Crawford, Joseph. "Notes." *Raising Milton's Ghost: John Milton and the Sublime of Terror in the Early Romantic Period*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2011. 220–238. Science, Ethics and Society. *Bloomsbury Collections*. Web. 26 Apr. 2023. <<http://dx.doi.org/10.5040/9781849664233.0009>>.

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Notes

Chapter One

- 1 On Milton's death, see Barbara Lewalski, *The Life of John Milton* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), p. 538.
- 2 On the process by which this occurred, see Nicholas von Maltzahn, 'The Whig Milton, 1667–1700', in David Armitage, Armand Himy and Quentin Skinner (eds), *Milton and Republicanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995).
- 3 Stephen Prickett, *England and the French Revolution* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1989), p. 139.
- 4 R. D. Havens, *The Influence of Milton on English Poetry* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1922), p. 4.
- 5 William St Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004), p. 115–19.
- 6 St Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period*, p. 475. To give this figure some context, it should be mentioned that three years earlier the copyright for *Robinson Crusoe* had been sold for £68 and the copyright for *Pilgrim's Progress* for £196.
- 7 Samuel Johnson, 'Life of Addison', in Donald Greene (ed), *The Major Works* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2000), p. 675.
- 8 Havens, *The Influence of Milton on English Poetry*, p. 71.
- 9 George Sensabaugh, *Milton in Early America* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1964), pp. 4, 15.
- 10 Howard Weinbrot, *Britannia's Issue* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1993), pp. 119–20.
- 11 Quoted in Marcus Walsh, 'Bentley Our Contemporary', in Ian Small and Marcus Walsh (eds), *The Theory and Practice of Text-editing* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1991), p. 179.
- 12 John Milton, *An Extract from Milton's Paradise Lost*, ed. John Wesley (London, 1791), Preface. For other contemporary expressions of this view, see Havens, *The Influence of Milton on English Poetry*, pp. 7–12.
- 13 Quoted in Sensabaugh, *Milton in Early America*, pp. 11–12 and Stuart Curran, *Poetic Form and British Romanticism* (New York: Oxford UP, 1986), p. 163, respectively.
- 14 For examples of Milton's poetry appearing in anthologies, see Vicesimus Knox, *Elegant Extracts*, 2nd edition (London, 1789), pp. 520–49; Edward Bysshe, *The British Parnassus*, vol. 1 (London, 1714), pp. 3, 5, 15; or William Enfield, *The Speaker*, new edition (London, 1782), pp. 273–83.
- 15 Havens, *The Influence of Milton on English Poetry*, pp. 70–1.
- 16 James Boswell, *Life of Johnson*, ed. R. W. Chapman (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1980), p. 1096. The shepherd's remark – 'An't please your Lordship, this is a very odd sort of an author' – suggests his knowledge of Milton was minimal.
- 17 See Ian McIntyre, *Dirt and Deity: A Life of Robert Burns* (London: Flamingo, 1995), pp. 14–25.

- 18 Havens, *The Influence of Milton on English Poetry*, p. 25.
- 19 Joseph Wittreich, *Feminist Milton* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1987), pp. 44–5.
- 20 Wittreich, *Feminist Milton*, p. 39.
- 21 Susanna Blamire, *Poetical Works*, ed. Jonathan Wordsworth (Oxford: Woodstock Books, 1994), pp. xxi–ii.
- 22 Lucy Newlyn, *Paradise Lost and the Romantic Reader* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1993), p. 19.
- 23 John Barrell, *Imagining the King's Death* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2000), pp. 103–4; E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968), p. 118.
- 24 Amy Cruse, *The Englishman and His Books in the Early Nineteenth Century* (London: Harrap, 1930), p. 151.
- 25 See Pat Rogers, 'Classics and Chapbooks', in Isabel Rivers (ed.), *Books and Their Readers in Eighteenth-century England* (Leicester: Leicester UP, 1982), pp. 29–39.
- 26 St Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period*, p. 73.
- 27 Richard Altick, *The English Common Reader* (Chicago: Chicago UP, 1957), pp. 49–50.
- 28 The ESTC lists over 100 eighteenth-century editions of both Young's *Night Thoughts* and Thomson's *Seasons*, which were regarded by contemporaries as amongst the most popular poems of the century.
- 29 William Dodd, *A Familiar Explanation of the Poetical Works of Milton* (London, 1762), Preface.
- 30 John Milton, *An Extract from Milton's Paradise Lost*, ed. John Wesley, Preface.
- 31 Joseph Addison and Richard Steele, *The Spectator*, vol. 1, ed. Donald Bond (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965), p. 297.
- 32 Joseph Spence, 'An Account of the Author', in Stephen Duck, *Poems on Several Occasions* (London, 1736), p. xiv.
- 33 John Clare, *Sketches in the Life of John Clare*, ed. Edmund Blunden (London: Cobden-Sanderson, 1931), pp. 67, 46.
- 34 Frank Baker (ed.), *Milton for Methodists* (London: Epworth, 1988), p. viii.
- 35 Baker, *Milton for Methodists*, p. xiii.
- 36 Karl Philipp Moritz, *Travels, Chiefly on Foot* (London, 1795), p. 38.
- 37 For other examples of autodidact eighteenth-century readers interested in poetry – often including Milton's – see Jonathan Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2001), pp. 16–22, 39.
- 38 James Lackington, *Memoirs*, new edition (London, 1792), pp. 170–2.
- 39 Leigh Hunt, *Essays* (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1929), pp. 37, 41, 55.
- 40 John Aikin, *General Biography*, vol. 7 (London, 1799–1815), p. 113.
- 41 Anon., *Agatha*, vol. 1 (London, 1796), p. 12.
- 42 Maria Edgeworth, *Belinda*, ed. Kathryn Kirkpatrick (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1994), chapter 17, p. 225 and chapter 25, p. 345.

