Handlist of the Huntington Blake Collection
by Robert N. Essick, 236

Handlist of the Essick Blake Collection
by Janice Lyle, 216

Handlists of Four Blake Collections
by Morton D. Paley, 260

REVIEWS

The Legacy of English Romanticism: Northrop Frye
and William Blake, a review-essay
by Michael Fischer, 276

Michael G. Cooke's The Romantic Will
reviewed by Laurence Goldstein, 284

Joan Evans' A History of the Society of
Antiquaries reviewed by David Worrall, 287

Michael Davis' William Blake: A New Kind of Man
reviewed by Susan Fox, 289

Joan Dolmetsch's Rebellion and Reconciliation
and Gary Kelly's The English Jacobin Novel
1780-1806 reviewed by Ronald Paulson, 291

NEWSLETTER

Blake Theft Foiled, Swedenborg $3000, Job in
Frankfurt Schauspielhaus, James Jefferys Update,
MLA Blake Seminar 1979, Papers on Jung, 298

COPYRIGHT © 1978 BY MORRIS EAVES & MORTON D. PALEY

CONTRIBUTORS

ROBERT N. ESSICK is a Professor of English at the
California State University, Northridge.

SUSAN FOX is Associate Professor of English at
Queens College, City University of New York, and
the author of Poetic Form in Blake's Milton. Her
poetry has appeared in the Chicago Review and
The Paris Review.

LAURENCE GOLDSMITH is an Associate Professor of
English at the University of Michigan. The Univer­
sity of Pittsburgh Press has recently published
his book, Ruins and Empire: The Evolution of a
Theme in Augustan and Romantic Literature. He is
the editor of the Michigan Quarterly Review.

JANICE LYLE is an advanced graduate student in Art
History at the University of California, Santa
Barbara. She has previously published entries in
the exhibition catalogue William Blake in the Art
of His Time and is currently preparing an article
on Blake's debt to Flaxman, based on a paper
delivered at the College Art Association in New

MORTON D. PALEY is Co-Editor of Blake. His
William Blake, an illustrated introduction to
Blake's art, was recently published by Phaidon.

RONALD PAULSON, Professor of English at Yale, is
writing a book on representations of the French
Revolution. He is the author of the standard
catalogue of Hogarth's engravings, a book on
Rowlandson, and Emblem and Expression, a study
of eighteenth-century art.

DAVID WORRALL teaches at the Royal Grammar School,
Newcastle-Upon-Tyne. An article on Jerusalem and
British antiquity recently appeared in Studies in
Romanticism.
EDITORS

EDITORS: Morris Eaves, Univ. of New Mexico, and Morton D. Paley, Univ. of California, Berkeley.

BIBLIOGRAPHER: Thomas Minnick, Ohio State University.

ASSOCIATE EDITOR FOR GREAT BRITAIN: Frances A. Carey, Assistant Curator, Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum.

PRODUCTION OFFICE: Morris Eaves, Department of English, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM 87131; Telephone 505/277-3103.
Morton D. Paley, Department of English, University of California, Berkeley, CA 94720.
Thomas L. Minnick, University College, Ohio State University, 1050 Carmack Road, Columbus, Ohio, 43210.
Frances A. Carey, Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum, Great Russell Street, London WC1B 3DG, England.

EDITIORAL ASSISTANTS: Marietta Barnes & Lynn Goldstein, Univ. of New Mexico.

BLAKE/AN ILLUSTRATED QUARTERLY is published under the sponsorship of the Department of English, University of New Mexico.

SUBSCRIPTIONS are $7 for 1 year, 1 volume, 4 issues. Special rate for individuals, $6, surface mail. $10 for subscribers overseas who prefer air mail. U. S. currency or international money order if possible. Make checks payable to Blake/An Illustrated Quarterly. Address all subscription orders & related communications to the Circulation Mgr., Jane Welford, Blake, Dept. of English, Univ. of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM 87131 USA.

Some BACK ISSUES are available. Address Jane Welford. Prices: whole numbers 1-8 (bound together), #9-13 (bound together), $5 each (individuals, $4). #22-present, $2 each, except #35 (Checklist of Blake Material in Rosenwald Collection, ed. Ruth Fine Lehrer), $3. #14-21, 41 & 42 are out of print.

MANUSCRIPTS are welcome. Send two copies, typed and documented according to the forms suggested in the MLA Style Sheet, 2nd. ed., to either of the editors: Morris Eaves, Dept. of English, Univ. of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM 87131; Morton D. Paley, Dept. of English, Univ. of California, Berkeley, CA 94720.

INTERNATIONAL SERIAL NUMBER is 0006-453X. Blake/An Illustrated Quarterly, is INDEXED in the Modern Language Association's International Bibliography, the Modern Humanities Research Association's Annual Bibliography of English Language and Literature, English Language Notes' annual Romantic bibliography, ARTbibliographies MODERN, and the American Humanities Index (Whitston Pub.).
The Robert N. Essick collection, one of the more important Blake collections still in private hands, is the result of careful but avid acquisition since 1969. Probably the largest collection, public or private, of Blake's commercial book illustrations, the Essick holdings also include Blake drawings, paintings, pages from the Illuminated Books, separate prints, and works by and after Blake's contemporaries (Flaxman, Fuseli and Stothard) and followers (Calvert, Linnell, Palmer and Richmond). This is the range of work included in the checklist; excluded are original prints by and after artists of the preceding generation (Barry, Mortimer, and Runciman), which form an important part of the Essick collection, and the approximately 800-volume library of critical books, sale and exhibition catalogues, facsimiles, editions of Blake's writings, books by and about Blake's associates, and other types of support material. This collection and that of the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery make Southern California a significant center for Blake scholarship.

I wish to thank Professor Essick for giving so freely of his knowledge about these works, particularly concerning the states of the engraved plates. The meticulous research he conducted when purchasing these items minimized the problems of compiling this checklist.

I. DRAWINGS & PAINTINGS BY BLAKE

1. The Making of Magna Charta. (Illus. 1) c. 1780. Watercolor. 13.2 x 17.9 cm.
2. The Good Farmer. Early 1780s. Pencil, black ink, and grey wash. 32.5 x 46.5 cm. Pencil, black ink, and grey wash sketch of the same subject on verso, inscribed (not by Blake) "The Good Farmer giving His fields in famine."
3. Pestilence. (Illus. 2) c. 1784. Watercolor. 17.9 x 27.1 cm.
4. Tiriel Departing from Har and Heva. (Illus. 3) c. 1783. Monochrome wash drawing. 18.2 x 27.3 cm.
5. Lamech and His Two Wives. (Illus. 4) 1795. Color printed drawing. 38.5 x 48 cm.
7. Pencil sketch, probably by Blake, in upper right corner of Fuseli's drawing of Michelangelo (see VII, Fuseli, A 1).
8. Death Pursuing the Soul through the Avenues of Life (a rejected preliminary design for Robert Blair's The Grave). (Illus. 6) 1805. Monochrome wash drawing. 24.6 x 11.5 cm.
9. Harold killed at the Battle of Hastings. 1819.
II. BLAKE’S ILLUMINATED BOOKS


1. America, A Prophecy. Modern impression from extant fragment of cancelled plate a. Large etched white areas intentionally foul inked.  


3. Songs of Innocence and of Experience. "The Clod and the Pebble" only. (Illus. 8) From Copy T.

4. There is No Natural Religion. Plates a3 (Copy G1) and a9 and b12 (Copy I) only.

III. BOOK ILLUSTRATIONS DESIGNED &/OR ENGRAVED BY BLAKE

Entry numbers are those used in G. E. Bentley, Jr., *Blake Books*, Oxford, 1977, hereafter referred to as B. References to plates from the following volumes indicate plates designed and/or engraved by Blake only. Information on the states of the plates not in B is based on Roger R. Easson and Robert N. Essick, *William Blake: Book Illustrator*, Normal, Illinois, 1972 (volume I published; typescript of volumes II and III consulted). Plates listed individually are disbound and matted unless otherwise indicated.


*Idem.* Plates only.
219

A New and Improved Roman History. 1798. Original boards, uncut.

Ariosto, Lodovico. Orlando Furioso. 5 vols. 1783.


Idem. 2 vols. 1791.

Idem. 1799.

Idem. Three copies of plate only: two in first state (one printed on a large sheet), one in third state.

The Royal Universal Family Bible. (Illus. 9) 1780-81 (i.e. 1782).

Idem. Plate 1 only. A later state, cut down; printed on paper watermarked 1803 and not known to have been published in this state.

Illustrations of The Book of Job. Invented and Engraved by William Blake. 1825. Published proof impressions on laid India paper, original printed labels.


Plate 3, "When the Almighty was yet..."
5 Sketch of a standing male figure and two heads. After 1796. Pencil and red chalk.

6 Death Pursuing the Soul through the Avenues of Life. 1805. Monochrome wash drawing.

7 The Ghost of Abel, plate 1 only.

with me". Pre-publication proof. State b in Binyon and Keynes.

Plate 12, "With Dreams upon my bed", Pre-publication proof. State e in Binyon and Keynes.


B435D Idem. 1313 quarto.

B435E Idem. 1813 (i.e. 1870) folio. Publisher's binding.

Idem. Complete plates loose in portfolio as issued, 1870.


Plate 4. Proof lacking letters.

Plate 5. First state.

Plate 11. Proof before plate was cut down with imprint dated 1 Feb. 1806.

Death Pursuing the Soul through the Avenues of Life. Rejected preliminary drawing (see 1, 8).

B437 Boydell's ... Shakespeare. 1803?

B438 Plate only from Brown, John. The Elements of Medicine. 1795.

B439A Bryant, Jacob. A New System, or an Analysis of Ancient Mythology. 3 vols. 1774-76.


B440 Bürger, Gottfried. Leonora. 1796. Frontispiece disbound, matted.

Idem. (Illus. 10) Frontispiece only. Proof lacking finished work in design, trimmed to design. Sketches by Blake on verso (see 1, #6).

B441 Catullus. The Poems of Caius Valerius Catullus. 2 vols. 1795.


B446A Cumberland, George. Outlines from the Ancients. 1829.

B446B Idem. Variant issue.

B447 ____ Thoughts on Outline. 1796. Original boards, uncut.


B450E ____ The Poetical Works of Erasme Darwin. 3 vols. 1806.

Idem. Plates 1, 3 and 4 as appearing in first three editions.

Plate 6. Proof lacking finished work in design and letters except signatures.

B452A Emlyn, Henry. A Proposition for a New Order in Architecture. 1781.

Idem. Third edition. 1797.


B456A Flaxman, John. Compositions from ... Hesiod. 1811. Two copies.

B456B Idem. 1870. Two copies: one the separate issue in publisher's binding, one the composite issue (see B page 563).

B457A ____ The Iliad of Homer. 1805. Two copies, one in original boards.

B457B Idem. 1870. Composite issue only (see B page 563).


Sketch for plate (see VII, Flaxman, A).


Idem. Plate only. Proof before letters except signature.

Sketch for plate (see VII, Fuseli, A1).


B460B Idem. 1793 (i.e. 1811).

Idem. Plates 1, 2, 4, 7-9, 11, 12 only.


B462 Plates only from Grego, Joseph. Mrs. Q-- and
The CLOD & the PEBBLE

Love seeketh not itself to please,
Nor for itself hath any care;
But for another giveth its ease,
And builds a Heaven in Hallow's despair.

So sung a little Clod of Clay
Trod down with the cattle feet;
But a Pebble of the brook,
Warbled out those measures neat.

Love seeketh only Self to please,
To bind another to its delight;
Joys in another's last of ease,
And builds a Hell in Heaven's despite.
Windsor Castle. 1906. (See IV, B 9).


B465 Hayley, William. Ballads. 1805. Two copies: one in boards, uncut, with first state of plates; other with second state of plates 1-3.

Idem. Plates 1-4 only. First states.

B466 ______. Designs to A Series of Ballads. 1802. Front matter and first ballad only.

Idem. Plate 1 only.

B467 ______. An Essay on Sculpture. 1800.

B468A ______. The Life ... of Cowper. 3 vols. 1803-4.

B468B Idem. Second edition. 1803. Plates 1, 2, 4-6 from first edition only.

B469 ______. The Life of George Romney. 1809.

B471A ______. The Triumphs of Temper. Twelfth edition. 1803. Large paper copy; original boards, uncut and partly unopened.


B472 Henry, Thomas. Memoirs of Albert de Haller, M. D. 1783.

B473 Hoare, Prince. Academio Correspondence. 1803.

B474 ______. An Inquiry into the ... Arts of Design in England. 1806. Original boards, uncut.

B475 Blake's plate only from Hogarth, William. The Original Works. (See IV, B 1).


B478 Plates 1 and 3 only from Kimpton, Edward. A New and Complete Universal History of the Holy Bible. 1781?

B480A Lavater, John Caspar. Aphorisms on Man.

8 Songs of Innocence and of Experience, "The Clod and The Pebble" only.

9 From The Royal Universal Family Bible. 1780-81. Plate 1.
10 Leonora. Frontispiece only.

11 Joseph of Arimathea among the Rocks of Albion. Second state.


B486C Idem. 1792. With engraved titlepage 1792; second state of the plates.

B486C Idem. 1793. With engraved titlepages of 1785 (Sentimental Journey), 1792 (Gulliver's Travels), 1792 (David Simple), 1792 (Sir Launoelot Greaves), 1792 (Peruvian Princess), 1793 (Jonathan Wild); second state of the plates.

Idem. Plate 2 first state and plate 3 second state only.


B487B Idem. 1785. With engraved titlepage 1785; second state of the plates.
B488  Olivier, J.  *Fencing Familiarized.*  1780.


  *Idem.*  Plates 1-3, 5 and 7 only.

B490A  Remember Me!  1825.  In *Blake Books Binding no. 7.*

  *Idem.*  Plate only.


  *Idem.*  Plate 2, printed on a card, only.

B492A  Salzmann, C. G.  *Elements of Morality.*  3 vols.  1791.  First state of the plates.


  Plates inscribed nos. 30-50, third state.

B493  *Gymnastics for Youth.*  1800.

  *Idem.*  Plates only.


  *Idem.*  Plates 1, 3, 5-7, 13-15 only.


B503  *Vetusta Monumena.*  1789?


  *Idem.*  Plates 1-25 only.

  Plate 7 as printed in *The Athenaeum,* 21 Jan. 1843.


  *Idem.*  Plates 1-5 only.

B514A  Wollstonecraft, Mary.  *Original Stories.*  1791.  Second state of plates 1 and 2; first state of plates 3-6.


B515  Young, Edward.  *The Complaint, and the Consolation; or Night Thoughts.*  1797.  Two copies: one uncut with the two-page Explanation of the Engravings and impressions of plates 5 and 25 before imprints; other disbound and mounted, lacking explanation leaf.

IV. SEPARATE PLATES ENGRAVED BY BLAKE

Information concerning the states of the separate plates is based on Geoffrey Keynes, *Engravings by William Blake The Separate Plates,* Dublin, 1956, hereafter referred to as K.

A. ORIGINAL GRAPHICS


2. Christ Trampling Upon Urizen.  K XII.


B. COPY PLATES

VI. MISCELLANEOUS UNIQUE MATERIALS RELATING TO BLAKE

1. Letter from William Etty to Thomas Campbell. 25 March 1830. Contains a description of Sir Thomas Lawrence's kindness to Blake.

2. Six letters from H. P. Horne to H. H. Gilchrist. 1886-87. Contain minor references to Blake and Richmond.


4. Notebook inscribed on cover (by Kerrison Preston?) "Graham Robertson's rough Notes on Blake's Books and Drawings etc."


6. Millboard block made by W. Graham Robertson after Blake's design for plate 3 of The Book of Urizen. Inscribed in pencil "Ore or 'Flames of Desire' Block from which 12 impressions have been taken."

7. Impression from W. Graham Robertson's millboard block. Inscribed in pencil "First impression from Block Local colours to be added by further printings".

