A POET OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. IN A LETTER TO WILLIAM FALCONER, M. D. FROM CHARLES DUNSTER, M. A. PRINTED BY AND FOR JOHN NICHOLS, RED-LION PASSAGE, FLEET-STREET, LONDON; AND SOLD BY R. H. EVANS... 1800.

8^o: p. [4] + 249.

¹⁰²⁷) Cf. I. 13 *suppl.* note, I. 474, 500 *nn.* II. 289, 295 *nn.*, & *c.*

¹⁰²⁸) P. R. I. 83 *n.*, I. 209 *n.*, & *c.*

¹⁰²⁹) Cf. P. R. I. 306 *n.*, II. 17 *n.*, II. 20 *n.*, & *c.*

¹⁰³⁰) His preface describes the spirit of the two epics with some religious fervour: "... the two poems mutually coincide with, and admirably

aspects of Milton's epic. His literary leanings, which are considerably influenced by the classicism of his period, though they show distinct traces of the influence of the freer movements of the latter part of the century, harmonize with the intellectual, academic trend that becomes stronger in Milton's later poems. For all that, his imagination is vivid enough to make him susceptible to the artistic excellence of many passages of the poem the rescue of which "from neglect and oblivion" ¹⁰³¹) is, as he declares, his object.

Warton's influence may have caused Dunster to give due consideration to the biographical and personal aspects of "Paradise Regained". A careful, intimate description of the house at Chalfont where he supposes Milton to have written the epic is one of the best examples of Dunster's care to give an idea of the environment in which the poet composed his work ¹⁰³²). The whole problem of the composition of the poem is dealt with from a point of view combining *artistic* and *psychological* with *biographical* considerations, with an acuteness reminiscent of Warton. Dunster's argument is that Milton must have composed the whole of the work at Chalfont. Besides studying the biographical documents, he takes into account Milton's character as shown in a letter to Diodati of Sept. 2. 1637 "where he describes his own temper to be marked with an eagerness to finish whatever he had begun". Furthermore, he bases his calculations on the *artistic* character of the poem, particularly, in a manner typical of him, as has to be shown below, on its *structure*: "There is... such a high degree of unity, connection, and integral perfection in the whole of his second poem, as indicates it to have been the *uninterrupted* work of one season, and, as I would suppose, the exclusive occupation of his divine genius during his residence in Buckinghamshire". He calculates the exact amount of work falling upon each day of that period, carefully weighing the degree of inspiration perceptible in the different passages of the poem: "To have composed the whole of the poem in that time, would require him to produce only about

illustrate, each other; while they comprehend the *whole* of an argument the most interesting that can be to human beings, — to *fallen* and *redeemed* creatures" (p. IV.).

¹⁰³¹) Pref. p. II.

¹⁰³²) Cf. p. IV, 2nd ed.

ten lines a day; and many parts are given so perfectly *con amore*, that I am confident, upon those occasions, he proceeded *at a very different rate*"¹⁰³³). These conclusions may be bold but the argumentation is by no means devoid of logic and the manner of approach is entirely psychological and artistic, while being based on a study of the hard facts of Milton's life. We have tried to show that this was, to a great extent, also Warton's method. It is not unlikely that the latter may have influenced Dunster in this respect. This refined method could be managed only by a keen intellect, a faculty which Dunster evidently possessed.

The main characteristics of Dunster's critical temper are calm, deliberate calculation and balanced, sensitive culture. They appear in his fundamental views on the artistic character of the poem. His conception differs considerably from that of his predecessors, Newton and Thyer¹⁰³⁴). One of the main problems dealt with in their estimates of the work was that of the respective intensity of Milton's imaginative faculty as manifested in "Paradise Lost" and "Paradise Regained". Newton found it decidedly on the decline in the latter work. He even thought, as has been pointed out, that Milton's knowledge of this circumstance caused him deliberately to avoid any comparison with the descriptive excellence of "Paradise Lost". Thyer, on the contrary, held that Milton's imagination struggled with the fetters imposed by the narrow, inconvenient plot and broke forth wherever the subject allowed it. He regards the argumentative manner as a handicap on the poet which is mainly due to the theme of the work.

Dunster assumes neither a decline in Milton's poetic powers nor a struggle between those two styles, but a deliberate handling of these opposite methods, the one being used to set off the other. Thyer tended to ascribe his own impulsive manner to the poet, whereas Newton did not seem to feel the great imaginative beauties of many parts of the work. Dunster does not deny the artistic excellences of the descriptive passages but also tries to follow the *combinative* logic in the author's technique, tracing the use he makes of the interplay of various poetic methods. Milton is supposed to have enjoyed the opportunities for

¹⁰³³) *Ibid.*

¹⁰³⁴) Cf. above, chap. 9, sec. A.

"introducing... admirable descriptions", being aware of "the great effect which the *argumentative cast* of the poem would give to that which is purely descriptive" ¹⁰³⁵). Dunster may over-emphasize the deliberateness of Milton's method of composition. Thyer's opinion is supported by various critics. M. Denis Saurat ascertains even in "Paradise Lost" the contrast between the "stiff conventionalism" of most parts of it, and the sudden explosions of the revolting imagination to be found every now and then ¹⁰³⁶). Both he himself and, as shown by his quotation, Walter Savage Landor see the same divergences in "Paradise Regained" ¹⁰³⁷). Nevertheless, the emphasis laid on Milton's conscious workmanship is valuable as a stimulus towards the study of this aspect of the poet's art ¹⁰³⁸).

How much deliberation in Milton's method of producing the effects of vividness and reality Dunster assumed, is shown by various notes. A good example is found in a somewhat later note, one incorporated in Todd's edition, but illuminating in this connection, and therefore to be discussed here. It deals with P. R. IV. 549. The treatment of the temptation in the gospel of St. Luke is compared with that in Milton's poem. In St. Luke's gospel, Christ, according to Dunster, sees mere visions, which in Milton are transformed into reality. Dunster finds this necessary, because, as he says, "no succession of visionary scenes, however exquisitely described", could have effected a sufficient contrast to the argumentative parts. There seems to appear in this statement a certain overvaluation of the mere assumption of reality, but the remark certainly shows that Dunster was perfectly conscious of the *practical* importance of the imaginative element in poetry.

His *theoretical* views on the part played by the imagination indicate, however, that he had only a superficial notion of its actual import. He does not seem to regard it as inherent in the poetical attitude but rather as added to the real essence of the latter as a kind of external decoration. Such at least is his opinion with regard to sacred poetry, in which the imaginative

¹⁰³⁵) Cf. IV. 238 n.

¹⁰³⁶) Saurat's "Milton", p. 220.

¹⁰³⁷) *Ibid.* p. 235.

¹⁰³⁸) Dunster's observations at the end of each book show this tendency very clearly.

touch is considered by him a mere means of attracting the reader's attention, in order to secure a public for the religious teachings which, in his opinion, are the main object of this poetic species¹⁰³⁹). The note containing these ideals also states his theory of poetry. Prose, according to him, needs no ornaments but "purity and perspicuity" whereas poetry is "elevated and ornamented language". The only means of such decoration expressly mentioned by him are "metrical arrangement" and "mythological references and allusions and classical imitations" — none of these, except possibly the first, indispensable constituents of poetry. They are essentially the requisites, rather, of a certain traditional literary manner, *viz.* the classicist style. The fact that he regards them as inconsistent with the character of religious poetry, a poetic kind which he seems to value particularly highly, and that he admits them in this species only for entirely extraneous considerations, shows that he does not very firmly believe in the value of these features himself. He finds it unsuitable for a divine poem to be written in anything but what he regards as "the chastest style", the only alternative he sees being the introduction of "false ornament" — as if there were no possibility of using "ornament" sincerely and as a result of emotion. The only justification for the use of these spurious embellishments is, in his view, the propagandist object already mentioned: "... the great reason of exhibiting any serious truths, and especially the more interesting facts of religious history, through the medium of poetry, is thereby more powerfully to attract the attention"¹⁰⁴⁰). "Poetry, to please, must continue to be pleasing"¹⁰⁴¹). This is why Milton "sprinkled his *Paradise Lost* with flowers of Classick Poetry, and the fictions of Greek and Roman Mythology"¹⁰⁴²). Poetry here becomes entirely subservient to religion, as in Meadowcourt's theories¹⁰⁴³). The reactionary character of this attitude becomes particularly obvious if compared with Warton's advanced views. However, Warton did not formulate the theoretical basis of his criticism with sufficient distinctness. It is only to be guessed

¹⁰³⁹) P. R. II. 188*n.*

¹⁰⁴⁰) *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴¹) *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴²) *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴³) Cf. section on Meadowcourt.

at, at least in his edition of Milton; and Dunster from intellectual inertia seems to have fallen back on the current views of his age. His capacity of perceiving subtle effects of descriptive beauty and of enjoying them does not seem to have been affected by his almost anti-imaginative tenets. Little touches of fine imagery impress him far more deeply than they did Newton. An instance is P. R. 499 *n*. Newton finds the *brevity* of the representation of night scenery in this passage an indication of the poet's sense of his present inferiority to the perfection of similar passages in "Paradise Lost". Dunster, on the contrary, bases his different judgement on quality and not on quantity. He considers this description as a "small but exquisite *sketch*, which so immediately shews the *hand of the master*, that his larger and more finished pieces can hardly be rated higher" ¹⁰⁴⁴).

Dunster's grasp of the structural element appears also in his treatment of Milton's characters. He sometimes studies their conduct in connection with the development of the action, pointing out the structural effects produced by their behaviour ¹⁰⁴⁵). He succeeds sometimes in showing the important effect on structure of the *irrational* impulses of Milton's *dramatis personæ*. Thyer similarly saw the shifting, struggling emotions of the characters of Milton's poems, but he concentrated on *isolated moments* ¹⁰⁴⁶). Dunster may be a less acute observer of a given frame of mind, but he is more skilled in seeing its *connection with the rest*. An illustration of his method is found in the note to P. R. IV. 166, written to refute Newton's rash condemnation of Satan's "awkward and preposterous demand" that Christ should worship him, though the gifts which he had offered to tempt the Saviour had already been "rejected.... unclogged with any terms at all".

Newton sees merely the seeming absurdity of the point, apparently assuming that Satan's actions must needs be logical and consistent. Dunster, on the contrary, tries to analyse the possible reasons of the incongruity of Satan's action, both from the point of view of his character and from that of the structural intentions of Milton. He studies the Tempter's behaviour from

¹⁰⁴⁴) P. R. I. 499 *n*.

¹⁰⁴⁵) See the retrospective surveys at the end of each book.

¹⁰⁴⁶) Cf. above, chap. 9, sec. A.

the very beginning of the poem, explaining it in the present case as an unexpected impulse of emotion prepared by the whole previous course of the work and at the same time very helpful to Milton's artistic plan. Satan's careful, sane attitude is said to have been eventually turned into irresponsible rage through his successive failures. He is thrown "completely... off his guard", betraying his purpose by revealing, "with the most intemperate indiscretion, those *abominable terms*, which, could it have been possible for his temptations to have succeeded, we may imagine were intended in the end to have been proposed to our Lord". This tends to make Satan's step intelligible as a revelation of his character. Dunster also tries to show that it was inevitable for the sake of the structure of the poem, for if Satan had stated his conditions simultaneously with his offer of the gifts, the "pushing the question immediately to the point" would have "precluded the gradually progressive temptations", thus spoiling Milton's plan. This hypothesis and the tentative explanation of the arising difficulties by the plausible assumption of the emotional inconsistency of Satan's actions prove, firstly, a less rigid and narrow conception of character, and, secondly, a keener insight into the possibilities of poetic construction than were to be found in Newton's remarks.

Dunster deals less with Milton's *style* and *language* than Warton or Newton did. Occasionally he traces classical features of expression, sometimes adding quite substantially to the observations of earlier commentators: in ascertaining, for example, the occurrence in Greek poetry of expressions corresponding to phrases of the type of P. R. I. 94: "on the utmost edge Of hazard" ¹⁰⁴⁷) or in studying peculiar Latin acceptations of common words, as in P. R. IV. 235 *n.* At times he also calls attention to Elizabethan features of style ¹⁰⁴⁸). But such remarks are not very frequent, and Dunster does not go very deeply into this aspect of the matter. Some stray observations show which artistic features seem to have struck him in Milton's style. Dunster's classical training is reflected in these notes and leads him to a high valuation of Milton's concise, energetic manner of expression, notwithstanding the obscurity which

¹⁰⁴⁷) See P. R. I. 94 *n.*; cf. also P. L. I. 276, VI. 108.

¹⁰⁴⁸) Cf. *e. g.* P. R. III. 217 *n.*

occasionally results through excessive condensation. In this appreciative judgement he is notably at one with the elder Richardson ¹⁰⁴⁹), though it is of interest to note that the latter can hardly have been influenced by the style of classical antiquity whereas by Dunster the classics are expressly mentioned. Dunster contrasts Milton's taste with that of the thoughtless crowd who are puzzled by energy and compactness ¹⁰⁵⁰). His assumption is that much of this tendency is of Latin origin ¹⁰⁵¹): "Milton sometimes, from a wish to compress, latinises, so as to confuse and obscure his language considerably" ¹⁰⁵²). Despite these drawbacks, the remarkable qualities accompanying them are readily acknowledged. Dunster quotes "what Cicero has said of the ancient orators: *Grandes erant verbis, crebri sententiis, compressione rerum breves, et ob eam ipsam causam interdum subobscuri*" ¹⁰⁵³). The contrasts which this affords to Calton's shallow strictures on Milton's elliptic style is noteworthy. Thorough scholarship and a vigorous taste combine to rectify the blunders of less penetrating minds.