- 43 For late-eighteenth-century literacy rates, see Alan Richardson, *Literature, Education, and Romanticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994), p. 45.
- 44 See E. S. Shaffer, 'Milton's Hell', in Lisa Low and Anthony Harding (eds), *Milton, the Metaphysicals, and Romanticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994), p. 67.
- 45 All numbers are drawn from the English Short Title Catalogue. The numbers given here are the number of times each text was reprinted in the eighteenth century, whether independently or as part of a larger collection; thus an edition of Milton's complete poetic works counts as one reprinting of each, and is listed accordingly.
- 46 Havens, *The Influence of Milton on English Poetry*, p. 9n.
- 47 John Milton, *Paradise Regain'd. A Poem. In Four Books. To Which Is Added Samson Agonistes. And Poems upon Several Occasions. With a Tractate of Education*, '5th edition' (London, 1713). Tonson's 1707 edition, which also claims to be 'the 5th edition', does not include the *Tractate*.
- 48 On Hollis, see Havens, *The Influence of Milton on English Poetry*, pp. 40–1, Sensabaugh, *Milton in Early America*, p. 34, Caroline Robbins, *The Eighteenth Century Commonwealthman Tradition* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1959), pp. 267–8, and DNB 27:749–50.
- 49 Wittreich, *Feminist Milton*, p. 70.
- 50 John Milton, *The Works of John Milton, Historical, Political, and Miscellaneous*, ed. Richard Baron (London, 1753), p. iv.
- 51 See Francis Blackburne, *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis*, vol. 1 (London, 1780), p. 63.
- 52 Havens, *The Influence of Milton on English Poetry*, p. 40. Hollis hoped that sleeping on the bed might infuse Akenside with Milton's spirit, allowing him to write odes worthy of Milton.
- 53 Von Maltzahn, 'The Whig Milton, 1667–1700', p. 229.
- 54 Nahum Tate, *A Poem, Occasioned by His Majesty's Voyage to Holland* (London, 1691), cited in von Maltzahn, p. 242.
- 55 On the process by which this came about, see von Maltzahn, 'The Whig Milton, 1667–1700', pp. 229–53.
- 56 Thomas Newton, 'Dedication', in John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, vol. 1 (London, 1749). See also Havens, *The Influence of Milton on English Poetry*, pp. 40–3.
- 57 Patrick Guthrie, *Candour* (London, 1739), p. 13.
- 58 Elijah Fenton, 'The Life of Mr. John Milton', in John Milton, *Paradise Lost* (London, 1730).
- 59 Ian Christie, *Wilkes, Wyvill, and Reform* (London: Macmillan, 1962), p. 17; Peter Thomas, *John Wilkes* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), p. 110.
- 60 John Horne Tooke, *The Petition of an Englishman* (London, 1765), p. 24.
- 61 To Milton's simile 'as safe as in a Senate house', Warton had added the note: 'Not many years after this was written, MILTON'S FRIENDS shewed that the safety of a Senate house was not inviolable. But when the people turn Legislators, what place is safe against the tumults of innovation, and the insults of disobedience.' Horne Tooke replied: 'I believe our new Laureat meant not so

- much to cavil at Milton's expression, as to seize an impertinent opportunity of recommending himself to the *powers which be*, by a cowardly insult on the dead and persecuted author's memory, and on the aged, defenceless constitution of his country.' See John Horne Tooke, *The Diversions of Purley* (London, 1786), pp. 179–80. Fittingly enough, when Horne Tooke came to be tried for high treason in 1794, Thomas Erskine would quote Milton's *Areopagitica* in his defence: see Joseph Gurney (ed.), *The Trial of John Horne Tooke*, vol. 1 (London, 1795), p. 444.
- 62 For examples of their quotations from and allusions to Milton's poetry, see John Wilkes and Charles Churchill, *The North Briton*, vol. 1 (London, 1772), p. 107, vol. 2, p. 2 and vol. 3, p. 194.
- 63 Robbins, *The Eighteenth Century Commonwealthman Tradition*, p. 266.
- 64 Donald S. Lutz, 'The Relative Influence of European Writers on Late Eighteenth-century American Thought', *American Political Science Review*, 78 (1984), p. 194.
- 65 *Boston Gazette*, 12 March 1770, p. 1.
- 66 Sensabaugh, *Milton in Early America*, p. 133.
- 67 Lydia Schulman, *Paradise Lost and the Rise of the American Republic* (Boston: Northeastern UP, 1992), p. 118.
- 68 Tony Davies, 'Borrowed Language: Milton, Jefferson, Mirabeau' and Nicholas von Maltzahn, 'The Whig Milton, 1667–1700', in David Armitage, Armand Himy and Quentin Skinner (eds), *Milton and Republicanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995), pp. 260–2.
- 69 Davies, 'Borrowed Language', pp. 265–70.

Chapter Two

- 1 The anecdote appears to have originated in Alexander Cunningham's *History of Great Britain from the Revolution of 1688 to the Accession of George the First*, vol. 1 (London, 1787), p. 14. Although written in the 1730s, Cunningham's *History* was not published until 1787. The story was repeated by Thomas Warton, in the 2nd edition of his *Poems on Several Occasions*; he gave his source as Thomas Tyers, who had presumably derived it in turn from Cunningham's *History*. See John Milton, *Poems on Several Occasions*, ed. Thomas Warton, 2nd edition (London, 1791), pp. 358–9.
- 2 John Good, *Studies in the Milton Tradition* (Urbana: Illinois UP, 1915), pp. 229–30.
- 3 John Derry, *William Pitt* (London: Batsford, 1962), pp. 75–7.
- 4 Richard Price, *A Discourse on the Love of Our Country* (London, 1790), p. 14.
- 5 Price, *A Discourse on the Love of Our Country*, p. 14.
- 6 Price, *A Discourse on the Love of Our Country*, p. 14.
- 7 Tony Davies, 'Borrowed Language: Milton, Jefferson, Mirabeau', in David Armitage, Armand Himy and Quentin Skinner (eds), *Milton and Republicanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995), p. 269.

- 8 Mark Noble, *Lives of the English Regicides* (London, 1798), Dedication.
- 9 Samuel Johnson, 'Life of Milton', in Donald Greene (ed), *The Major Works* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2000), p. 709.
- 10 Philip Neve, *A Narrative of the Disinterment of Milton's Coffin*, 2nd edition (London, 1790), pp. 11–13. On the disinterment, see also Carol Barton, 'Ill Fare the Hands that Heaved the Stones', *Milton Studies*, 43 (2004), pp. 198–260.
- 11 Neve, *A Narrative of the Disinterment of Milton's Coffin*, p. 14.
- 12 Neve, *A Narrative of the Disinterment of Milton's Coffin*, p. 15.
- 13 Neve, *A Narrative of the Disinterment of Milton's Coffin*, pp. 17–19.
- 14 Neve, *A Narrative of the Disinterment of Milton's Coffin*, pp. 20–1.
- 15 Neve, *A Narrative of the Disinterment of Milton's Coffin*, pp. 24, 29, 44.
- 16 William Cowper, 'On The Late Indecent Liberties Taken with the Remains of the Great Milton, Anno 1790', ll, pp. 13–20, in *Poems*, vol. 3, eds John D. Baird and Charles Ryskamp, 3 volumes (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), p. 65.
- 17 Neve, *A Narrative of the Disinterment of Milton's Coffin*, pp. 36–9, 45–8.
- 18 James Boaden, *Memoirs of the Life of John Philip Kemble, Esq.* (London, 1825), p. 271.
- 19 Barton, 'Ill Fare the Hands that Heaved the Stones', p. 210.
- 20 Davies, *Borrowed Language*, p. 269.
- 21 Barton, 'Ill Fare the Hands that Heaved the Stones', p. 218.
- 22 Warton, *Poems on Several Occasions*, 2nd edition, pp. xxvii–xlii.
- 23 On Pye, see DNB 45:608–10.
- 24 David Erdman, *Commerce des Lumières* (Columbia: Missouri UP, 1986), pp. 104–5.
- 25 William Hayley, *Life of Milton*, 2nd edition, Introduction, ed. Joseph Wittreich (Gainesville: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1970), p. viii.
- 26 Reproduced in Vic Gatrell, *City of Laughter* (London: Atlantic, 2006), p. 267.
- 27 John Milton, *The Poetical Works of John Milton, with a Life of the Author by William Hayley* (London, 1794–7).
- 28 Hayley, *Life*, part 2, p. 75 and part 3, p. 218. These passages were pointed out by Joseph Wittreich in 'Domes of Mental Pleasure', *Studies in Philology*, 69 (1972), pp. 103–4.
- 29 For the history of the affair, see Wittreich's introduction to Hayley's *Life*.
- 30 Hayley, *Life*, part 2, p. 101.
- 31 Hayley, *Life*, Introduction, p. vi.
- 32 Hayley, *Life*, Introduction, p. viii.
- 33 Phillip Cox, 'Blake, Hayley, and Milton: A Reassessment', in *English Studies*, 75 (1994), p. 439.
- 34 See John Barrell, *Imagining the King's Death* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2000), pp. 589–91.
- 35 Thomas Newton, 'Life of Milton', in John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, vol. 1 (London, 1749), pp. xx–i.

