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ART. III.—THE MILTON MANUSCRIPT.

EVERY visitor who is shown the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, has his attention called, as a matter of course, to a small folio MS. enshrined in solitary state in a glass case of its own. This is the famous Milton MS., in some respects the most precious treasure of the Library.

Before I proceed to give any account of the MS. itself, it will be necessary to speak at some length of the way in which it is believed to have come into the possession of Trinity College, with which, it will be remembered, Milton was in no way connected, having been educated at Christ's College.

There is some doubt attaching to some of the details, but the broad outline of the story—resting in part on a kind of tradition, and in part on documentary evidence—is roughly this: There was a certain Sir Henry Newton, who took the name of Puckering on succeeding to his uncle's estates. Sir Henry's father was Sir Adam Newton, created a baronet by James I., who had been tutor to Henry, Prince of Wales, the elder brother of Charles I. He was a member of the University of Cambridge, and took the degree of Hon. M.A. in 1632, but no college is appended to his name in the registrar's book. His only son, Henry Puckering, was educated at Trinity College, and took his B.A. degree in 1657, but died in his father's lifetime. Naturally, therefore, the college would acquire a deep though melancholy interest in the bereaved father's eyes, and one can feel no surprise that, in the absence of any natural heir, he made a gift to the college of the rich and varied contents of his library.

It is traditionally stated—though I have failed to find any actual evidence for the assertion in the college books—that, in his old age, Sir Henry came into residence at Trinity, for the sake of the learned society and the use of the libraries. It is, however, a fact that in 1691 he gave a large collection of books to the college; whether this was his whole collection or whether a further collection came subsequently by way of bequest, I am unable to say. Sir Henry died in the year 1700, at the age of 83.

In the college account-book for the year 1690-91, occurs a charge of £10 paid to "Mr. Laughton [then and for many years after University Librarian, and previously, 1679-82, Librarian of the college] . . . for his paines in ordering y^e Bookes given to our Library by Sir Henry Puckering *alias* Newton." Curiously enough, there follows what seems rather an inordinate amount—£5 7s. 6d. to "Sir Henry Puckering's gentleman."

We have reason to believe that, in some way or other, various papers of Milton had come into Sir Henry Puckering's possession, and so passed into the library, but, anyhow, their existence in the library was for some time quite unsuspected. The story of the discovery is told in a short Latin note pasted at the beginning of the volume. According to this, the various loose papers containing Milton's handwriting ("miserè disjecta et passim sparsa") were by chance discovered by one of the Fellows of the college, Charles Mason,¹ and subsequently, it would seem, suitably bound ("ea, qua decuit, Religione servari voluit") by Thomas Clarke, also Fellow of the college, and afterwards Master of the Rolls. The note is dated 1736, so that, unless the binding by Clarke was long subsequent to the discovery by Mason, the MS. may have lain unnoticed in the library for hard upon forty years.

We must now proceed to speak in detail of the contents of the MS. The first three pages are occupied with the "Arcades": here Milton originally wrote the heading, "Part of a Maske," but subsequently put, "Arcades Part of an entertainment at" The blank is in the original, showing that Milton, when he wrote this heading, had no special place in his mind. The "Arcades" was actually presented at Harefield to the Countess Dowager of Derby.

Mr. Sotheby, in his "Ramblings in Elucidation of the Autograph of Milton," justly points out that in all probability this is a very early poem of Milton's, because, on a later page of the MS. (p. 6) occurs what is doubtless the original draft of the sonnet written when he attained the age of 23. As showing how fluctuating English spelling was, even in the time of Milton, it is curious in the first line of this sonnet to note the spelling, "suttle theefe."

Pages 4 and 5 are occupied with the poem, "At a Solemn Musick." As evidence of Milton's minute care in revising his diction again and again, it is worth noting that the whole poem is written out, with sundry variations, three times, and the concluding lines four times. I subjoin the wording and the actual spelling of the earliest draft of the four:

That we, with undiscording hart and voice,
May rightly answere that melodious noise.
By leaving out those harsh chromatick jarres
Of sin, that all our music marres,
And in our lives and in our song
May keepe in time with heaven till God ere long!
To his celestiall consort us unite,
To live and sing with him in ever endless light.

The last expression Milton seems to have found it hard to

¹ B.A., 1722.

make up his mind definitely about. He has also written by the side, "ever glorious," "uneclipsed," "never parting," etc. None of these equal his final wording, "endless morn of light."

