

## THE MILTON COLLECTION IN THE ALEXANDER TURNBULL LIBRARY\*

THE TITLE OF THIS PAPER IS MISLEADINGLY DEFINITE. The words 'The Milton Collection' carry an implication that books are or are not part of the collection with no possible doubt. This would be true if the collection was closed with no further additions possible, as it might be if frozen at Turnbull's death in 1918 and one spoke of 'Alexander Turnbull's Milton collection', but that in itself is not a definite entity, as I hope to show.

As anyone who has read the biography by E.H. McCormick<sup>1</sup> will be aware, Turnbull had been buying books, New Zealand books and general English literature, during the years he lived in London after leaving Dulwich College, and all his collecting interests tended to be broadly rather than narrowly defined. A decision of early 1917 left a large number of the books that Turnbull bought from Quaritch in the last months of his life in England, to await the end of 'Germany's submarine warfare',<sup>2</sup> and when these books were processed by the staff of the officially established institution not all were identified as Turnbull's purchases by the use of his own book-plates. In the way these things happen his book-plates were also used in some of the books bought or given to the Library at a later date, so that it is not always possible to be sure that a particular book was bought by Turnbull himself.

We can take the central core of the Milton collection to be the editions of Milton's works, in the original or in translation. (I diverge here to say that I am restricting myself to works published before 1801, and all comments about proportions and any numbers refer only to pre-1801 material; this also applies to works outside the central core of editions, and I am leaving the entire area of nineteenth-century material — which is extensive — out of consideration. Except in a very few cases, which are indicated, I refer only to works actually in the Turnbull Library.)

Taking then the central core of the collection, the editions, a reasonable estimate identifies about 70%, 120-odd, of the 174 issues and editions in the Library in 1974 as Turnbull's own purchase. W.R. Parker's survey of the seventeenth-century editions<sup>3</sup> identified 111 issues; the Library had 72 of these in early 1974 and Mr Elliott then estimated<sup>4</sup> that 66 of these had been acquired by Turnbull. It can be seen that there have been substantial additions to the collection, however we define it, even before the 1974 purchase of the Stuart collection,<sup>5</sup> which increased the number of pre-1801 editions to 242, Turnbull's own contribution being about 50%; the number of seventeenth-century issues rose to 81, four-fifths of which Turnbull probably bought. This ignores duplicates. Even now the character of the collection is strongly influenced by Turnbull.

A further difficulty comes with defining the borders of the collection. When the rare books were catalogued in their present style around 1960 the identifiable Milton collection was given a distinctive callmark; it is not however an infallible rule that all the Milton collection has the Milton callmark. A clear case is the Second Folio Shakespeare, probably bought by Turnbull because it contains the first extant printing of any work by Milton, the 'Epitaph' on Shakespeare;<sup>6</sup> this is catalogued as part of the main rare book collection.

Another case of the inevitable inconsistencies which occur can be seen with two pamphlets that Francis Peck attributed to Milton in his *New memoirs of the life*. The

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first of these, *Tyrannical government anatomized*, a 1642 translation of George Buchanan's *Baptistes*, is catalogued as part of the Milton collection; the second, an anti-Laud pamphlet of 1641 called *Canterburies dreame*, which Peck calls 'The Parallel', is catalogued as part of the ordinary rare books. Turnbull himself commented, in his copy of Peck's work, 'how on earth anyone could imagine the 'Parallel' to have been written by Milton passes my comprehension.'