- 36 Hayley, *Life*, p. 144.
- 37 John Milton, *Samson Agonistes* (London, 1797), prefatory 'Life of the Author'.
- 38 John Milton, *Paradise Lost* (London, 1795), Advertisement.
- 39 DNB 46:886–7.
- 40 DNB 46:885–6; John Barrell and Jon Mee (eds), *Trials for Treason and Sedition, 1792–1794*, vol. 8 (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2006), p. 338.
- 41 John Milton, *Paradise Lost* (London, 1794 [1796]), Dedication.
- 42 Henry John Todd, 'Life of Milton', in John Milton, *Poetical Works*, vol. 1, ed. Henry John Todd (London, 1801), p. cl.
- 43 Henry John Todd, 'Life of Milton', p. cxlvii.
- 44 It was also reprinted, along with the *Tractate of Education*, as an appendix to Francis Blackburne's *Remarks on Johnson's Life of Milton* (London, 1780). This substantial octavo volume, however, hardly qualifies as a pamphlet.
- 45 Hayley, *Life*, p. vii.
- 46 There may have been a seventh. Years later, Coleridge claimed to have found 'in a large manufactory a sixpenny pamphlet, containing a selection of inflammatory paragraphs from the prose-writings of Milton' (*The Friend*, vol. 1, essay 11: C 4:1:81). If such a work did exist, no copies of it now appear to survive. But it is equally possible that the book Coleridge saw was one of the pamphlets discussed in this chapter, and as he flicked through it he mistook a complete tract for a collection of extracts.
- 47 Benjamin Flower, *The French Constitution*, 2nd edition (London, 1792), p. 365n.
- 48 On Deighton, see DNB 15:695–6. On Dilly, see DNB 16:231–2. On Johnson, see Helen Braithwaite, *Romanticism, Publishing and Dissent* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003). On Ridgway, see Ralph Manogue, 'The Plight of James Ridgway', *The Wordsworth Circle*, 27(3) (1996), pp. 158–65.
- 49 John Milton, *A Treatise of Civil Power* (London, 1791), Dedication.
- 50 Milton *did* write about 'civil and religious rights', but of Englishmen rather than 'mankind'. See MP 7:356.
- 51 William Cobbett, *Annals of Blood* (Cambridge, 1797), title page.
- 52 John Milton, *Areopagitica* (London, 1791), Dedication.
- 53 Milton, *Areopagitica*, title page.
- 54 Manogue, 'The Plight of James Ridgway', p. 158.
- 55 Manogue, 'The Plight of James Ridgway', p. 158; Barrell, *Imagining the King's Death*, p. 212.
- 56 Manogue, 'The Plight of James Ridgway', pp. 163, 165.
- 57 Colonel Titus, *Killing No Murder* (London, 1792), Dedication.
- 58 John Milton, *The Ready and Easy Way* (London, 1791), Advertisement.
- 59 Milton, *Ready and Easy Way*, Advertisement.
- 60 Milton, *Ready and Easy Way*, pp. 1–2.
- 61 John Milton, *Areopagitica* (London, 1792), Preface.
- 62 Milton, *Areopagitica*.

- 63 John Milton, *Considerations Touching the Likeliest Means to Remove Hirelings out of the Church* (Edinburgh, 1797), Preface.
- 64 Milton, *Considerations*, p. 33.
- 65 On the contemporary concerns over tradesman preachers, see Jon Mee, *Romanticism, Enthusiasm, and Regulation* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2003), pp. 80–1.
- 66 On the Edinburgh radical movement, see Barrell, *Imagining the King's Death*, pp. 147–50 and E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968), pp. 136–8.
- 67 Thomas Spence (ed.), *Pig's Meat*, vol. 2 (London, 1795), pp. 287–8.
- 68 Copies are held by the Library of Congress, Cleveland Public Library, the Harvard University Library, the New York Public Library, the University of Texas Library, the Columbia University Library, the University of Illinois Library, the Indiana University Library and the library of the University of South Carolina.
- 69 On Brand Hollis, see DNB 27:751.
- 70 Trial of Thomas Paine, in John Barrell and Jon Mee (eds), *Trials for Treason and Sedition, 1792–1794*, vol. 1 (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2006), pp. 196–7.
- 71 Barrell and Mee, *Trials*, vol. 1, pp. 196–7.
- 72 John Toland, *The Life of John Milton*, in Helen Darbishire (ed.), *The Early Lives of Milton* (London: Constable, 1932), p. 180.
- 73 Barton, 'Ill Fare the Hands that Heaved the Stones', p. 209.
- 74 Conor Cruise O'Brien, *The Great Melody* (London: Sinclair-Stevenson, 1992), p. 587.
- 75 Cited in Lucy Newlyn, *Paradise Lost and the Romantic Reader* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1993), p. 26.
- 76 William Cowper, *Correspondence*, vol. 4, ed. Thomas Wright (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1904), p. 373.
- 77 Marcia Pointon, *Milton and English Art* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1970), p. 62.
- 78 Pointon, *Milton and English Art*, chapter III.
- 79 Louisa Calè, *Henry Fuseli's Milton Gallery* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2006), p. 31.
- 80 Pointon, *Milton and English Art*, pp. 100–13.
- 81 Cited in Calè, *Henry Fuseli's Milton Gallery*, p. 45.
- 82 Clarke Garrett, *Respectable Folly* (Baltimore: John Hopkins UP, 1975); Morton D. Paley, *The Apocalyptic Sublime* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1986).
- 83 Schock, Peter, 'The Marriage of Heaven and Hell: Blake's Myth of Satan and Its Cultural Matrix', *ELH*, 60 (1993), p. 447 and Joanna Southcott, *A Dispute between the Woman and the Powers of Darkness*, ed. Jonathan Wordsworth (Poole: Woodstock Books, 1995).
- 84 Reproduced in H. T. Dickenson (ed.) *Caricatures and the Constitution 1760–1832* (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1986), p. 155.
- 85 Robert Southey, *Life of Nelson*, ed. Geoffrey Callender (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1922), p. 49.