VII. ASSOCIATES & FOLLOWERS OF BLAKE

FLAXMAN

A. Drawings

Preliminary sketch for Minerva Repressing the Fury of Achilles, plate 2 from The Iliad. (Illus. 14) c. 1805. Pen and pencil. 10 x 15.4 cm.

B. Engravings of Classical Compositions

Entry numbers follow G. E. Bentley, Jr., The Early Engravings of Flaxman's Classical Designs, New York, 1964, hereafter referred to as BF.

Odyssey

BF4 The Odyssey of Homer. London. 1805. Two copies, one in original boards.


V. PORTRAITS OF BLAKE


2. Engraving. Schiavonetti after Phillips. From 1808 folio of Blair's The Grave. Published proof on laid India paper.

3. Engraving. Schiavonetti after Phillips. From Jose de Mora, Meditaciones Poeticas, 1826. (See also III, B43SA-F).

228
Minerva Repressing the Fury of Achilles.  
John Flaxman. c. 1805. Pen and pencil.

BF12 The Classical Compositions of John Flaxman.  
London. 1870.

--- Composizioni de Giovanni Flaxman scultore  
inglese tratte dall' Odissea di Omero. n.p.  
n.d. Not in BF.

Iliad

BF2 The Iliad of Homer. London. 1795.

BF6 The Iliad of Homer. London. 1805. Two  
copies, one in original boards.

BF11 See Odyssey, BF10.

BF12 See Odyssey, BF12.

--- Disegni d'invenzione dello scultore inglese  
n.d. Not in BF.

AESYCHLUS

BF1 Compositions from the Tragedies of Aeschylus.  
London. 1795.

BF5 Compositions d'après les tragédies d'Eschyle.  
Paris. 1803. Variant lacking imprint, bound  
with Odyssey, BF10.

BF7 Compositions from the Tragedies of Aeschylus.  
London. 1831.

BF8 See Odyssey, BF12.

DANTE

BF1 La Divina Comedia ... Composto di Giovanni  
Flaxman. Rome. 1793. Complete proof copy  
with pen inscriptions by Mrs. Flaxman and  
minor pencil additions in the designs probably  
by John Flaxman. Manuscript label on cover  
reads: "First proofs before printing (titles  
written by Mrs. Flaxman) The frontispiece of  
Purgatorio p. 72 signed by Flaxman for the  
Printer. The plates were lost on the Voyage  
home and again engraved in England for the  
Edition now in common use".

BF5 Compositions by John Flaxman ... from the  

BF8 Illustrations ... of Dante Alighieri by John  
Flaxman. London. 1867.

HESTIOD

BF1 Compositions from ... Hesiod. (See III,
A. Drawings

1. Sketch for Blake's plate in Fuseli's Lectures on Painting (see III, B459). c. 1801. Pen and pencil. 22.4 x 18.7 cm. Inscribed "Mich. Angelo by Fuseli original Drawing had From Wm Blake". Pencil sketch of Michelangelo's legs and right arm, probably by Blake, upper right corner. Unrelated pen and pencil sketches on verso.11

2. Sketch for Blake's plate in Lavater's Aphorismen on Man (see III, B480). c. 1788. Pen. 22.5 x 18.1 cm. Sketch of two heads (possibly of Lavater) on left margin. Unrelated pen sketch on verso. Inscribed on verso "Given by W. Blake to John Linnell[.] by Fuseli". See endnote 11.

B. Book Illustrations


(See also III, B415, B416, B437, B450, B459, B480, B481, B497 and B498.)
C. Separate Engravings After Fuseli

1. A Midsummer Night's Dream Act 3 Scene 1, engraved Rhodes. 1794.
3. The Death of Cardinal Beaufort, engraved Rogers. n.d.
7. The Night Mare, engraved Burke. 1802. Handcolored.
8. The Night Mare, engraved Raddon. 1827.
10. Titania and Bottom from A Midsummer Night's Dream, engraved Tomkins. 1787. Two impressions, one color printed.

STOTHARD

The engravings after Stothard's designs in eighteenth century books and magazines, as well as the large published proof of Pilgrimage to Canterbury, form a substantial collection within the Essick holdings. Because these engravings are so numerous, they will not be listed here.

Drawings

1. Pen drawing. 2.5 x 4.9 cm. Inscribed "She fell to the ground" on the mount. This and the following probably intended for a calendar.
2. Pen drawing. 2.4 x 4.7 cm. Inscribed "She wept in wild despair" on the mount.
3. Four monochrome wash drawings for funeral monuments. All approx. 8 x 10 cm. Inscribed "T Stothard" not in the artist's hand.

CALVERT

Entry numbers and information on the states of the plates follow Raymond Lister, Edward Calvert, London, 1962, hereafter referred to as LC.

Prints by Calvert

LC2 The Bacchante, wood engraving by Welby Sherman after Calvert's design.

LC6C-8C, The Ploughman; The Cider Feast; The Bride; 9B, 12C, The Sheep of his Pasture; The Brook; The 13C, 14B, Lady with the Book; The Return Home; 15B The Chamber Idyll as published in A Memoir of Edward Calvert, Artist by his Third Son, 1893.

LC10 The Flood, apparently one of the five remainder impressions not used in the Carfax portfolio, 1904 (see LC page 103).

LC11 Ideal Pastoral Life, from the Carfax portfolio, 1904.

LINNELL

A. Drawings and Paintings

1. A Shepherd with his Family. (Illus. 15) c. 1840. Oil on board. 26.7 x 35.2 cm. Signed "J Linnell".
2. Sketch of a faun. 1809. Pencil and chalk. 70 x 50.5 cm. Inscribed "John Linnell for permission to study as probationer, 1809".
3. Sketch of a man's hand. c. 1807-10. Pencil and chalk. 31 x 44.3 cm. Inscribed "John Linnell for the Life".
4. Sketch of figures by a river bank. Pen and pencil. 13.5 x 18.2 cm. Inscribed "Painted for W. Collard Size 24 x 18 inches".
5. Sketch of two men in a field. Pencil and wash. 9.5 x 13.8 cm.

B. Engravings by Linnell

1. Blencowe, portrait of. 1841.
2. John Martin, the large plate. 1813. Two impressions with variations in title inscription.
3. John Martin, the small plate. 1817.
5. The Journey to Emmaus. 1839.
8. The Rev. Joseph Hallet Batten. 1838.

16 The Shepherd, engraved by Welby Sherman after Palmer.
9. The Rev. Rowland Hill. 1827. Two impressions, one an unfinished proof lacking letters with pencil inscriptions probably by Linnell.


11. Sheep at Noon. 1818.

12. Thomas Norris. 1837.

(See also III, B 501 and IV, B 7, 11).

PALMER

States of the plates are identified according to Raymond Lister, *Samuel Palmer and His Etchings*, London, 1969, hereafter referred to as LP.

Prints by Palmer


LP2 The Skylark. State vii.

LP3 The Herdsman's Cottage or Sunset. State ii.


LP5 The Vine or Plumpy Bacchus. State iv, large paper issue.

LP6 The Sleeping Shepherd; Early Morning. State iv.

LP7 The Rising Moon or An English Pastoral. Between states vi and vii, with changes in the design as in state vii but before additional inscriptions.

LP8 The Weary Ploughman or The Herdsman or Tardus Bubulcus. State viii.

LP9 The Early Ploughman or The Morning Spread Upon the Mountains. State vii?


2 See Gerald Eades Bentley, Jr., ed., *William Blake, Tiriel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967); David Bindman argues for an earlier date "nearer the middle of the 1780s than the end" for the series of Tiriel designs in *Blake as an Artist* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1977), pp. 43-44.

3 See catalogue entry by Nancy Smith in Walker, *Art of his Time*, p. 84.


6 For reproduction of copperplate and a different impression see John W. Wright, "Blake's Relief-Etching Method," *Blake Newsletter* 36 (Spring 1976), pp. 105, 109, 112.

7 See C. Heppner's essay on Blake's engraving in this book, forthcoming in *Blake, An Illustrated Quarterly*.


10 See Robert N. Essick, "William Blake and Sir Thomas Lawrence," forthcoming in *Notes and Queries*.


17 Prospero. George Richmond. Inscribed in pencil "Prospero".
The Henry L. Huntington Library, Art Gallery, and Botanical Garden, San Marino, California, possesses one of the world's great collections of works by William Blake and artists of his circle. The twenty-seven illustrations to three of Milton's poems and the beautifully colored copy of Milton form an unrivalled gathering of Blake's poetic and pictorial responses to that poet. The Huntington has many other treasures throughout the full range of Blake's endeavours as author and artist, including unique copies of *All Religions are One* and *The French Revolution*. This handlist covers all original works by Blake in all media, unique works closely related to him, and original works by eight artists—Flaxman, Fuseli, Romney, Stothard, Calvert, Linnell, Palmer, and Richmond—of Blake's circle. The list does not include criticism, catalogues, facsimiles, and other reference materials in the Huntington, or the considerable holdings of artists (Mortimer, Barry, Basire, etc.) who influenced Blake.

The most important Blakes in the Huntington were acquired in the first quarter of this century. Several of the illuminated books (*Milton, Songs of Innocence*), one of the two Huntington copies of *Poetical Sketches*, and some of the rarer commercial book illustrations (*Designs to a Series of Ballads, 1802*) came from the collection of Robert Hoe, auctioned in April 1911. In the same year, most of the *Paradise Lost* illustrations were acquired through the dealer Frank Sabin, who sold the *Nativity Ode and Comus* designs to Mr. Huntington in 1916. The acquisition of the Beverly Chew collection in December 1912 brought the complete copy of *Songs of Innocence and of Experience* to the Huntington. G. D. Smith, another dealer who worked closely with Mr. Huntington, acquired for him a copy of *For the Sexes: The Gates of Paradise* in 1914 (T. G. Arthur auction) and *Europe* in 1918 (Herschel V. Jones auction). The famous A. S. W. Rosenbach provided several works, including *The Book of Thel*. The Linnell auction of March 1918 offered the opportunity to acquire a number of unique works—The Hiding of Moses, *All Religions are One*, *The French Revolution*, sixteen letters, and the *Genesis Manuscript*. The beautifully color-printed *Song of Los* was added in 1915 from the Frederic Robert Halsey collection. The Huntington has continued to add materials since these important acquisitions, particularly volumes with Blake's commercial book illustrations, but it is unlikely that major works will be acquired in the near future.

The Blake materials are housed in two buildings at the Huntington. Drawings, paintings, and the color printed impression of *Albion Rose* are kept in the Art Gallery, formerly Mr. Huntington's residence. All writings and the remainder of the graphic works, plus *Rebecca*, are housed in the Library building. Most of the Library materials, and the books in the Art Gallery, have a "call number," given here as a sequence of numbers (or numbers and letters) within parentheses at the end of each entry. Materials listed here without call number or note on special location are housed in the Art Gallery. Dimensions in centimeters are given for all drawings, height followed by width. Entry numbers and other references are explained at the beginning of each section.

The Huntington collection is open to qualified scholars and graduate students. Inquiries should be addressed to Readers' Service, Huntington Library, San Marino, California 91108.

The Huntington staff, ever kind and efficient, has been most helpful in compiling this list. I wish particularly to thank James Thorpe, Robert Wark, Daniel Woodward, Carey Bliss, William Landon, and Mary Lou DeLapp.
The works listed in this section are described, with provenances and other pertinent information, in C. H. Collins Baker, *Catalogue of William Blake's Drawings and Paintings in the Huntington Library*, Enlarged and Revised by R. R. Wark (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1963). Nos. 1-8, 18, 19, and 20 (title-pages only) are reproduced therein.

1. *Heoate*. (Illus. 1) Color printed drawing, 1795. 41.6 x 56. ("Blake: Miscellaneous Prints" box in Library)

2. A page from Young's *Night Thoughts*. Watercolor on vellum, same design as *Night Thoughts* watercolors (British Museum), Night I, p. 6, reversed. c. 1796. 38.7 x 30.5.

3. *Lot and His Daughters*. (Illus. 2) Tempera on canvas, c. 1800. 26 x 37.8.


7. Illustrations to Milton's *Paradise Lost*. (Illus. 4) Twelve watercolors of the small set (approx. 25.4 x 21) executed for Rev. Joseph Thomas in 1807, and one watercolor ("Satan Comes to the Gates of Hell," 49.5 x 40.2) executed for Thomas Butts, 1808.


9. *Visionary Head of Canute*. (Illus. 5) Pencil, c. 1820. 25.4 x 19.4.

10. *Visionary Head of Caractacus*. Counterproof of the pencil drawing in collection of Sir Geoffrey Keynes, c. 1820. 29.4 x 20.3.

11. *Visionary Scene of Joseph and Mary in the Room They Were Seen in*. Pencil, c. 1820. 20 x 31.4.

12. *Visionary Head of Old Par When Young*. Pencil, 1820. 29.8 x 18.4.

13. *Visionary Head of Queen Eleanor*. Pencil, c. 1820. 19.7 x 40.8.
17. Visionary Heads of Uriah and Bathsheba. Pencil, c. 1820. 20.3 x 32.7.
18. The Hiding of Moses. Watercolor, engraved for Remember Me! in 1825 but possibly painted as early as 1800. 26.8 x 40.
19. Agnolo Brunellacchi and the Six-footed Serpent. Pencil drawing for Dante illustrations, pl. 4, c. 1825. 24.6 x 32.7.
20. Illustrated manuscript copy of Genesis. (Illus. 6-7) Eleven leaves, including two watercolor versions of a title-page. Leaves of text bear sketches, some touched with color. c. 1826. 37.8 x 27.3. (57447)

II. PRINTED WRITINGS


3. All Religions are One. Copy A. Lacks title-page. (57445)
6. America. Copy I. (54044)
   Idem. Pl. 3 only, uncolored, printed in green. ("Blake: Miscellaneous Prints" box)
18. The Book of Thel. (Illus. 8) Copy L. (57434)
32. A Descriptive Catalogue. Copy D. (557433)
33. Europe. Copy L. (57435)
36. Exhibition of Paintings in Fresco. Copy A. (78637)
45. For the Sexes: The Gates of Paradise. Copy F. (57439)
49. The French Revolution. Unique copy of page proofs. (57440)
51. The Ghost of Abel. Copy C. (55345)
118. Milton. (Illus. 9) Copy B. Unbound, loose in a case. (54041)
128. Poetical Sketches. Copy C, with MS corrections by Blake. (57432)
4. *Satan Calling His Legions from the Paradise Lost Illustrations.* Handlist I, 7.


Idem. Copy S, with MS corrections by Blake. (Dev. 8vo. 30)

137. *The Song of Los.* (Illus. 10) Copy E. (54043)

139. *Songs of Innocence.* Copy I. (54040)

139. *Songs of Innocence and of Experience.* (Illus. 11) Copy E. (54039)

Idem. "Experience" section, pls. 29-53, only. Copy N. (54038)

200. *There is No Natural Religion.* Pl. a2 only. (57445)


### III. BOOKS WITH BLAKE'S ANNOTATIONS

Entry numbers follow Bentley, *Blake Books*.

735. Lavater, John Caspar. *Aphorisms on Man.* 1788. (57431)


749. Watson, Richard. *An Apology for the Bible.* 1797. (110260)

See also II, 128.

### IV. LETTERS


1, 2. Willey Reveley to Blake, and Blake's reply. [18 Oct. 1791]. (HM 20020)

17. To William Hayley, 16 Sept. 1800. (HM 20063)

96. To Ozias Humphry, May 1809. Address only, written on II, 36, remainder of letter in Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. (78637)

126. To John Linnell, [March 1825]. (HM 20019)

127. To John Linnell, [7 June 1825]. (HM 20013)

128. To Mrs. Linnell, 11 Oct. 1825. (HM 20017)

129. To John Linnell, 10 Nov. 1825. (HM 20011)

130. To John Linnell, 1 Feb. 1826, but postmarked 31 Jan. (HM 20005)

131. To Mrs. Linnell, [?5 Feb. 1826]. (HM20016)

133. To John Linnell, 19 May 1826. (HM 20015)

135. To John Linnell, 5 July 1826. (HM 20007)

137. To John Linnell, 16 July 1826. (HM 20010)

138. To John Linnell, 29 July 1826. (HM 20008)

140. To John Linnell, 1 Aug. 1826. (HM 20006)

141. To John Linnell, 27 Jan. 1827. (HM 20009)

143. To John Linnell, [?Feb. 1827]. (HM 20018)

148. To John Linnell, 25 April 1827. (HM 20012)

149. To John Linnell, 3 July 1827. (HM 20014)

### V. COMMERCIAL BOOK ENGRAVINGS

Entry and plate numbers follow Bentley, *Blake Books*.