To the poem "On Time," which occurs on page 8, is added the note, "Set on a clock-case." On the following page are three sonnets. The heading to the first of these, as written by an amanuensis, originally ran: "On his Dore, when y^e Citty expected an Assault"; but this is altered by Milton himself into "when y^e Assault was intended to y^e City, 1642." The next is the one known in printed editions as that "To a Virtuuous Young Lady," but which has no heading in the MS. The last line of this sonnet, which now runs, "Passes to bliss at the mid-hour of night," previously stood, "Opens the dore of bliss that hour of night." The third sonnet is that to Lady Margaret Ley; and then followed three blank pages, followed again (pp. 13-29) by "Comus." It must be observed that the name "Comus" is no part of the title here, or in the printed editions of 1637, 1645, or 1673: It is simply "A Maske, 1634." The only remarks I propose to make in reference to the text of "Comus" are in connection with the concluding song, "To the ocean now I fly." This is given in two forms in the MS., the earlier one being crossed out. Between the two recensions we find a considerable amount of difference. The four lines, "Along the crisped shades . . . all their bounties bring," and the twelve lines, "Waxing well of his deep wound . . . so Jove hath sworn," are additions in the later text; there are also several rearrangements of the text, and details of wording were constantly changed.

After line 4, there originally stood two lines, which now appear in an altered form near the end of the poem:

[. . . of the skie,
Farre beyond the earth's end,
Where the welkin low doth bend.

Milton seems to have wavered between the epithets "low" and "cleere," though it will be remembered that he ultimately wrote "slow." For "Hesperus and his daughters three" another wording was, "Atlas and his neeces three." For the "purpled scarf" previously stood "watchet scarfe"; and the following line, which now stands, "And drenches with Elysian dew," was at first "And drenches oft with manna-dew." This was altered into "And drenches with Sabæan dew," and ultimately into its present form. One more example from this poem will suffice: the line, "Where young Adonis oft reposes," has replaced "Where many a cherub soft reposes."

In the MS. the "Comus" is followed by the "Lycidas," with the date November, 1637: It occupies two complete pages,

and also fills both sides of the following torn leaf. The first fourteen lines have been written out twice, and so, too, have the lines, "Bring the rathe primrose . . . where Lycid lies." This piece was evidently an after-thought, and is written on a blank space, with a reference to the place where it is to be inserted. It will be seen that there is a good deal of difference between the two recensions of this passage. The earlier one, which has been crossed out, runs thus :

Bring the rathe primrose, that unwedded dies,
 Colouring the pale cheeke of uninjoy'd love.
 And that sad floure that strove
 To write his owne woes on the vermeil graine.
 Next adde Narcissus that still weeps in vaine,
 The woodbine and the pansie freakt with jet,
 The glowing violet,
 The cowslip wan that hangs his pensive head,
 And every bud that sorrow's liverie weares.
 Let Daffadillies fill their cups with teares ;
 Bid Amaranthus all his beautie shed
 To strew the laureat herse where Lycid lies.

Nothing, however, in the MS. can compete in interest with what next follows, the first rough notes for "Paradise Lost," when Milton was minded to mould the subject into a drama. Three varying lists of the persons are given on page 35 of the MS., and the subject is further developed on page 40. The first list of the persons runs thus :

Michael.
 Heavenly Love.
 Chorus of Angels.
 Lucifer.
 Adam.
 Eve, with the Serpent.
 Conscience.
 Death.
 Labour,
 Sicknesse,
 Discontent,
 Ignorance,
 with others.) Mutes.
 Faith.
 Hope.
 Charity.

A few changes are made in the second list. Moses takes the place of Michael, and there are added Wisdom, Justice, and Mercy, and also the evening star, Hesperus. On the blank space between these two lists Milton has noted the titles of three other projected tragedies: "Adam in Banishment," "The Flood," "Abram in Ægypt."

Below all this is written in fuller detail the scheme of the drama of "Paradise Lost." This I subjoin at length :

[Act 1.] Moses *προλογίζει*, recounting how he assum'd his true bodie, that it corrupts not because of his []¹ with God in the mount, declares the like of Enoch and Eliah; besides the purity of the place, that certaine pure winds, dues, and clouds preserved from corruption; whence exhorts to the light of God; tells they cannot see Adam in the state of innocence by reason of their sin.

Justice, } debating what should become of man if he fall.
 Mercy, }
 Wisdom.

Chorus of Angels, sing a hymne of Creation.

Act 2.

Heavenly Love.

Evening Starre.

Chorus sing the marriage song and describe Paradise.

Act 3.

Lucifer contriving Adam's ruine.

Chorus fears for Adam, and relates Lucifer's rebellion and fall.

Act 4.

Adam } fallen.
 Eve }

Conscience cites them to God's examination.

Chorus bewails, and tells the good Adam has lost.

Act 5.

Adam and Eve driven out of Paradise.

Presented by an angel with Labour, greife, hatred, envie, warre, famine, pestilence.

Sickness, }
 Discontent, } Mutes, to whom he gives these names.
 Ignorance, } Likewise, winter, heat, tempest, etc., entered
 Feare, } into the world.
 Death. }

Faith, }
 Hope, } Comfort him and instruct him.
 Charity. }

Chorus briefly concludes.