Chapter Three

- 1 Joseph Addison and Richard Steele, *The Spectator*, vol. 2, ed. Donald Bond (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965), p. 587.
- 2 David Hume, *History of England*, vol. 7 (Edinburgh, 1792), p. 343.
- 3 Lord Byron, *Don Juan*, eds T. G. Steffan, E. Steffan and W. W. Pratt (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973), p. 43.
- 4 See, for example, *The Devil* (London, 1786), p. 4 and *Paradise Regain'd, or the Battle of Adam and the Fox* (London, 1780), p. 5.
- 5 See, for example, Rousseau's praise of Sparta in Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Letter to D'Alembert and Writings for the Theatre*, eds Allan Bloom, Charles Butterworth and Christopher Kelly (Hanover, UP of New England, 2004), p. 349.
- 6 Longinus, *On the Sublime*, trans. William Smith (London, 1739), p. 103. New editions of Smith's translation of Longinus were still appearing in the 1790s.
- 7 David Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999), pp. 137–9, 214–15; Longinus, *Dionysius Longinus of the Height of Eloquence*, trans. John Hall (London, 1652), Dedication. On Hall, see DNB 24:624–6.
- 8 Thomas Reid, *Essays on the Intellectual Powers of Man* (Edinburgh, 1785), p. 729.
- 9 Lucy Newlyn, *Paradise Lost and the Romantic Reader* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1993), p. 62.
- 10 William Hayley, *Life of Milton*, 2nd edition, ed. Joseph Wittreich (Gainesville: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1970), p. 225.
- 11 Quoted in Lydia Schulman, *Paradise Lost and the Rise of the American Republic* (Boston: Northeastern UP, 1992), p. 128.
- 12 See Schulman, *Paradise Lost and the Rise of the American Republic*, pp. 141–50, 169–71.
- 13 'Thoughts on the Present State of American Affairs, in *Common Sense*. Thomas Paine, *Political Writings*, ed. Bruce Kuklick (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000), p. 22.
- 14 For examples of the passage's appearance in eighteenth-century anthologies, see *The Art of Poetry on a New Plan: Illustrated with a Great Variety of Examples*, vol. 2 (London, 1762), p. 341, *The Poetical Preceptor* (London, 1777), p. 221 and Edward Bysshe, *British Parnassus*, vol. 1 (London, 1714), p. 238.
- 15 Schulman, *Paradise Lost and the Rise of the American Republic*, pp. 128–9.
- 16 Phillip Almond, *Heaven and Hell in Enlightenment England* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994), pp. 129–30.
- 17 David Hume, 'On the Immortality of the Soul', in Stephen Copley and Andrew Edgar (eds), *Selected Essays* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1993), p. 327.
- 18 E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968), pp. 56 and 226–7.
- 19 Margaret Jacob, *The Radical Enlightenment* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1981), p. 98; Geoffrey Rowell, *Hell and the Victorians* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1974), 32 ff.

- 20 George Whitefield, 'The Eternity of Hell-torments', in *Sermons on Important Subjects* (London, 1832).
- 21 Frank Manuel, *The Eighteenth Century Confronts the Gods* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1959), p. 305.
- 22 J. G. Robertson, *Milton's Fame on the Continent* (London: Oxford UP, 1908), pp. 20–1 and n. For Wakefield, see Gilbert Wakefield, *A Reply to the Letter of Edmund Burke, Esq., to a Noble Lord*, 3rd edition (London, 1796), p. 6 and *The Spirit of Christianity Compared with the Spirit of the Times in Great Britain* (London, 1794), p. 20. Wakefield appears to have been fond of comparing people to Milton's Satan: after the publication of *The Age of Reason*, he applied the same comparison to Thomas Paine. See Gilbert Wakefield, *Reply to Thomas Paine's Second Part of the Age of Reason* (London, 1795), p. 35.
- 23 Quoted in Ronald Paulson, *Representations of Revolution* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1983), p. 66.
- 24 *Rights of Man*, part 1. Paine, *Political Writings*, p. 72.
- 25 Thomas Paine, *The Age of Reason Part II*, in *Works* (London, 1796), p. 407.
- 26 As well as being drawn as Don Quixote in many contemporary cartoons, Burke puts in an appearance as the Knight of La Mancha in a spurious continuation to *The Adventures of Baron Munchausen*, published in 1792. There, he speaks in a mixture of chivalric Romance language and mock-Miltonic bombast – 'Gigantic monster! Leader of witches, crickets, and chimeras dire!' – and would have 'instant prodigies sublime performed' had he not fallen off his horse. See anon., *A Sequel to the Adventures of Baron Munchausen* (London, 1792), p. 151.
- 27 DNB 31:923; Richard Payne Knight, *An Analytical Inquiry into the Principles of Taste* (London, 1805), pp. 317–18.
- 28 Knight, *An Analytical Inquiry into the Principles of Taste*, p. 377.
- 29 Quoted in Ruth Scurr, *Fatal Purity* (London: Chatto and Windus, 2006), p. 222.
- 30 Scurr, *Fatal Purity*, p. 223.
- 31 Gilbert Wakefield, *Remarks on the General Orders of the Duke of York to His Army, on July 7, 1794* (London, 1794), p. 22.
- 32 The *Oxford English Dictionary* cites Burke's *Fourth Letter on a Regicide Peace* (written in 1795, although not published until after Burke's death) as containing one of the first appearances of the word 'terrorist' in English.
- 33 George Mason, *An Essay on Design in Gardening* (London, 1795), p. 201. The saying that 'Tenterden steeple is the cause of Goodwin's Sands' was proverbial; according to local legend, the money (or, in some versions, the stone) that was supposed to go to the maintenance of the sea-wall was diverted to build the church steeple, allowing the inundation that created the Goodwin Sands.
- 34 Nicholas Roe, *Wordsworth and Coleridge: The Radical Years* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988), pp. 206–7.
- 35 Christopher Smith, *A Quest For Home* (Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 1997), p. 58.
- 36 Paulson, *Representations of Revolution*, p. 72.
- 37 Paulson, *Representations of Revolution*, p. 67.
- 38 For examples of Milton's appearances in contemporary newspapers, see Louisa Calè, *Henry Fuseli's Milton Gallery* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2006), pp. 48–9, 55–6.