I do not cite these inconsistencies in criticism, but only to illustrate the difficulty of using the callmark as a sole guide to the Milton collection. When we enter the field of Miltoniana, works with allusions to Milton, attacking him or defending him, and works which make use of him or are influenced by him, then we enter a territory with uncharted boundaries — where do we stop? Do we say that because Sir Robert Filmer analyses Milton's political ideas in his *Observations concerning the original of government* then we should include not only that work of Filmer's but his others also, in which Milton is not mentioned, and that we should also include John Locke's *Two treatises of government*, which includes a lengthy attack on Filmer's ideas, almost certainly taking account of Milton's political ideas but with no identifiable reference at all to Milton? If Hobbes's *Behemoth*, with its explicit reference to Milton, is included should the *Leviathan* also be included? Hobbes would have been aware of the ideas in *Eikonoklastes*, in the *Tenure of Kings and magistrates*, and possibly in the first *Defensio pro populo Anglicano* (the timing of publication makes that doubtful) but there is absolutely no reference to Milton in the *Leviathan*, nor in the many pamphlets which attacked it.

Once Milton's works had become part of the general consciousness writers were likely to quote his words or use his ideas without acknowledgement, and possibly quite unaware of what they were doing. When Simon Patrick quoted nearly a page of the second edition of *Eikonoklastes*, slightly altered, in his 1669 *Continuation of the friendly debate* (which the Library does not have) he did not name Milton, but was well aware of whose work he was using. His opponent, Samuel Parker, did not recognise the passage and it was some previous owner of Turnbull's second copy of the 1649 first edition who recognised the passage.<sup>7</sup> This is an early example. By the time of the Popish Plot and the arguments on passive obedience which followed it in the early 1680s many Whig writers could have been doing what Patrick did, as some made extensive use of Milton's arguments and authorities,<sup>8</sup> but it was only because writers like Roger L'Estrange identified the borrowings that many readers of the time would have learnt that the ideas they encountered here in the 1680s were those expressed in the 1650s by that 'regicide' Milton. This diffusion of Milton's ideas is one factor creating uncertainty on where a Milton collection stops and a general collection of English political and general literature begins.

If there is difficulty with the influence of the prose works there is greater difficulty with the poetry. Dryden was obviously well acquainted with *Paradise lost* at least, and one would assume that this must have influenced his poetry. His identifiable references to Milton's poetry are all qualified, and the influence of Milton is almost completely absorbed and transmuted in his poetry. In the eighteenth century there were various factors which created at various times a 'boom' in what the reading public thought of as 'Miltonic' verse. John Philips, in *The splendid shilling*, and James Thomson, in the *Seasons*, both began fashions for Miltonic verse and Thomson in particular had a major influence on his contemporaries. When R.D. Havens listed eighteenth-century works which were probably or possibly influenced by Milton the

result was a survey of a large proportion of minor eighteenth-century verse, with a good proportion of the major poets as well.<sup>9</sup> Should *all* of these be included in a Milton collection? We cannot be guided by Turnbull's buying for he was buying general English literature several years before he began his Milton collection, and the many editions of Thomson's works could have been bought as part of his interest in Scottish literature. Some minor poets are represented by poems with a very explicit Milton association and these may have been bought as imitations, like *The village curate* of James Hurdis, which opens with the first three lines of *Paradise lost*, but even here we cannot be certain.

By the end of the eighteenth century it would probably be true to say that every significant poet writing in English was influenced by Milton's poetry in some measure. The overt references proliferate, and the fact that Philip Ayres admitted that Milton was one of his models in his 1687 *Lyric poems* is a more significant landmark in the development of Milton's reputation than the fact that in 1804 William Blake wrote a substantial poem called *Milton*, though this judgement has no reference to the merits of the respective poems.

If Milton's influence is far-reaching and the bounds of Miltoniana are so indefinite, the works which influenced Milton are equally difficult to identify for quite a different reason. Even the works most clearly among those he read, because he attacked them, quoted them in his works or in his *Common-place-book*, or annotated copies, cover a very wide area of human knowledge, and when we start looking for those he may have read the field becomes enormous. Works such as Bracton's *De consuetudinibus Angliae*, the 1602 *Works* of Chaucer, the 1587 *Chronicles* of Holinshed, the 1626 *Purchas his pilgrimage* show the variety of his reading and these are works published in England and in the Turnbull Library. A large proportion of his known reading, and buying, was of books published in Europe.<sup>10</sup> Milton's learning is a major handicap to most who would go source-hunting, and it is not surprising that Alexander Turnbull made no effort to collect in the area of Milton's sources.