It is to be noted that Dunster successfully analyses Newton's fundamental error of reading Milton's verse according to the prescriptions of classical prosodians ¹⁰⁵⁴). His main authority in metrical questions is Blair, whom he quotes, amongst other things, on the problem of supernumerary syllables. These, according to that quotation, do not disappear but are only slurred, so as "to bring the verse, with respect to its effect upon the ear, within the usual bounds" ¹⁰⁵⁵). Dunster seems to be more conservative than this on the question of elision, holding the view that a final *y* disappears before a vowel ¹⁰⁵⁶).

As a whole, Dunster's edition indicates that he was a man of considerable culture and acuteness whose poetic sensibility enabled him to appreciate the subtleties of his author. His keen

¹⁰⁴⁹) Cf. chap. 5.

¹⁰⁵⁰) P. R. I. 439 n.

¹⁰⁵¹) Prof. Masson in his ed. of Milton 1893, vol. III, p. 192 ascribes some of this trend to the elliptic rapidity of Elizabethan speech.

¹⁰⁵²) P. R. I. 137 n.

¹⁰⁵³) *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵⁴) P. R. I. 302 n.

¹⁰⁵⁵) *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵⁶) *Ibid.*

combinative faculty makes him a good judge of problems of structure. Moralism and intellectualism are probably the main defects of his literary theories, particularly of his treatment of what he regards as the ornamental element in poetry. These handicaps are, however, hardly felt in his critical practice. He accomplished for "Paradise Regained", though not in the same degree, what Warton had done for the Minor Poems, *viz.* he supplied the illustrative material needed for the understanding of a very considerable part of its more difficult allusions, and a number of illuminating remarks on artistic points. In thoroughness and critical sensitiveness, he far surpasses Newton and most of his collaborators. What one rather misses, is an endeavour equal to that of Warton to explain Milton from *contemporary* sources. Dunster, as has been shown, was perfectly well acquainted with the biographical method of interpretation. If he did not practise it more, the reason was probably in part his keen interest in the facts of ancient history, geography and letters, which claim so much of his attention.

13. HENRY JOHN TODD'S EDITIONS OF MILTON.

A. "COMUS" (1798).

COMUS, A MASK PRESENTED AT LUDLOW CASTLE 1634, BEFORE THE EARL OF BRIDGEWATER, THEN PRESIDENT OF WALES: BY JOHN MILTON. WITH NOTES CRITICAL AND EXPLANATORY BY VARIOUS COMMENTATORS, AND WITH PRELIMINARY ILLUSTRATIONS; TO WHICH IS ADDED A COPY OF THE MASK FROM A MANUSCRIPT BELONGING TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF BRIDGEWATER: BY HENRY JOHN TODD, M. A. CHAPLAIN TO THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF FIFE AND THE LORD VISCOUNT KILMOREY, AND MINOR CANON OF CANTERBURY. "THE HARP OF ORPHEUS WAS NOT MORE CHARMING." MILTON'S TRACTATE OF EDUCATION. CANTERBURY, Printed by and for W. Bristow on the Parade: For Messrs. Rivingtons St. Paul's Churchyard, and W. Clarke New Bond-street, London; Messrs. Fletcher and Co. Oxford; and J. Deighton Cambridge. MDCCXCVIII.

8^o: pp. XXI + [1] + 62 + [2] + 199. *Contents*: p. I, half-title; p. III, title; p. V, dedictn to the Rev. F. H. Egerton; pp. VII—XX, preface; p. XXI, list of contents; p. [1], half-title to preliminary matter; pp. 1—2, Lawes's dedictn; pp. 3—8, Wotton's letter; pp. 9—18, account of Ludlow Castle; pp. 19—35, account of the Earl of Bridgewater and his family; pp. 35—49, on Henry Lawes; pp. 50—62, on the origin of "Comus"; p. [1], half-title to text and appendixes; p. [2], list of persons; pp. 1—144, text of "Comus", with notes; pp. 144—150, opinions of various critics; p. 151, half-title to Appendix No. 1; pp. 153—162, original various readings from the Trinity College MS. [= Appendix No. 1]; p. 163, half-title to Appendix No. 2; pp. 165—192, account, and copy, of the Ashridge MS. [= Appendix No. 2]; pp. 193—199, account of editions of "Comus".

a. The Preface.

Most of the main principles of Todd's edition of "Comus", which is the first instalment of his large edition of Milton's works, are stated or implied in his preface. It is evident that War-

ton ¹⁰⁵⁷), most of whose material concerning "Comus" is reprinted in this edition, as well as the majority of the other annotators and editors of Milton, have been carefully studied by Todd. His method shows that he has tried to keep pace with the development of research and criticism.

The tendency to found his edition on the authentic texts (which he praises as one of the main features of Newton's "well executed" and Warton's "admirable" editions) seems to have become a matter of course with him ¹⁰⁵⁸). A more conspicuous, because not quite so commonly found, characteristic, apparent from his preface, is his methodical way of studying Milton's spellings and, to a certain extent, his vocabulary also. In the first of these two departments, he seems to have been influenced by Capel Lofft ¹⁰⁵⁹). Warton's influence is manifest in the attention paid by Todd to his careful treatment of old words in Milton which "had been gradually and silently refined" by earlier editors ¹⁰⁶⁰). To Todd, these unusual expressions and spellings are "venerable anomalies or imitations" ¹⁰⁶¹). He finds the poet's special words "more significant, or more suited to his purpose" than the ordinary vocabulary ¹⁰⁶²). Both in his treatment of Milton's vocabulary and of his spellings, Todd sides with the ideals of individuality and originality championed by Warton and Lofft.

In the preface, Todd adduces a considerable number of Miltonic spellings regarded by him as used deliberately to denote peculiarities of pronunciation. Thus, by carefully comparing a number of cases of the omission of vowels in Milton, he shows that this sometimes is a matter of pronunciation, not of spelling only.

¹⁰⁵⁷) See also ed. of the Poetical Works of Milton, 1801, vol. I. preface, sg. Asv: "The chief purpose of the new notes, is, in humble imitation of Mr. Warton, 'to explain the allusions of Milton; to illustrate or to vindicate his beauties; to point out his imitations both of others, and of himself; to elucidate his obsolete diction; and, by the adduction and juxtaposition of parallels universally gleaned both from his poetry and prose, to ascertain his favourite words, and to show the peculiarities of his phraseology'".

¹⁰⁵⁸) Cf. preface, p. VII.

¹⁰⁵⁹) The footnote to p. XII refers to Capel Lofft's "great learning and ingenuity". Roth Lofft (cf. above) and Todd (p. VIII) draw upon J. Walker's "Rhetorical Grammar".

¹⁰⁶⁰) Cf. pref. p. VII.

¹⁰⁶¹) Cf. p. VIII.

¹⁰⁶²) *Ibid.*

Newton reads "medicinal" in S. A. 627 ("Or medicinal liquor can assuage"), stressing the penultimate, as he says in his footnote. Milton's own text has "medicinal" and the only further instance of this word in his poetry, in Co. 636, is spelt "med'cinal", which makes it not improbable that this omission is intentional, and that the verse has four feet instead of five, like several other lines in the neighbourhood of this passage. On the other hand, some of the examples quoted seem to indicate that the *retention* of vowels in writing is not quite accidental, either. Such spellings as "prosperous", "hovering", & c. are supposed by the editor to indicate „three short, but distinct, syllables" ¹⁰⁶³). This is certainly true of some cases, e. g. of P. L. XI. 364: "Prosperous or adverse: so shalt thou lead", as is proved by the metre. The ending *t* in some "perfect adjectives", e. g. in "thatch't" ¹⁰⁶⁴), "dark't" ¹⁰⁶⁵), "hutch't" ¹⁰⁶⁶) is described as phonetic, which it is virtually, if not in design. Various further spellings are discussed from the same phonetic point of view. The contributions to Richardson's and Lofft's efforts in the same department are not inconsiderable.

An observation which seems to be new and appears to be due to a careful study of the characteristics of older poetry, is the remark that the spelling sometimes differs from the ordinary usage in rhyming words ¹⁰⁶⁷), e. g. in "woom" Co. 131 (rhymes with "gloom"), in "clime" Co. 1020 instead of "climb" (rhymes with "chime"), in "chere" Co. 955, & c. Todd compares this practice with similar cases in Spenser ¹⁰⁶⁸).

The remarks on the *vocabulary* of "Comus" refer mainly to the rustic air of Milton's archaisms, and may very easily have been influenced by the example of Peck, who called attention to this feature of the poet's style ¹⁰⁶⁹). Due notice is taken of Milton's Italianisms ¹⁰⁷⁰). Though most of the above observations merely develop the ideas of earlier critics, Todd's careful treatment of facts as well as his solid knowledge of his material make

¹⁰⁶³) Cf. p. IX.

¹⁰⁶⁴) Co. 318.

¹⁰⁶⁵) L. 730.

¹⁰⁶⁶) L. 719.

¹⁰⁶⁷) Cf. p. XI.

¹⁰⁶⁸) Cf. FQ. I. X. 57, Shep. Cal. July, the end, & c.

¹⁰⁶⁹) Cf. above, chapter on Peck.

¹⁰⁷⁰) Cf. p. XI.

these remarks valuable. An illustration of his careful method is also afforded by the pains he takes to check the statements of his predecessors as to Milton's coinages of new words. Todd is able to show that several of these supposed coinages can be traced back to earlier literature ¹⁰⁷¹).

In the notes, much of the material found in Newton's and Warton's editions (that of the former has been drawn upon with some reserve) as well as in various other publications, such as Headley's "Select Specimens of Ancient English Poetry", Steevens's Shakespeare, Dunster's "Paradise Regained", & c. is said to have been used ¹⁰⁷²), some of it in an abridged form. Special attention is called to the parallels of thought and expression in "Fancy's sweetest children", Spenser, Shakespeare and Milton, and Milton's vocabulary is said to have been traced in his poetry and (which is especially mentioned) also in his prose. These aims are not new. A typical feature of Todd's method, which is also pointed out in the preface, is his device of adding extracts from the opinions of various critics on the poem, evidently in order to make his edition as complete a survey of the work done on "Comus" as possible ¹⁰⁷³). The same desire for completeness induced Todd to treat of the translations of the masque, of its fame, its theatrical performances, to include Warton's accounts of the background of the work as well as of its origin, his collation of the Trinity MS., a copy of the MS. of the Duke of Bridgewater in the Ashridge Library, a considerable amount of information on the place of the first production of the masque and on the persons concerned with it ¹⁰⁷⁴), & c. The Ashridge Library is said to have become accessible through the courtesy of the Rev. Francis Henry Egerton, a member of the family to whom the edition is dedicated ¹⁰⁷⁵). This thoroughness reminds one of Warton, and the fact that the study of the circumstances accompanying the composition and first performance of the poem is presented as the direct continuation of the work of Warton in this department (which is also reprinted), is only one of the

¹⁰⁷¹) Cf. p. XIII—XIV.

¹⁰⁷²) Cf. pp. XII—XIII.

¹⁰⁷³) Cf. preface p. XIII.

¹⁰⁷⁴) Cf. pp. XV—XX.

¹⁰⁷⁵) Cf. p. XIX.

symptoms of the editor's great indebtedness to the labours of his most prominent predecessor.

β. *The Preliminary Matter and the Notes.*

The patience and labour, with which the preliminary articles on Ludlow Castle, the Earl of Bridgewater and his family, Henry Lawes and the sources of "Comus" as well as the bibliographical sections have been composed, surpass even the arduous efforts of Thomas Warton. Todd's additions to Warton's essay on the origin of the masque mainly confine themselves to a summary of the research in this department done after Warton's edition¹⁰⁷⁶).

The main body of the notes is from Warton's edition, to which Todd's own very considerable contributions are added. Among the new material, Headley's notes contain parallels from seventeenth century poets. Steevens's contributions concern themselves with parallelisms from Shakespeare and old romances¹⁰⁷⁷). On the whole, the new material is slight, with the exception of that collected independently by Todd. Lord Monboddo's notes, which deal mainly with the language and are worthy of separate discussion¹⁰⁷⁸), are treated more conveniently in connection with his observations on the other works of Milton¹⁰⁷⁹).

Todd's own notes betray the same keen interest in the background of Milton's masque. The ways of long ago are illustrated by him from publications then little known¹⁰⁸⁰). The erudition and the copious collection of material remind one of Warton, though Todd in this department as usual shows little of Warton's sensibility and literary skill.

Todd's knowledge of Milton's own works enables him to quote with evident ease both from his poetry and prose¹⁰⁸¹). His fa-

¹⁰⁷⁶) Cf. pp. 56—62.

¹⁰⁷⁷) Cf. 565 n., on "Syr Eglamour of Artoys".

¹⁰⁷⁸) Cf. preface, p. XIX.

¹⁰⁷⁹) Cf. below, p. 329.

¹⁰⁸⁰) Cf. his explanation of the meaning of "the measure" (144 n.) by the aid of Barret's "Alvearie" (see also 168 n.) or his references to Munster's "Cosmographia", ed. 1656, and Alexander de Alexandro in 207 n.