The Creation of the Natural Man

1. At the beginning God created the heavens and the earth.
2. And the earth was without form and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep; and the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.
3. And God said, Let there be light; and there was light.
4. And God saw the light, that it was good; and God divided the light from the darkness.
5. And God called the light Day, and the darkness he called Night. And the evening and the morning were the first day.
6. And God said, Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it divide the waters which were under the firmament from the waters which were above the firmament: and it was so.
7. And God made the firmament and divided the waters which were under the firmament from the waters which were above the firmament: and it was so.
8. And God called the firmament Heaven; and the evening and the morning were the second day.
9. And God said, Let the waters under the heaven be gathered together into one place, and let the dry land appear: and it was so.
10. And God called the dry land Earth; and the gathering together of waters he called Seas, and God saw that it was good.
11. And God said, Let the earth bring forth grass, and herb yielding seed, and the fruit tree yielding fruit after its kind, whose seed is in itself upon the earth: and it was so.
12. And the earth brought forth grass, and herb yielding seed, and the fruit tree yielding fruit after its kind, whose seed is in itself upon the earth: and God saw that it was good.
13. And the evening and the morning were the third day.
14. And God said, Let there be lights in the firmament of heaven to divide the day from the night, and let them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and for years:
15. And let them be for lights in the firmament of heaven to give light upon the earth: and it was so.
16. And God made two great lights; the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night: he made the stars also.
17. And God set them in the firmament of heaven to give light upon the earth,
18. And to rule over the day and over the night, and to divide the light from the darkness.
19. And the evening and the morning were the fourth day.

20. And God said let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life, and fowl that may fly above the earth in the firmament of heaven.

21. And God created great whales and every living creature that moveth which the waters brought forth abundantly after their kind and every winged fowl after his kind, and God saw that it was good.

22. And God blessed them saying, Be fruitful and multiply abundantly and fill the waters in the seas & let fowl multiply in the earth.

23. And the evening and the morning were the fifth day.

24. And God said, let the earth bring forth the living creature after his kind, cattle & creeping thing & beasts of the earth after his kind, and it was so.
IV.

The eternal foes to his poster lifted the northern bar.
But entered in to give the secrets of the land unknown.

She saw the treasures of the dead, & where the former looks of every heart on earth gather deep its restless breeze.
A hand of sorrow & of tears where once smile was seen.

She wander'd in the land of shadows that valleys dark historic.
Deeds & hero's maturing, waiting for beside a deep grave.
She stood in silence, listening to the voices of the ground.
To her eye grave plot she came, & gape she cast down.
And heard those voices of sorrow breathe'd from the hollow pit.

We cannot the Eye be closed to its own destruction,
Of the Leaving Eye to the passion of a smile.

Two are hasten stand with arrows lately drawn.
Where a thousand sighting men in ambush lie.
Or an Eye of gods & graces, showing truths & veiled gold.

Why a tongue captivated with hedges from every wind?
Why are Earl a shadowed terror to draw opposition in?

Or a bound shape bounding, terror trembling so always,
Why a tender ear, upon the youthful burning hear;
Why a little curtain of flesh on the bed of our desire.

The Virgin started from her seat, & with a shriek
She back unfortunately fell she came into the visuals of her.

The eternal foes to his poster lifted the northern bar.
But entered in to give the secrets of the land unknown.

She saw the treasures of the dead, & where the former looks of every heart on earth gather deep its restless breeze.
A hand of sorrow & of tears where once smile was seen.

She wander'd in the land of shadows that valleys dark historic.
Deeds & hero's maturing, waiting for beside a deep grave.
She stood in silence, listening to the voices of the ground.
To her eye grave plot she came, & gape she cast down.
And heard those voices of sorrow breathe'd from the hollow pit.

We cannot the Eye be closed to its own destruction,
Of the Leaving Eye to the passion of a smile.

Two are hasten stand with arrows lately drawn.
Where a thousand sighting men in ambush lie.
Or an Eye of gods & graces, showing truths & veiled gold.

Why a tongue captivated with hedges from every wind?
Why are Earl a shadowed terror to draw opposition in?

Or a bound shape bounding, terror trembling so always,
Why a tender ear, upon the youthful burning hear;
Why a little curtain of flesh on the bed of our desire.

The Virgin started from her seat, & with a shriek
She back unfortunately fell she came into the visuals of her.
437. Boydell's Graphic Illustrations of ... Shakespeare, [1803?]. (27435)

439A. Bryant, Jacob. A New System, or, an Analysis of Ancient Mythology, 1774-76. 3 vols. (338987)

440. Bürger, Gottfried Augustus. Leonora, 1796. Contemporary paper wrappers, with Blake's pls. 2-3 repeated in the German text. (421592)

443. Chaucer, Geoffrey. The Prologue and Characters of Chaucer's Pilgrims, 1812. Extra-illustrated Halsey copy, text ruled in red. None of the extra materials relate to Blake. (57453)

Idem. Hoe copy. (108269)

447. Cumberland, George. Thoughts on Outline, 1796. (312010)

448A. Dante Alighieri. Blake's Illustrations of Dante, [1838]. Bound, plates spotted. (57438)

448B. Idem, [1892?]. Bound. (57438)

Idem. Loose in portfolio, with the original cover label. (283403)


Drawing for pl. 4. See I, 19.


450E. Darwin. The Poetical Works, 1806. 3 vols. (421361)

456A. Flaxman, John. Compositions from ... Hesiod, 1817. (220796)

Pen and pencil drawings by Flaxman related to pls. 15, "Brazen Age," 15.1 x 18.7; 16, "The Evil Race," 8.3 x 14.9." (Art Gallery).

457A. Flaxman. The Iliad of Homer, 1805. (220798)

Pen and pencil drawings by Flaxman related to pls. 2, "Minerva Repressing the Fury of Achilles," three on a sheet 26.7 x 21 (Illus. 18), one on a sheet 25.4 x 20.7, one partly erased on a sheet 22 x 20.6, and a finished wash drawing 22.9 x 27; 5, "Thetis Entreatizing Jupiter to Honor Achilles," on sheet 25.7 x 20.3.

458. Flaxman. Letter to the Committee for Raising the Naval Pillar, 1799. Original wrappers. (313606)

459. Fuseli, John Henry. Lectures on Painting, 1801. (292894)
460A. Gay, John. *Fables*, 1793. 2 vols. (123698)

460B. *Idem*, 1793 [i.e., 1811]. Original boards, uncut. (123700)


468B. *Idem*, second edition, 1803-04. 3 vols. (292929)


470. *Idem*. (ND497. R7H3)


474. Hoare, Prince. *Inquiry into ... the Arts ... in England*, 1806. Plate stained. (33267)


475F. *Idem*, [1835?]. (244216) See also VI, 32.

475I. "The Beggar's Opera" by Hogarth and Blake, a Portfolio Compiled by Wilmarth S. Lewis & Philip Hofer, 1965. (380766)


480A. Lavater, John Caspar. *Aphorisms on Man*, 1788. First state of the plate. Blake's copy, with his annotations. (57431)


481C. *Idem*, 1810. (439103)

482. Malkin, Benjamin Heath. Father's Memories of His Child, 1806. (313124)

Idem. Blake's plate only. (Library print box 450/1)


Nicholson, William. Introduction to Natural Philosophy. 1782. 2 vols. (436240)


486C. The Novelist's Magazine, vol IX, 1793 engraved title-page and printed title-pages of 1785 (Sentimental Journey), 1792 (Gulliver's Travels), 1792 (David Simple), 1787 (Sir Launcelot Greaves), 1792 (Peruvian Princess), 1788 (Jonathan Wild). Second state of the plates, plate numbers scratched out. (148622)

Idem. Pl. 1 only, first state, bound in extra-illustrated copy of Mrs. Bray, Life of Thomas Stothard, 1851, vol. 1, facing p. 10 (113091). Pl. 1 only, trimmed to central design, bound in volume of "Stothard Book Plates" (128970). Pl. 2 only, first state, bound in extra-illustrated copy of Bray, Life of Stothard, vol. 1, facing p. 86 (109569).

Second state of the plates, plate numbers scratched out. (148622)

*Idem.* Pl. 3 only, first state, bound in extra-illustrated copy of Bray, *Life of Stothard*, vol. II, facing p. 137. (109569)

488. Olivier, [J.]. *Fencing Familiarized*, 1780. (376070)


490. *Remember Me!* Blake's plate only, bound in extra-illustrated *Kitto Bible*, vol. LX, p. 10822 (49000). For watercolor of Blake's design, see 1, 18.


*Idem.* Pls. 1, 3, 4 only bound in collection of Stothard designs, vol. 3, p. 42. (282164)

492A. Salzmann, C. G. *Elements of Morality*, 1791. 3 vols. (108262)


494B. *Idem*, second edition, 1786. (440036)

*Idem.* Pls. 1, 4 only bound in collection of Stothard designs, vol. 5, p. 22. (282164)


498B. *The Plays of William Shakespeare*, 1805. 10 vols. Extra-illustrated, including a proof before inscriptions except for signatures of pl. 2. (140092)


499A. Stedman, J. G. *Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition*, 1796. 2 vols., plates hand colored. (23654)

*Idem.* (23614)


Idem. Blake's woodblocks only, late impressions printed by the Linnell family, mounted in an album. (57436)

Idem. Blake's woodblocks, pl. 6-13, 16, 17, 24 only, late impressions printed by the Linnell family, mounted in an album. (Art Gallery)

Idem. Pl. 7 only, loose in the Carfax Portfolio of Calvert's works. (249852, Art Gallery)


514A. Wollstonecraft, Mary. Original Stories from Real Life, 1791. Pls. 1-2 in second state, 3-6 in first state. (108272)

514B. Idem, 1796. Pls. 1-2 in first state, 3-6 in second state. (124810)

515. Young, Edward. The Complaint, ... or, Night Thoughts, 1797. Hand colored, copy I in Bentley, Blake Books, p. 644. (132916)

Idem. Uncut. (57451)

Idem. Lacking "Explanation" leaf, pp. 19-20, 94-95. Loose in portfolio. (431729)

For a related drawing on vellum, see I, 2.

An engraving by Blake after Stothard (proof signed thus in the British Museum) showing a woman embracing the bust of a man, a man entering on the left, trimmed close all around. Bound in a collection of Stothard designs, vol. II, pl. 28 (282164). Very likely intended for a book illustration, but not known to have been published.

VI. SEPARATE PLATES


17. Chaucer's Canterbury Pilgrims. Third state, verses faint and partly erased. (Framed, in Library Exhibition Hall)

32. Beggar's Opera, Act III, after Hogarth. Two impressions, one first (etched) state and one final state, in a miscellaneous, uncatalogued collection of unbound Hogarth engravings in the Library. See also V, 475C, F, I.

34. Satan, or, Head of a Man Tormented in Fire, after Fuseli. ("Blake: Miscellaneous Prints" box in Library)


VII. PORTRAITS OF BLAKE


2. Watercolor by an unknown hand copied after Schiavonetti's engraving of the Phillips portrait. 34 x 26.6.

For Schiavonetti's engraving of the Phillips portrait, see V, 435A, B, E.
VIII. MISCELLANEOUS UNIQUE MATERIALS RELATING TO BLAKE

A. DRAWINGS

1. The Sketchbook of Robert Blake. Twenty-seven sheets of drawings in pencil and chalk. Front cover inscribed "Robert Blake's 1777 Book." William Blake may have helped his brother with some of the sketches. Sheets 32.2 x 20.5.

2. A Figure from Michelangelo's Last Judgment. (Illus. 16) Oil on paper, inscribed "W Blake 1776." 52.1 x 31.9.

3. A group of seven drawings inscribed with Blake's name but not his work. Includes Acis and Galatea by Henry Pierce Bone, two Italian drawings, Amazonian Conflict by an unknown hand, and a Design for "America" (probably a modern forgery). See also IX, B, i, 4.

4. A bound sketchbook of ten sheets, 17.3 x 13.3, with pencil drawings by an unknown hand copying Blake's designs in the Four Zoas manuscript.

B. LETTERS


2. John Linnell to Mrs. Alexander Gilchrist, 2 March 1880. Calls story that Blake and his wife acted out Adam and Eve in their garden an "[unmitigated falsehood del] invention." (HM 26325)

3. F. G. Bain to John S. Arthur, two letters concerning possible sale of the Night Thoughts watercolors, 7 June 1898, and 18 Aug. 1898. (HM 31196)

4. Francis White Emerson to W. Graham Robertson, 31 May 1937. About a visit from Geoffrey and Margaret Keynes and various Blake gossip. (NR 168)

5. Ruthven Todd to W. Graham Robertson, 14 Jan.
1945. About Blake collecting and plans for a book on his art. (WR 644)

6. George Goyder to W. Graham Robertson, 27 April 1945. About a visit to see Robertson's Blake collection. (WR 200)

C. MANUSCRIPTS


2. A. C. Swinburne. Three leaves of the manuscript of his William Blake, A Critical Essay, 1868. (HM 20609)

3. Swinburne. One leaf of the manuscript of William Blake. (HM 2778)


IX. BLAKE'S CIRCLE

Some of the works listed here are described and reproduced in William Blake and His Circle, Two Exhibitions (Huntington Library, Nov. 1965-Feb. 1966) and in [Larry Gleeson], The Followers of William Blake, An Exhibition (Huntington Library, Nov. 1972-Jan. 1973).

FLAXMAN

1. Drawings


21 Edward Calvert. The Sheep of His Pasture. Engraving, 3.9 x 7.6 cm., from the "Carfax Portfolio." Handlist IX, E, ii, 1.

Except for the two recent acquisitions listed here, all Flaxman drawings are described (and all but a few minor verso sketches reproduced) in Robert R. Mark, Drawings by John Flaxman in the Huntington Collection (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1970).

For drawings related to designs engraved by Blake, see V, 466A and 467A.


ii. Engravings after Flaxman's Designs


2. The Odyssey of Homer Engraved from the Compositions of John Flaxman, 1805. (220799)

3. Homer. The Iliad and Odyssey, translated by William Sotheby, 1834. 4 vols., with the reduced
plates by H. Moses. (PA4025. AIS6. 1834)

4. Compositions from the Tragedies of Aeschylus Designed by John Flaxman, 1795. (144147)

5. Idem, 1831, with new title-page and four new designs. (436447)

6. Compositions by John Flaxman ... from the Divine Poem of Dante Alighieri, 1807. (220797)

7. La divina commedia di Dante Alighieri, 1815-17, interleaved with the plates from La Divina Commedia di Dante Alighieri ... Composto da Giovanni Flaxman, 1802. (436130)

8. Compositions from ... Hesiod, Engraved by Mad? Soyer, [1879]. (NC1115. F55)


10. Anatomical Studies, engraved by Henry Landseer, 1833. (377058)

iii. Letters

1. To William Sotheby, 15 May 1814. (SY 54)

2. To [John Hayter?], 13 Dec. 1825. (HM 23081)

For a letter to Flaxman, see IX, B, iu, 1.