This brings us back to the question: what did Turnbull collect, and how much influence did he have on the nature of the collection as it exists today?

Turnbull wrote to Quaritch in July 1892: 'I intend forming a Milton collection & making it as complete as possible if I can see my way to do so'; and he asked the bookseller to obtain the 1645 and 1673 editions of the *Poems*.<sup>11</sup> This was some four months after his permanent return to Wellington at the age of twenty-four with his parents and sister, after an English education and youth. Why he began his Milton collection cannot be explained. Like most English people he was apparently only vaguely aware of Milton the prose writer — and probably not much in sympathy with that side of Milton — and the strength and weakness of the collection is a reflection of this awareness. He began by collecting the poetry, and he was very largely successful: the first five of the six title pages of the first edition of *Paradise lost*, and at least one issue of every major seventeenth-century edition of the poetical works except the 1688 folio of *Paradise regained and Samson Agonistes* — and this includes the prestigious *Justa Edovardo King naufrago* with the first printing of *Lycidas*,<sup>12</sup> and the 1637 *Maske* (more commonly known as *Comus*). It does not include the separate printing of *Epitaphium Damonis*, scarcely surprising with only one known copy; nor does it include the various miscellanies which reprinted some of the minor poems.

In the eighteenth century the major editions are, by and large, there: Tickell's 1720 *Poetical works*; Fenton's 1725 *Paradise lost*; Bentley's 1732 *Paradise lost*;

Newton's 1749 *Paradise lost* and 1752 *Paradise regained* with the other poems; the 1785 Warton edition of the *Poems*; and the 1794 to 1797 Hayley and Cowper edition of the *Poetical works*. The *Paradise regained* editions are not quite as well represented as the *Paradise lost*, but there are a good proportion among the lesser editions and reprints, particularly of Tonson and his successors: the 1705 and 1707 octavos; the 1711 and 1713 duodecimos; and the Baskerville editions of 1758, 1759 and 1760, lacking only the 1758 quartos which came from Stuart. Reprints of Newton are there, along with a scatter of editions from the unofficial publishers and the pirates, some important like the 1770 Foulis folio and the 1776 Bell edition of the *Poetical works*, and some less important like the 1773 duodecimo *Paradise lost* without imprint which Turnbull describes: 'This is a rare edition & is unmentioned by any bibliographies. . . . The edition is interesting owing to a misprint in the first line of the poem which reads "Of man's first obedience. . . ." There is also the Wesley abridgement of 1763 which is so uncommon that one commentator<sup>13</sup> writes as though the 1791 edition had been prepared in that year, despite the preface being dated 1763. There is also a 1798 edition with notes which was 'printed for G. Whitfield. . . and sold at the Methodist preaching houses in town and country'; the only other example of the imprint that I have seen is a Methodist tract of 1791, a *Short account of Wesley*, in the Victoria University Library.

There are very few of these provincial, Irish and Scottish editions among Turnbull's purchases in proportion to the number actually known to have been published, and there are also very few of the translations and Continental editions which appeared during the eighteenth century. Turnbull's purchases were affected by his enforced reliance on booksellers. He began buying from the Scottish and European booksellers most likely to supply these provincial and Continental editions several years after beginning his Milton collection,<sup>14</sup> and it seems to have been only incidentally that Milton works were bought from them, for the dealers were unlikely to search for Milton material without specific instruction.

Turnbull's comparative lack of interest or, it would probably be truer to say, comparative ignorance of the publication of Milton outside London is, I suspect, the result of his education as a London gentleman. The same influence is at work that led him to buy underwear and toiletries as well as suits, hats and shirts from London firms<sup>15</sup> – the 'London mentality' which is reputed to believe that the remote North of England begins at Potters Bar.