- 39 Adriana Craciun, 'Romantic Satanism and the Rise of Nineteenth-century Women's Poetry', *New Literary History*, 34(4) (2003), p. 703.
- 40 Craciun, 'Romantic Satanism', pp. 701–2.
- 41 Anne Grant, *Letters from the Mountains*, vol. 2 (London, 1807), pp. 272–3.
- 42 Lyndall Gordon, *Mary Wollstonecraft* (London: Little, Brown, 2005), pp. 180–2.
- 43 Quoted in Gary Kelly, *Women, Writing, and Revolution 1790–1827* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), p. 34.
- 44 On Williams's political career, see Adriana Craciun, *Women Writers of the French Revolution* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 131–7.
- 45 Quoted in Simon Schama, *Citizens* (London: Folio Society, 2004), p. 614.
- 46 William Godwin, *Political Justice*, ed. Mark Philp (London: William Pickering, 1993), book 4, chapter 4, section 2, appendix 1, p. 146.
- 47 William Godwin, *Caleb Williams*, vol. 2, ed. David McCracken (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1982), chapter 13, p. 188.
- 48 James Beattie, *Dissertations Moral and Critical* (London, 1783), pp. 613–14.
- 49 John Milton, *An Extract from Milton's Paradise Lost*, ed. John Wesley (London, 1791), p. 26.
- 50 Joseph Wittreich, *Interpreting Samson Agonistes* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1986), p. 194.
- 51 Judges 16:27.
- 52 *Rights of Man*, part 2. Paine, *Political Works*, p. 220.
- 53 John Barrell and Jon Mee (eds), *Trials for Treason and Sedition, 1792–1794*, vol. 1 (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2006), pp. 196–7.
- 54 Charlotte Smith, *Desmond*, vol. 1, eds Antje Blank and Janet Todd (London: Pickering and Chatto, 1997), letter 9, p. 73.
- 55 Smith, *Desmond*, vol. 3, letter 17, p. 349.
- 56 Smith, *Desmond*, vol. 1, letter 7, p. 55.
- 57 Smith, *Desmond*, vol. 1, letter 7, p. 55.
- 58 George Huddesford, *Topsy Turvy*, 3rd edition (London, 1793), p. 20.
- 59 Anon., *The Times: A Poem* (Dublin, 1796), pp. 11–12.
- 60 Schama, *Citizens*, p. 598.
- 61 See Wittreich, *Interpreting Samson Agonistes*, chapter IV.
- 62 Scurr, *Fatal Purity*, p. 223.
- 63 Hayley, *Life*, part 3, p. 168.

Chapter Four

- 1 William Hayley, *An Essay on Epic Poetry*, ed. M. Celeste Williamson (Gainesville: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1968), epistle 2, p. 31.
- 2 See, for example, the illustration of Ajax reproduced in William Shakespeare, *The Riverside Shakespeare* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997), p. 621.

- 3 Thomas Blackwell, *An Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer* (London, 1735), p. 26.
- 4 Hayley, *Essay*, epistle 5, p. 110.
- 5 Jean Terrasson, *A Critical Dissertation upon Homer's Iliad*, vol. 1 (London, 1722), p. 84; Weinbrot, *Britannia's Issue* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1993), p. 146.
- 6 See Weinbrot, *Britannia's Issue*, pp. 127–31.
- 7 Hayley, *Essay*, epistle 5, pp. 110–11.
- 8 DNB 16:1023.
- 9 DNB 44:859; Maynard Mack, *Alexander Pope* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1985), pp. 771–4.
- 10 On Blackmore's borrowings from Milton, see R. D. Havens, *The Influence of Milton on English Poetry* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1922), pp. 90–3.
- 11 Among these scriptural epics were Wesley's *History of the New Testament* (1701) and *History of the Old Testament* (1704), Evans's *Prae-existence* (1714), the anonymous *The Last Day* (1720), Newcomb's *Last Judgment* (1723), Roberts's *Judah Restored* (1774), Smith's *Brethren* (1787) and *Israel* (1789), Scott's *Messiah* (1788), Hands's *Death of Amnon* (1789) and Holmes's *Adam and Eve* (1800).
- 12 Macpherson's *Ossian* dealt with the problem of writing epics in an un-epic age through a double historical displacement; not only did it claim to be a translation of Gaelic oral poetry that had originated in the distant past, it also framed its stories as the songs of Ossian, the last survivor of a heroic race looking mournfully back at the now-vanished age of heroes. See Fiona Stafford, 'Introduction', in James Macpherson, *The Poems of Ossian*, ed. Howard Gaskill (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 1996), p. vii.
- 13 See Colin Bonwick, *English Radicals and the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977), p. 109.
- 14 William Mason, *Caractacus, A Dramatic Poem* (London, 1759).
- 15 Paul Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People* (London: Oxford UP, 1989), p. 7.
- 16 Linda Colley, *Britons* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1992), pp. 148–9.
- 17 Derry, *William Pitt* (London: Batsford, 1962), pp. 41–3, 49–50.
- 18 To this list should perhaps be added Helen Maria Williams's 1784 epic, *Peru*. Although less overtly concerned with the American Revolutionary War than the poems of Dwight or Barlow, Williams's celebration of peace-loving Americans resisting invasion by warlike Europeans had obvious resonances with recent events, especially given Williams's own opposition to the American war.
- 19 Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *Collected Letters*, ed. Earl Leslie Griggs, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1966), p. 183.
- 20 The first reviewers of Southey's *Joan of Arc* criticised it for having been written too quickly, suggesting that such haste implied 'so slight an opinion of (perhaps) the most arduous effort of human invention'. See Smith, *Quest*, p. 115.

- 21 Colley, *Britons*, p. 150.
- 22 Katie Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1997), pp. 137–9, 164–5.
- 23 Colley, *Britons*, pp. 167–93.
- 24 Colley, *Britons*, chapter 7.
- 25 Walter Scott, *The Antiquary*, vol. 1, ed. David Hewitt (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 1995), chapter 14, p. 107.
- 26 James Ogden, *Emmanuel* (London, 1797), pp. 130, 110.
- 27 James Burges, *Richard I*, vol. 2 (London, 1801), p. 70.
- 28 James Ogden, *Revolution* (London, 1790), p. 42; James Pye, *Alfred* (London, 1815), pp. 60–1; Richard Cumberland, *Calvary* (London, 1792), pp. 68–9.
- 29 Sarah Pyke, *Israel*, vol. 1 (London, 1795), p. v, vol. 2, pp. 8, 147–8; Robert Southey, *Joan of Arc* (Bristol, 1796), p. 94.
- 30 Samuel Wilcocke, *Britannia* (London, 1797), p. 12.
- 31 John Ogilvie, *Britannia* (London, 1801), pp. 527–34.
- 32 Hannah Cowley, *The Siege of Acre* (London, 1801), pp. 88, 124.
- 33 Ogden, *Emmanuel*, p. 63.
- 34 Walter Savage Landor, *Gebir* (London, 1798), p. 60. It was once commonly asserted that the plot of *Gebir* was inspired by Napoleon's invasion of Egypt, but Simon Bainbridge has shown this to be improbable, as Landor began writing it as early as 1796. See Simon Bainbridge, *Napoleon and English Romanticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995), p. 32.
- 35 Ogden, *Emmanuel*, pp. 94–5.
- 36 Pye, *Alfred*, p. 156.
- 37 Of all these epics, *The Niliad* is the only one of which I have been unable to locate any surviving copies. My information on it comes only from a mention of it in the *Critical Review* XXV, new arr. (1799), which mocks Hildreth's use of Classical machinery: 'In an epic poem upon a victory so peculiarly attributed to providence, it was injudicious to derive its success from the heathen gods, as, according to the most ancient and orthodox opinions, those deities were the fallen angels. Mr Hildreth has therefore given the glory to the devil' (pp. 354–5).
- 38 Stuart Curran, *Poetic Form and British Romanticism* (New York: Oxford UP, 1986), p. 174.
- 39 Pye, *Alfred*, pp. 156, 66; Ogilvie, *Britannia*, p. 536.
- 40 Curran, *Poetic Form*, p. 160.
- 41 Hayley, *Essay*, epistle 3, pp. 64–5.
- 42 John Marchant, Dedication, in John Milton, *Paradise Lost* (London, 1751), pp. v–vi.
- 43 George Sensabaugh, *Milton in Early America* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1964), p. 16.
- 44 DNB 14:618; Curran, *Poetic Form*, p. 164.