¹⁰⁸¹) Cf. 377, 602, 121, 623 nn. & c.

miliarity with older English literature is notable. In the notes to the first 300 lines, the following names and works are mentioned, among many others: Donne's Poems ¹⁰⁸²), Ben Jonson's "Fortunate Isles", "Neptune's Triumph", & c. ¹⁰⁸³), Drayton's "Polyolbion" ¹⁰⁸⁴), "The Muse's Looking-Glass" by Randolph ¹⁰⁸⁵), "The History of King Leir and his Three Daughters" ¹⁰⁸⁶), Cartwright's "Ordinary" ¹⁰⁸⁷), Crashaw's "Sacred Poems", various plays by Shakespeare, & c. Among the foreign authors referred to, Italian names are conspicuous. *Classical* allusions are somewhat less frequent. The secular character of the masque makes it understandable that biblical references are rare.

There is the same tendency to accumulate parallelisms in these notes as in Warton's, but it is a sign of Todd's caution and care that he usually refrains from asserting any actual borrowings on Milton's part. A characteristic example is found in Co. 140 *n.* where Milton is compared with Spenser, Sylvester, Fairfax, P. Fletcher, & c., but only as using "an expression of which our elder poets appear to have been fond".

Considerable pains are taken to illustrate Milton's peculiarities of *style* and language, sometimes skilfully, sometimes not. Todd's knowledge of the old language is his greatest asset here (see *e. g.* 155 *n.* where Shakespeare, Sylvester and 16th century anthologies are used to adduce parallels to the phrase "to blear the eye"). The somewhat haphazard character of Todd's selection of his material is shown *e. g.* by 178 *n.* where linguistic speculations as to the Oriental origin of the word "wassail" are given some space, though the commentator deals also with more reliable conjectures. Todd's comparisons of Milton's imagery with that of the poetry of his time ¹⁰⁸⁸) are elaborate, but not very thoughtful. As in Warton, phrases of romance are studied, *e. g.* in 972 *n.* where "hard assays" is shown to be found in Fairfax, Chaucer, in old romances, in several of Milton's own works, & c.

The present account, which does not pretend to be exhaustive,

¹⁰⁸²) 3 *n.*

¹⁰⁸³) 3, 28, 77, 275 *nn.* & c.

¹⁰⁸⁴) 24 *n.*

¹⁰⁸⁵) 195 *n.*

¹⁰⁸⁶) 189 *n.*

¹⁰⁸⁷) 195 *n.*

¹⁰⁸⁸) Cf. 542, 544 *nn.*

may have given an idea of the considerable display of learning and industry in this edition, as well as of the lack of an adequate analytical or literary capacity on the editor's part, which often makes of the notes a somewhat barren accumulation of material.

B. TODD'S EDITION OF THE POETICAL WORKS.

THE POETICAL WORKS OF JOHN MILTON. IN SIX VOLUMES. WITH THE PRINCIPAL NOTES OF VARIOUS COMMENTATORS. TO WHICH ARE ADDED ILLUSTRATIONS, WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE OF MILTON. BY THE REV. HENRY JOHN TODD, M. A. [Two mottoes]. LONDON: Printed for J. Johnson, W. J. and J. Richardson, R. Baldwin By Bye and Law, St. John's-Square, Clerkenwell. M. DCCC. I.

8^o. vol. I: pp. [24] + CCXV + 303; vol. II: pp. [IV] + 504; vol III: pp. [IV] + 494; vol. IV: pp. XIX + 511; vol. V: pp. [III] + 511; vol. VI: pp. [III] + 458.

Contents: Vol. I: p. [1], title; p. [3], dedication to the Duke of Bridgewater; pp. [5—18], preface; pp. [19—24], list of contents; pp. I—CLX, life of Milton; pp. CLXI—CLXXXIX, Milton's will, with notes; pp. CXC—CCXIII, bibliographical lists; pp. CCXIV—CCXV, appendix to the life; pp. 1—23, commendatory verses on Milton; pp. 24—194, Addison's Critique; pp. 195—247, Dr. Johnson's remarks on the versification of Milton, with additions and comments; pp. 248—303, an inquiry into the origin of Paradise Lost.

Vol. II: p. [I], title; p. [III], contents; pp. 1—504, bks. I—VI of P. L., with notes.

Vol. III: p. [I], title; p. [III], contents; pp. 1—468, P. L. VII—XII, with notes; pp. 469—487, opinions of various critics on P. L.; pp. 489—494, Trinity College MS. drafts of P. L.

Vol. IV: p. [I], title; pp. III—XIX, preliminary matter on P. R., mainly by Dunster; pp. 1—329, "Paradise Regained", with notes; pp. 329—335, critical opinions on P. R.; pp. 337—357, preliminary matter on "Samson Agonistes", including Johnson's and Cumberland's criticisms; pp. 359—494, S. A., with notes; pp. 494—499, critical opinions on S. A.: pp. 501—511, Trinity College MS. dramatic drafts.

Vol. V: p. [I], title; p. [III], contents; pp. 1—511, Lycidas, L'Allegro, Il Penseroso, Arcades, Comus, Sonnets, with a number of introductory articles; collections of critical pronouncements, footnotes, various readings from the Trinity and Bridgewater MSS., appendixes on supposed poems of Milton, and miscellanea, the matter of Warton's edition being incorporated almost bodily, as well as that of Todd's edition of "Comus".

Vol. VI: p. [I], title; p. [III], contents; pp. 1—397, the rest of Milton's English, Latin, and Greek poems, with notes, various readings from the MSS., and introductory and final comments, including most of the matter of Warton's edition, with Burney's remarks on Milton's Greek verses; pp. 399—440, appendixes on Baron's imitations of Milton, Lauder's interpolations, corrections and additions; pp. 441—458, glossarial index.

Note: With a portrait of Milton and one of Queen Christina of Sweden.

THE POETICAL WORKS OF JOHN 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. S. A. RECTOR OF ALLHALLOWS, LOMBARD-STREET, & c. THE SECOND EDITION, WITH CONSIDERABLE ADDITIONS, AND WITH A VERBAL INDEX TO THE WHOLE OF MILTON'S POETRY. IN SEVEN VOLUMES. VOL. I. LONDON: Printed for J. Johnson; R. Baldwin; Otridge and Son; Nichols and Son; F. C. and J. Rivington By Law and Gilbert, St. John's-Square, Clerkenwell. 1809.

8^o: vol. I: pp. [5] + XV + 217 + [4] + [416]; vol. II: pp. [8] + XIX + 462; vol. III: pp. [8] + 473; vol. IV: pp. [8] + 395; vol. V: pp. [8] + XIX + 503; vol. VI: pp. [8] + 503; vol. VII: pp. [7] + 414 + [26].

Note: Three plates. The main addition is a bulky Verbal Index.

THE POETICAL WORKS OF JOHN MILTON. WITH NOTES OF VARIOUS AUTHORS. THE THIRD EDITION, WITH OTHER ILLUSTRATIONS; AND WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF MILTON, DERIVED PRINCIPALLY FROM Documents in his Majesty's State-Paper Office, NOW FIRST PUBLISHED. BY THE REV. H. J. TODD, M. A. F. S. A. & R. S. L. CHAPLAIN IN ORDINARY TO HIS MAJESTY, AND RECTOR OF SETTRINGTON, COUNTY OF YORK. IN SIX VOLUMES. VOL. I. LONDON: PRINTED FOR C. AND J. RIVINGTON; J. CUTNELL; J. NUNN; J. AND W. T. CLARKE; LONGMAN AND CO 1826.

8^o: vol. I: pp. XXX + 370 + LXVII; vol. II: pp. [4] + CXXXVI + 535; vol. III: pp. [4] + 527; vol. IV: pp. [6] + XIX + 501; vol. V: pp. [5] + 517; vol. VI: pp. [4] + 433 + [26].

With one facsimile and 3 full-page illustrations. The life "greatly augmented with original documents illustrating the private and publick character of Milton, which have long been

hidden among literary curiosities, and till now have never been published" (pref., p. V). Verbal index omitted.

THE POETICAL WORKS OF JOHN MILTON. WITH NOTES OF VARIOUS AUTHORS; AND WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF MILTON, DERIVED PRINCIPALLY FROM ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS IN HER MAJESTY'S STATE-PAPER OFFICE. BY THE REV. HENRY JOHN TODD, M. A. CHAPLAIN IN ORDINARY TO HER MAJESTY, AND ARCHDEACON OF CLEVELAND. Fourth Edition. IN FOUR VOLUMES. VOL. I. LONDON: RIVINGTONS; LONGMAN AND CO.; T. CADELL; J. BOHN 1842.

8^o: vol. I: pp. XVI [not seen] + 523; vol. II: pp. [4] + 589; vol. III: pp. XXIII + 431; vol. IV: pp. VIII + 560. Facsimile and illustrations as formerly.

The "Advertisement to the Fourth Edition" (vol. I. pp. V—VIII) states that Todd has made no use of the latest commentaries, having "no right to take advantage" of them. Hence the edition has essentially remained the same, except for some very slight additions. The editor defends himself against recent attacks and criticizes J. Prendeville's aversion to the "curious though idle" learning of the "Gothick library". In this connection T. extols Milton's excellent fusion of "Gothick" extravagances with "the dignity of Homer".

Todd's edition has retained much of its value up to the present day, as one of the most important collections of material relating to Milton's poetry.

Its plan in many respects resembles that of the edition of "Comus". It is a typical *variorum* edition, aiming at an approximately complete survey of the views of earlier critics. This appears from its copious collection of footnotes, which, though apparently based on the most important earlier editions¹⁰⁸⁹), has been supplemented from earlier and later Milton scholars, leading up to the close of the century. Many extracts are given from miscellaneous works occasionally dealing with Milton. A number of critics have contributed fresh notes. To some of the larger works, selections of the statements of notable critics are subjoined. Introductory

¹⁰⁸⁹) The minor poems retain most of the apparatus of Warton's edition, to which much old and new material is added; most of the notes included in Newton's "Paradise Lost" and "Samson Agonistes" are reprinted; for "Paradise Regained", Dunster is the main source.

articles deal with Milton's works in general or with special questions relating to them. Thus, "Paradise Lost" is preceded by the traditional "Spectator" papers, and a collection of "Observations on the Versification of Milton, by Dr. Johnson, and others", as it is called in the later editions, or "Dr. Johnson's Remarks on Milton's Versification, with remarks by the editor", as the first and second editions call it¹⁰⁹⁰), as well as by a study of its sources¹⁰⁹¹). The Rev. Henry Boyd's "Observations on the Characters of the Fallen Angels" are subjoined as an appendix in the second edition¹⁰⁹²). The "Preliminary Observations on Samson Agonistes"¹⁰⁹³) consist of Johnson's adverse criticism from "The Rambler"¹⁰⁹⁴) and of the reply by Cumberland¹⁰⁹⁵). The apparatus added to some of the other works is very similar. The study of the contemporary background of Milton's poetry is continued in footnotes as well as in the introductory matter to some works, *e. g.* to "Arcades", "Lycidas", & *c.* All the above and some further material makes of the edition a kind of critical Milton encyclopædia. The life of Milton, which tries to give a reliable account according to the authentic sources; bibliographical lists; reprints of Milton's dramatic schemes in the Cambridge MS. and lists of the various readings; indexes, & *c.*, mostly done with signal care, increase the value of this edition, which is a summary of the research in Milton's poetry of more than a century, as Newton's edition summed up the labours of a period of more than fifty years.

a. Todd's Contributors.

The preface gives an account of the new contributions to the commentary. Malcolm Laing, Esq. is reported to have favoured Todd with an interleaved copy of "Paradise Lost" with memoranda and a few completed notes by Callander¹⁰⁹⁶). The Wartons, both Thomas and Joseph, are represented — in the second edition and

¹⁰⁹⁰) Cf. pp. 195 & *c.* of vol. I, ed. 1801.

¹⁰⁹¹) Cf. p. 248 of vol. I, ed. 1801.

¹⁰⁹²) Cf. pp. 257 *ff.* of vol. II.

¹⁰⁹³) Cf. p. 345 of vol. IV, ed. I.

¹⁰⁹⁴) Vol. III. No. 139 and No. 140.

¹⁰⁹⁵) From "The Observer", vol. IV. No. III.

¹⁰⁹⁶) Cf. p. IV of vol. I, ed. II; abs. in first ed.

after — by some observations given to Todd by the Rev. John Warton ¹⁰⁹⁷). Dunster has given for selection a great number of notes, from among which "many an ingenious and solid remark" distinguished by "taste and learning" has been reprinted in the second edition ¹⁰⁹⁸). Copies of "Paradise Lost" and of the minor poems with remarks by Bowle; observations by "the late Joseph Cooper Walker, Esq. the author of the very elegant Historical Memoir on Italian Tragedy" ¹⁰⁹⁹); notes by Benjamin Stillingfleet, who, according to a letter of his to the father of Dr. Dampier, late Bishop of Ely, intended to edit Milton but was prevented by Newton's edition of "Paradise Lost" ¹¹⁰⁰); remarks by Isaac Reed and James Bindley ¹¹⁰¹); are among the new material added to Todd's commentary. Published sources, such as "the compositions of Lord Monboddo, Dr. Beattie, and Dr. Blair, . . . the late commentaries on Shakespeare, . . . Mr. Headley's Select Specimens of Ancient English Poetry, . . . the acute observations of Dr. Johnson and Mr. Hayley" and others are similarly named in Todd's preface as having helped to enlarge his annotations ¹¹⁰²). Beside these, the notes by Greenwood and Hurd have to be especially mentioned, though a complete list of Todd's sources would include a considerable number of further names, many of which are represented only by a few brief remarks and hardly deserve any special treatment.

Among the above contributions, those of Dunster, Bowle, Stillingfleet and Lord Monboddo have here been singled out for special examination, partly owing to their numerousness, and partly because of their marked character. The rest are mostly of a somewhat chance kind and hardly enable one to form any definite impression of their method, though the material amassed in those *membra disjecta* is often very valuable.