The representation of the prose works also reflects Turnbull's background. Most people with Turnbull's upbringing would have been in the situation I was in when I left school – quite well acquainted with Milton the poet, almost totally ignorant of Milton the polemicist. The fact that Turnbull's initial request to Quaritch made no mention of any prose works probably has only slight significance, but there is more significance in the fact that the bulk of the seventeenth-century editions not held are the prose works – there are far more of them – and while only one major edition of the poetry is absent the *Considerations touching the removal of hirelings* and the 1644 *Of Education* are missing although substantially more common than *A Maske (Comus)* or the 1694 *Paraphrasis Latina*. Not only that, there is no separate edition at all of the *Considerations* until the 1834 London printing, and the only printing of the tractate *Of Education* apart from the minor poems or in the prose works is the reprint in Blackburne's *Remarks on Johnson's life*; of all the prose works these two were the most frequently reprinted in the eighteenth century. The absence of the 1649 *Articles*

of peace with Milton's *Observations*, and of the 1674 *Declaration or Letters patent of John Sobieski*, is not surprising since neither of these seems to exist in as many as a dozen copies. Likewise it is not surprising if the 1650 edition of *Eikonoklastes*, the 1658 edition of the first *Defence* and the second edition of the *Readie and easy way* are all missing, since all are scarce, especially the last two.

The eighteenth century saw very few editions of the prose works; the 1698, 1738 and 1753 editions were the only ones of the complete prose works (1697 is not complete), and there were few editions of separate works. Turnbull had the 1698 collection, called 'Toland's' though Toland had no hand beyond contributing the *Life*, a lack of involvement which a recent article in the *Times Literary Supplement*<sup>16</sup> suggests was fortunate. Turnbull also had the 1738 edition – Orrery's set, bought shortly after publication – but he did not have the 1753 quarto revision by Richard Baron, though there is what seems to be Thomas Hollis's own copy of the 1756 *Eikonoklastes* edited by Baron. Beyond that the only eighteenth-century edition of the prose is the 1790 edition of the *Treatise of civil power* and Mirabeau's 1788 adaptation of the *Areopagitica* as *Sur la liberté de la presse*.

The years after Turnbull's death saw a number of additions to the collection, particularly in the eighteenth-century editions. The bulk of the accessions were duplicates but a fair number were either new editions or issues of editions already held. In the earlier years of the Library accessions were almost exclusively by gift, there being no money for purchases, but since the 1950s it has been possible to buy for the rare book collection. Most of these additions have been the minor cheap editions of *Paradise lost* or of *Comus*, Dalton's adaptation of the *Mask*. One particularly interesting work was a gift from Sir Harold Beauchamp (father of Katherine Mansfield). This purports to be a 1770 edition of Newton's *Paradise lost*, very like another edition of 1770. However, a closer look brings doubts; the display type of the title page scarcely belongs to the 1770s and it calls Newton 'late Lord Bishop of Bristol' – Newton became bishop in the late 1760s and died in 1782. This edition is in fact a reissue of a Dublin edition of John Exshaw, first published in 1772 and reissued in 1773, then given a false imprint in the 1780s for circulation in provincial England.

Another interesting addition is a late seventeenth-century manuscript of an English translation of the first *Defence*. The translation is quite independent of Washington's – it translates the first, quarto, edition – and it seems to pre-date Washington. There is no clear indication of when this manuscript was acquired or how it came to the Library.

Where the gifts and purchases since Turnbull's death have probably had the greatest impact is on the Miltoniana. Turnbull bought some, annotating them for the Milton references when they are not obvious, like the 1660 edition of Featley's *Dippers dipt* and John Goodwin's 1649 *Obstructours of justice*. In other cases he made no reference to the Milton allusion, though noting other features, as with the copies of Walker's *Anarchia Anglicana* of 1649; Turnbull had two of the three editions dated 1649 and noted that they differed. The Stuart collection has supplied the 1661 *Compleat history of Independency* as well as the other 1649 printing, which seems to be the first edition – this work and the other parts of the *History of Independence* are a most complex bibliographical problem.