Chapter Five

- 1 Coleridge, letters to Thomas Poole, 21 and 31 March 1800: *Letters*, vol. 1, pp. 582, 584.
- 2 Juliet Barker, *Wordsworth: A Life* (London: Viking, 2000), pp. 157–8.
- 3 See Peter Kitson, 'Coleridge, Milton, and the Millennium', *Wordsworth Circle*, 18(2) (1987), p. 64.
- 4 Barker, *Wordsworth*, pp. 203–5.
- 5 Roe, 'Wordsworth, Milton, and the Politics of Poetic Influence', *Yearbook of English Studies*, 19 (1989), p. 114.
- 6 My quotations are from the 1805 *Prelude*. In the 1850 *Prelude*, the more religiously minded later Wordsworth explicitly framed the passage as a confession to Milton's spirit: 'O temperate Bard!/Be it confest ...' (1850 *Prelude*, book 3, ll, pp. 298–9). He also altered the passage to claim, improbably, that this was the only time in his life he had ever become drunk at all. See William Wordsworth, *The Fourteen-book Prelude*, ed. W. J. B. Owen (Ithaca, Cornell UP, 1985), p. 69.
- 7 A remark recorded by Henry Crabb Robinson in 1843, cited in Joseph Wittreich (ed.), *The Romantics on Milton* (Cleveland: Case Western Reserve UP, 1970), p. 146; 'An Evening Walk' (1794 text), ll, pp. 686–8; William Wordsworth, *An Evening Walk*, ed. James Averill (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1984), p. 153.
- 8 Nicholas Roe, *Wordsworth and Coleridge: The Radical Years* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988), p. 125.
- 9 'Prospectus', ll, pp. 12–29. William Wordsworth, *Home at Grasmere*, ed. Beth Darlington (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1977), pp. 257–8.
- 10 Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence*, 2nd edition (New York: Oxford UP, 1997), p. 126.
- 11 Lee M. Johnson, 'Renaissance Copresences in Romantic Verse', in Mary Henley and W. Speed Hill (eds), *Wrestling with God* (Vancouver: M. E. Henley, 2001), pp. 243–4.
- 12 'Great Men Have Been among Us', ll, pp. 1–14. William Wordsworth, *Poems in Two Volumes and Other Poems, 1800–1807*, ed. Jared Curtis (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1983), p. 166.
- 13 See Henry John Todd, vol. 1, p. cxlvii.
- 14 'London, 1802', ll, pp. 1–14. Wordsworth, *Poems in Two Volumes*, p. 165.
- 15 F. M. Todd, *Politics and the Poet* (London: Methuen, 1957), p. 115.
- 16 See D. M. G. Sutherland, *The French Revolution and Empire* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), p. 357.
- 17 'It Is Not To Be Thought of That the Flood', ll, pp. 9–13. Wordsworth, *Poems in Two Volumes*, p. 167.
- 18 Marie-Hélène Huet, 'Performing Arts: Theatricality and the Terror', in James A. W. Heffernan (ed.), *Representing the French Revolution* (Hanover: UP of New England, 1992), p. 140.
- 19 Tony Davies, 'Borrowed Language: Milton, Jefferson, Mirabeau', in David Armitage, Armand Himy and Quentin Skinner (eds), *Milton and Republicanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995), p. 269.

- 20 Letter to Joseph Johnson, 26 December 1792. Mary Wollstonecraft, *Collected Letters*, ed. Janet Todd (London: Allen Lane, 2003), pp. 216–17.
- 21 Simon Schama, *Citizens* (London: Folio Society, 2004), pp. 416–23.
- 22 Schama, *Citizens*, p. 806.
- 23 Barker, *Wordsworth*, p. 114.
- 24 John Ogden, ‘The Power of Distance in Wordsworth’s Prelude’, *PLMA*, 88(2) (1973), p. 258.
- 25 Barker, *Wordsworth*, pp. 112–13.
- 26 Barker, *Wordsworth*, pp. 136–7.
- 27 David Bromwich, *Disowned By Memory* (Chicago: Chicago UP, 1998), p. 17.
- 28 Schama, *Citizens*, p. 804.
- 29 Gregory Dart, *Rousseau, Robespierre and English Romanticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999), p. 46.
- 30 Dart, *Rousseau, Robespierre and English Romanticism*, p. 34.
- 31 Huet, ‘Performing Arts’, pp. 139–41.
- 32 Dart, *Rousseau, Robespierre and English Romanticism*, pp. 68–9.
- 33 Schama, *Citizens*, p. 814.
- 34 Barker, *Wordsworth*, p. 134; Stephen Gill, *William Wordsworth* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989), pp. 74–5.
- 35 ‘Tintern Abbey’, ll, pp. 76–7. William Wordsworth, *Lyrical Ballads and Other Poems, 1797–1800*, eds James Butler and Karen Green (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1992), p. 118.
- 36 ‘Tintern Abbey’, ll, pp. 69–73; Wordsworth, *Lyrical Ballads*, p. 118.
- 37 Gill, *William Wordsworth*, pp. 153–4.
- 38 Marjorie Levinson, *Wordsworth’s Great Period Poems* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1986), p. 18.
- 39 ‘Tintern Abbey’, ll, pp. 71–3; Wordsworth, *Lyrical Ballads*, p. 118.
- 40 ‘Tintern Abbey’, ll, pp. 77–84; Wordsworth, *Lyrical Ballads*, p. 118.
- 41 Alan Liu, *Wordsworth: The Sense of History* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1989), pp. 24–5.
- 42 Liu, *Wordsworth*, pp. 24–31.
- 43 *Descriptive Sketches* (1793 edition), ll, pp. 792–5. William Wordsworth, *Descriptive Sketches*, ed. Eric Birdsall (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1984), p. 116.
- 44 Theresa Kelley, *Wordsworth’s Revisionary Aesthetics* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1988), p. 182.
- 45 See William Wordsworth, *Prose Works*, vol. 1, eds W. J. B. Owen and Jane Worthington Smyser (Oxford: Clarendon, 1974), pp. 32–4 and P 378, 454.
- 46 *The Borderers*, act 4, scene 2, ll, pp. 127–39, 141–5. William Wordsworth, *The Borderers*, ed. Robert Osborn (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1982), p. 238.
- 47 Wordsworth, *Borderers*, act 4, scene 2, ll, pp. 156–7 (p. 240); act 2, scene 1, ll, pp. 72–4 (p. 128).
- 48 Schama, *Citizens*, pp. 760–1.
- 49 Wordsworth, *Borderers*, act 2, scene 1, ll, pp. 69–71 (p. 128).