**FUSELI**

i. Drawings

1. Aimon. Pencil and wash, 1800. 44.1 x 30.5.


3. Death of Cardinal Beaufort. Pencil and brown wash over red pencil, c. 1772. 29.2 x 32.1.

4. Hercules with the Cretan Bull. (Illus. 18) Ink, perhaps by Fuseli or a follower, inscribed "W. Blake 17-" 30.2 x 40.

5. Siegfried Overcoming Alberich. 9 Pen and wash, 1805. 20.3 x 17.1.

6. Una and the Lion. Pencil heightened with white, 30.5 x 42.5.


ii. Book Illustrations

1. Bell's British Theatre, 1791-97. Plates after Fuseli in the volumes containing Jane Shore, Every Man in His Humour, The Revenge, Tancred and Sigismondo, Oedipus. (112533)


3. [Boothby, Sir Brooke]. Sorrows Sacred to the Memory of Penelope, 1796. (449263)


7. [Fuseli]. *Remarks on the Writings and Conduct of J. J. Rousseau*, 1767. (355724)


For Fuseli's book illustrations engraved by Blake, see V, 416, 457, 450A, 480A, 481A, 497A, 498B.

iii. Separate Plates after Fuseli's Designs


iv. Letters

1. To John Flaxman, 28 Nov. 1803. (HM 6651)

**ROMNEY**

Oil portraits are described in [Maurice Block], *The Huntington Art Collection: A Handbook*, revised by Robert R. Mark (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1961). Drawings only listed here.

1. *Kissing the Baby*. Rough sketch of standing figure on verso. Pencil, 17.8 x 11.4.

2. *Mother and Child*. Pencil, 17.8 x 11.4.


5. *Reading*. Pencil, 15.3 x 9.5.

6. *Susan When the Seas Were Roaring*. Seated woman and child on verso. Wash, 47 x 27.3.

7. *A Sketchbook* of pencil figure studies. 41 pages, 14.6 x 24.2.

8. *A Sketchbook* with 97 pencil, pen, and wash drawings on 75 pages, plus two loose drawings inserted. (Illus. 19) 23.2 x 18.8.
STOTHARD

i. Drawings.

Besides the works in the Art Gallery listed here, many drawings are bound in four extra-illustrated copies of Mrs. Bray, Life of Thomas Stothard, 1851 (108754, 109569, 113091, 152250) and in one bound collection of Stothard materials (133023).


2. Mrs. Billington in "Artaxerxes." Watercolor, 12.8 x 8.5.

3. Miss Brown in "The Romp." Watercolor, 12.9 x 8.3.

4. Miss Brunt as Monimia in "The Orphan." Watercolor, 12.7 x 8.4.

5. Thirteen illustrations for Clarissa Harlowe in The Novelist's Magazine. Wash, each approx. 11.6 x 7.4.

6. Classical Figures with a Dragon. Pencil and ink, 18.3 x 23.2.

7. Crowning Scene. Wash, 20.6 x 27.2.


9. Miss Farren and Mr. Kemble as Edgar and Ermelina. Watercolor, 13.2 x 8.6.

10. Group of Seven Female Figures. Wash, 19.7 x 14.6.

11. A Sheet of Figure Studies. Wash, 14.4 x 9.9

12. Miss Jordan as Priscilla Tomboy in "The Romp." Watercolor, 12.9 x 8.5.


14. Tomb Design with kneeling figure of Hope. Wash, 13.4 x 10.2.
15. **Tomb Design** with portrait medallion. Wash, 13.6 x 10.7.

16. **Silver Design**. Wash, 7.2 x 20.2.

17. **Mrs. Yates.** Watercolor, 13 x 8.6.

18. An Album of 20 drawings, mostly pen and wash. 28 x 40.

**ii. Book Illustrations**

Besides books with engravings after Stothard, too numerous for listing here, many plates are included in the extra-illustrated volumes noted above under "Drawings," and in two other groups of bound albums (128970, 282164). For books with engravings by Blake after Stothard, see V, 417A-D, 485C, 496C, 487A, 491, 494A, 494B, 513.

---

**CALVERT**

**i. Drawings and Paintings**

1. **A Bit of Hampstead.** Oil, 8 x 15.6.

2. **Cultured Life: Poetry.** Oil, 24.1 x 37.1.

3. **Endymion and Selene.** Oil, 18.4 x 13.3.

4. **The Greek Temple.** Oil, 17 x 26.7.

5. **Sleeping Shepherdess.** Oil, 17.8 x 24.8.

6. **Venus Attended.** Pencil, 16.3 x 20.5.

**ii. Graphic Works**

1. **The Early Engravings of Edward Calvert** (the "Carfax Portfolio"), 1904. (Illus. 21) Contains the final states of all of Calvert's wood engravings, copperplate engravings, and lithographs, plus an additional impression of *The Return Home*. (249852, in Art Gallery).


---

**LINNELL**

**i. Drawings and Paintings**

1. **Bayswater.** Watercolor, inscribed 1811. 10.7 x 14.6.

2. **Cook's Farm, Hampstead.** Watercolor, 11.4 x 18.5.

3. **Country Lane.** Watercolor, 40 x 49.8.

4. **Creek Bed.** Pencil, chalk, and wash, 46.4 x 60.3.

5. **Figures on a Lawn.** Crayon and chalk, 35.1 x 48.7.

6. **Fishing Boats.** Pencil, 22.9 x 29.7.

7. **The Frogs' March to Finchley.** Watercolor, pencil sketch of a frog on verso. 8.4 x 11.8.

8. **Jacob's Well.** Oil, inscribed 1828. 25.4 x 20.

9. **In Kensington Gardens.** Watercolor, etched in 1818. 10.5 x 17.8.

10. **Early Landscape.** Watercolor, inscribed 1814. 21 x 29.2.

11. **Landscape with Clouds.** Watercolor, 14.2 x 19.4.

12. **My Mother.** Pen, inscribed 1811. 14.9 x 8.6.

13. **George Fritchard.** Pencil and Ink, inscribed 1827. 19.1 x 12.3.

14. **Self-Portrait.** Oil, unfinished. 17.1 x 13.3.

15. **Valley Landscape.** Oil, early 1830s. 35.6 x 51.8.

16. **John Varley.** (Illus. 22) Oil, 1830s. 17.1 x 13.3.

**ii. Engravings**


See also V, 501; VI, 44.
iii. Letters

See VIII, B, 2. For letters to Linnell, see IV, 126, 127, 129, 130, 133-149.

PALMER

i. Drawings and Paintings

1. Mt. Cenis and Ferry. Watercolor, 26.7 x 37.5.

2. Harlech. Watercolor, with notations and pencil sketches on a sheet 19 x 27.6.

3. The Lonely Tower. (Illus. 23) Watercolor and gouache, c. 1868. 16.8 x 23.5.


4. Night Scene. Watercolor, 19.7 x 42.5.

5. Noon, Resting Time. Watercolor, 1850s. 19.7 x 42.5.


7. Streatham, attributed to Palmer. Wash, 8.7 x 15.4.

8. Trees. Watercolor on paper watermarked 1842. 24.8 x 34.9.


ii. Etchings

Entry numbers and state designations follow Raymond Lister, Samuel Palmer and His Etchings (London: Faber and Faber, 1969).


2. The Skylark, seventh state.
George Richmond. *The Shepherd.* 15.2 x 11 cm.
Handlist IX, ii, 1.
the drawings of the opening of the tomb of Edward I in 1774, the drawings for Gough's Sepulchral Monuments of 1775, and the various history of Britain compositions of 1779-80. Blake's early drawings of nudes—one of a studio model (1779) and another showing the back and legs of a heavily muscled man (repro. Keynes, Drawings, 1927, pl. 3; Blunt, Art of Blake, fig. 3b)—are careful compositions in pencil with hatching patterns which reveal Blake's training as an engraver and his study of Renaissance prints. This oil painting shows none of these theoretical to them. The large signature on the painting is suspiciously similar to that on several works not by Blake, including those noted in VIII, A, 3. The anatomical similarities between the figure in this painting and Blake's engraving of 1773 he later entitled "Joseph of Arimathea Among the Rocks of Albion" is explained by the fact that both are copies after Michelangelo.

3. Carriage Upset on the Road to Venice. Ink heightened with white, 28.4 x 38.9.


5. Figure Blowing a Horn. Academy study of a hand on verso. Chalk, 33.4 x 23.5.

6. Portrait of a Gentleman. Watercolor, 42 x 34.7.

7. Portrait of a Lady. 29 x 22.9.

8. The Lady from Comus. Watercolor, 56.5 x 31.

9. Landscape. Watercolor, 10.2 x 17.1.


13. The Risen Christ. Ink, 18.2 x 11.


15. Charles Wordsworth. Pencil, squared. 27.6 x 21.2.

ii. Engravings

1. The Shepherd, completed state. (Illus. 26)

2. Subject from "Macbeth" or The Robber or The Fatal Bell-Man, completed state.

iii. Letters

1. To [Sir Henry Wentworth], 28 Jan. 1874. (HM 34998)

2. To Miss Balfour, 1 July 1879. (HM 35054)

The drawing for Vetusta Monumenta of 1775, and the various history of Britain compositions of 1779-80. Blake's early drawings of nudes—one of a studio model (1779) and another showing the back and legs of a heavily muscled man (repro. Keynes, Drawings, 1927, pl. 3; Blunt, Art of Blake, fig. 3b)—are careful compositions in pencil with hatching patterns which reveal Blake's training as an engraver and his study of Renaissance prints. This oil painting shows none of these theoretical to them. The large signature on the painting is suspiciously similar to that on several works not by Blake, including those noted in VIII, A, 3. The anatomical similarities between the figure in this painting and Blake's engraving of 1773 he later entitled "Joseph of Arimathea Among the Rocks of Albion" is explained by the fact that both are copies after Michelangelo.

The drawing for Vetusta Monumenta of 1775, and the various history of Britain compositions of 1779-80. Blake's early drawings of nudes—one of a studio model (1779) and another showing the back and legs of a heavily muscled man (repro. Keynes, Drawings, 1927, pl. 3; Blunt, Art of Blake, fig. 3b)—are careful compositions in pencil with hatching patterns which reveal Blake's training as an engraver and his study of Renaissance prints. This oil painting shows none of these theoretical to them. The large signature on the painting is suspiciously similar to that on several works not by Blake, including those noted in VIII, A, 3. The anatomical similarities between the figure in this painting and Blake's engraving of 1773 he later entitled "Joseph of Arimathea Among the Rocks of Albion" is explained by the fact that both are copies after Michelangelo.

This brief letter is not recorded in Blake Records or in Anna Gilchrist, Her Life and Writings, ed. H. H. Gilchrist (London: Unwin, 1887), but Limnell makes the same observation in his MS autobiography (Blake Records, p. 267, n.1).
HANDLISTS OF
FOUR BLAKE COLLECTIONS

BY MORTON D. PALEY
Assisted by Michael Davies

Work on these handlists was begun in 1972 with the cooperation of the institutions involved. In the course of preparing final copy, I have examined every Blake original in all four collections. I have not attempted to provide full catalogue information for each entry, as that is not the function of a handlist: the purpose of this material is to aid users and prospective users of the four collections. For the same reason, I have not thought it necessary to impose a strict uniformity of presentation, as the four museums vary somewhat in their modes of classifying material. However, in instances where an item has been catalogued by a museum under a title different from that normally used, I have given one or the other title in brackets.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge the assistance I have received from members of the curatorial staffs of the museums involved, namely Miss Eunice Williams and Mrs. Margaret P. Morgan of the Fogg Museum; Dr. John J. McKendry, Mrs. Dwight E. Lee, and Miss Carolyn Joynes of the Metropolitan Museum of Art; Dr. C. Michael Kauffmann of the Victoria and Albert Museum; and Mrs. Karin Peltz of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. I am also grateful to Mrs. Foster Foreman and to Miss Betsy Bowden for research assistance; and to Miss Deirdre Toomey, Dr. David Bindman, and Professor Robert N. Essick for their valuable advice.

M. D. P.

Metropolitan Museum of Art

I. COLOR PRINTS
God Judging Adam [Elijah in the Fiery Chariot] (Genesis 3:17-19)
Pity

II. DRAWINGS & WATERCOLORS
The Angel of the Divine Presence 06.1322.2
Bringing Eve to Adam [She Shall Be Called Woman] (Genesis)
The Flight into Egypt (Matthew 2:14) 06.1322.1
Angel of the Revelation (Revelation 10:5) 14.81.1
The Wise and Foolish Virgins (Matthew 25:1-9) 14.81.2

III. PAINTING
(TEMPERA ON COPPER)

The Angel Gabriel appearing to Zacharias
(Luke 1:8-13)

IV. ENGRAVINGS

B105-126 Illustrations to the Book of Job
(1826), as below:

B105 Title-page
B106 Thus did Job continually (i:5)
B107 When the Almighty was yet with me,
When my Children were about me (xxix:5)
B108 Thy Sons & thy Daughters were eating
& drinking Wine in their eldest
Brother's house . . . (i:18) [or, The
Fire of God is Fallen from Heaven]
B109 And I only am escaped alone to tell
thee (i:16)
B110 Then went Satan forth from the
presence of the Lord (ii:7)
B111 And smote Job with sore Boils from
the sole of his foot to the crown of
his head (ii:7)
B112 And when they lifted up their eyes
afar off & knew him not, they lifted
up their voice & wept . . . (ii:12)
[or, What! Shall we receiv[e] Good at
the hand of God & shall we not also
reccive evil (ii:10)]
B113 Let the Day perish wherein I was Born
(iii:3)
B114 Then a Spirit passed before my face
the hair of my flesh stood up (iv:15)
B115 The Just Upright Man is laughed to
scorn (xii:4)
B116 With Dreams upon my bed thou scarest
me & affrightest me with Visions
(vii:14)
B117 I am Young & ye are very Old where-
fore I was afraid (xxxii:6)
B118 Then the Lord answered Job out of the
Whirlwind (xxxviii:1)
B119 When the morning Stars sang together,
& all the Sons of God shouted for joy
(xxxviii:7)
B119 Behold now Behemoth which I made with
thee (x:19)

B121 Thou hast fulfilled the Judgment of
the Wicked (xxxvi:17)
B122 I have heard thee with the hearing of
the Ear but now my Eye seeth thee
(xlii:5)
B123 And my Servant Job shall pray for you
(xlii:8)
B124 Every one also gave him a piece of
Money (xlii:11)
B125 There were not found Women fair as
the Daughters of Job in all the land
& their father gave them inheritance
among their Bretheren (xlii:12)
B126 So the Lord blessed the latter end of
Job more than the beginning (xlii:12)

B127-131, 133 Illustrations to Dante's Divine
Comedy, as below:

B127 The Whirlwind of Lovers
B128 The Malebranche tormenting Ciampolo
B129 Two of the Malebranche quarrelling
B130 Agnello and Cianfa merging into a
single body
B131 Bouso Donati attacked by the Serpent
B133 Dante striking Bocca degli Abbati's
head with his foot
B135 George Cumberland's Message Card
(state 2)

B138-140, 142-146, 148-153 Illustrations [wood engravings] to
Thornton's Virgil's Eclogues, with
Imitations by Ambrose Phillips,
Pope, and Others (3rd ed., 1821),
as below:

B138 (Colinet) Nor lark would sing, nor
linnet, in my state (state 2, two
impressions)
B139 (Thenot) Yet though with years my
body downward tend . . . (state 2)
B140 (Colinet) Thine ewes will wander . . .
(state 2)
B142 (Thenot) Sure thou in hapless hour of
time was born . . . (state 2, two
impressions)
B143 (Thenot) Nor fox, nor wolf, nor rot
among our sheep . . . (state 2)
B144 (Colinet) Unhappy hour! when fresh
in youthful bud I left . . . (state 2, two
impressions)

B145 (Colinet) A fond desire strange lands and swains to know (state 2, two impressions)
B146 (Thenot) A rolling stone is ever bare of moss
B148 (Colinet) Untoward lads, the wanton imps of spite . . .
B149 (Thenot) For him our yearly wakes and feasts we hold (two impressions)
B150 (Thenot) This night they care with me forget (two impressions)
B151 (Thenot) New milk and clouted cream, mild cheese and curd . . .
B152 (Thenot) With songs the jovial hinds return from plow (two impressions)
B153 (Thenot) And unyok'd heifers, loitering homeward, low
B385 Frontispiece of Jerusalem (Illus. 1)

Robert Blair, The Grave [Schiavonetti after Blake] (restrikes on laid India paper with 1813 imprint), as below:

R40 Title-page
R40i Christ descending into the Grave
R40ii The meeting of a Family in Heaven
R40iv The Counsellor, King, Warrior, Mother & Child in the Tomb
R40v Death of the Strong Wicked Man
R40vi The Soul hovering over the Body reluctantly parting with Life
R40vii The descent of Man into the Vale of Death
R40viii The Day of Judgment
R40ix The Soul exploring the recesses of the Grave
R40x The Death of The Good Old Man
R40xi Death's Door

The Reunion of the Soul & the Body

Clarence's Dream [after Stothard], from William Enfield, The Speaker (1774 [plates dated 1780]), Book VII, Chapter 22 (Illus. 2)

When my Hero in Court Appears [after Hogarth], from The Beggar's Opera (1790), Act III (Illus. 3)

The Death of Lucretia [after Fuseli], in Allen's A New and Improved Roman History (2nd ed., 1798)

Richard Gough, Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain, Vol. I, Part I (1786) and Vol. I, Part II (1796) [some plates designed and probably executed by Blake], in Metropolitan Museum of Art Library
V. ILLUMINATED BOOKS

B180-233 Songs of Innocence and of Experience (1794), as below:

B180 General title, Songs of Innocence and of Experience Shewing the Two Contrary States of the Human Soul
B181 Frontispiece to Songs of Innocence
B182 Title-page, with sub-title Songs of Innocence
B183 Introduction
B184 The Shepherd
B185 The Ecchoing Green
B186 The Ecchoing Green, cont'd
B187 The Lamb
B188 The Little Black Boy
B189 The Little Black Boy, cont'd
B190 The Blossom
B191 The Chimney Sweeper
B192 The Little Boy Lost
B193 The Little Boy Found
B194 Laughing Song
B195 A Cradle Song
B196 A Cradle Song, cont'd
B197 The Divine Image
B198 Holy Thursday
B199 Night
B200 Night, cont'd
B201 Spring
B202 Spring, cont'd
B203 Nurse's Song
B204 Infant Joy
B205 A Dream
B206 On Another's Sorrow
B207 Frontispiece to Songs of Experience
B208 Title-page, with sub-title Songs of Experience

The Death of Lucretia [after Fuseli], in Allen's A New and Improved Roman History (2nd ed., 1798). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, by exchange, 1940.