The pages which follow (36, 39, 40) are devoted to designs for other dramas. In noting these down, Milton slipped the two intervening pages (37, 38), and afterwards, as we shall see, utilized them for a different purpose. The subjects for the first-named three pages ranged from the Deluge to John the Baptist; page 37 is headed "British Trag.," and contains notes on early British and English history, arranged in thirty-three paragraphs, and evidently intended as the basis for an epic.

One or two specimens may be noted: § 12, "Edwin, son to Edward the younger, for lust depriv'd of his kingdom, or rather by faction of monks, whome he hated, together with the impostor Dunstan." § 24, "A Heroicall Poem may be founded somewhere in Alfred's reigne, especially at his issuing out of Edelingsey on the Danes,—whose actions are well like those of Ulysses." § 32, "Hardiknute dying in his cups an example to riot." Similar matter follows on p. 41, in "Scotch

¹ A word here omitted in the MS.

stories or rather Brittish of the north parts." These wind up with Macbeth, "beginning at the arrivall of Malcolm at Mack-duffe. The matter of Duncan may be expresst by the appearing of his ghost."

All that now remains is the sonnets. Some of these have been written several times over, and we come across both the writing of Milton himself and of three amanuenses. There is sometimes a considerable amount of variation between the different recensions of these poems. For example, the noble sonnet on "The Death of Mrs. Catherine Thomson" is given three times, twice in the poet's autograph, and once in that of an amanuensis. The earliest draft of this was very different from what it ultimately became. Thus, in line 4, for "of death, called life," there originally stood "of flesh and sin." The four lines, 6—10, originally stood :

[and all thy good endeavour]
 Strait follow'd thee the path that saints have trod :
 Still as they journey'd from this dark abode
 Up to the realm of peace and joy for ever,
 Faith who led on the way and knew them best.

Beautiful as these lines are, who can fail to see the vastly greater beauty of the revision :

[and all thy good endeavour,]
 Stayed not behind, nor in the grave were trod ;
 But, as Faith pointed with her golden rod,
 Followed thee up to joy and bliss for ever.
 Love led them on ; and Faith, who knew them best

One more example must suffice. The sonnet to Mr. Henry Lawes also occurs three times, two of them being in Milton's own hand. Here, lines 3, 4, originally stood :

Words with just notes, which till then us'd to scan,
 With Midas' eares, misjoining short and long ;

and lines 6—8 ran :

And gives thee praise above the pipe of Pan.
 To after age thou shalt be writ a man,
 Thou didst reform thy art the chief among.

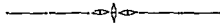
The revision is as follows :

HARRY, whose tuneful and well-measured song
 First taught our English music how to span
 Words with just note and accent, not to scan
 With Midas' ears, committing short and long,
 Thy worth exempts thee from the throng,
 With praise enough for Envy to look wan ;
 To after age thou shalt be writ the man
 That with smooth air couldst humour best our tongue.

One cannot but feel that, to any honest student of Milton, anything which shows the working of the poet's mind, even in the shaping of the mere details of his poems, anything which

lets us behind the scenes, in however slight a degree, is full of interest. Pre-eminently musical as Milton's lines constantly are, we are not dealing in his case with one, where, as with Shelley, we have music and not much behind the music. Not even Shelley has surpassed in melody the lyrical parts of "Comus," yet who would maintain that in the "Comus" there are not expressed some of the noblest thoughts of which language is incapable; or that beneath the quaint fancies of "Lycidas" there do not lie the idea of the tenderest and noblest affection?

ROBERT SINKER.



ART. IV.—SACRIFICE AND COVENANT.

SACRIFICE was common to the great mass of nations, to heathens as well as to that under the special care of God, whose history is given in the Scriptures. It will therefore be necessary, in order to establish a satisfactory basis for a theory, which shall account for and explain the principles of sacrifice in general, to review the salient points of other sacrifices besides those recorded in the Old Testament. To me the true theory appears to be that the grand principle of sacrifice is one of *representation*, not one of *substitution*, the latter being but an inadequate approximation to the former, which both includes and supersedes it.

Let us begin with a matter that has been very carefully and closely investigated, in which the representative character of sacrifice has been brought out in comparatively recent times in a most clear and convincing manner.

There were two modes in which the homicide in Greece averted the penalty of blood for blood. One was by servitude, by becoming a slave, a chattel instead of a man; and here C. O. Müller remarks (on the "Eumenides" of Æschylus, *Hilasmoi* and *Katharmoi*) "that the circumstance that the Æchalian chieftain Eurytus, the father of the slain Iphitus, receives the money paid for the redemption of the slayer, Hercules, is a plain indication that the servitude represents a surrender of the life [of the slayer]." "The other mode consists in the substitution of a victim, symbolically denoting the surrender of the man's own life. . . . But in expiation for blood we find among the old Greeks the widely-diffused rite, whereby the ram represents the human being; as the goat among the Jews, so the ram among the Greeks and kindred Italic races was the principal sin-offering. The very ancient Minyan legends concerning the Athamantiades, which have been so