- 50 'Tintern Abbey', ll, pp. 89–100. Wordsworth, *Lyrical Ballads*, p. 118.
- 51 Kelley, *Wordsworth's Revisionary Aesthetics*, p. 61.
- 52 'The Vale of Esthwaite', l, p. 271. William Wordsworth, *Early Poems and Fragments*, eds Carol Landon and Jared Curtis (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1997), p. 444.
- 53 Dart, *Rousseau, Robespierre and English Romanticism*, p. 206.
- 54 Zera Fink, 'Wordsworth and the English Republican Tradition', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 47 (1948), pp. 107–26. At the very least, Wordsworth read Milton's *Areopagitica* in France; see Duncan Wu, *Wordsworth's Reading 1770–1799* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1993), p. 100.
- 55 Barker, *Wordsworth*, pp. 228–32.
- 56 1798–9 *Prelude*, ll, pp. 1–6. William Wordsworth, *The Prelude, 1798–9*, ed. Stephen Parrish (Ithaca, Cornell UP, 1977), p. 43.
- 57 David Simpson, *Wordsworth's Historical Imagination* (New York: Methuen, 1987), pp. 116–17.
- 58 See Matthew Biberman, 'The Earth Is All before Me', in Ghislaine McDayter, Guinn Batten and Barry Milligan (eds), *Romantic Generations* (London: Bucknell UP, 2001). However, Simpson has pointed out that in *Paradise Lost* it is Sin who says 'Nor can I miss the way', and that in these lines Wordsworth is positioning himself as much as Satan as Adam (Simpson, p. 119; *Paradise Lost*, book 10, l, p. 262: M 220). This, too, could potentially have been a republican gesture: see Chapter Three, above. Alternatively, Wordsworth may simply have forgotten the line's source; Havens demonstrated long ago that Wordsworth had so much Milton in his head he probably often quoted or alluded to him quite unconsciously, without any special purpose in mind. See Havens, *The Influence of Milton on English Poetry* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1922), pp. 607–20.
- 59 Simpson, *Wordsworth's Historical Imagination*, p. 31.
- 60 1850 *Prelude*, book 10, ll, pp. 437–8, 449–50. Wordsworth, *Fourteen-book Prelude*, p. 209.
- 61 See, for example, William Jewett, 'The Fall of Robespierre and the Sublime Machinery of Allegory', *ELH*, 63(2) (1996), pp. 428–9.
- 62 1850 *Prelude*, book 10, ll, pp. 457–8. Wordsworth, *Fourteen-book Prelude*, p. 209.
- 63 See, for example, pp. P 32, 380, 452.
- 64 Simon Bainbridge, *Napoleon and English Romanticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995), p. 84.
- 65 'Home at Grasmere', MS B, ll, pp. 923–33. Wordsworth, *Home at Grasmere*, pp. 96–8.
- 66 Gill, *William Wordsworth*, p. 233.
- 67 On the natural sublime in the eighteenth century, see Samuel Monk, *The Sublime* (Ann Arbor: Michigan UP, 1960) and W. P. Albrecht, *The Sublime Pleasures of Tragedy* (Lawrence: Kansas UP, 1975).
- 68 'Tintern Abbey', ll, pp. 123–4. Wordsworth, *Lyrical Ballads*, p. 119.

- 69 Thomas Weiskel, *The Romantic Sublime* (Baltimore: John Hopkins UP, 1976), pp. 199–200.
- 70 ‘Home at Grasmere’, MS B, ll, pp. 910–33, 943–52. Wordsworth, *Home at Grasmere*, pp. 96–8.
- 71 ‘Home at Grasmere’, MS B, ll, pp. 953–5. Wordsworth, *Home at Grasmere*, p. 98.
- 72 ‘Home at Grasmere’, MS B, ll, pp. 996–1001. Wordsworth, *Home at Grasmere*, p. 102.
- 73 ‘Home at Grasmere’, MS B, ll, pp. 1014–48. Wordsworth, *Home at Grasmere*, pp. 104–6.
- 74 Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence*, p. 15.
- 75 Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence*, p. 125.
- 76 William Hazlitt, ‘Mr Wordsworth’, in ‘The Spirit of the Age’: *Works*, vol. 11, ed. P. P. Howe, 21 volumes (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1930–4), p. 92.
- 77 Hazlitt, ‘On People with One Idea’, in ‘Table-talk’: *Works*, vol. 8, p. 68.
- 78 Hazlitt, ‘On Milton’s Sonnets’, in ‘Table-talk’: *Works*, vol. 8, p. 176.
- 79 ‘Great Spirits Now on Earth Are Sojourning’, ll, pp. 1–4. John Keats, *Poems*, ed. Jack Stillinger (London: Heinemann, 1978), p. 67. On the process by which the poem reached Wordsworth, see p. 555.
- 80 Letter to Reynolds, 3 May 1818. John Keats, *Letters*, ed. Hyder Edward Rollins (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1958), pp. 278, 281.
- 81 Letter to George Keats, 14 October 1818. Keats, *Letters*, p. 396. The property Milton and Sidney had, and their successors lacked, was, of course, sublimity. On Franklin and Washington, Keats wrote: ‘They are great Men doubtless but how are they to be compared to those our country [sic] men Milton and the two Sidneys ... Those Americans are great but they are not sublime’. See Keats, *Letters*, p. 397.
- 82 ‘To Wordsworth’, ll, pp. 7–14. Percy Bysshe Shelley, *Poems 1804–1817*, eds Geoffrey Matthews and Kelvin Everest (London: Longman, 1989), p. 455.
- 83 1819 Dedication to *Don Juan*, stanzas 10–11, ll, pp. 73–88. Lord Byron, *Complete Poetical Works*, vol. 5, ed. Jerome J. McGann, 7 volumes (Oxford: Clarendon, 1980–93), p. 6.
- 84 J. G. A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1975), pp. 86–8.
- 85 Percy Bysshe Shelley, *Poetical Works*, ed. Thomas Hutchinson, corr. G. M. Matthews (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1970), p. 634.
- 86 Barker, *Wordsworth*, pp. 448, 544–5.
- 87 Robert Southey, *A Vision of Judgment* (London, 1821), p. 34. Southey’s condemnation of the ‘Satanic school’ is on pp. xx–i.
- 88 Cited in Nicholas von Maltzahn, ‘The Whig Milton, 1667–1700’, in David Armitage, Armand Himy and Quentin Skinner (eds), *Milton and Republicanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995), p. 242.
- 89 ‘Latitudinarianism’, ll, pp. 6–14. William Wordsworth, *Sonnet Sequences and Itinerary Poems, 1820–1845*, ed. Geoffrey Jackson (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2004), p. 189.