1. *Dunster.*

The notes contributed by Dunster contain many interesting literary illustrations, particularly from the classics, but also from

¹⁰⁹⁷) Cf. p. VI of vol. I, ed. II.

¹⁰⁹⁸) Cf. p. VI of vol. I.

¹⁰⁹⁹) Ed. I, vol. I, sg. A6r.

¹¹⁰⁰) *Ibid.*

¹¹⁰¹) *Ubi supra*, sg. A7r.

¹¹⁰²) Ed. I, vol. I, sg. A5r.

older English literature, from the Italians, & c., as well as a number of observations on style and language. However, their main importance rests probably on Dunster's remarks on the artistic peculiarities of Milton's works, which show much more insight than Todd's own critical analyses, and supplement the idea of Dunster's views afforded by his notes to "Paradise Regained".

His last remark on "Paradise Lost" (included among the selection of critical views on the poem as a whole, subjoined at the end of the work) which deals with its plan, shows what Dunster values in the poem. He does not deny the importance of its imaginative beauty, but he dwells more on features of a more purely intellectual kind. Compression and terseness are the qualities which he mainly emphasizes (as in his notes on the style of "Paradise Regained"), though he likes them to be combined with vivid description. The intellectual feat of compressing a large mass of material in a few pages seems, however, to impress him more than brilliant and picturesque detail, however well executed.

These features appear in his treatment of the problem discussed by Addison¹¹⁰³), whether the narrative form of the history of mankind in book XII of the epic is inferior to the representation of the same events as a succession of visions in book XI. Addison compared the former manner to mere writing and the latter to colours¹¹⁰⁴). Dunster mainly tries to show that the structural device of using the brief form of narrative, which only sketches out the story, is a more rational way of handling the enormous mass of events in the last book than their treatment as visions, which would imply giving much lengthy description without making it possible to avoid adding a good deal of explanatory material and thus impairing the vividness of the whole. This preference for the last book of the poem may be partly due to artistic considerations. Dunster finds the "bold sketches and brief delineations" of this book to "equal in effect the larger and more finished productions of the pencil", speaking of the "admirable comprehensive brevity" of the former. One feels inclined to ascribe this tendency to the classical influences

¹¹⁰³) The Spectator No. 369.

¹¹⁰⁴) *Ubi supra.*

on Dunster, which have been traced in his treatment of "Paradise Regained" ¹¹⁰⁵).

If Dunster in spite of this preference of the style of the last book to that of the rest still agrees with the opinion of most critics that the earlier parts are superior to the last, he attributes this superiority to the *subject* of the former. To prove this, he analyses the *structure*, as usual, in order to show the relation of the last to the previous books. The action, as he finds, passes from hell to heaven and from heaven to the terrestrial paradise, whence it goes to the actual earth, the habitation of mankind. A decrease in the poetic magnificence of the poem would have been avoidable only by a change of the subject, *viz.* by refraining from a description of the world after the fall. This he finds inadmissible, but for non-artistic reasons. He emphasizes the value of the instructive tendency of Milton's poem. Milton, according to him, abandoned the higher spheres of paradise in order to instruct mankind, which could be done efficaciously only by addressing it on its own ground. In Dunster's opinion, "A poem, however wonderfully pregnant with the *delectare*, will be wanting in its most essential parts, if it does not close with the *monere*, or materially involve it" ¹¹⁰⁶). This reminds one of the tendency shown in Dunster's edition of "Paradise Regained", to regard poetic imagery as a mere extraneous addition to the instructive essence of poetry ¹¹⁰⁷). However, the present note does not go so far. It values both the moral and the artistic aspects. This view is summed up in the image of "Milton, even while 'rapt above the pole' he meditated his vast design", being "fully aware that he was 'standing upon the earth', and writing to the inhabitants of it for their instruction as well as their delight" ¹¹⁰⁸).

Dunster's sensitiveness, which goes hand in hand with good solid commonsense, and his attentive study of Elizabethan literature, enable him to appreciate the spirituality, which in the Elizabethans alternates with naturalism, broad humour and high-flown, even incongruous, conceits. Newton compares Milton's

¹¹⁰⁵) Cf. above.

¹¹⁰⁶) *Ibid.*

¹¹⁰⁷) Cf. above, p. 308.

¹¹⁰⁸) *Ubi supra.*

description of "Celestial voices" that sing in "the midnight air" to Lucretius ¹¹⁰⁹). Dunster, on the contrary, sees "ideas... of a higher order" in Milton, finding in this passage the same "spiritual music" and "fine natural beauty" as in the description of the magical voices in "The Tempest" (A. III. s. 2. "The isle is full of voices" & c.).

It has been shown that Dunster values vigour more than fluency and smoothness ¹¹¹⁰). This is corroborated by some typical remarks in Todd's edition. Newton praised Milton's strict adherence to Scripture *despite* its spoiling the harmony of the verse ¹¹¹¹). Dunster finds these very discords a positive beauty; Milton was studious to avoid an excessive smoothness "from a sort of reverential awe and chastened fear of appearing to attempt decoration of language, where it cannot serve to elevate the ideas, and therefore is peculiarly unappropriate and unseemly" ¹¹¹²). Similarly, the value of irregularity is seen in a note on the impressive disorder of some passages, which is found to correspond with that "turbulent rapidity" with which associations of various kinds crowd in upon an excited mind ¹¹¹³).

These are perhaps the main features of Dunster's contributions to Todd's edition. Dunster's predilection for the intellectual element in poetry, which does not prevent him from keenly appreciating imaginative vividness, as well as his valuation of instructive tendencies and of religion, are found here again. Subtleties of Milton's plan and excellences of detail are both expounded with much keen insight, which is only occasionally obscured by the somewhat inadequate doctrines that connect Dunster with the more narrow-minded classicists of the earlier part of the eighteenth century ¹¹¹⁴).

2. Bowle.

Bowle's notes, which comment very scantily on the facts they present, show the annotator's wide reading in older English and Romance literature as well as in the miscellaneous non-

¹¹⁰⁹) P. L. IV. 682 *n.*

¹¹¹⁰) Cf. above, p. 312.

¹¹¹¹) P. L. X. 175 *n.*

¹¹¹²) Note *ibid.*

¹¹¹³) Cf. P. L. IX. 965 *n.*

¹¹¹⁴) Cf. above, p. 308.

literary publications of the past. "Huon de Bordeaux" ¹¹¹⁵), Boiardo ¹¹¹⁶), Amadis de Grecia ¹¹¹⁷), La Sylva de Medrano ¹¹¹⁸), Froissart ¹¹¹⁹), Purchas ¹¹²⁰), Gascoigne ¹¹²¹), Sackville ¹¹²²), & c. are drawn upon, beside various more popular and obvious sources of information. P. L. VI. 325 *n.* is an example of his erudite method. Descriptions of the descending of swords are quoted from different French, Italian and Spanish romances, no comments being added. Old miscellaneous publications are *e. g.* referred to in P. L. III. 478 *n.* where the belief, that to be clothed in a friar's habit was an infallible road to heaven, is illustrated from "Pasquine in a Traunce" 1584, Weaver's "Discourse of Funeral Monuments" 1621, Buchanan's "Franciscans" and Dante's "Inferno".

3. *Stillingfleet.*

Stillingfleet's speciality in Milton annotation appears to be the study of classical parallels, though there are also some parallelisms from later authors, *e. g.* from Philippe de Commines ¹¹²³), Spenser ¹¹²⁴), Tasso ¹¹²⁵). Some acute remarks are made on the connection between style and mood, as in P. L. V. 28 *n.* where the breaks in Eve's narrative V. 28 *et seq.* are explained by her inability to recollect her thoughts immediately after awaking. This is also in accordance with the subject of her narration which is visionary and somewhat vague.

Stillingfleet makes some attempts to explain Milton's philosophy, *e. g.* in P. L. III. 108 *n.* where he deals with the poet's pronouncement that "reason also is choice". He studies the effect of material irregularities, finding them to take away monotony and approving the close adherence to scriptural passages

¹¹¹⁵) P. L. I. 665 *n.*

¹¹¹⁶) VI. 317 *n.*

¹¹¹⁷) X. 575 *n.*

¹¹¹⁸) VIII. 47 *n.*

¹¹¹⁹) XI. 250 *n.*

¹¹²⁰) II. 716 *n.*

¹¹²¹) IV. 603 *n.*

¹¹²²) I. 619 *n.*

¹¹²³) P. L. VII. 322 *n.*

¹¹²⁴) P. L. III. 533 *n.*

¹¹²⁵) P. L. I. 56 *n.*

which is made possible by disregarding the requirements of regular verse ¹¹²⁶). All this shows some reading, attention, and insight into character, though too little material is given to make it possible to venture on any detailed characterization of the commentator.

4. *Lord Monboddo.*

The notes of Lord Monboddo nearly all deal with direct or indirect traces of the classics in Milton and show the annotator's classical mode of thought and taste. Much attention is given to syntactic features.

Monboddo praises a simple style unadorned by any metaphorical or figurative words, finding great beauty in unassuming, balanced perfection — in "the justness of the thought, in the propriety of the expression, in the art of the composition and in the variety of the versification" ¹¹²⁷). He is convinced, it is true, that this literary manner "will appear flat and insipid to those who admire the present fashionable style, far removed from the simplicity of the ancients" ¹¹²⁸). However, a blunt, everyday style is regarded by him as equally "flat and insipid" ¹¹²⁹), unusual, terse elliptic expression being found to be suitable to the "very high style of classical gallantry" which he recommends ¹¹³⁰). His ideal appears to be the polished, precise, expressive but reserved style of the ancients which is as far removed from bluntness as from bombast.

Supposed or real Græcisms or Latinisms form the subject of a number of his notes. He prefers to see in P. L. III. 344 *et seq.* "an anomalous construction" imitated from Homer (*viz.* a sentence without a verb) instead of the more normal and intelligible "ablative absolute" as which this passage is more generally interpreted ¹¹³¹). Most of his syntactic notes deal with ellipses, *e. g.* P. L. VIII. 645 *n.* where "it is necessary" is supposed to have been omitted on the model of the Greek ¹¹³²).

¹¹²⁶) P. L. III. 703.

¹¹²⁷) Cf. P. L. II. 106 *n.*

¹¹²⁸) Co. 704 *n.*

¹¹²⁹) Co. 270 *n.*

¹¹³⁰) *Ibid.*

¹¹³¹) P. L. III. 345 *n.*

¹¹³²) Cf. also P. L. VII. 38 *n.*, X. 157 *n.*

β. Todd's Literary Views.

Though Todd's edition includes much critical material on Milton's poetic works, there is relatively little matter for an inquiry into the editor's own literary views and theories. Todd generally prefers giving mere statements of facts or quoting the opinions of others to advancing any views of his own. In this respect he adheres to the method adopted in his "Comus". His life of Milton follows the same practice. A sketch of some of his tenets can, however, be given.

He is undoubtedly influenced by the new currents of taste and the widening scope of literature, but he does not seem to have thoroughly revised his critical views in order to adapt them to the standards of his age. He still appears to value tame, orderly, decorous expression in the usual eighteenth century manner. "Elegance" is one of the artistic qualities apparently especially esteemed by him. He admires the "remarkable elegance" of Crashaw's metaphor: "The primrose's pale cheek" (M.M. 4 n.) and that of Collins's expression: "he . . . Shook thousand odours from his dewy wings" ¹¹³³). The "elegant imitations" of Miltonic expressions by Pope and Gray are accorded the same ready approval ¹¹³⁴). "Propriety" remains one of his foremost requirements even in notes added subsequently in some of his later editions. Thus Knight's "Principles of Taste", ed. 1805, pp. 122—123, is attacked because of its strictures on the lack of "the rapturous glow of enthusiastick passion" in the passage describing Adam's wooing of Eve in "Paradise Lost", bk. IX. ¹¹³⁵). Todd fails to bring forward any artistic arguments in defence of Milton, but is surprised at the critic's neglect of his author's endeavour "not to excite an improper idea" ¹¹³⁶).

The editor's final remark on "Comus" is a good example of his moralizing and pedagogic tendencies. Though he does not disregard the imaginative excellence of the masque, at least equal stress is laid on its instructive and moral sides. The play is said to exhibit "the true sources" both of "poetical delight and moral

¹¹³³) P. L. V. 286 n.

¹¹³⁴) P. L. IX. 193 n.

¹¹³⁵) P. L. IX. 1029 n., here cited according to Todd's fourth edition.

¹¹³⁶) *Ibid.*

instruction" and to advance "virtuous sentiments". Similarly, "Paradise Regained" is recommended for the gratification which it gives to "taste and virtue" by the "fine sentiments which it breathes; the pure morality which it inculcates; and the striking imagery, with which it is frequently embellished" ¹¹³⁷).

Todd does not seem to have any prejudices against the fusion of the styles of classicism and romance. On the contrary, the imitations "both of the classical and the romantick Muses" in "Paradise Regained" are praised ¹¹³⁸). Sometimes objection is raised to a mixture of classical and scriptural imagery, as in the final note on "Lycidas", but Todd is impartial enough to reprint the substance of a letter to himself by Mrs. Anna Seward who calls attention to the free, playful spirit of the piece which she finds to harmonize with the inconsistent character of its mythological and religious elements. And in a passage in his life of the poet, Todd dwells with special approval on the wide range of Milton's prose which includes "romantick, and classical, and scriptural allusions", marking him along with Jeremy Taylor and Bishop Hall as a leading master of "the diversified arrangement and application of bright and majestic sentiments, of the most powerful and commanding words" ¹¹³⁹).