In some cases Turnbull must have been aware of the Milton association of the works, but there is no direct indication. The 1660 pamphlet attacks on Milton – *The*

*Censure of the Rota* and L'Estrange's *Double your guards, Treason arraigned, Physician cure thy self* and *No blinde guides* — were bought by Turnbull bound in a volume which includes Milton's *Brief notes upon a late sermon*; the original collector dated his copies and bought the L'Estrange *No blinde guides* on the same day as Milton's *Brief notes*, 23 April, two days before Thomason bought his copy.

A particularly notable work of Milton association is the set of *Mercurius politicus*, the Commonwealth newsbook which ran from 13 June 1650 to 12 April 1660. Once, Milton was thought to have been a contributor but this is now rejected; he did however license it for at least nine months and its pages include references to several of his works. The Turnbull set is one of the very few complete runs.

A number of these seventeenth-century pamphlets seem to have been bought as part of Turnbull's general buying, and it is only by chance that they are relevant for the Milton collection. Often we cannot be sure that Turnbull bought them, and it is easiest not to try to distinguish. As in the case of the editions there are few works published outside London, and few in languages other than English. Half of the allusions to Milton that W.R. Parker listed in his 1940 *Milton's contemporary reputation* were in the Library in 1974;<sup>17</sup> almost all the Continental references are missing except the major and obvious works like Alexander More's *Fides publica* and Joseph Jane's *Eikon aklastos*. This comment applies even more strongly to the sources, to what can be described as Milton's library. There are very few of the editions that Milton is known to have used, and most of these are English works, which would have been bought as general English literature. There are virtually no theological works at all in any edition, and the ecclesiastical and continental histories are also absent. This is not surprising when we remember that only in 1921, after Turnbull's death, were the editions cited in the *Common-place-book* identified in any detail. Some of the source works which are in the Library are later additions, including the 1569 edition of Bracton and Stow's *Annals* which were transferred from the General Assembly Library collections in 1974.

The overall character of the collection was clear in 1974, when the Library bought the G. William Stuart collection, much of which was duplicates from a collection sold to the University of Western Ontario some years before. The Stuart collection has affected the nature of the Milton collection in some areas by altering the emphasis a little, and by providing duplicates. The major lack among the seventeenth-century poetry is filled, with two copies of the 1688 *Paradise regained* and *Samson Agonistes*, together with copies of several missing issues — for *Paradise lost* the sixth title page of 1669 and the 1688 folios, the two issues of the 1673 *Poems* and the two title-page-states of the 1645 *Poems*. Gildon's *Examen poeticum duplex* of 1698 also came, with reprints of several Latin poems, and an apparently unknown Latin translation of Dryden's epigram.<sup>18</sup> There is also the 1662 *Life and death of Sir Henry Vane*, by George Sikes, which has the first printing of the sonnet on Vane.

The eighteenth-century poetry is supplemented by editions in the same tradition as those already at Turnbull, but there are rather more editions of *Paradise regained* with the minor poems, and rather more of the pirated and the Irish and Scottish editions. These include the two Robert Walker piracies of 1739 and 1751, both of which resulted in Chancery injunctions for breach of copyright — and both of which are very badly printed.

The most significant difference is the number of translations; one edition each of the German translations of Bodmer and Zacharia, the 1792 Danish translation of

*Paradise regained*, the 1789 Portuguese translation of *Paradise lost* and *Paradise regained*, four different editions of the Dupres de St Maur French version of *Paradise lost*. These fill a serious gap and make the collection rather more representative of the eighteenth-century publication of Milton.

The prose works which came from Stuart are rather less significant, being chiefly duplicates, though the Library now has both Hague title pages of the Vlacq reprint of the *Defensio secunda* – another bibliographical puzzle<sup>19</sup> – and all but the rarest of the 1651 and 1652 Latin editions of the first *Defence*.<sup>20</sup> The eighteenth century gains rather more, with the 1738 *Areopagitica*, a 1770 reprint of Baron's *Eikonoklastes* and several works reprinting the tractate *Of Education*, as well as the French *Théorie de la royauté*, a 1789 translation of the first *Defence* which is often attributed to Mirabeau.

