



THREE EARLY MILTON EDITIONS

By THOMAS P. HAVILAND

It becomes constantly more apparent as research progresses, that John Milton was well known and considerably esteemed in colonial America. If libraries of Royalist Virginia offered here and there a copy of *Eikon Basilike*, "the King's Book," inventories of Puritan New England more than counterbalance these with the prose and verse of Oliver's secretary, the "Image Breaker," who justified the execution of Charles and spoke to the world in defense of the English people. That great and scholarly divine, Increase Mather, numbered among his books the *Defense*, in scholarly Latin,¹ to the writing of which John Milton sacrificed his sight. On Mather's shelves, too, were the *Apology for Smectymnuus* and *The Reason for Church Government Urged Against Prelaty*, two controversial tracts with which he would see pretty much eye to eye. Nor was *Paradise Lost* incongruous with the early Puritan conception that literature must be useful.

After 1700, the evidence increases. Professor Leslie Howard, in his stimulating "Early American Copies of Milton,"² points out that Yale received the "Complete Prose Works" as well as "Paradise Lost and All Poetical Works" in 1714; that the 1741 catalogue of the Library Company of Philadelphia listed a "Complete Collection of the Works of Mr. John Milton" and a 1730 edition of the three major poems; that the 1766 catalogue of the Juliana Library Company, Lancaster, records the major poems; and that the New York Society Library possessed, in 1773, Newton's three-

¹ *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio* . . . London, 1651.

² *Huntington Library Bulletin* No. 7, 1935, p. 169-179.

volume edition of *Paradise Lost* and the minor poems, and a two-volume collection of the prose. The Harvard catalogue of the same year bears the entry, "Milton (John) All his works."

Certainly to this list should be added the 1695 edition of *Paradise Lost*, a gift to the Philadelphia Academy in 1749 from Lewis Evans, who presented three other titles bespeaking the catholicity of his taste,³ all of which have been duly installed in the Founders' Room of the Library. Evans, a geographer, cartographer, and student and lecturer in science, was proclaimed by Franklin "a gentleman of great American knowledge;" his daughter Amelia was Mrs. Franklin's Goddaughter; and his great *General Map of the Middle British Colonies in America*, accompanied by the informative *Geographical, Historical, Political, Philosophical and Mechanistic Essays*, was printed by Franklin and Hall in 1755. The result of lifelong study and travel—alone, or with such companions as John Bartram and Conrad Weiser, the Indian ambassador, on their journey to the six nations in 1743⁴—it was long renowned for its accuracy, seems to have been available to Braddock, and guided many who pushed out across Virginia into Tennessee and the Carolinas.⁵

"The Sixth Edition, with Sculptures," this *Paradise Lost* of 1695 contains "A Table of the most remarkable Parts of

³ The *Works of Abraham Cowley*, sixth edition, London, 1680; Gerardi Joannus Vossii, *Duo Tractatus Aurei . . .* Francofurti, Anno MDCLXXVII; and the profusely illustrated *Memoires D'Artillerie, Recueillies par le Sr. Surrey de Saint Remy . . .* Paris, MDCXCVII, bearing the delightful inscription "Lewis Evans' Gift to the Philadelphia Academy, 1749/50 for the use of the Drawing School."

⁴ See Bartram's *Observations on the Inhabitants, Climate, Soil, Rivers . . . in his Travels from Pensilvania to . . . the Lake Ontario in Canada*, London, 1751.

⁵ See Dr. Johnson's amusing review in *The Literary Magazine and Universal Review*, vol. 1, p. 293-299.

Milton's *Paradise Lost*, under the Three Heads of *Descriptions, Similies, and Speeches*," and hence has the distinction of being the first annotated edition. (*Paradise Lost. / A / Poem / In Twelve Books. / the Authour / John Milton . . . / London / Printed by Tho. Hodgkin, for Jacob Tonson, at the / Judge's-Head Near the Inner-Temple Gate, in Fleet-street. MDCXCV.*) Bound with it and bearing separate title pages are *Paradise Regain'd—To which is added Samson Agonistes . . . London, Printed by R. E. and are to be sold by Randal Taylor near Stationers-Hall MDCLXXXVIII*, and *Poems upon Several Occasions, Compos'd at several times . . . The Third Edition, London. Printed for Jacob Tonson . . . 1695.* The binding, unfortunately, is new.