These last quotations already show that Todd was not destitute of the capacity for appreciating Milton's traditionally recognized "grand style" as well as the bright, rich element of romance in his works which some of the admirers of his sublime manner seemed to underrate. The surprising amount of Elizabethan and mediæval parallels found in Todd's notes unmistakably proves his interest in these matters, which is reflected in his critical pronouncements. Newton's rash condemnation of Milton's early reading of romances disagrees with these tendencies ¹¹⁴⁰). The poet's imagination is found by Todd to have been enlarged by "the striking embellishments and graces of romantick fiction" which are added to his "Own unborrowed imagery" ¹¹⁴¹). Todd values "romantic" picturesqueness. About the end of his account of Ludlow Castle, he describes the "delightful and romantick"

¹¹³⁷) Cf. the final observation on "Paradise Regained".

¹¹³⁸) *Ibid.*

¹¹³⁹) Vol. I. of ed. IV, p. 146.

¹¹⁴⁰) Cf. P. L. I. 580 *n.*

¹¹⁴¹) *Ibid.*

situation of this seat of nobility, its position on a rock, its "walls of immense height and thickness", its "round and square towers", & c. That Todd sometimes was capable of seeing the attraction of the extremer features of the "grand" variety of Milton's style, appears from his notes on the "inimitable strength" of Milton's "fine expression" in P. L. II. 846: "Death Grinnd horrible a gastly smile", or on the picture of battle in P. L. VI. 848, which is found to remind one of "the bold and tremendous painting of Æschylus" in *Prom. Vinct.* v. 356¹¹⁴²). On the other hand, extravagances and what Todd regards as "bombast" are censured, as in the case of some eccentric metaphors in the English translations of Du Bartas and apparently also in Milton's earliest poetic attempts¹¹⁴³). It is evident that these latter features of style clash very violently with the ideal of "elegance" alluded to before. The last verses of "Paradise Lost" are praised for their "beautiful simplicity"¹¹⁴⁴), which agrees far better with the above ideal.

As this brief summary should have made clear, Todd still clings to some of the most typical features of the classicist tradition, though not fanatically. He has assimilated only some of the lessons of Warton and others, but his ideals of moralism, didacticism and decorum do not prevent him from appreciating a wider scope of style and sentiment.

γ. *Todd's Treatment of Milton's Language, Style and Metre.*

Todd's treatment of Milton's style and language does not abound in original ideas or keen analyses. His thoroughness in correcting earlier misstatements is a leading feature of his notes on these matters, exactly as in his edition of "Comus". His familiarity with old English writers enables him to show the occurrence in their works of a number of expressions supposed by other critics to have been invented by Milton or derived by him from foreign languages. P. L. II. 900 *n.* points out that "embryon", a word described by Addison as being of Milton's own coinage¹¹⁴⁵),

¹¹⁴²) P. L. VI. 755 *n.*

¹¹⁴³) Cf. Ps. CXIV. II. *n.*

¹¹⁴⁴) Cf. Todd's second note on P. L. XII. 648 *n.*

¹¹⁴⁵) Cf. *The Spectator*, No. 285.

had actually been used by Sylvester, Donne, Massinger and Browne. Similar remarks are found in P. L. I. 752 *n.*, IV. 50 *n.*, IX. 330 *n.*, X. 426 *n.*, S. A. 345 *n.*, & *c.*

Todd collects some interesting material concerning Milton's peculiarities of word-formation. Thus S. A. 442 *n.* shows Milton's fondness for the prefix *dis-* and points out a number of cases, some of which actually seem to be peculiar to Milton or appear to have been rare before him, if the data of the NED are to be relied upon. Of *disexercise*, *disespouse*, *disgospel*, only their use by Milton is registered in the NED, whereas to *disinure*, to *disglorify* are cited only once before Milton. In S. A. 453 *n.* Milton's relatively frequent use of derivations from *idol* is shown, and the forms referred to in this note are found in the NED only once or twice with a date previous to their occurrence in Milton, in the sense in which Milton used them.

Some attention is given to *phonetic* points, and their illustration is sometimes copious and skilful¹¹⁴⁶). Unusual obsolete accents are studied with the same or greater care than in Newton's edition¹¹⁴⁷), the attempt being sometimes made to undertake a closer study of the shifting of the old stresses to their present position, *e. g.* in P. L. II. 301 *n.* where the changes of the accentuation of "aspect" are traced in seventeenth century texts. Neither Richardson¹¹⁴⁸) nor Bowle, who both treat of Milton's form "ammiral", had convincingly shown where the poet might have derived it from. Todd points out the existence of this word in the same sense and with an *m* or *mm* instead of *dm* in various early English translations of French, Italian and Portuguese poets¹¹⁴⁹). These are only some chance instances of Todd's care in these questions. Old language, especially old phraseology, is traced with notable industry, though without much subtlety of analysis¹¹⁵⁰).

Little new light is thrown on more complicated features of style. Cases of successions of similar forms used in order to achieve a strong cumulative effect repeatedly attract Todd's

¹¹⁴⁶) Cf. P. L. II. 132, V. 482, 798, VIII. 12, 155 *nn.*

¹¹⁴⁷) Cf. above, p. 239.

¹¹⁴⁸) Cf. above, p. 124.

¹¹⁴⁹) Cf. P. L. I. 294 *n.*

¹¹⁵⁰) Cf. P. L. I. 48 *n.*, where Ariosto, Spenser, P. Fletcher, Drummond and others are studied; I. 202 *n.*; II. 302 *n.*; X. 718 *n.*; S. A. 326 *n.*

attention. Thus, the frequent introduction of series of negative adjectives beginning with *un-* is compared with the similar practices of Spenser and Fairfax, an example of the early derision of this habit being quoted, apparently in order to illustrate the commonness of this artifice ¹¹⁵¹). This reference to the attitude of Milton's contemporaries shows the same interest in the background of his poetry as so many of Warton's remarks. Similar cumulative devices discussed by Todd are the use of series of successive participles ¹¹⁵²) and the frequent repetition of the invocatory particle "o" ¹¹⁵³).

Todd's syntactic remarks are of a somewhat casual kind and add relatively little to earlier research. He is sufficiently familiar with the poet's style to acknowledge the authenticity of occasional irregularities and ellipses. Newton recommends the emendation of P. L. IX. 673: "while each part, Motion, each act", into: "whole, while each Motion, each act", inserting "whole" and omitting "part" in order to obtain a regular recurrence of "each" before the nouns, as Bentley demands. Todd defends the genuine reading by a considerable display of classical scholarship, excusing its irregularity as a feature common in Milton and hardly apt to obscure the sense of the passage.

Milton's imagery is seldom analysed ¹¹⁵⁴). Parallelisms from earlier writers or from Milton's own works are frequently adduced but generally bare facts are stated without any, or with very little, comment upon them. Some of these comparisons are vivid and suggestive, as *e. g.* that of the descriptions of red liquor sparkling in the sun in S. A. 543, Co. 613 and Prov. XXIII. 31 ¹¹⁵⁵). However, the analysis here is confined to the pointing out of verbal similarities. Similarly, echoes of the biblical image of the scorpion which is offered to one's father are traced in various

¹¹⁵¹) P. L. II. 185 *n.*

¹¹⁵²) Cf. S. A. 365 *n.*

¹¹⁵³) Cf. P. L. X. 860 *n.*

¹¹⁵⁴) It is hardly to be wondered at, under the circumstances, that Todd has little to say about Milton's characters. His comparisons of Milton's treatment of them with the way in which other authors handle their characters are of some interest owing to the commentator's erudition rather than because the traits he takes notice of are very subtle or intriguing (cf. *e. g.* P. L. IX. 529, 875 *nn.*).

¹¹⁵⁵) Cf. S. A. 543 *n.*

Miltonic passages, without any comment except that the poet "has been peculiarly happy in the use of this imagery" ¹¹⁵⁶). These are more or less typical examples.

Todd's opinions on Milton's verse may be traced most easily in his preliminary "Observations on the Versification of Milton, by Dr. Johnson and others", where his own views are stated explicitly and implicitly. As this article shows, Todd has perused a very considerable number of authorities, apparently surpassing all earlier commentators in this respect. Johnson's onesidedness and limitations are constantly checked by references to more advanced critics or by Todd's own comments. Tyrwhitt's "Essay on the Language and Versification of Chaucer", Foster's "Essay on Accent" (2nd ed.), Mitford's "Essay upon the Harmony of Language", Sheridan's "Lectures on the Art of Reading", & c., Samuel Say's "Remarks on the Numbers of Paradise Lost", Dr. Pemberton's "Observations on Poetry", Webb's "Observations on Poetry and Musick", the Richardsons, Lord Monboddo, Rich. Payne Knight's "An Analytical Inquiry into the Principles of Taste" ¹¹⁵⁷) and others are made use of in this connection.

Todd quotes these and other writers to rectify Johnson's errors and further down gives an account of their main contributions to the investigation of Milton's metre. In this connection he makes some remarks which reflect his own views. In opposition to Johnson, he defends Milton's art of adapting the sound to the sense, but the idea is not new ¹¹⁵⁸) and most of his examples are borrowed. What he says of the value of spondees in unexpected places, particularly after pyrrhics, is, however, presented as his own opinion and is of some interest ¹¹⁵⁹). He mentions the emphasis which is given to the words thus accentuated, especially after two unstressed syllables, *e. g.* in P. L. IV. 719 ("On him who had stole Jove's authentic fire") where "stole Jove's" becomes emphatic because of the force of the stresses after the unstressed words "who had" ¹¹⁶⁰). Similarly, in Co. 37 ("Lies through the

¹¹⁵⁶) S. A. 350 *n.*; similar cases cf. S. A. 184 *n.*; P. R. I. 94 *n.*

¹¹⁵⁷) Referred to vol. II, p. 205 of ed. II.

¹¹⁵⁸) Cf. even Hume, *e. g.* above, p. 39.

¹¹⁵⁹) Cf. ed. II, vol. II, pp. 199—200.

¹¹⁶⁰) Todd quotes an emendation by Dr. Pemberton ("On him, who Jove's authentick fire had stole") and shows that there the force of expression is lost.

perplex't paths of this drear Wood"), the stressed syllables in "the perplex't paths" are those which are logically important. Todd quotes a number of further instances of a similarly happy use of spondees.

In connection with these cases, he assumes that, in Milton, "supreme" may have the stress on the last syllable when a stressed syllable follows, because (as Todd says) a spondee is "more dignified and impressive", and because in some cases the metrical result of this pronunciation would be a pyrrhic followed by a spondee, as in the above instances. He makes the proposal to read: "...whom the Suprême King" in P. L. I. 735 and: "That He, the Suprême Good" in Co. 217, though he admits that at Milton's time "supreme" could also be read with the stress on the first syllable. His argumentation seems plausible if taken by itself, as he is able to show that his manner of reading the word does not disagree with Milton's metrical practice, at any rate in the instances quoted by him. However, it partly clashes with the observations of later scholars, e. g. A. Schmidt¹¹⁶¹), who have pointed out that the stress seems in Milton and Shakespeare regularly to recede to the first syllable in disyllabic adjectives standing before a noun which begins with a stressed syllable¹¹⁶²).

The above cases suffice to show Todd's ability to connect metrical with logical considerations. They display some freedom from conventionality, illustrating the value of so-called "irregularity" where it serves to enhance the impressiveness of the verse. Some other remarks of his show a similar capacity to combine the study of rhythm with the observation of matters of mood and character. Thus, Johnson condemns the "volubility and levity" of Milton's expression of "an action tardy and reluctant" in Moloch's speech in P. L. II. 76 *et seq.*¹¹⁶³). Todd calls attention to the character of Moloch, "the *most impetuous* Spirit that fought in Heaven" whose rash and desperate sentiments he finds reflected in the quick rhythm chosen by the poet¹¹⁶⁴).

¹¹⁶¹) Cf. Shakespeare Lexicon, Appendix.

¹¹⁶²) Dr. Bridges is of a different opinion and shows the possibility of a development towards the "irregularity" assumed by Todd. Cf. Milton's *Prosody*, ed. 1921, pp. 71 *et seq.*

¹¹⁶³) Cf. ed. I, vol. I. p. 239.

¹¹⁶⁴) Cf. footnote, *ibid.*

On the whole, Todd's metrical remarks show considerable insight. His attentive study of prosodical theory seems to have borne fruit. His footnotes to Milton's preface on "the Verse" of "Paradise Lost", which are copiously provided with historical material, similarly prove the editor's erudition, though they mainly sum up earlier work instead of stating Todd's own opinions.

δ. *Todd on Milton's Sources and on the General Allusions in his Works.*

The best work done by Todd in the purely literary department of his edition, is probably his investigation of Milton's sources. It is based on a thorough study of the efforts of his predecessors and shows a very remarkable erudition.

His essay on the origin of "Comus" contained little independent speculation and criticism. A similar inquiry into the sources of "Paradise Lost" (beside which are found a number of less thorough attempts of the same sort on some of the other works) is more critical and independent, though it also mainly deals with the work of earlier scholars. However, it supplies some valuable new material and weighs and criticizes the earlier examinations of the question ¹¹⁶⁵). The material is arranged in a historical order, beginning with the first hints known to Todd as to any literary debts on the part of Milton. Todd tries to describe the history of the reception of the theories concerning the poet's literary indebtedness (cf. his treatment of Voltaire's opinion that Milton had been influenced by Andreini, p. 248 & c. *ubi supra*). One-sided views, such as that of Dunster that Sylvester's Du Bartas was the main reason why Milton wrote "Paradise Lost", are examined in connection with the evidence known to Todd of other possible early influences on the poet ¹¹⁶⁶). An interesting remark which apparently had induced Todd to undertake further investigations, is Archbishop Laurence's observation that Milton may have made use of rabbinical words ¹¹⁶⁷). Todd's illustrations from Moses Bar Cepha may have been collected upon

¹¹⁶⁵) Cf. ed. I., vol. I. pp. 248 ff.