Paraphrases and musical settings benefit with the addition of several editions of Handel's *L'Allegro il Penseroso ed il Moderato* and *Samson* to add to those already held, and also the 1745 *State of innocence* and another edition to add to the two editions already held of that strange prose paraphrase. There are now the three Continental reprints of the *Joannis Philippi Responsio*, which has been considered to be substantially Milton's work since Edward Phillips listed it among his works in 1694.<sup>21</sup> There are also both printings of that 'Postscript' to the *Answer* of Smectymnuus which many scholars, including the Yale editors of the *Prose works*, say is probably Milton's.

The Miltoniana is not affected to any great degree, nor are the source works, though all the relevant works of Bishop Hall are now held except the *Modest confutation* (if that is his) and the Library now has a 1652 edition (not the first) of the *Regii sanguinis clamor ad coelum*, as well as the 1661 reprint it already had. It also has the 1653 Dutch translation *Wraak-geschrey van het Koninglyke bloed*. Several groups of pamphlets have been added which cluster about one or two with direct allusions to Milton. The controversy on passive obedience around Samuel Johnson's 1682 *Julian the apostate* and *Jovian*, the reply by George Hickes, is one such group. Another is the group of pamphlets by 'Ludlow' from 1691 and 1692, with a number of other works in that debate on the authorship of the *Eikon basilike* which arose from the publication of the 'Anglesey memorandum' with the 1690 edition of *Eikonoklastes*.<sup>22</sup>

There are other works of interest also, such as the 1685 English translation of Degory Wheare's *Method and order of reading both civil and ecclesiastical histories*, with Edmund Bohun's added remarks on Milton's *History of Britain*; also the 1659 edition of *Killing no murder*, and the 1714 *History of the life of Thomas Ellwood*. Two duplicates reveal variant states in the Turnbull copies: the 1662 *Basilika* (of King Charles I) already in the Library has an uncancelled state at the end of Perrinchief's Life, and in the Stuart copy of the 1676 edition of Heath's *Chronicle* there is an uncancelled leaf in John Phillips's Continuation which shows that the reason for the cancellation was an injudicious reference to the deposition of Afonso VI of Portugal.

The Stuart collection does add several works among Milton's sources which emphasise the lack of Continental works among Turnbull's collections, for the additions are a 1580 edition of the *Vindiciae contra tyrannos*, a copy of the 1601 *Alexandra* of Lycophron and the 1647 *Compendium theologiae Christianae* of Wollebius which Milton used extensively in his *De doctrina Christiana*. Despite these

there are still very few Continental works and my earlier remarks remain applicable.

The Library is continuing to buy works related to Milton, as and when it can. Most of these are peripheral, providing additional works in, for instance, the 1690s controversies over the *Eikon basilike*, or further background works to the toleration and conformity debates of the 1660s. In most cases the connection with Milton is remote and not worth pursuing in this context.

It would be ridiculous to suggest that the Turnbull Library surpasses the British Library Reference Division (formerly the British Museum Library) or the Bodleian Library in general terms. What can reasonably be said is that for the Milton collection the Turnbull is as adequate for some types of research as either of those libraries. There are slightly more eighteenth-century editions at the Turnbull than at the British Library and there is now a reasonable selection of background material from the seventeenth century.<sup>23</sup> When Turnbull wrote to Quaritch that he hoped to make his Milton collection as complete as possible he could not have realised the size of the task he was undertaking. I think that if he saw the collection now he would feel it has a modest claim, not to completeness, but to adequacy. I also suspect that he would set about collecting Continental editions, translations and allusions as vigorously as his credit would let him.