B209 Introduction
B210 Earth's Answer
B211 The Clod and the Pebble
B212 Holy Thursday
B213 The Little Girl Lost
B214 The Little Girl Lost, cont'd, and The Little Girl Found
B215 The Little Girl Found, cont'd
B216 The Chimney Sweeper
B217 Nurse's Song
B218 The Sick Rose
B219 The Fly
B220 The Angel
B221 The Tyger
B222 My Pretty Rose Tree; Ah! Sunflower; The Lilly
B223 The Garden of Love
B224 The Little Vagabond
B225 London
B226 The Human Abstract
B227 Infant Sorrow
B228 The Poison Tree
B229 A Little Boy Lost
B230 A Little Girl Lost
B231 To Tirzah
B232 The Schoolboy
B233 The Voice of the Ancient Bard

VI. FACSIMILES

B18-36 For Children. The Gates of Paradise (Muir facsimile, 1888, copy 28)
B154-169 There is No Natural Religion (Muir facsimile, 1886, copy 47)
B237-242 Book of Thel (Muir facsimile, 1920, copy 29)
B243-255 Marriage of Heaven and Hell (Muir facsimile, 1885, copy 42)
B256-266 The Visions of the Daughters of Albion (Muir facsimile, 1884, copy 8)
B267-285 America (Muir facsimile, 1887, copy 44)
B285-302 Europe (Muir facsimile, 1887, copy 49)
B303-330 The First Book of Urizen (Muir facsimile, 1888, copy 16)
B331-338 The Song of Los (Muir facsimile, 1890, copy 16)
B350-384 Milton (Muir facsimile, 1886, copy 39)

B385-472 Jerusalem (Trianon Press facsimile, 1950)
B347-348 Hayley, Little Tom the Sailor (Muir facsimile, 1925)
R15 The Ancient of Days (Muir facsimile)

Boston Museum of Fine Arts

I. ENGRAVINGS

R10c A Scene in the Last Judgment. 23.452
   Satans' [sic] holy Trinity. The Accuser, The Judge & the Executioner
R24 Chaucer's Canterbury Pilgrims 28.822
R24 Chaucer's Canterbury Pilgrims 29.902
R33 Illustrations of the Book of Job, proof set (i-xxii), as below:
R33i Title-page
R33ii Thus did Job continually (i:5)
R33iii When the Almighty was yet with me, When my Children were about me (xxix:5)
R33iv Thy Sons & thy Daughters were eating & drinking Wine in their eldest Brother's house . . . (i:18) [or, The Fire of God is Fallen from Heaven]
R33v And I only am escaped alone to tell thee (i:16)
R33vi Then went Satan forth from the presence of the Lord (ii:7)
R33vii And smote Job with sore Boils from the sole of his foot to the crown of his head (ii:7)
R33viii And when they lifted up their eyes afar off & knew him not, they lifted up their voice & wept. . . (ii:12) [or, What! Shall we receieve Good at the hand of God & shall we not also receieve evil (ii:10)]
R33ix Let the Day perish wherein I was Born (iii:3)
R33x Then a Spirit passed before my face the hair of my flesh stood up (iv:15)
R33xi The Just Upright Man is laughed to scorn (xii:4)
R33xii With Dreams upon my bed thou scarest me & affrightest me with Visions (vii:14)
I am Young & ye are very Old wherefore I was afraid (xxxii:6)

Then the Lord answered Job out of the Whirlwind (xxxviii:1)

When the morning Stars sang together, & all the Sons of God shouted for joy (xxxviii:7)

Behold now Behemoth which I made with thee (xl:19)

Thou hast fulfilled the Judgment of the Wicked (xxxvi:17)

I have heard thee with the hearing of the Ear but now my Eye seeth thee (xli:5)

And my Servant Job shall pray for you (lxi:8)

Every one also gave him a piece of Money (lxi:11)

There were not found Women fair as the Daughters of Job in all the land & their father gave them inheritance among their Brethren (lxii:15)

So the Lord blessed the latter end of Job more than the beginning (lxiii:12)

Illustrations to Dante's *Divine Comedy*, as below:

*The Whirlwind of Lovers* 27.823

*The Malebranche tormenting Ciampolo* 27.824

*Two of the Malebranche quarrelling* 27.825

*Agnello and Cianfa merging into a single body* 27.826

*Buoso Donati attacked by the Serpent* 27.827

*Buoso Donati attacked by the Serpent* 23.451

*The Circle of the Falsifiers* 27.828

--*Griffolino and Capocchio*

*Dante striking Bocca degli Abbati's head with his foot* 27.829

Illustrations to Dante's *Divine Comedy* [restrike]

*Christ with a Bow, Trampling Upon Satan* [Thomas Butts, Jr., after Blake; 20th century restrike]

*George Cumberland's Message Card* 25.615

*George Cumberland's Message Card* 30.821

*Death of the Strong Wicked Man* 23.456

*The Death of The Good Old Man* 23.457


*John Scott, Poetical Works* (1782), as below:

*Damon at Delia's Tomb* [after 10.309 Stothard] (Eclogue IV)

*Frontispiece to the Elegies* 10.307 [after Stothard]

*Frontispiece to "The Mexican Prophecy"* [after Stothard]

*Tailpiece to the last poem* 10.311 [after Stothard]

*Scott, Poetical Works, Errata Sheet*

*The Temple of Mirth* [after 10.313 Stothard]

*Fertilization of Egypt* [after 57.20 Fuseli], from *The Botanic Garden* (1791)

*Tornado* [after Fuseli], from *The Botanic Garden* (3rd ed., 1795)

*The Death of Cleopatra* [after 10.312 Fuseli], from *Allen's A New and Improved Roman History* (2nd ed., 1798)

*Rev. John Caspar Lavater: of Zurich*

*Thomas Hayley, the Disciple of John Flaxman from a Medallion, from Hayley, An Essay on Sculpture* (1800)

*Mrs. Cowper, Mother of the Poet, from Hayley, The Life and Posthumous Writings of William Cowper* (1803-4)

*A View of St. Edmund's Chapel, from Hayley, The Life and Posthumous Writings of William Cowper* (1803-4)

*A Sketch of the Monument Erected in the Church of East...
II. BOOKS

R80  John Gay, Fables (1793), 2 vols.  64.326a-b.

R79  Erasmus Darwin, The Botanic Garden (1795), 2 vols.  64.327
     [Blake after Fuseli]

R17  Edward Young, The Complaint and the Consolation; or Night Thoughts (1797)

R17  Edward Young, The Complaint and the Consolation; or Night Thoughts (1797)

R17  Edward Young, The Complaint and the Consolation; or Night Thoughts (1797) (hand colored)

R19  William Hayley, Ballads Founded on Anecdotes Relating to Animals (1805)

R40xi  Robert Blair, The Grave (1808) [see R8xviii, R17xii, R21, R22]

R40xi  Robert Blair, The Grave (1808), gray boards (subscriber's copy) [see R8xviii, R17xii, R21, R22]

R30  Robert John Thornton, The Pastorals of Virgil, with a Course of English Reading (1821)

R33  Illustrations from the Book of Job (1826) [proofs on India, bound]  B.Reg. 2835

R33  Illustrations of the Book of Job  M33340

R33  Illustrations of the Book of Job  B.Reg. 1571

R33  Illustrations of the Book of Job, second state proof  10.448

R18  William Hayley, Little Tom the Sailor (London: William Blake Society, 1917)

II. DREWINGS & WATERCOLORS

Illustrations (9) to Paradise Lost, as below:

Christ Accepting the Office of Redeemer (3:227 ff.)  90.94
Satan Watching the Caresses of Adam and Eve (4:492 ff.)  90.96
Adam and Eve Sleeping (4:798 ff.)  90.102
The Archangel Raphael with Adam and Eve (5:443 ff.)  90.97
The Casting of the Rebel Angels into Hell (6:835 ff.)  90.98
The Creation of Eve (8:470 ff.)  90.95
The Temptation and Fall of Eve (9:791 ff.)  90.99
The Expulsion from Eden (12:632 ff.)  90.100
Michael Foretelling the Crucifixion to Adam (12:411 ff.)  90.101
Lucifer and the Pope in Hell (Isaiah 14:4-20)  90.103
Famine  90.104
Plague  90.105
Pestilence: Death of the First Born (Exodus 12:29)  90.106
Moses Erecting the Brazen Serpent (Numbers 21:9)  90.107
The Whirlwind: Ezekiel's Vision of the Cherubim and Eyed Wheels (Ezekiel 1:4-28)  90.108
Goliath Cursing David (1 Samuel 17:43-44)  90.109
The Woman Taken in Adultery (John 8:8-9)  90.110
Abraham Preparing to Sacrifice Isaac (Genesis 22:9-13)  90.111
Nebuchadnezzar (Daniel 4:33) [color-printed drawing]  27.354
Illustrations (7) to Shakespeare, as below:

Lear and Cordelia  90.112
Juliet  90.113
Cordelia and the Sleeping Lear  90.114
Macbeth and Lady Macbeth  90.115
Othello and Desdemona  90.116
Lear Grasping a Sword  90.117
Falstaff and Prince Hal  90.118
Illustrations (8) to *Comus*, as below:

- Comus with His Revellers (53-77 and stage directions) 90.119
- Comus Disguised as a Shepherd, Addresses the Lady in the Wood (92 ff.) 90.120
- The Brothers Plucking Grapes (290 ff.) 90.121
- The Brothers Meet the Attendant Spirit in the Wood (489 ff.) 90.122
- The Magic Banquet, with the Lady Spell-Bound (658-64 and stage directions, 810 ff.) 90.123
- The Brothers Driving out Comus (813 ff. and stage directions) 90.124
- Sabrina Disenchanting the Lady (907-20) 90.125
- The Lady Restored to Her Parents (945 ff. and stage directions) 90.126

**Fogg Art Museum of Harvard University**

**I. DRAWINGS & WATERCOLORS**

The Stoning of Achan [The Blasphemer], or possibly a sketch for *Jerusalem*, pl. 25, in red chalk (Illus. 4)

Old Man and Two Women (verso: Female Figure with the Head of a Horse) 1967.45

Female Figure with the Head of a Horse (verso: Old Man and Two Women) (Illus. 5) 1967.45

The Procession of Draped Figures [formerly attributed to Flaxman] 1970.97

St. Michael Binding Satan [Angel Binds the Dragon] (Revelation 12:10-12) 1915.8

Christ Blessing 1943.180
4 The Stoning of Achan [The Blasphemer], or possibly a sketch for Jerusalem, pl. 25, in red chalk. 165 x 230 mm. Fogg Art Museum.

Lord Remember Me 1943.400
The Body of Abel Found by Adam and Eve [Cain Fleeing After the Death of Abel] (Genesis 4) 1943.401
War (Illus.6) 1943.402
By the Waters of Babylon (Psalms 137:1-3) 1943.404
The Resurrection (Matthew 28:6) 1943.405
Adam and Eve in Paradise 1943.406
The Burial of Moses [The Devil Rebuked] (Deuteronomy 34:6 and Jude 9) 1943.407
Philoctetes and Neoptolemus at Lemnos 1943.408
Fallen Angels (Illus. 7) 1943.409

Illustrations of the Book of Job (1826) [part of one set of original watercolor designs], as below:

B106 Thus did Job continually (i:5) (Illus. no. I) 1943.420
B108 Thy Sons & thy Daughters were eating & drinking Wine in their eldest Brother's house . . . (i:18) [or, The Fire of God is Fallen from Heaven] (Illus. no. III) 1943.419
B109 And I only am escaped alone to tell thee (i:16) (Illus. no. IV) 1943.421
B110 Then went Satan forth from the presence of the Lord (ii:7) (Illus. no. V) 1943.411
B111 And smote Job with sore Boils from the sole of his foot to the crown of his head (ii:7) (Illus. no. VI) 1943.418
B112 And when they lifted up their eyes afar off & knew him not they lifted up their voices & wept . . . (ii:12) [or, What! Shall we receive Good at the hand of God & shall we not also receive evil (ii:10)] (Illus. no. VII) 1949.423
B113 Let the Day perish wherein I was Born (iii:3) (Illus. no. VIII) 1943.417

5 Female Figure with the Head of a Horse (verso: Old Man and Two Women). 122 x 98 mm. Graphite on white paper. Fogg Art Museum.
B120 Behold now Behemoth which I made with thee (xl:19) (illus. no. XV)

B121 Thou hast fulfilled the Judgment of the Wicked (xxxvi:17) (illus. no. XVI)

B122 I have heard thee with the hearing of the Ear but now my Eye seeth thee (xlii:5) (illus. no. XVII)

B123 And my Servant Job shall pray for you (lxii:8) (illus. no. XVIII)

B124 Every one also gave him a piece of Money (xliii:11) (illus. no. XIX)

B125 There were not found Women fair as the Daughters of Job in all the land & their father gave them inheritance among their Bretheren (xliii:15) (illus. no. XX)

Illustrations to Dante's *Divine Comedy*, as below:

Dante and Virgil on the edge of the Stygian Pool at the foot of a tower

Dante and the Usurers

Dante, Virgil and Cato

The Terrace of Envious Souls

The Circle of Traitors: The Alberti Brothers

Dante Seizing the Traitor Bocca by the Hair (verso: Head of a Cardinal)

The Complaint of the Giant Nimrod
Fallen Angels. 192 x 286 mm. Fogg Art Museum.