¹¹⁶⁶) Cf. p. 293, *ubi supra*.

¹¹⁶⁷) Cf. p. 268 of vol. I, ed. IV.

this suggestion ¹¹⁶⁸), though this writer had already been drawn upon in Hume's notes ¹¹⁶⁹). Todd, like Newton and others ¹¹⁷⁰), dwells on the independent character of Milton's imitations, acknowledging the great skill with which he interweaves elements from various sources ¹¹⁷¹). However, his notes on similarities between Milton and earlier writers very seldom analyse the exact character of these relations. Most of them merely ascertain parallels.

Todd's parallelisms from the classics, which show considerable knowledge, nevertheless do not deviate very much from the main roads of ancient literature. There similarly seems to be little that opens up new paths in his references to biblical matters, though he is able plausibly to explain some allusions that formerly had been misunderstood. Thus an adjective ("death-like") had been substituted for Milton's reading "death like [sleep]". Todd defends the original text, seeing in it an allusion to certain scriptural passages (particularly to I. Cor. XV. 51) and explaining its justification in the context. More attention than to biblical lore is paid to older English literature. Anglo-Saxon writers ¹¹⁷²) and pre-Elizabethan authors are mentioned occasionally, but greater stress is laid on the literature of the end of the sixteenth and of the seventeenth centuries. In this latter department a very considerable amount of material has been amassed which is by no means confined to the best-known writers of that period. The names mentioned in the notes to the first two books of "Paradise Lost" include, amongst others, the following: Lodge's "Looking Glasse for London" ¹¹⁷³), Goffe's "Amurath" ¹¹⁷⁴), the "Mirror for Magistrates" ¹¹⁷⁵), Dr. Holdisworth's "An Answer without a Question" ¹¹⁷⁶), "The Cobler's Prophecie" ¹¹⁷⁷), Chamberlayne's

¹¹⁶⁸) Cf. pp. 268, 269, *ubi supra*.

¹¹⁶⁹) Cf. Hume I. 34 *n*.

¹¹⁷⁰) Cf. above, on Newton, p. 229.

¹¹⁷¹) Cf. p. 284 of vol. I, ed. 1801.

¹¹⁷²) Cf. *e. g.* P. L. IV. 20 *n.* on the venerable Bede.

¹¹⁷³) P. L. I. 181 *n*.

¹¹⁷⁴) P. L. I. 576 *n*.

¹¹⁷⁵) P. L. I. 742 *n*.

¹¹⁷⁶) P. L. II. 229 *n*.

¹¹⁷⁷) P. L. II. 132 *n*.

"Pharonnida" ¹¹⁷⁸), & c. French romances ¹¹⁷⁹), Spanish ¹¹⁸⁰), and particularly Italian, authors are conspicuous among the Romance sources used. Of the Italians, Dante occurs with special frequency. Only Richardson seems to have had the same predilection for parallels from the "Divine Comedy" as Todd ¹¹⁸¹). The lurid imagery of Dante's Hell and Purgatory, which may have lingered in Milton's mind, is naturally enough quoted from fairly frequently ¹¹⁸²). It is of more interest to note that the description of paradise in P. L. IV is found to resemble a number of passages of canto XXVIII of Dante's "Purgatory" ¹¹⁸³). Similarly, parallels are drawn between Dante's "Paradise" and the representation of the angelic choirs in "Paradise Regained" ¹¹⁸⁴). Todd does not explain these parallelisms, but, in his usual way, merely points out similarities, so that the problem of the extent and character of Dante's influence on Milton is not solved.

Beside these literary investigations, the scope of which is only slightly sketched in the above, inquiries into various fields of history, social and cultural life, & c., are found throughout Todd's own contributions. They are often based on obscure contemporary sources. That Todd owes something to Peck in this respect, appears *e. g.* from P. L. I. 711 *n.* where possible allusions to the Elizabethan stage are admittedly traced in continuation of Peck's hints. Jewish customs ¹¹⁸⁵), traditions of chivalry ¹¹⁸⁶), Elizabethan pastimes and sports ¹¹⁸⁷), early gardening ¹¹⁸⁸), & c. are dealt with in some detail, some of these notes referring to, and quoting from, dozens of books, many of which are obsolete. Thus, in S. A. 1323 *n.* Prynne's "Histrio-mastix", Stubbe's "Anatomic of Abuses", the "Tragicall Comedie of Damon and Pithias", Dekker's "Gul's Hornebooke", Cavendish's "Memoirs of Wolsey",

¹¹⁷⁸) P. L. I. 673 *n.*

¹¹⁷⁹) Cf. P. L. I. 580, III. 135 *nn.*

¹¹⁸⁰) Cf. S. A. 1736, 1740 *nn.*

¹¹⁸¹) Cf. above, p. 105.

¹¹⁸²) Cf. *e. g.* P. L. I. 94, 181, 193, 196 *nn.*

¹¹⁸³) Cf. IV. 135, 153, 229, 264 *nn.*

¹¹⁸⁴) Cf. P. R. I. 169 *n.*

¹¹⁸⁵) S. A. 1020, 1730 *nn.*

¹¹⁸⁶) S. A. 1226, 1736 *nn.*

¹¹⁸⁷) Cf. S. A. 1323 *n.*

¹¹⁸⁸) II P. 50 *n.* — the continuation and elaboration of a note by T.

various editors of Milton and Shakespeare, Milton's own prose & c. are examined for the illustration of the names of various kinds of actors, jugglers & c. enumerated in S. A. 1323 *et seq.*

As may be seen from the above, Todd is a very industrious follower of the line of research pursued by Warton. While he added much to the material of his subject he contributed little to its method, and must be classed rather among the useful than the great editors. What is unexpectedly seldom to be found, is the discovery and application of new leading principles in matters of literary interpretation.

CONCLUSION.

It might be profitable to add a few words emphasizing what the present writer regards as the main conclusions to be drawn from the matter presented in this book. The miscellaneous character of the material dealt with may have slightly obscured the logical structure of the whole.

The principal tendency directing the activities of Milton commentators during the period in question is the drift from a rather primitive dogmatism towards a close critical scrutiny of authentic facts. This is evident throughout the whole field of Milton research. The text, so badly treated by Bentley, is conscientiously compared by his successors with the original editions and MSS. Milton's spellings are gradually found to reveal the author's own phonetic intentions instead of being taken for a mere medley of odd deviations from the accepted norms. The peculiarities of the poet's language come to be regarded not as mere irregularities which have to be corrected as in Bentley's edition but as important clues to Milton's individual taste and style, and their connection with the language of Milton's predecessors and contemporaries is carefully examined. The petrified prosodical principles of classical scholarship, often applied to English verse without any feeling for the peculiarities of the mother-tongue, are little by little abandoned for a more flexible method. The apparent incongruities of Milton's versification are shown to express valuable shades of sense and emotion, and critics get accustomed to listening to the perceptions of their own ear instead of trusting to ready-made metrical dogmæ (cf. esp. the Richardsons, but at times even Bentley).

The same trend prevails in the handling of certain even more fundamental problems of a less technical type. The belief in classical and biblical authority, obscured by no doubts in Hume,

and in many respects at its height in Bentley, is superseded by a more critical mentality. Bentley, who professes the tenets of a rationalist, narrow-minded classicism, declares everything not in keeping with these to be spurious and non-Miltonic. But the fanatic bluntness of his onesided yet trenchant comments is met by an equally consistent but broad-minded and critical attitude. The refined technique developed by classical scholarship is applied to a conscientious inquiry into the actual facts of the case. Since this inevitably involves some study of Bentley's doctrines, which happen to be the typical doctrines of that age, the very foundations of classicism are subjected to a damaging scrutiny. The Richardsons, who embrace the cause of individual genius, evince more enthusiasm than critical discipline, but their dogma, that of the independence of genius, induces them to study with unflagging care the idiosyncrasies of Milton's poetry, as far as their imperfect scholarship permits. Eccentricities of taste are not merely excused but even eulogized where they do not occur. Other commentators, *e. g.* Peck, though holding rather hazy theoretical principles, accumulate valuable authentic material, serving to show the setting as well as to elucidate the precise character of Milton's poetry. Bishop Newton's honest endeavour to find a reliable basis for his critical comments partly fails owing to certain shortcomings of his intellectual and emotional equipment. Clerical and classicist prejudices handicap his mind. In spite of his not inconsiderable learning, he misses the organic unity of Milton's work. Among his collaborators, Thyer excels in poetic sensitiveness. He succeeds in taking a closer view of the artistic character of Milton's poetry. Part of the reason for this is to be found in his relative freedom from theoretical preconceptions as well as in his practice of carefully observing his own literary impressions, even though they might clash with his theories. His typically 18th century definition of poetry as a means of instruction and easy pleasure does not prevent him from perceiving poetic qualities inconsistent with this formula. His adequate descriptions and analyses of these perceptions prove him to be a considerable critic.

The culmination and turning-point of Milton annotation during the period discussed is Warton's edition. His method is more consistently psychological, his erudition incomparably greater than Thyer's. Owing to his learning, which is particularly re-

markable in the department of older English literature, and to his unusual poetic responsiveness, the tendency to see the author's point of view finds a fuller realization than in the case of any previous commentator. His grasp of the facts of Milton's personal life as well as of the setting of his poetry is exceptional. Hence his intimate understanding of the atmosphere of Milton's verse. He sees with surprising distinctness the significance of the non-classicist features in the poet's early manner.

His way of using the author's personality as a starting-point for his analyses enables him to do full justice to the complicated moods reflected in *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*. Milton's poetry becomes much more intelligible by being regarded as a mirror of his mind — a mind whose mazes could hardly be disentangled without a competent knowledge of the mentality prevailing during the period which moulded the poet's early sensibility. Thus, not only the treatment of textual, biographical, historical or philological puzzles and literary sources but also the examination of the poet's mind and of the atmosphere of his works undergoes a radical reform in accordance with the general tendency towards a reliable, authentic basis of investigation. The inward and outward factors of Milton's poetic activities are studied with unprecedented competence.

It is only natural that this development should have brought as a corollary a more adequate understanding of poetry in general. Milton's poetical practice was too many-sided and original to fit into the narrow frame of 18th century literary doctrinairianism. The critics felt it to be of exceptional value, and once its principles had been grasped, the exclusive authority of conventional doctrine became seriously endangered. Nowhere is this more obvious than in Warton's commentary — not even in the annotations of the Richardsons. The notes in Warton's edition point out unexpected poetic subtleties, which lead out of the world of reason and proportion into one abounding in strange, suggestive complexities of thought and emotion. The new subversive truths thus discovered prepare the way for the Revival of the Imagination.

Warton's successors add much that is useful and new, and surpass him in various special departments of their own, but they contribute few essential principles. Lofft knows more about phonetics, Dunster about matters of literary structure, Todd

amasses an imposing amount of new historical, biographical and literary facts relating to the setting of Milton's poetry. All this, however, may hardly be regarded as much more than supplementary work. Todd's important edition once more proves the triumph of Warton's method — the method of careful, impartial analysis based on conscientiously collected, thoroughly sifted material and guided by that novel feature of the scholarship of those times, the sense of historic perspective.

APPENDIX I.

ON UNACKNOWLEDGED SIMILARITIES TO EARLIER COMMENTARIES IN NEWTON'S NOTES ON BOOK II OF "PARADISE LOST".

A.

SELECTION OF UNACKNOWLEDGED SIMILARITIES.

3 n.: The debt to Pearce seems to be much greater than Newton acknowledges. His remark that "the gorgeous east" is not mentioned in opposition to "Ormus and Ind" but because the choicest pearls and gold & c. are found in it, and the next but one sentence, stating that these pearls and gold are said to be showered upon the eastern kings because in those countries the principal share of property belongs to the rulers, are in part almost literally identical with Pearce's observations.

The reference to the classical use of "barbaricus" in connection with matters of luxury and splendour is found in Hume and Pearce. In Richardson's corresponding note, the idea that the "pearl and gold" are called barbaric because the Greeks and Romans thought all other nations barbarous, is stated in almost exactly the same words.

21 n.: Newton's distinction between the spelling of his own time, which he finds to be phonetic ("We spell it as we pronounce it *atchiev'd*") and Milton's etymological spelling "achiev'd" is new, but Hume already mentions both spellings as well as the derivation of "achiev'd" from the French ("Achiev'd, or Atchiev'd, of *Achever*, Fr.....").

47 n.: Hume, who is followed by Richardson, already identifies "He reck'd not" with "He made no account of", "to reck" with "to reckon", "thereafter" with "accordingly".

89 n.: Hume explains "exerceo" as meaning "to vex and trouble as well as to employ and busie". Newton uses literally the same expressions, only substituting "to practice and employ" for "to employ and busie".

138 n.: With some slight modifications the same as Bentley's note on II. 136.

151 n.: The defence of Milton's reading "[Devoid of ...] motion" against Bentley's proposal to read "action" is the same as in Pearce. Both annotators argue that the power of motion *ipso facto* includes a power to act.

174 n.: Newton explains that by "his" in "His red right hand" "seems to have been meant *God's*, who is mention'd so often in the course of the debate, that he might very well be understood without being nam'd".

The Richardsons state much the same idea, but in a far terser form: "His; they knew who he meant without naming him, God's Hand . . ." (II. 174 n.).