- 90 Barker, *Wordsworth*, p. 687.
- 91 Wordsworth, *Sonnet Series and Itinerary Poems*, pp. 804–5.
- 92 ‘At Vallombrosa’, ll, pp. 9–16. Wordsworth, *Sonnet Series and Itinerary Poems*, p. 775.
- 93 ‘At Vallombrosa’, ll, pp. 17–20. Wordsworth, *Sonnet Series and Itinerary Poems*, pp. 775–6.
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- 95 Barker, *Wordsworth*, p. 688.
- 96 Barker, *Wordsworth*, p. 688.
- 97 ‘At Vallombrosa’, l, p. 29. Wordsworth, *Sonnet Series and Itinerary Poems*, p. 776.
- 98 ‘At Vallombrosa’, ll, pp. 25–8. Wordsworth, *Sonnet Series and Itinerary Poems*, p. 776.

Chapter Six

- 1 Northrop Frye, *Fearful Symmetry* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1969), pp. 16–18; Saree Makdisi, *William Blake and the Impossible History of the 1790s* (Chicago: Chicago UP, 2003), pp. 40–1.
- 2 E 707; G. E. Bentley Jr, *The Stranger from Paradise* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2001), p. 43.
- 3 Bentley, *Stranger*, p. 38.
- 4 David Erdman, *Blake: Prophet against Empire*, 3rd edition (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1977), pp. 34–5.
- 5 On Blake’s involvement in antiquarian circles, see Jason Whittaker, *William Blake and the Myths of Britain* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999).
- 6 Bentley, *Stranger*, pp. 203–4.
- 7 Bentley, *Stranger*, chapter III.
- 8 See Percy H. Boynton, ‘Joel Barlow Advises the Privileged Orders’, *New England Quarterly*, 12(3) (1939), p. 479 and James Woodress, *A Yankee’s Odyssey* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1958), p. 119.
- 9 This problem was not lost on contemporary readers. One of Barlow’s first reviewers, reading *The Vision of Columbus*, wondered how George Washington would react to ‘seeing himself represented as mowing down whole armies like an Amadis or Orlando ...’. See Woodress, *A Yankee’s Odyssey*, p. 88.
- 10 Steven Knapp, *Personification and the Sublime* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1985), pp. 61, 58.
- 11 Knapp, *Personification and the Sublime*, chapter 2.
- 12 Knapp, *Personification and the Sublime*, p. 139.
- 13 G. E. Bentley Jr, *Blake Records* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2004), p. 310.

- 14 Jon Mee, *Romanticism, Enthusiasm, and Regulation* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2003), p. 279.
- 15 Bentley, *Records*, p. 531.
- 16 Mary Wollstonecraft, *Collected Letters*, ed. Janet Todd (London: Allen Lane, 2003), p. 216.
- 17 See Erdman, *Prophet*, pp. 23, 154.
- 18 Joel Barlow, *The Vision of Columbus* (London, 1787), p. 157.
- 19 Thomas Paine, *The American Crisis, Number II* (Philadelphia, 1777), p. 21.
- 20 Erdman, *Prophet*, p. 154.
- 21 Barlow left England in 1792 and did not return until 1803. See Woodress, *A Yankee's Odyssey*, pp. 130–1, 224.
- 22 Bentley, *Records*, p. 428.
- 23 Morton D. Paley, *The Apocalyptic Sublime* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1986), p. 1.
- 24 Vincent De Luca, *Words of Eternity* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1991), p. 42.
- 25 De Luca, *Words of Eternity*, p. 134; Bentley, *Stranger*, pp. 38–42.
- 26 Alexander Gilchrist, *Life of William Blake*, ed. W. A. G. Doyle (Wakefield: E. P. Publishing, 1973), p. 93. On Blake's enthusiasm for revolutionary violence, see William Keach, 'Blake, Violence, and Visionary Politics', in James A. W. Heffernan (ed.), *Representing the French Revolution* (Hanover: UP of New England, 1992), pp. 24–40 and William Keach, *Arbitrary Power* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2004), pp. 130–44.
- 27 See Chapter Three, pp. 57–69, above.
- 28 On Williams's use of the Satanic sublime, see Chapter Three, pp. 71–4, above.
- 29 Keach, *Arbitrary Power*, pp. 140–1.
- 30 Keach, *Arbitrary Power*, p. 131.
- 31 Gilchrist, *Life of William Blake*, p. 93.
- 32 Bentley, *Stranger*, pp. 55–7.
- 33 Keach, *Arbitrary Power*, p. 132.
- 34 As Mee has demonstrated, Blake's works usually describe health as resulting from exercise and enjoyment rather than abstinence and restraint. See Jon Mee, 'Bloody Blake', in Steve Clark and David Worrall (eds), *Blake, Nation, and Empire* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), pp. 73–80.
- 35 Louisa Calè, *Henry Fuseli's Milton Gallery* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2006), p. 53.
- 36 Bentley, *Stranger*, pp. 117–18, 164.
- 37 Marcia Pointon, *Milton and English Art* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1970), p. 135.
- 38 Bentley, *Stranger*, p. 222.
- 39 Irene Taylor, 'Say First! What Mov'd Blake?', in Stuart Curran and Joseph Wittreich (eds), *Blake's Sublime Allegory* (Madison: Wisconsin UP, 1973), p. 233 and Bentley, *Stranger*, p. 222.
- 40 John Marchant, Dedication, in John Milton, *Paradise Lost* (London, 1751), pp. v–vi.

- 41 Genesis 3:8.
- 42 Reproduced in William Blake, *The Complete Illuminated Books*, ed. David Bindman (London: Thames and Hudson, 2001), p. 289.
- 43 William Godwin, *Political Justice*, ed. Mark Philp (London: William Pickering, 1993), p. 15.
- 44 'From that time ever since, the sad friends of Truth, such as durst appear, imitating the carefull search that *Isis* made for the mangl'd body of *Osiris*, went up and down gathering up limb by limb still as they could find them. We have not found them all, Lords and Commons, nor ever shall doe, till her Masters second comming ...' (*Areopagitica*: MP 2:549).
- 45 Lucy Newlyn, *Paradise Lost and the Romantic Reader* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1993), p. 263.
- 46 Susan Fox, *Poetic Form in Blake's Milton* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1976), p. 163.
- 47 Bentley, *Records*, p. 427.

Epilogue

- 1 Anon., *Areopagitica Secunda, or, Speech of the Shade of John Milton, on Mr Sergeant Talfourd's Copyright Extension Bill* (London, 1838); *Monthly Review*, 2(2) (June 1838), p. 303.
- 2 William Wordsworth, 'Essay Supplementary to the Preface', in Carl Ketcham (ed.), *Shorter Poems 1807–1820* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1989), p. 655.
- 3 John Barrell, *Imagining the King's Death* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2000), pp. 648–50.
- 4 Barrell, *Imagining the King's Death*, p. 651.
- 5 Barrell, *Imagining the King's Death*, p. 651.