Agnello de Brunelleschi of Florence being transformed into a serpent 1943.432
Dante and Virgil among the Blasphemers 1943.433
Donati transformed into a serpent (Guercio Cavalcanti retransformed from a serpent to a man) 1943.434
Dante and Virgil gazing into the ditch of the flatterers 1943.435
Demons tormenting the seducers of Maleboge 1943.436
The Minotaur 1943.437
Lucia carrying Dante in his sleep 1943.438
Dante and Virgil in the skiff of Phlegyas are hailed by Filippo Argenti 1943.439
The Circle of Carnal Sinners 1943.440

Ugolino’s Narrative (Ugolino Relating His Death) 1943.441
The Shades of Homer and other poets of antiquity 1943.442
Virgil rescues Dante from the Evil Demons (Dante and Virgil escaping from the Devils) 1943.443
The Centaurs and the river of Blood 1943.444
Charon and the Condemned Souls 1943.445
The Demons tormenting Ciampolo the Barrator 1943.446
The punishment of Rusticucci and his companions 1943.447
I. DRAWINGS & WATERCOLORS

The Third Temptation  
(Matthew 4:2)  
P.26-1949

The Fall of Man  
P.29-1953

Satan Calling Up His Legions  
P.8-1950

The Virgin and Child in Egypt (Matthew 2:15)  
P.25-1953

The Infant Jesus riding on a Lamb  
P.26-1953

The Christ Child Asleep on a Cross  
P.27-1953

Eve tempted by the Serpent  
(Genesis 3:1-16)  
P.28-1953

The Angels Hovering over the Body of Jesus in the Sepulchre [Christ in the Sepulchre Guarded by Angels]  
P.6-1972

II. BOOKS

R68 John Caspar Lavater,  
Aphorisms on Man (1788) [Blake after Fuseli]  
389A

R80 John Gay,  
Fables (1793), 2 vols.  
371[A or B]

R17 Edward Young,  
The Complaint, and The Consolation; or, Night Thoughts (1797)  
422

R100 John Flaxman,  
Iliad of Homer (1805)  
[Blake after Flaxman]  
368A

R19 William Hayley,  
Ballads Founded on
Aneodotes Relating to Animals (1805)

William Blake, A Descriptive Catalogue (1809)

John Flaxman, Compositions from the Works and Days and Theogony of Hesiod (1817) [Blake after Flaxman]

III. EARLY FACSIMILES

Jerusalem (Pearson, 1877)
Marriage of Heaven and Hell (John Camden Hotten, 1868)
There is No Natural Religion (Pickering, 1886)
Works by William Blake (1876)

IV. PRINTS, ENGRAVINGS, ETCHINGS, &c.

Jerusalem, plates 9 and 11 (illus. 9)
Christ with a Bow, Trampling upon Satan (1827; possibly a posthumous impression made by Mr. Shaw of Walsall, 1903 or later)
Mora's Meditation (title-page missing)
The Meeting of a Family in Heaven (illus. to The Grave [1813])
Death's Door (facsimile of Grave illus. from Scribner's Monthly, 1881)
Morning Amusement (after Watteau's painting, "Le Rendez-vous de Chasse")
Robin Hood and Clorinda
Rev. C. G. Salzmann's Elements of Morality, Vol. I: plates 3, 5-12 [some unfinished] (Blake [?] after Chodowiecki)
Illustrations (11) to Narrative ... by Capt. J. G. Stedman

Illustrations (4, Blake after Cumberland) to George Cumberland, Thoughts on Outline, Sculpture, and the System that Guided the Ancient Artists in Composing Their Figures and Groups (1796), numbered 15, 16, 18, 80. [Note: the fact that the last is numbered "80" indicates that it is a late impression used as an illustration in Cumberland's later work, Outlines from the Ancients, 1829. (Copy in the V & A Library.) In the earlier work it was plate 19.]

Pl. 15: The Conjugal Union of Cupid
Pl. 16: Cupid & Psyche
Pl. 18: Iron Age
Pl. [19]: Aristophanes Clouds. Scene 1.
Rev. John Caspar Lavater: Illustrations (11) to Narrative . . . by Capt. J. G. Stedman

When the morning Stars Sang together . . . [from Job] (engraved by J. H. E. Whitney after Blake) ("Proofs from Scribner's Monthly and St. Nicholas," 2nd series, pi. x, 1881)
Illustrations (17) to Thornton's Virgil's Eclogues, with Imitations by Ambrose Phileps, Pope, and Others (3rd ed., 1821)

There is No Natural Religion, series a (title-page, frontispiece and 6 plates from a set of 10; plate 7 [Proposition IV] and plate 10 [Conclusion] missing)
There is No Natural Religion (plates 4 and 11 of a set of 11)

All Religions are One (title page only)

Electrotype blocks (16) for plates 1-16 of Gilchrist's Life (1863), reproducing 2 part-titles

and 14 plates from Songs of Innocence, as below:

Pl. 3: Songs of Experience E.750-1955
Pl. 6: The Echoing Green E.751-1955
Pl. 8: The Lamb E.752-1955
Pl. 16: A Cradle Song E.753-1955
Pl. 18: The Divine Image E.754-1955
Pl. 24: Nurse's Song E.755-1955
Pl. 27: On Another's Sorrow E.756-1955
Pl. 29: Songs of Experience E.757-1955
Pl. 33: Holy Thursday E.758-1955
Pl. 34: The Little Girl E.759-1955 Lost
Pl. 36: The Little Girl E.760-1955 Found
Pl. 43: My Pretty Rose Tree
Ah! Sun-Flower
The Lilly
Pl. 46: London E.762-1955
Pl. 47: The Human Abstract E.763-1955
Pl. 48: Infant Sorrow E.764-1955
Pl. 53: The Schoolboy E.765-1955

Illustrations to Dante (7 plates printed in a new edition of 25 from plates in the Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection) E.4914-4920-1968 EE.60

The Beggar's Opera (a portfolio compiled by Wilmarth Sheldon Lewis, various sizes) E-4-16-1971 92.D.71
The recent publication of *Spiritus Mundi* and *The Secular Scripture* occasions this review of Northrop Frye's works since *Fearful Symmetry*. (A list of all books included in this review precedes the notes at the end.) Keeping in mind Frye's own contention that his critical ideas have been "derived from Blake," I have tried to clarify his indebtedness to the poet who has provided him "the keys to poetic thought." Unlike other critics of Frye, I have discussed this indebtedness in the moral terms which he himself has used to explain his interest in Blake's art. As a teacher and critic, Frye has never considered literature without defending its importance to life; he has valued Blake in particular for his service to "values and standards" that only the imagination can keep alive.

Thinking about literature often originates in extra-literary value judgments. When twentieth-century critics like Pound and Eliot, for example, tried to consider "poetry primarily as poetry and not another thing," they did not forget their moral opposition to the English Romantic movement. To be sure, Pound and Eliot sympathized with the Romantic writers' hostility to modern society, but they nevertheless deplored the destructive direction taken by Romantic social criticism. The Romantic poets, in Irving Babbitt's analysis, remained "half-educated," unable to formulate a satisfying alternative to the values which they had rejected: "The half-educated man [Babbitt wrote in *Rousseau and Romanticism*] may be defined as the man who has acquired a degree of critical self-consciousness sufficient to detach him from the standards of his time and place, but not sufficient to acquire the new standards that come with a more thorough cultivation." Lacking "more thorough cultivation," an artist like William Blake seemed to Eliot a "resourceful Robinson Crusoe" whose estrangement from his age resulted in "crankiness" and "eccentricity" rather than allegiance to an established set of superior norms:

We have the same respect for Blake's philosophy (and perhaps for that of Samuel Butler) that we have for an ingenious piece of home-made furniture: we admire the man who has put it together out of the odds and ends about the house . . . . What his genius required, and what it sadly lacked, was a framework of accepted and traditional ideas which would have prevented him from indulging in a philosophy of his own, and concentrated his attention upon the problems of the poet.2

As numerous studies of modernist criticism began to point out in the late 1950's, this reaction against Romanticism concealed profound affinities with its adversary. Eliot's appeal to Anglican Christianity, for example, did not support his work with a "framework of accepted and traditional ideas"
but in the context of twentieth-century intellectual life was itself an eccentric gesture, like the "homemade" mythology which he constructed in poems like the Four Quartets. Books like John Bayley's The Romantic Survival (1957), Frank Kermode's Romantic Image (1957), Robert Langbaum's The Poetry of Experience (1957), and Murray Krieger's The New Apologist for Poetry (1956) all argued that modernist critics of Romanticism had only extended the very movement which they had tried to repudiate and that, in Northrop Frye's words, "Anti-Romanticism... had no resources for becoming anything more than a post-Romantic movement" (SS, 216). "The Romantic movement in English literature," Frye continued, persisted because it seemed "a small part of one of the most decisive changes in the history of culture, so decisive as to make everything that has been written since post-Romantic, including, of course, everything that is regarded by its producers as anti-Romantic" (FI, 3).

The publication of Frye's own Anatomy of Criticism in 1957 appropriately coincided with these efforts to show the indebtedness of modernism to Romanticism. Unlike his New Critical predecessors, Frye from the outset of his study of literature affirmed his commitment to the Romantic tradition and his political discomfort with its critics. As he recalls in "The Search for Acceptable Words" (1973),

I expected that a good deal of contemporary literature would be devoted to attacking the alleged complacency of the values and standards I had been brought up in, and was not greatly disturbed when it did. But with the rise of Hitler in Germany, the agony of the Spanish Civil War, and the massacres and deportations of Stalinism, things began to get more serious. For Eliot to announce that he was Classical in literature, royalist in politics, and Anglo-Catholic in religion was all part of the game. But the feeling of personal outrage and betrayal that I felt when I opened After Strange Gods was something else again. And when Eliot was accompanied by Pound's admiration for Mussolini, Yeats' flirtations with the most irresponsible of the Irish leaders, Wyndham Lewis' interest in Hitler, and the callow Marxism of younger writers, I felt that I could hardly get interested in any poet who was not closer to being the opposite in all respects to what Eliot thought he was. Or, if that was too specific, at least a poet who, even if dead, was still fighting for something that was alive. (SM, 14)

That poet, Frye goes on to say, was William Blake; the study of his work, begun in 1933, led to Fearful Symmetry (1947) and eventually to the theory of literature and criticism developed in the Anatomy.
The progression, Frye notes, from one interest to the other was inevitable, and it was obvious to anyone who read both books that my critical ideas had been derived from Blake. (SS, 160)

Convinced since Fearful Symmetry that Blake's poetry contained "the keys to poetic thought" (SS, 178), Frye consistently has reaffirmed the Romantic assumptions which Eliot and others tried to disown. True to the independent spirit of Blake himself, however, he has used these critical ideas to support rather than circumscribe his own vision. He has written as Blake's collaborator, not as his disciple or rival, and he has tried in his own way to keep alive "the values and standards" that first drew him to his poems. Rather than react against the influence of Blake's work, Frye has attempted to read it in such a way as to strengthen its service to human life.

Frye's use of Romanticism builds on his assumption that Blake's art is at its center. He agrees with those studies which make a revolt against Lockean empiricism the cornerstone of Romantic aesthetics. But he argues that Blake is the paradigmatic Romantic artist precisely because he carried the revolt to its furthest extreme. The Romantic writers all claimed a degree of autonomy for their art and freed the imagination from bondage to philosophical reason, or that "owl-winged faculty of calculation" (Shelley) which they and even their mechanistic adversaries deemed a purely factual, "lazy looker-on on an external World" (Coleridge). A poet like Wordsworth, however, made the artist's independence from reason his means to spiritual truth, which he located both in the mind of man and in the external world. The poet, Wordsworth urged, worked in alliance with an active universe and did not project onto nature qualities which were not really there. "Willing to work," his imagination was able "to be wrought upon" by the spiritual presence which Wordsworth thought immanent in natural forms.

For Blake, of course, "Natural Objects" deadened rather than fostered imagination; what Wordsworth "wrote] Valuable [was] Not to be found in Nature" but in his own active mind (E, 655). From Blake's point of view, Wordsworth's anxiety to attribute to nature the spirit that was only in himself reflected nostalgia for a pre-scientific world and produced self-doubts that conservative Christianity finally had to resolve. Blake himself, by contrast, accepted the meaninglessness of "this vegetable Glass of Nature" and elevated his art above any "such fitting & fitted." Rather than share his creativity with nature or derive it from a transcendent God, Blake claimed radical self-sufficiency for his art: "All Forms are Perfect in the Poets mind. . . .Man is born Like a Garden ready Planted & Sown This World is Too poor to produce one Seed" (E, 637, 646). By making the severance of art from external reality the very strength of imaginative vision, he thus transvalued the conclusions of modern philosophy itself. The same assumption that "Inspiration" defies "Mortal & Perishing Nature" made Lockean philosophers mock art and Blake accept it as his "Eternal Dwelling place."

In Frye's view, Blake is central to Romanticism because his claims for art are so severe. The Romantic movement marked what he calls the "recovery of projection" (SER, 14), or the discovery that all forms of civilization--works of art, institutions, etc.--originate in the human imagination rather than imitate external models. The advancement of science, of course, precipitated this discovery because it discredited the attribution of human meaning to the objective world. Although a writer like Wordsworth nevertheless sought the moral "ministry" of nature, Blake knew that the artist's freedom from preexistent reality was unconditional and the very source of civilization itself:

Blake was the first and the most radical of the Romantics who identified the creative imagination of the poet with the creative power of God. . . .Everything we call "nature," the physical world around us, is sub-moral, sub-human, sub-imaginative; every act worth performing has as its object the redeeming of this nature into something with a genuinely human, and therefore divine, shape. Hence Blake's poetry is not allegorical but mythopoeic, not obliquely related to a rational understanding of the human situation, the resolution of which is out of human hands, but a product of the creative energy that alone can redeem that situation. ("The Road of Excess," SS, 172)

Not a "literary freak" or "a kind of intellectual Robinson Crusoe" (FS, 147), Blake exemplifies Romanticism because he makes its "recovery of projection" absolute.