220 n.: Newton's interpretation of "light" as an adjective synonymous with "easy" corresponds with Pearce's suggestion that Milton does not want to denote "the highest degree, but only something that, in comparison of what they suffer'd, might be call'd *mild* and *light*".

274 n.: The similarity in the drift of Mammon's and Belial's speeches is pointed out by Bentley (II. 274 n.). That Belial's idea is carried farther by Mammon, is shown in the corresponding note of the Richardsons.

294 n.: The varying pronunciation of names of the type Michael, Raphael (sometimes pronounced as disyllables, sometimes as trisyllables) which is pointed out here, was taken notice of by Bentley and Pearce (cf. above, chapter on Pearce p. 91).

305 n.: The retort to Bentley that "Majestick though in ruin" refers to "his face" and not to "Princely counsel" is the same as in Pearce's note.

309 n.: There is some similarity to this in the descriptive parts of Hume's picture of the heat and somnolence of noon in "great Continents". The parallel with Bentley is even more conspicuous. See Bentley: "For it was not the *Air*, that made the Silence and Stillness, but the *Hour*; when in hot Countries, the Sun shining fierce, both Men and Animals retire to Shade and Rest". Newton writes: "...*noon-time*, when in hot countries there is hardly a breath of wind stirring, and men and beasts, by reason of the intense heat, retire to shade and rest". Even the typical turn of phrase at the end has been repeated.

367 n.: Both Hume and Newton derive "puny" from "puis né" and intimate that Milton may have intended to suggest something of the French meaning of the word (Hume: "*Puisné*, born since, created long since us, Angelick Beings boasting Eternity" . . . Newton: "*puis né*, born since, created long after us").

434 n.: The reference to the promiscuous use of "convexum" and "concavum" in ancient poetry and some of the classical material adduced to illustrate this use are given by Hume.

512 n.: Newton: "A *globe* signifies here a battalion in circle surrounding him" . . . Richardson (II. 512 n.): "The Antients have call'd the Circle of Soldiers round the *Suggestum* from whence the Emperor Harrangu'd them a *Globe*".

513 n.: On "horrent". Richardson: "This Word sometimes means *Terrible*; but Here, as Rightly and much more Poetically *Bristled*; their Spears seem'd as the Bristles of an Enrag'd Wild Boar". Newton sees the possibility of a combination of the two senses but his note seems to contain verbal echoes of the above: "*Horrens* includes the idea both of terrible and prickly, set up like the bristles of a wild boar".

517 n.: Newton: "*Alchemy* is in short what is corruptly pronounc'd *Ockamy*, that is any mixed metal". Bentley's corresponding note begins: "There is a cheap Kitchin mix'd Metal for *Spoons*, & c. vulgarly call'd *Ockamie*, perhaps corruptly from Alchymie".

528 n.: Pearce's exposition of the situation is repeated almost word for word at the beginning of the note.

539 n.: Hume (II. 555 n.) dwells on the contrast between the reasoning and singing angels and the corresponding difference in their situations. Richardson's note on the present passage describes the author's different ways of representing the contemplative and the active spirits. Newton takes notice of these points. However, he adds new features and develops the whole into a skilful demonstration of the copious use here made of the device of contrast.

568 n.: Pearce already, like Newton, shows that the first editions have "obdured", not "obdurate", and refers to the occurrence of the former in P. L. VI. 785.

708 n.: The quotations from Virgil and Tasso, the identification of Ophiuchus with Anguitenens, the reference to the frequent mentions in poetry of the fearful effects of comets, eclipses, & c. are all found in Hume.

758 n.: Hume already suggests the parallel between Sin springing out of Satan's head and Wisdom or Minerva out of the head of Jupiter. The Richardsons mention Lucian's description of the ravishment of Minerva by Vulcan soon after her birth.

809 n.: Hume and Newton mention the same parallels but Newton tries to describe the difference between the attitude of the heathen deities in Homer and Virgil and that of the fallen angels, whereas Hume fails to make any attempt at such an analysis.

842 n.: Hume's note already contains the references to the old meaning of "buxom" and to the Spenserian passage alluded to by Newton (F. Q. I. XI. 37). Newton's additional exemplification of the word from Spenser's prose seems, however, to prove a comparatively intimate independent knowledge of the poet.

894 n.: The comparison of Milton's cosmology with that of the ancients — not in itself a strikingly original idea — is found in Hume, though in a more diffuse form. The reference to Orpheus in Newton's note corresponds with the quotation from Orpheus in Hume's remark. The exposition of Milton's own system of cosmology resembles that of the Richardsons, who in part mention the same Miltonic passages (II. 892 n.). The main new feature in Newton is his terser and more disciplined style.

927 n.: Hume calls attention to the usage of interchanging, in metaphorical speech, expressions for sailing and flying, and gives the same Virgilian illustrations as Newton. The Spenserian parallelism is found in Peck's note on this passage.

933 n.: The probable derivation of "pennon" from Lat. "penna" is shown in Hume's note.

941 n.: Newton indicates the similarities between the descriptions of Spenser's old dragon and Milton's Satan, referring to F. Q. I. XI. 8 — a passage which is in the closest neighbourhood of those alluded to in Peck's note on II. 927 (*viz.* F. Q. I. XI. 10 and 18), one of which is quoted by Newton (*cf.* above, on II. 927 n.). It may be conjectured that Peck's remark caused Newton to undertake further inquiries into the Spenserian passage.

965 *n.*: The references to Lucan, F. Q. IV. 2. 47 and I. 5. 22, Statius and Tasso are all found in Hume, those to F. Q. IV. 2. 47 and Lucan in Bentley also. The Richardsons hint in a rather general way that by "the dreaded name Of Demogorgon" Demogorgon himself is meant [it "very Poetically says *He* was there"]. Newton cites definite evidence to prove that such was the meaning of this periphrasis in classical literature — *i. e.* he shows that this is no chance individual way of expression but a traditional habit of style.

1017 *n.*: Hume already connects Milton's "justling Rocks" with the Greek Symplegades. His explanation is substantially the same as in Newton though the wording very closely resembles that of the Richardsons, who state the same idea as Hume.

Richardson: „they were so near to One Another that they seemed at a Distance to be but One, and Near to Open and give way, and then Close again, chiefly when the Ship vary'd its Course This way and That as Usual...”

Newton: "...they were so near, that at a distance they seemed to open and shut again, and jostle one another, as the ship varied its course this way and that as usual".

The main difference is in the greater smoothness of Newton's style.

1053 *n.*: Pearce already suggests that "this pendent world" is the universe: "The sense is, This *pendant World* (seen far off v. 1047.) seem'd to be no bigger than a *Star of smallest magnitude*; nay not so large; it seem'd no bigger than such a *Star* appears to be, when it is *close by the Moon*; the superior Light of which makes any *Star* that happens to be very near her Disc, to seem exceedingly small and almost to disappear." See Newton's verbal repetitions of the preceding: "... and beheld far off it [=this pendent world] appear'd in comparison with the empyreal Heaven no bigger than a *star of smallest magnitude*; nay not so large, it appear'd no bigger than such a star appears to be when it is *close by the moon*, the superior light whereof makes any star that happens to be near her disk, to seem exceedingly small and almost to disappear."

B.

The following list of literary parallels referred to both by Newton and Hume but not acknowledged by Newton to have been taken from the latter gives, first, the references to Newton, second, those to the parallelisms alluded to, and, third, those to the notes by Hume containing these parallels (Hu. = Hume).

II. 3: *Æn.* II. 504 — cf. Hu. II. 4 *n.*

II. 11: *Coloss.* I. 16 — cf. Hu. II. 11 *n.*

II. 227: quotation from Virgil ["*Ignobile otium*"] — cf. Hu. II. 227 *n.*

II. 254: quot. from. Persius — cf. Hu. II. 254 *n.*

II. 352: references to Virgil and Homer (in the case of Homer, to the same turn of speech though not to the same passage) — cf. corresponding note by Hume.

- II. 432: quot. from Virgil — cf. Hu. II. 434 *n.*
 II. 435: references to Virgil — cf. Hu. II. 435 *n.*
 II. 489: the same Homeric features discussed as in Hu. II. 490 *n.*
 II. 513: quotations from Virgil — cf. Hu. II. 514 *n.*
 II. 528: references to Virgilian descriptions of sports as in Hume,
 though only partly to the identical passages (cf. Hu.
 532, 555 *nn.*).
 II. 542: refer. to Ovid's "Metamorphoses" — cf. Hu. II. 543 *n.*
 II. 577: Æn. VI. 438 — cf. Hu. II. 577 *n.*
 Æn. VI. 107 — cf. Hu. II. 578 *n.*
 Æn. VI. 550 — cf. Hu. II. 579 *n.*
 Odyss. X. 513 — cf. Hu. II. 579 *n.*
 Æn. VI. 714, IX. 355 — cf. Hu. II. 583 *n.*
 II. 595: Virg. Georg. I. 93 — cf. Hu. II. 595 *n.*
 Eccles. ch. 43 v. 20, 21 — cf. Hu. II. 595 *n.*
 II. 628: Æn. VI. 287 — cf. Hu. II. 628 *n.*
 II. 692: Revel. XII. 3, 4 — cf. Hu. II. 692 *n.*
 II. 708: Æn. X. 272 — cf. Hu. II. 711 *n.*
 II. 809: Æn. III. 375, IV. 614 — cf. Hu. II. 809 *n.*
 II. 842: F. Q. I. 11, 37 — cf. Hu. II. 842 *n.*
 II. 881: Æn. VI. 573 — cf. Hu. II. 881 *n.*
 II. 894: Orpheus's Hymn to Night — cf. Hu. II. 894 *n.*
 II. 904: Æn. IV. 42 — cf. Hu. II. 904 *n.*
 II. 927: Æn. I. 300 — cf. Hu. II. 927 *n.*
 II. 943: Lucan, Phars. III. 280 — Hu. II. 945 *n.*
 II: 964: Lucan, Phars. VI. 744, Statius's Thebaid IV. 514, Tasso's
 Ger. Lib. XIII. 10, F. Q. I. V. 22, IV. II. 47 — cf. Hu.
 II. 965 *n.*
 II. 965: Æn. VI. 273, & *c.* — cf. Hu. II. 967 *n.*

APPENDIX II.

The following prospectus of Newton's Milton was communicated to the author by Mr. H. E. B. Brett-Smith after the completion of the thesis. Its size is exactly that of Newton's first edition:

PROPOSALS
FOR
PRINTING *by* SUBSCRIPTION
a NEW EDITION *of*
MILTON'S PARADISE LOST.
With NOTES of VARIOUS AUTHORS.
By THOMAS NEWTON, D. D.

Rector of *St. Mary-le-bow, London.*

CONDITIONS.

- I. THE Text will be correctly printed according to *Milton's* own Editions, from which few Variations will be made, and those only such as shall be judged absolutely necessary.
- II. To the Text will be subjoin'd large Notes Critical and Explanatory, not only the best of those which have been already publish'd, but likewise many others compiled by the Editor, or communicated by several learned Men.
- III. A new Life of *Milton* will be prefix'd, and copious Indexes be added in the conclusion.
- IV. There will be a new Set of Copper Plates, design'd by Mr. *Hayman*, and engrav'd by the best Masters.
- V. This Work will make two handsome Volumes in *Quarto*, Royal Paper, and will be printed in the same Character as the Specimen annex'd.
- VI. Every Subscriber to pay a Guinea at the time of subscribing, and half a Guinea upon the Delivery of the Books in Sheets.
- VII. The Subscribers [*sic*] Names shall be printed.
- VIII. The Subscription will be closed in *May*, at which time the Work shall be put to the Press, and be deliver'd to the Subscribers some time the Winter following.

Subscriptions are taken in by *J. and R. Tonson* and *S. Draper* in the *Strand*, where some of the Prints may be seen.

If any Gentleman has any Notes or Observations to communicate, the Favour will be thankfully acknowledg'd.

Note: p. 3 of Newton's first edition is subjoined as a specimen.

APPENDIX III.

SELECT LIST OF SOURCES.

This list does not claim to be complete. It includes a selection of what appeared to be helpful for the present thesis. As some knowledge of the personalities of the writers dealt with is often indispensable for a proper understanding of their critical attitudes, some general books and articles relating to them have been mentioned. With regard to materials concerning the commentaries themselves, greater completeness has been aimed at, but it has not been the object of the present writer to register every casual reference. As to periodical sources, no exhaustive inquiries were undertaken, but what has been mentioned should be in some way illuminating. Ordinary works of reference, such as the *Dictionary of National Biography*, the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, *Chambers and Thomson's Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen*, *Chalmers's Biographical Dictionary*, *Baker's Biographica Dramatica*, *Nichols's Literary Anecdotes and Illustrations of Literature*, *Lowndes's Bibliographical Manual*, are mentioned only in special cases. The present list has to be regarded as a supplement to the data given in the text or in the foot-notes. This is why these data have here been mentioned only where the context seemed to make this particularly desirable. Of books and articles dealing with the whole range of the present subject, or with large parts of it, though only in a cursory way, special mention has to be made of the following: "STUDIES IN THE MILTON TRADITION BY JOHN WALTER GOOD [UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS STUDIES IN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE VOL. I, NOS. 3. AND 4 AUGUST-NOVEMBER, 1915..... PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS...]" 8°, pp. 310; "THE INFLUENCE OF MILTON ON ENGLISH POETRY BY RAYMOND DEXTER HAVENS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ROCHESTER [*device*] CAMBRIDGE HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS LONDON: HUMPHREY MILFORD OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS 1922", 8°, pp. XII + 722; and Prof. Edward Dowden's essay on "Milton in the Eighteenth Century (1701—1750)", pp. 275—293 of the "Proceedings of the British Academy 1907—1908". The last edition of Dr. Bridges's study of Milton's prosody (Oxford 1921, 8°) has been very helpful. Professor R. P. Cowl's "Theory of Poetry in England" (Macmillan, 1914, 8°) suggested new tracks of reading.