Almost equally venerable, but of later acquisition, is *The / Works / of / Mr. John Milton / Printed in the Year MDCXCVII /*. A folio, cut, it bears no publisher's name, but offers the chief English prose works, each generally with its own title page, but the pagination of the whole continuous, and the dates of all the same. Placed first are: *The / Doctrine and Discipline / of / Divorce: / Restor'd to the Good of both / Sexes, / From the Bondage of / Canon Law / . . .* and his other three divorce pamphlets—*Tetrachordon, Colasterion* (bearing the caustic motto, "Prov. 26.5: Answer a Fool according to his Folly, lest he be Wise in his own Conceit") and *The Judgment of Martin Bucer concerning Divorce*. After these follow the ecclesiastical pamphlets: *Of Reformation, Touching Church Discipline, in England; The Reason of Church-Government urged Against Prelacy; Considerations Touching the Likeliest Means to remove Hirelings out of the Church*; and the two *Smectymnuan* pamphlets. The next pamphlets in order are political: *The Ready and Easy Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth*; the *Areopagitica* with its magnificent challenge, "Give me the Liberty to know, to utter,

and to argue freely according to Conscience, above all Liberties;” *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* . . . “Published now the second Time with some Additions, and many Testimonies also added out of the best and learnedest among Protestants [*sic*] Divines asserting the Position of this Book;” and *Brief Notes Upon a Late Sermon, Tituled, the Fear of God and the King*. There follow, in conclusion: *Of True Religion, Heresie, Schism, Toleration* . . .; *Eikonoklastes*; and the *Articles of Peace* . . . *with the Irish Rebels and Papists*.

The last of our trio is the most venerable, and in several respects the most interesting, the *Defense*, already several times alluded to, dated the year of its issue: *Joannis Miltoni / Angli / Defensio / Pro Populo Anglicano: Contra Claudii Anonimi, alias Salmasii, / Defensionem Regiam, Londini, / Typis Du Guardianis, Anno Domini 1651*. Bearing the arms of the Commonwealth, it is bound with, and follows, the *Defensio Regia Pro Carolo I*, by the revered continental scholar Salmasius, which it was born to controvert. The position of William Dugard, the printer, was peculiar in this respect, he having previously printed “the King’s incomparable *Eikon Basilike*, and Salmasius’s *Defensio Regia* (both poison to the Commonwealth): for which he was cast into Newgate, his wife and six children turned out of doors, and had been tried for his life by an High Court of Injustice, had not Sir James Harrington saved him from that danger, and procured his release . . .,”⁶ whereupon he was appointed “Printer to His Highness, the Lord Protector.” At the very time Milton was engrossed in the preparation of *The Defense*, its future printer was languishing in gaol for having put through his press its despised first cause!

⁶ Dugard’s deposition, cited in *Almack, E, Bibliography of the Kings Book*, p. 7.

The book presents its problems for the bibliographer, calling for much pains and ingenuity in the tracking down. Falconer Madan meets the challenge admirably,⁷ noting its entry for copyright in Stationer's Hall, December 31, 1650, and recording more than a dozen editions within the first two years, all bearing the name of Dugard, but with varying title pages, and obviously the product of different presses. There are two genuine Dugards, he finds, a quarto of 205 pages, and a folio, both dated 1651. Only one other quarto of 1651 exists, of 104 pages, probably that referred to by Heinsius at Leyden on May 18: "We have already seen four editions, besides the English one—to wit, one quarto, published at Gonda: three in duodecimo. . . ." The Gonda imprint, Madan notes, is found often bound with Salmasius' *Defensio Regia Carlo I . . . Apud Franciscum Noel^s Parisiis . . . M.DC.L.*, bearing a joint title page: *Claudii Salmasii / Defensio Regia / . . . et Joannis Miltoni / Defensio Popularis, / Pro / Populo Anglicano, / . . . Accesserunt huic editioni Indices locupletissimi / Parisiis / Apud Viduam Mathurini Du Puis, / Via Iacobaea Sub Signo Coronae, M DC L.*⁹ This Milton item, number 7 in Madan's list, "pp. (24) + 292 ('282')" is then not a genuine Dugard, but is still of considerable value as a very early imprint. It was a gift to the library from Mr. George Allen.

⁷ "Milton, Salmasius, and Du Guard," *Library*, 4th Ser., IV (1923) 119-145.

⁸ I take this phrase to be an error in transliteration, for "Apud Viduam Mathurini du Puis . . .," which appears on title page of Salmasius' work, as well as the composite title page of the *University's* 1651 quarto.

⁹ Old Style, 1651 New Style; the old style year began March 25.