Frye's own contribution to criticism in the Anatomy picked up where Blake left off and responded to twentieth-century critics in much the same way as Blake had reacted to his Romantic contemporaries. Although critics like Brooks, Tate, and Wimsatt had exempted art from imitation of the rationally known world, they had nevertheless betrayed a Wordsworthian willingness to qualify the artist's autonomy. Literary works, they argued, were distinct from "scientific, historical, and philosophical propositions," but they still offered us "complete knowledge of man's experience." Though not "the handmaiden of some doctrine which it is to reflect or 'communicate,'" poetry, in Cleanth Brooks's words, seemed "far more central to man's nature than any subjective 'projection.'" Objective reason, however, could not validate these cognitive claims and the correspondence of poetry to reality remained nebulous because no "scientific or philosophical yardstick" could measure it. 6

Frye's criticism injected into this discussion a Blakean renunciation of all such self-contradictory attempts to fit art to an external referent. Without equivocation, he has insisted in all his works that "the writer is neither a watcher nor a dreamer. Literature does not reflect life, but it doesn't escape or withdraw from life either: it swallows it.
And the imagination won't stop until it's swallowed everything" (EI, 80-81). Only the factual perspective of reason passively imitates life; the imagination redeems it by imposing human form onto the external world which reason accepts as meaningless. To guarantee the self-sufficiency of art, Frye emphasizes that literature itself—not "any observation of human life or behavior" (FI, 36)—provides the artist with his forms: "Poetry can only be made out of other poems, novels out of other novels. Literature shapes itself, and is not shaped externally: the forms of literature can no more exist outside literature than the forms of sonata and fugue and rondo can exist outside music" (AC, 97). A reservoir of imaginative possibilities or forms, literature in its ultimate "anagogic" phase remains self-contained; it swallows everything outside itself to encompass man's limitless desire for a human world:

Nature is now inside the mind of an infinite man who builds his cities out of the Milky Way. This is not reality, but it is the conceivable or imaginative limit of desire, which is infinite, eternal, and hence apocalyptic. By an apocalypse I mean primarily the imaginative conception of the whole of nature as the content of an infinite and eternal living body which, if not

human, is closer to being human than to being inanimate. "The desire of man being infinite," said Blake, "the possession is infinite and himself infinite." (AC, 119)

The assumption that "literature shapes itself and is not shaped externally" makes metaphor and romance the central terms of Frye's criticism. Metaphor is the fundamental linguistic device of literature because it expresses our desire to identify human concerns with the non-human world. The poet uses metaphor "because his job is not to describe nature, but to show you a world completely absorbed and possessed by the human mind" (EI, 32-33). Similarly, romance highlights the mastery of reality by imagination which renders literature "always a form of 'lying,' that is, of turning away from the descriptive use of language and the correspondence form of truth" (Sec S, 46). Rather than pretend that its context is an outer world which it imitates, romance accentuates what realism tries to hide, namely, the indebtedness of all literary works to literature itself. "The symbolic spread of realism," Frye notes in The Secular Scripture,

tends to go from the individual work of fiction into the life around it which it reflects: this can be
accurately called allegorical. The symbolic spread of a romance tends rather to go into its literary context, to other romances that are most like it in the conventions adopted . . . With romance it is much harder to avoid the feeling of convention, that the story is one of a family of similar stories. Hence in the criticism of romance we are led quickly from what the individual work says to what the entire convention it belongs to is saying through the work. (Sec 5, 59-60)

The conventionality of romance secures its timelessness and shows that literary works do not progress or become obsolete but instead "displace" immutable archetypes. The meaning of a romance, like the meaning of any literary work, lies not in itself or in the external world but in the enduring conventions which it shares with other works. 7

A "key to imaginative experience" (FI, 140), Blake's poetry illustrates how metaphor and structure lead back to literature as a whole. Reading Blake's lyrics moved Frye to assert that the fundamental unit of "formally poetic thinking" is the "inherently illogical metaphor" (FI, 141); studying his prophecies introduced him "to the grammar and structure of literary mythology" (FI, 143). Other critics, notably David Erdman, have tried to dispute Blake's characterization as a marginal, idiosyncratic figure by relating his work laterally to the public ideas and events of his day. Frye, however, has softened the angularity of his genius (FS, 3) by deriving his poetry vertically from literature itself. Blake's metaphors and myths, Frye argues, do use the content of late eighteenth-century life, but they also allow him to communicate "beyond his context in time and space" (FS, 420). The structure of the ninth Night of The Four Zoas, for example, may signify Blake's hopeful reaction to contemporary historical developments, but for Frye it also demonstrates his return "to the very headwaters of Western imagination, to the crystalline purity of vision of the Völuspá or the Muqaddisi, where the end of time is perceived, not as a vague hope, an allegory or an indigestible dogma, but as a physical fact as literal as a battle and as imminent as death" (FS, 305-6). Rather than stress with Erdman the presence of social content in Blake's plots or imagery, Frye insists on its displacement into trans-historical literary form. Blake for him is neither a watcher who records life nor a dreamer who withdraws from it but an artist whose metaphors and myths recast reality into archetypal imaginative shape.

Frye brings out the conventionality rather than the topicality of Blake's art not to seal it off from life but to respect its moral intentions. When he explains Blake's poems in terms of literature itself, he may seem to resort to a hermetic aestheticism which betrays the values that first led him to his work. But placing Blake within a self-contained literary universe serves the ideals of a poet who thought art "the Destruction of Tyrannies or Bad Governments." The freedom of the imagination from external reality allows literature to liberate its readers; the radical autonomy of art insures its "socially emancipating" service to life (SM, 115). Frye's theory frees art from history not for its own sake but for the sake of human freedom:

The ethical purpose of a liberal education is to liberate, which can only mean to make one capable of conceiving society as free, classless, and urbane. No such society exists, which is one reason why a liberal education must be deeply concerned with works of imagination. The imaginative element in works of art, again, lifts them clear of the bondage of history . . . . Thus liberal education liberates the works of culture themselves as well as the mind they educate. (AC, 347-48)

Unlike other politically minded critics, Erdman himself has never confused Frye with Oscar Wilde or failed to see that his reading of Blake remains faithful to the poet's own social concerns. 9 He has, however, disputed the way in which Frye allies Blake's art with liberation. For Erdman and the historian E. P. Thompson, Blake's "intellectual warfare" with society continually found reinforce-
ment in concrete political developments. Unlike Wordsworth or Coleridge, he consequently never allowed the failure of the French Revolution to blast his hopes for social progress and he always looked for the "reign of Literature & the Arts" to begin in this world. He consistently satirized, in Erdman's words, "those who can accept a spiritual apocalypse but are terrified at a resurrection of the body of society itself." Although Blake never shared the Urizenic ideology of radicals like Tom Paine, he nevertheless continued to enlist his art in the service of revolutionary action. As Erdman writes, "No spiritual legierdean, he implies, can remove from the infinite world such 'fallacies' as slavery or prostitution unless action removes them from the 'natural' world. No matter how far Blake seems to go along with a mysticism that treats 'the Natural Earth & Atmosphere' as 'a Phantasy,' he remains concerned with the essence of human history and is not seeking 'spiritual' escape from it." 10

For Frye and other critics, however, Blake qualified his aspirations for social change and went so far as to renounce his initial confidence in political action. Enthusiasm for the French Revolution lingered longer in him than in Coleridge or Wordsworth, but finally he, too, shifted from faith in political revolution to trust in imaginative revelation. 11 In his own terms, he transferred his allegiance from Orc to Los and even suggested that revolution cyclically leads to its opposite. His "revolutionary millenial optimism," in Frye's words, evolved into "a cyclic Spenglerian pessimism" (FS, 219): "But as Orc stiffens into Urizen, it becomes manifest that the world is so constituted that no cause can triumph within it and still preserve its imaginative integrity....The word 'revolution' itself contains a tragic irony: it is itself a part of the revolving of life and death in a circle of pain" (FS, 217-8). In Blake's own words,

Many Persons such as Paine & Voltaire with some of the Ancient Greeks say we will not converse concerning Good & Evil we will live in Paradise & Liberty You may do so in Spirit but not in the Mortal Body as you pretend till after the Last Judgment .... while we are in the world of Mortality we Must Suffer The Whole Creation Groans to be deliverd there will always be as many Hypocrites born as Honest Men & they will always have superior Power In Mortal Things You cannot have Liberty in this World without what you call Moral Virtue & you cannot have Moral Virtue without the Slavery of that half of the Human Race who hate what you call Moral Virtue. (E, 554)

From the outset of his literary career, Blake had traced social conditions to intellectual causes. Lack of imagination made Reynolds, for example, accept nature as an unchanging, external model and preach "Passive and Polite" submission to the intolerable authority of the "Rich & Great." When the French Revolution failed, Blake, in Frye's view, switched to "Mental Fight" with society and made freedom result from the intellectual rejection of error which he called a "Last Judgment": "The

Last Judgment is an Overwhelming of Bad Art & Science .... Error or Creation will be Burned Up & then & not till then Truth or Eternity will appear It is Burnt up the Moment Men cease to behold it I assert for My self that I do not behold the Outward Creation & that to me it is hindrance & not Action it is as the Dirt upon my feet No part of Me" (E, 555). Despite his disillusionment with Orc, he did not abandon hope for the historical "imminence of an apocalypse" (FS, 217). But he did argue that art can free the individual mentally without first changing society as a whole. A "residual anarchism," Frye notes, informed his typically Romantic contention that art emancipates the individual by releasing him "in Spirit" from the outer world.12

In determining whether Blake made freedom the effect of social or intellectual change, Erdman and Frye assign crucial importance to the demise of the French Revolution. In Erdman's analysis this failure did not discredit all political activity for Blake, but in Frye's view it split apart the alliance between imagination and history which he had forged in early poems like Americoz. Frye's own literary theory incorporates the disillusionment which he finds in Blake's work; political history since the Romantic period only provides him additional reasons for distrusting Orc. Society seems an "eternally unwilling recipient of culture" (FS, 90), and "revolutionary action, of whatever kind, leads to the dictatorship of one class and the record of history seems clear that there is no quicker way of destroying the benefits of culture" (AC, 347). But if social life and political action destroy freedom, literature and the other arts still further it: "It is possible that social, political, or religious revolution always, and necessarily, betrays a revolutionary ideal of which the imagination alone preserves the secret" (Sec S, 165).

Literature promotes freedom by infusing its readers with imaginative energy. Rather than advocate specific values or "myths of concern," literature teaches that all such expressions are possibilities which the imagination itself has conceived. According to Frye, we passively adjust to society when we accept its values as objective or necessary facts; we actively criticize it when we see that its beliefs are imaginative creations projected onto "things as they are." As he writes in The Critical Path,

Evidently we must come to terms with the fact that mythical and logical languages are distinct. The vision of things as they could or should be certainly has to depend on the vision of things as they are. But what is between them is not so much a point of contact as an existential gap, a revolutionary and transforming act of choice. The beliefs we hold and the kind of society we try to construct are chosen from infinite possibilities, and the notion that our choices are inevitably connected with things as they are, whether through the mind of God or the constitution of nature, always turns out to be an illusion of habit. (CP, 104-05)
In a kind of "Last Judgment," literature activates our imagination and allows it to see that the society we accept is no more "real" than the one we desire. Although "the society around us looks like the real world," the "ideal world that our imaginations develop inside us" is for Frye "the real form of human society hidden behind the one we see." We live, then, "in both a social and cultural environment, and only the cultural environment, the world we study in the arts and sciences, can provide the kind of standards and values we need if we're to do anything better than adjust" (EI, 152-53).

Like Blake's Jerusalem, this "cultural environment" is not "one more objective environment" but the power of conceiving alternatives to our present one (SS, 198). For Frye, only the exercise of this power constitutes genuine freedom; no matter what political efforts we make to improve it, life in society can never free us so completely as use of imagination. "The only genuine freedom," he writes,

is a freedom of the will which is informed by a vision, and this vision can only come to us through the intellect and the imagination, and through the arts and sciences which embody them, the analogies of whatever truth and beauty we can reach. In this kind of freedom the opposition to necessity disappears: for scientists and artists and scholars, as such, what they want to do and what they have to do become the same thing. This is the core of freedom that no concern can ever include or replace, and everything else that we associate with freedom proceeds from it. (CP, 133)

Romance, the heart of literature, illustrates this in its very structure. Unlike comedy, which terminates in a new community, romance "has no continuing city as its final resting place": "We reach the ideal of romance through a progressive bursting of closed circles, first of social mythology, whether frivolous or serious, then of nature, and finally of the comic-providential universe of Christianity and other religions, including Marxism, which contains them both" (Sec S, 173).

Frye does not discourage all political efforts to make society as free as our participation in our "cultural environment." But he does temper the expectations we bring to political action and warns that no historical setting will ever realize the imaginative freedom we experience as individuals. The only institution that permits this freedom, in fact, already "sits in the middle of our society" (SM, 42). This institution is the university, where individuals enjoy a greater freedom than society can ever give, namely, "the freedom that comes only from articulation, the ability to produce, as well as respond to, verbal structures." The university community provides "the only visible direction in which our higher loyalties and obligations can go" (SS, 256) because it alone encourages mental access to the "articulated worlds of consciousness, the intelligible and imaginative worlds, that are at once the reward of freedom and the guarantee of it" (CP, 170).

The university, in short, offers the imagination the chance to exercise its autonomy and thus construct the cultural environment which Frye opposes to the natural world and to the mythology of society. For him, the legacy of English Romanticism is William Blake's concern for human freedom and his fear of docile adjustment to the constraints or hindrances of "the outward creation." Frye, like Blake, dreads confinement to the dull round of valueless nature, or that world which limits the factual discoveries of reason. He also fears uncritical submission to the values of contemporary society, or that capitulation which occurs when we treat social myths with the same deference we give to nature. Against both rational imitation of nature and passive accommodation to society, he places the creative imagination and urges us to complete the "recovery of projection" that began in the Romantic period.

This recovery, which made modernist critics uncomfortable, fills Frye with the Blakean hope that art will check our advancement toward a "self-policing state," or a "society incapable of formulating an articulate criticism of itself and of developing a will to act in its light" (MC, 45). We must finally measure Frye's achievement in terms of the values he has tried to keep alive. As a literary critic, he challenges us to emulate his own relation to Blake; he asks us not to fit into his "system" but to share his social vision. In trusting that vision to the autonomous imagination, he has either resisted or complied with that subversion of freedom which he has always deplored in the world outside art. From the perspective of reason, he has conceded, the poet's defiance of society is as irrational as his acquiescence; all value judgments are imaginative possibilities, not imperatives grounded in fact. Political action may aim at a free society, but it, too, cannot bridge the gap between imaginative vision and "things as they are." The poet consequently stands alone in his defense of freedom and articulates an ideal which reason and history dismiss as a dream. To evaluate Frye's work, we must determine whether this scheme grasps the importance of art or underestimates its critical power. Elsewhere I have argued that Frye has reduced rather than strengthened literature; but other critics, such as Robert Langbaum, have contended that he has saved art "as the last great sign of man's freedom or indeterminacy" and "the only creator of values in a world where other branches of knowledge have either ceased to deal with values or have limited themselves to analyzing and describing values." The socially emancipating role" that Frye assigns to the arts suggests the larger question at stake in this discussion. In making art the sole safeguard of freedom, Frye has either secured liberty or allowed it to recede into mere imagining.

2 T. S. Eliot, "William Blake," in Selected Essays (New York: Harcourt, 1964), pp. 279-80. From a different perspective, Yeats also lamented that Blake "was a symbolist who had to invent his symbols. ... He was a man crying out for a mythology, and trying to make one because he could not find one to his hand." "William Blake and the Imagination," in Essays and Introductions (New York: Collier Books, 1961), p. 114.

3 See, for example, M. H. Abrams, The Mirror and the Lamp (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1953); Morse Peckham, Romanticism and Behavior (Columbia: Univ. of South Carolina, 1976); and René Wellek, "Romanticism Re-Examined," in Romanticism Reconsidered, ed. Northrop Frye (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1963), pp. 107-33. For different reasons each of these critics appreciates Blake's criticisms of Locke but refuses to make him the prototype of the Romantic movement.


6 As Gerald Graff points out in his Poetic Statement and Critical Dogma (Evanston: Northwestern Univ. Press, 1970), "the root of the problem is that the desire of post-Ricardian New Critics to claim an objective and progressive knowledge for poetry conflicts with assumptions that preclude the very possibility of objective knowledge. If the formulations of reason have no relevance to the deeper realities of experience, and if poetry is not predicated on rational knowledge, then it is not clear on what grounds objective truth can be claimed" (p. 16).

7 New Critical objections to Frye often dispute the objective status of these archetypes, which he thinks connect literary works to literature as a whole. For a thoughtful discussion of these criticisms, see Hazard Adams, "Blake and the Postmodern," in William Blake: Essays for S. Foster Damon, ed. Alvin H. Rosenfeld (Providence: Brown Univ. Press, 1969), pp. 3-17.

8 The typicality of Blake's lyrics and prophecies, in fact, makes him "formally popular" and "a key to imaginative experience for the untrained" (Fl. 140-41).

9 For criticisms of Frye which ignore the social intentions of his work, see the references to him in The Politics of Literature, ed. Louis Kampf and Paul Lauter (New York: Vintage Books, 1973). To critics (and admirers) who assert that he neglects "the social reference of literary criticism," Frye replies, "I have written about practically nothing else" (SS. x).


12 See SER, 48, 118-19 for further discussion of the "residual anarchism" that Frye locates at the heart of the movement. In The Return of Eden he finds a similar disillusionment with political action in Milton's poetry and suggests that the logic of literature itself pushes him to "find the true revolution within the individual" (112).

13 As Frye makes this point in The Modern Century, art liberates our imagination rather than provides us with "a statement both of what is believed to be true and of what is going to be true by a course of action" (116). Using our imagination frees us, but "all forms of politics, including the radical form, seem sooner or later to dwindle into a specialized chess game" (101).

14 Frye illustrates this point by appealing to romance in Romantic literature (SER, 37-40) and to Shakespeare's later plays (see Poole of Time, pp. 120-21, and A Natural Perspective, pp. 75-117).


All page references to Blake's works are to The Poetry and Prose of William Blake, ed. David V. Erdman (Garden City: Doubleday, 1970). Cited in text as E.