Hume: See especially the prefaces to Newton's and Warton's editions of Milton; Blackwood's Magazine IV. p. 658 & c., containing some characterization of Hume's commentary in connection with an attack on

J. Callander of Craigforth's alleged plagiarisms from Hume; and, in revision of, and partly as a retort to, the above article, a report on the unpublished part of Callander's commentary in "Archæologica Scotica: or Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland", vol. III, p. 83 & c.

Bentley: See contemporary sources mentioned in the second and third chapters; Prof. Mackail's Warton Lecture (cf. above p. 50); J. H. Monk's Life of Bentley, I and II editions, 1830 and 1833, cf. indexes to these; R. C. Jebb's Bentley, English Men of Letters series, I ed. 1882; Jacob Maehly, Richard Bentley, 1868; Biographia Britannica, I ed. 1748, vol. II, p. 739 & c., esp. pp. 743—744, where the evidence as to Bentley's early preoccupation with Milton annotation is queried; see also II ed. vol. II, pp. 224 & c., esp. 244—245 (in ed. I probably by the Rev. Hinton, acc. to p. VIII of the preface to vol. II of ed. II, whereas ed. II, vol. II. pp. 244 *et seq.* are apparently by the editor, A. Kippis, judging from the signature K.); "Biographia Borealis; or Lives of Distinguished Northerners, by Hartley Coleridge. . . . LONDON. . . . 1833", 8^o, (pp. 65 *et seq.* on Bentley, p. 172 on his Milton); Thomas De Quincey's essay on Bentley, published as a review of Monk's Life, ed. I, in Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, vol. XXVIII, p. 437 *et seq.*, p. 644 *et seq.*, 1830, and accessible in De Quincey's Works, *e. g.* Edinburgh 1862, vol. VI, pp. 35—180; Henry James Nicoll, Great Scholars. Edinburgh 1880, 8^o (pp. 73 & c. on Bentley's Milton). "Richard Bentley, D. D. A Bibliography of his Works and of All the Literature Called Forth by his Acts or his Writings by A. I. Bartholomew, M. A., of Peterhouse, Cambridge, With an Introduction and Chronological Table by J. W. Clark. . . . Cambridge. . . . 1908" [8^o] enumerates some more critical articles & c. but the rest seems less illuminating on the subject of the present treatise.

Pearce. See section of chap. III relating to him; especially Monk's Bentley, cf. index; his life in: "A COMMENTARY, WITH NOTES, ON THE FOUR EVANGELISTS AND THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES, . . . BY ZACHARY PEARCE, D. D. LATE LORD BISHOP OF ROCHESTER. TO THE WHOLE IS PREFIXED, SOME ACCOUNT OF HIS LORDSHIP'S MANUSCRIPTS, BY JOHN DERBY, A. M. . . . Vol. I. LONDON. . . . MDCCLXXVII" [4^o]; Welch's Alumni Westmonasteriensis, pp. 253—255 (ed. 1852, as everywhere in this list).

The Richardsons. See the prefatory matter to their commentary; Horace Walpole, Anecdotes of Painting in England, ed. 1888, vol. II. pp. 275—6 (Nichols's Literary Anecdotes, vol. II, 38 *et seq.* borrows from Walpole); Samuel Redgrave's Dictionary of Artists of the English School, ed. 1878; De Quincey in Tait's Edinburgh Magazine, vol. VI, p. 9, on Richardson's portrait of Milton:

Peck. The principal account in Nichols's Illustrations of Literature, I. 507.

J. Paterson, "Raymond de St. Maur", & c. See authorities in the corresponding chapter.

T. Newton. Autobiography in vol. I, pp. 7—136 of: "THE WORKS OF THE RIGHT REVEREND THOMAS NEWTON, D. D. Late LORD BISHOP of BRISTOL, And DEAN of St. PAUL'S, LONDON. WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF HIS LIFE, AND ANECDOTES of several of his

FRIENDS, WRITTEN BY HIMSELF. IN THREE VOLUMES... LONDON... MDCCLXXXII", 4^o. See esp. pp. 50 and 52 on his Milton. Cf. also Welch's *Alumni Westmonasterienses*, pp. 285—7, and Boswell's Johnson, ed. Birkbeck Hill, IV. 285—6, on Newton's lack of originality.

Newton's Collaborators. See prefaces to Newton's own editions, as well as to those of Todd and other Milton editors. An account of Meadowcourt's country life is found in pp. 246 & c. of the 2nd vol. of: "LETTERS BY SEVERAL EMINENT PERSONS DECEASED. INCLUDING THE CORRESPONDENCE OF JOHN HUGHES, ESQ... AND SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS... LONDON... MDCCLXXXII", 8^o. Jortin's Milton notes are dealt with in John Disney's "Memoirs of the Life and Writings of John Jortin, D. D." 1792, 8^o, pp. 25—27, and in W. Trollope's *Life of Jortin*, ed. 1846, p. XXVIII of vol. I, but neither of these lives gives more than an account of the opinions of others, mainly of those of Newton and Warton in the prefaces to their editions. On Thyer's notes see mainly Newton's own prefaces. The sources mentioned by the DNB. give some idea of his character and activities. On William Benson see Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, cf. Index (Lit. An. II. 139, foot-note definitely ascribes to him the "Letters on Poetical Translation"). On Warburton's Milton notes see p. 367 of: "THE LIFE OF WILLIAM WARBURTON, D. D. LORD BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER FROM 1760 TO 1779: WITH REMARKS ON HIS WORKS. BY THE REV. JOHN SELBY WATSON, M. A. ... LONDON ... 1863", 8^o. A good general outline of Warburton's life and works is found in pp. 119—176 of Mark Pattison's *Essays*, ed. Nettleship, Oxford 1889, 8^o, vol. II. Pp. 202—3 of J. Savage's edition of "The History of Taunton, in the County of Somerset", by Joshua Toulmin, D. D., contain an account of J. Upton's life and writings.

Period between Newton and Warton. Cf. above, authorities on Hume. The report of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland mentioned there defends Callander's honesty and refers to Newton's similar failure to acknowledge his literary debts. Letters by Callander are found in "LETTERS FROM THOMAS PERCY, D. D. AFTERWARDS BISHOP OF DROMORE, JOHN CALLANDER OF CRAIGFORTH, ESQ. DAVID HERD, AND OTHERS, TO GEORGE PATON. EDINBURGH... MDCCCXXX", 8^o. The Johnson bibliography of W. P. Courtney and Prof. D. Nichol Smith (ed. 1925, p. 136) mentions some attacks by Callander on Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*. Periodical sources on some of the other commentators of this period are referred to in the text of our chapter on this period.

Thomas Warton and his Collaborators. A copious bibliography is given in: "THOMAS WARTON A BIOGRAPHICAL AND CRITICAL STUDY BY CLARISSA RINAKER UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS" ("UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS STUDIES IN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE vol. II FEBRUARY, 1916 No. 1") which is also valuable for its critical analyses. There is much bibliographical material in: "THE THREE WARTONS A Choice of their Verse EDITED WITH A NOTE AND A SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY BY ERIC PARTRIDGE LONDON THE SCHOLARTIS PRESS... 1927". See also "The Critical Review"

of May 1785 (p. 321 *et seq.*, 421 *et seq.*), "The Monthly Review" vol. 79, pp. 4, 97, 342 (an appreciative review of the ed. of 1785; but Warton's hatred of Puritanism is censured and many details are queried), vol. 10 of the second series, p. 24 (on ed. 1791), "The Gentleman's Magazine" vol. LV, p. 416, where Warton's excessive habit of quotation, his remarks on Milton's "bad ear" & *c.* are criticized; p. 513 *ibid.* where Warton is defended against the author of the "Letter" to him, and vol. LVI p. 210 & *c.* containing a critical examination of Warton's condemnatory verdict on Milton's prose. "The Critical Review", vol. LX, pp. 159—160, censures the "Letter" as trifling and partial, whereas the "Monthly Review", vol. LXXIX, p. 380, advises Warton to consider every word of that publication.

Of recent general estimates, three Warton lectures deserve attention: "THOMAS WARTON BY W. P. KER. FELLOW OF THE ACADEMY" (pp. 349—359 of "PROCEEDINGS OF THE BRITISH ACADEMY 1909—1910"); "Two Pioneers of Romanticism: Joseph and Thomas Warton by Edmund Gosse, C. B., LL. D." ... [From the Proceedings of the British Academy, Vol. VII], 8^o, pp. 19. See also quite particularly: "WARTON'S HISTORY OF ENGLISH POETRY by DAVID NICHOL SMITH Merton Professor of English Literature in the University of Oxford WARTON LECTURE ON ENGLISH POETRY BRITISH ACADEMY 1920 *Price 1s. 6d. net* FROM THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE BRITISH ACADEMY. VOLUME XV LONDON: HUMPHREY MILFORD AMEN HOUSE, E. C."

For an adequate understanding of Joseph Warton's critical views, including his views on Milton, his "Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope", 1756, 8^o, should be studied, beside the remarks in "The Adventurer" (see above p. 263 *n.*).

Further remarks on Milton by Hurd are found in pp. 289, 303, & *c.* (cf. index), and an observation on Pearce's notes in p. 288, of the Rev. Francis Kilvert's "Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Right Rev. Richard Hurd, D. D., Lord Bishop of Worcester ... London ... 1860", 8^o.

The Commentators between Warton and Todd. On the "Letter to the Rev. Mr. T. Warton", see preceding section. There is relatively little material on the other commentators. It is quite understandable that the slight contributions of D. Steel and Gillies should not have caused much discussion. Pp. 52, 348 of "THE NEW SUFFOLK GARLAND ... COLLECTED, COMPILED, AND EDITED BY JOHN GLYDE, JUN. ... IPSWICH ... 1866", 8^o, give some idea of Lofft's life and character¹¹⁸⁹). On his edition cf. "Critical Review" 1793, p. 12—14 of vol. VII of 2nd series. On Dunster see mainly Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes* vol. IX, p. 236; this is the main source of *The Gent. Mag.* LXXXVI, pt. I, p. 472 (published a year later, in 1816; *Lit. Anecd.* vol. IX in 1815). *Gent. Mag.* 1796, Jan., pp. 47—48 gives a reasonable review of Dunster's edition, comparing his method and erudition with Warton's. Read also: "CONSIDERATIONS ON MILTON'S EARLY READING, AND THE PRIMA STAMINA OF HIS PARADISE

¹¹⁸⁹) See also Henry Crabb Robinson's "Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence", ed. 1872, 8^o, 2 vols, cf. index to this publication.

LOST; TOGETHER WITH EXTRACTS FROM A POET OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY, IN A LETTER TO WILLIAM FALCONER, M. D. FROM CHARLES DUNSTER, M. A. PRINTED BY AND FOR JOHN NICHOLS, RED-LION PASSAGE, FLEET-STREET, LONDON; AND SOLD BY R. H. EVANS 1800".

Todd and his edition. On Todd, see *Gent. Mag.* 1846 I. 322—324. There also a characterization of his literary work describing him as laborious and "in some sense, a learned man", but not poetical, and in his life of Milton, so dry and dull as if he had been writing "the Life of Milton's father, the scrivener". *Illustr. of Lit.* VI, p. 620, foot-note, is more appreciative of Todd's literary pursuits, cf. also *Illustr. of Lit.* VII, pp. 54, 58, 59 and *Lit. Anecdotes* II. 53. On Todd's "Comus", cf. *Gent. Mag.*, LXVIII, p. 703. See *Gent. Mag.* 1801, vol. LXXI, p. 1185—87, on his large Milton edition. The *Literary Gazette*, 1846, pp. 88—89, which also gives a short biographical account of Todd, praises his erudition and describes him as "an invaluable living reference" to his contemporaries.

For data on B. Stillingfleet, see *Gent. Mag.* XLVI, pp. 162—4 and XLVII, 440. Most of the material given there, and considerably more, is incorporated in *Lit. Anecdotes* II, pp. 336—339. Boswell's Johnson, IV. 108 of Birkbeck Hill's edition, describes the rôle played by Stillingfleet in literary society, and pp. 84—94 of "LITERARY LIFE AND SELECT WORKS OF BENJAMIN STILLINGFLEET, SEVERAL OF WHICH HAVE NEVER BEEN PUBLISHED BEFORE. ILLUSTRATED WITH PLATES. VOL. I. LITERARY LIFE. LONDON ... 1811" (8°, pp. 256) deal with his Milton notes. These have been preserved in the British Museum (1346 m. 16) in a copy of Bentley's Milton. Particularly the preface is interesting as showing the way in which Stillingfleet proposed to deal with Milton's language (he studies his idiomatic expressions, and recognizes the enlivening effect of many licences) and metre (he has advanced beyond the stage of Newton, as he acknowledges the pre-eminence of stress in Milton's metrical system).

Some good remarks on Lord Monboddo's personality and writings are found in the Hon. Alex. Fraser Tytler of Woodhouselee's "Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Honourable Henry Home of Kames", Edinburgh 1814, 8°, p. 250, and pp. 409—23 of vol. I of the „Memoirs of the Life, Writings, and Correspondence of William Smellie", ed. 1811, 8°, in 2 vols.

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