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1. E.H. McCormick, *Alexander Turnbull: his life, his circle, his collections* (Wellington, 1974).
2. McCormick, p. 279.
3. W.R. Parker, *Milton: a biography* (2 vols, Oxford, 1968), vol. 2, pp.1205–13.
4. V.G. Elliott, 'John Milton at the Turnbull: II. The impact on the Turnbull collection', *Turnbull Library Record* 8, No. 1 (May 1975), 16–17.
5. G. William Stuart's collection of Milton editions was sold to the University of Western Ontario, and duplicates from that collection, with a further collection of Miltoniana, were purchased by the Turnbull Library in late 1974; the purchase was announced in October 1974 and written up in J.E. Traue, 'John Milton at the Turnbull: I. The purchase of a collection', *Turnbull Library Record* 8, No. 1 (May 1975), 14–15.
6. First suggested by C.R.H. Taylor, 'The Milton collection', *Turnbull Library Record* No. 14 (March 1960), 12–15 (p.14).
7. See K.A. Coleridge, 'An unreported seventeenth century use of Milton's *Eikonoklastes*', *Turnbull Library Record* 5, No. 1 (May 1972), 28–31.
8. Shown by G.F. Sensabaugh, *That grand whig, Milton*, Stanford University publications (Stanford, California, 1952), pp. 54–125.
9. R.D. Havens, *The influence of Milton on English poetry* (Cambridge, Mass., 1922), pp. 637–684, and also 'Appendix A: Parallels', pp. 573–624.
10. J.C. Boswell, *Milton's library* (New York, 1975), lists some 1500 titles possibly, probably or definitely owned, read, quoted or attacked by Milton; at least a third of the definitely or probably owned titles are Continental imprints.
11. McCormick, p.111.
12. The Library's copy of *Justa Edovardo King naufrago* is in mint condition; it is probably one of the best extant copies though most are in very good condition.



13. J.W. Good, *Studies in the Milton tradition*, University of Illinois studies in Language and literature, 1 (Urbana, Illinois, 1915), p.221.
14. McCormick, pp.218, 252.
15. McCormick, pp. 109–10.
16. B. Worden, 'Edmund Ludlow: The Puritan and the Whig', *TLS* 7 January 1977, pp. 15–16 (p.16).
17. Many of the allusions listed by Parker are in the pages of *Mercurius politicus*, and it is the Library's complete set that makes the holdings of allusions as full as it is.
18. This translation:   
 Tres magnos vario florentes tempore vates  
 Graecia cum Latio, & terra Britannia tulit.  
 Grandia Maeoniden; distinguit lenta Maronem  
 Majestas; noster laude ab utraque nitet.  
 Tendere non ultra valuit natura; priores,  
 Tertius ut fieret, junxerat ergo duas.
- has not been recorded by scholars such as W.R. Parker; William Cowper translated the epigram in 1780, believing it previously untranslated (see his Letter to Rev. William Unwin, 11 July 1780, in *The correspondence of William Cowper*, with annotations by Thomas Wright (4 vols, London, 1904). Vol. 1, pp. 211–13 (p.212).
19. Elucidated by R.W. Ayers, 'A suppressed edition of Milton's *Defensio Secunda* (1654)', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 55 (1961), 75–87.
20. Still lacking are the Dutch translation (no.11) and the edition described as no.10 by F. F. Madan, 'A revised bibliography of Salmasius's "Defensio Regia" and Milton's "Pro populo Anglicano Defensio"', *The Library* 9 (1954), 101–21.
21. Phillips prefixed a Life of Milton to his 1694 translation of the *Letters of state*; this is one of the major sources on Milton's life, Phillips having been one of his uncle's pupils for a number of years.
22. The publications are listed at length in F.F. Madan, *A new bibliography of the Eikon basilike of King Charles the first*, Oxford Bibliographical Society publications, NS 3 (London, 1950).
23. Available background material is considerably supplemented by the University Microfilms series of Wing and STC microfilms being received by the Turnbull.

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