Books and articles by Northrop Frye covered in this essay (listed chronologically):


A Natural Perspective: The Development of Shakespearean Comedy and Romance (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1965).


The Modern Century (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1967). Cited in text as MC.


The valuation of will by English writers before the Romantic period is not a favorable one. Ulysses' speech on order in Troilus and Cressida associates it with "appetite," devouring and self-devouring, a connection later elaborated by Hobbes and dramatized by Milton in the figure of Satan. Heroic drama, too, seems in essence a disembodied conflict of imperial wills, each devoted to conquest until annihilated either by force of arms or the power of love. Blake is never more "English Blake" than in his epic depiction of the fall of the Zoas into willful selfishness and their rivalry with the Female Will engendered from their worldly appetites. Blake's giant forms enact the pattern of self-division and aggression he found in his immediate tradition. And of course he spoke from the historical center of a whirlwind of will generated by political ambition, as Ulysses did. Faced with Robespierre, Pitt, and then Napoleon, no Romantic artist could endorse the privileges of an individualistic craving for power, though some, like Wordsworth and Coleridge, came to tolerate certain repressive measures by the State after the Congress of Vienna.

While the English tradition, including Blake, sought boundaries for the appetitive will, a series of German philosophers glorified it by transmuting its essential character. Schelling, Hegel, Fichte, Nietzsche, Schopenhauer--these are the principal contributors to a nineteenth-century doctrine that sought to preserve the individual from self-contempt by apotheosizing a will to power, usually collective power, sometimes the power of the State. Whatever these writers would have said about Hitler, he became their inevitable disciple. It is no accident that the most famous artwork of this century bearing the word is Leni Riefenstahl's propaganda film, Triumph of the Will, with its Wagnerian motifs, its famous opening shots of the Leader descending from the clouds to address a multitude which he has welded into a single militant will. The reputation of Romantic philosophy, especially the German variety, suffered from the Nazi experience. (I remember vividly a lecture in my undergraduate philosophy course on Hegel's theory of the Will and the State. After some twenty minutes the professor stopped in mid-sentence and exclaimed, "I refuse to go on pretending this nonsense is philosophy!") The general antagonism overflowed into criticism of the English tradition as well, for texts of Blake, Byron, and Carlyle especially lent themselves to the kind of suspicion one finds in Eric Bentley's A Century of Hero Worship, not to mention the New Criticism and the wartime polemics that Jacques Barzun attempted to refute in Romanticism and the Modern Ego.

The critic who wishes to give a positive valuation to the Romantic Will must proceed with care. Manfred and Heroes and Hero Worship must go unmentioned this time around, and their
Michael G. Cooke does just this, and though his tactic of making texts invisible is certainly suspect, his study is illuminating and cohesive. Examination of a psychic faculty as it seems to operate in or inform a number of texts can be a thankless task. And the will especially, because it governs choice, decision, and action, can be discerned almost everywhere in lyric and narrative situations. Cooke has not let this difficulty defeat him but has constructed a canon that enables him to emphasize the sanity of Romantic striving, its proverbial Englishness.

Cooke proceeds as one might expect: he distinguished between what this reviewer (not the author) might term the primary and secondary will. The primary will Cooke describes in various places as "empirical or locally purposive," "particular," and "merely personal." This is the will manifest in assertive states, when the self is in the act of defining specific objectives, or bringing about specific changes through conscious choice. The defiance of Jupiter by Prometheus is one example, or the intentions of Wordsworth when in The Prelude he steals a rowboat or climbs Mt. Snowdon to see the sunrise. When Keats in his early work insists that he will be a poet, he is exercising this primary activity of mind. This is the will that seeks for trophies—for knowledge, fame, and power. Though it can be a hazard if embraced as an exclusive good, it is a necessary precondition for the operation of the secondary will.

The secondary will Cooke describes as a "will of being," an "ontological" or "metaphysical" will. It most frequently appears when the other has subsided and the mind achieves not the petty trophy it sought but a new state of consciousness informed with what Wordsworth calls the "sentiment of being," the apprehension of powers greater than the self with which the self harmoniously participates. The product of this mutuality is joy, the joy that cannot, by the foregoing definition, be actively sought as an object--Coleridge explains this in the Dejection Ode--but must inform the mind already as a condition of being discovered. Cooke cites the Simplon Pass episode of The Prelude as a locus classicus of the passage from one state of will to another, Wordsworth being granted an apocalyptic vision in the act of checking off another item on his tourist itinerary.

Cooke's thesis is that the Romantic will permits this secondary act of mind by keeping fluid or open the relation between "self and system." The neoclassical position, Cooke writes, "is that the self is best in the system, the system is best for the self." He illustrates this rather uncontroversial point by extensive and wholly superfluous analyses of works by Corneille, Addison, Boileau, Pope, and Molière. I might add that the choice and treatment of texts throughout is something of a puzzle. Cooke's discussion of the Romantic will seems to be headed toward a significant new perspective on Prometheau Unbound, and yet that work receives less attention than does Tartuffe. Commentary on the Dejection Ode is truncated, but we get a lengthy rehash of Geoffrey Hartman's reading of "The Solitary Reaper." This last passage constitutes yet another one of those homages à Hartman that seem to have become obligatory in writings on Romanticism emerging from Yale. Cooke has produced a good book, but there is a lingering sense of the devoted pupil in these pages, expressed by his choice of some literary and critical texts, his avoidance of others, and his emphatic use of the terminology of "consciousness."

His study of Blake, however, is provocative and if not wholly original at least seems consonant with his general conclusions rather than an external "system." Cooke focuses on Jerusalem because of his interest in the way "Blake immediately, bluntly, and uncompromisingly gears this poem to the satisfaction of the will of Los." Los's will is a form of terror; he seeks to coerce the results he desires by means that may not always have the reader's approval. Cooke sees this as Blake's Prometheanism, a mode most familiar to us from the discomfitting Proverbs of Hell and the dramatic situations in his early prophetic works that still have the power to unsettle us. I have always been disturbed, for example, by Oothoon's offer to Theotormon in the Visions of the Daughters of Albion:

But silken nets and traps of adamant will
Oothoon spread,
And catch for thee girls of mild silver or of furious gold

We admire Oothoon for conquering her shame and jealousy, but wonder whether compelling other girls to find pleasure in copulation with her mate isn't a little Bromion-like. Her action corresponds to Los's treatment of the Spectre without the saving consideration that the Spectre is, after all, not another person but a negative temptation of Los's own nature.

It is not so much Los's exercise of the primary will that interests Cooke as the fact that Los's will is a will to art, and the artist's salvific influence must wait upon the public's appreciation of his perfected vision. Unlike Orc, "the Los character... remains for his part curiously dependent and subject to the vicissitudes of place and person." Los can bring no resolution to the action, however bold his commandments to the Sons and Daughters of Albion. He can only suffer the injustices he observes and propose, usually in isolation, the truth his idolatrous and selfish community needs for its redemption. A reading of Jerusalem that sees the conclusion as an apocalypse created by Los's will to power, according to Cooke, confuses Blake with Los; it mistakes the successful fact of the text with the drama within. Rather, a reader must observe that Blake and Los become identified with Christ by a recognition of universal suffering. Again, the striving primary will is suspended and the dramatic effect, culminating in Albion's leap into the Furnaces of Affliction, is a radical change of being that makes genuine compassion possible.
Cooke could have made useful reference to Blake's letters to illustrate the connection between Los the character and Blake the creator. Blake seems obsessed with his mission as an artist and with the worldly comforters who tempted him to bury his talent. Jerusalem is among other things an autobiographical anatomy of his triumphant will to art, concluding honestly—a heroic moment in Blake's verse—with the artist breaking his wand as a condition of collective salvation. Jerusalem, the reader must realize, is an act of Memory to some degree, and like other "filthy garments" (Milton 41:6) soiled by Experience it must be burned with its creator in the last fiery furnace. When Blake ceased to struggle with willfulness he relapsed into just the kind of high-toned dogma he once put into the mouth of Urizen. We then get nostrums like the Cacoethes with its thundering commandments: "A Poet, a Painter, a Musician, an Architect: the Man or Woman who is not one of these is not a Christian." Fortunately Blake did not write a new epic in his last years or we might have gotten something akin to the priestly books of The Excavation.

Art is Blake's tabernacle and fortress both. His enemy is the poet's onetime object of worship, The Female Will, the figure of sexual generation, for whose favor even the sensible English tradition put itself in chains.

Read in my face, a volume of desairs, The wailing iliads of my tragic woe; Drawn with my blood, and printed with my cares, Wrought by her hand, that I have honored so. Who whilst I burn, she sings at my soul's wrack. Looking aloft from the turret of her pride: There my soul's tyrant joys her, in the sack Of her own seat, whereof I made her guide. There do these smokes that from affliction rise Serve as an incense to a cruel Dame: A sacrifice thrice grateful to her eyes, Because their power serves to exact the same. Thus ruins she, to satisfy her will, The Temple, where her name was honored still.

Thus Samuel Daniel. Worship of the Female Will is the type of idolatry, and it is crucial to the artist's triumph in Jerusalem, a political as well as an autobiographical poem, that Los overcome the very will to power that Blake had applauded in liberated women like Oothoon in those balmy days when he thought Orc was a splendid fellow. Cooke simply refuses to engage this aspect of Blake's sensibility, to enter the dramatic conflict involving the omnipresent voices of the Female Will—Enitharmon, Gwendolen, Cambel, Vala, Tirzah, Rahab, Britannia—which proclaim that "The Man who respects Woman shall be despised by Woman / And deadly cunning & mean abjectness only, shall enjoy them / For I will make their place of joy & love excrementious." Blake avenges himself upon the speaker by making her publicly confess these appalling facts of life. A reader of Jerusalem must see how English Blake reforms his tradition at this point, but to do so reference must be made to works like Daniel's poem, or Samuel Agonistes, or the like; Tartuffe will be no help, nor Cato, nor L'Art Poétique. Cooke loses contact with Blake because he seems out of sympathy with Blake's tortured struggles against the genital conditions of the fallen world. Cooke tries to be superior to his subject, who seems (to him) an unconscionably long time in Jerusalem resolving the agon of the primary will. In addition, an effusive passage of Cooke's on the contribution of the Daughters of Albion to Los's labors suggests that the author has raised his consciousness high enough to overlook Blake's putative sexism. The Female principle is a hero of The Romantic Will, emerging in full glory during Cooke's extended, and well-argued, analyses of The Fall of Hyperion and the Ode to Autism. But even this triumph would be more significant if part of Blake's text had not been made invisible, if Blake had not been read retrospectively through the medium of Keats's resolution.

Blake believed that art has the power to correct even sexual division. Samuel Daniel cremates himself, Blake sends Albion into the furnace so that the Sexes (and sex) must vanish and cease. From this willed death the public that undergoes it, by means of the poem Jerusalem, may arise into life. But in what form? Albion's first regenerate act is to reach for his Bow of desire: "And he clothed himself in Bow & Arrows, in awful state, Fourfold." He slays the Druid Spectre, or rational part, of Humanity. The passage deliberately echoes the description of the Spectre Sons of Albion in Plates 65-66, "immense in strength & power / In awful pomp and gold," who construct Stonehenge as a temple of the Enlightenment. In this latter-day Arthurian romance English Blake slays Voltaire and Rousseau. He sends flaming arrows into Bacon, Newton, and Locke. The militant tone of this passage, so reminiscent of Edward Young in its destructive fantasies masked as patriotism and piety (Albion and Christ), makes me a little uncomfortable, and my misgivings extend to analyses like Cooke's which identify the "final moment" (Cooke's phrase) of the poem as Albion's sacrifice. In my text the poem does not end at 96:35.

Cooke rightfully says that a Romantic poem tends to waver between Prometheanism and Stoicism, and that its structure is more often an oscillation between the two poles than a direct movement from one state of being to another. This suggests the problem of interpretation we encounter in confronting Romantic texts, never sure which points can be assembled into an authentic pattern, always reading a concluding scene or a penultimate scene as a definitive statement. Artists like Blake planned it that way, of course, by keeping their "system" open enough to accommodate our own changing perspective. Whatsoever point we gain,
we yet have something to pursue. A critic's disregard of native tradition and historical context, then, and his recourse to the language of "consciousness," will result in a partial but not comprehensive reading of a text as complex as *Jerusalem*. In his armed vision, his appetite for a Christian Triumph as absolute as Edward Young's, Blake simply cannot be mistaken for Wordsworth or Keats or Wallace Stevens or anyone else. The errors of generalization, as Blake eloquently maintained, outweigh the insights. If Blake were Cooke's Blake he would not speak so compellingly to a public still convinced, in depths so profound that only art can reach, that it will escape non-entity by finding new worlds to conquer.


Reviewed by David Worrall

The British Antiquities are now in the Artist's hands" wrote Blake in *A Descriptive Catalogue*. This rebound issue of Joan Evans's book, distributed by Thames & Hudson, and dealing with the Society's history from its Renaissance precursors up to the early 1950's, provides a timely opportunity for examining the intellectual context of Blake's "visionary contemplations" concerning his own country.

Professor England has shown us how Samuel Foote's parody of an Antiquaries meeting in *The Nabob* led the way to Etruscan Column's lecture on "virtuous cats" in "An Island in the Moon." Reading through the eighteenth-century part of this history one can see how nearly Foote held the mirror up to life. This production of the summer of 1772 must have virtually coincided with the beginning of Blake's apprenticeship to James Basire, who had been the Society's engraver since March 1759. Foote's joke about Antiquaries and cats had been sparked off by a paper read by Samuel Pegge in December 1771 in which he conjectured that Dick Whittington's "cat" had been the name of a type of ship. The ridicule prompted by *The Nabob* brought Horace Walpole's resignation from the Society in 1773 but he had earlier confided his intention in a letter to William Cole written on 28 July 1772, only a few days before Blake's exchange of indentures with Basire. Despite nineteen years of membership, Walpole's involvement with the Society had been indifferent and recently embittered by criticism, so that this episode of "their council on Whittington and his cat, and the ridicule that Foote has thrown on them" (to Cole) provided a convenient but honorable occasion for departure.

The Basire family held their position well into the nineteenth century, and Joan Evans has made the forgiveable error of attributing William as the apprentice of James Basire the Younger who was elected a Fellow in 1823. Fortunately for Blake's training, both master and apprentice had only the very highest standards to seek to emulate since, until his death, almost all previous engraving for the Society had been under the management and general surveillance of George Vertue. Vertue had not only been one of the Society's founder members, but both benevolent and indefatigably active on its behalf for nearly half a century, and it was largely through his influence that the early parts of *Vestuta Monumenta* contained as much medieval material as they did. It was for this irregularly issued record of the Society's activities and interests that Blake's Westminster Abbey sketches were intended, probably following the immediate initiative of Richard Gough, who had become their enthusiastic Director the year before Blake's entry into apprenticeship.

In his *Topographical Antiquities* (1768), Gough had bemoaned the lack of an antiquarian periodical
miscellany, and during the period of Blake's apprenticeship he put much energy into insuring the continued publication of the Society's Archaeologia, which had begun in 1770 in order to fulfill this role. Such were Gough's efforts in this direction that Blake's Westminster Abbey sketches remained unpublished until 1780, but the Archaeologia, while adding a new dimension to the Society's pursuits, radically increased the amount of engraving undertaken by Basire for the Society. During Blake's apprenticeship, issues were published in 1773, 1775, 1777 and 1779. Most of the papers are illustrated with engravings signed by Basire, and it is a source of harmless speculation to wonder how many of them Blake had a hand in.

After his resignation Horace Walpole greeted most of the Society's enthusiasms with amused incredulity, and there were certainly enough Archaeologia papers on such topics as cockfighting, horseshoes and buried bird bones to validate his reactions. Their interests were not narrowly in archaeological "hardware," however, and a similar impulse to that which prompted the publication of papers on the origin of the word Romance and on "The Wisdom of the Ancient Egyptians" must have led the President, Jeremiah Milles, to sponsor the second edition of Chatterton's Rowley poems in 1782 despite the cordially tepid response from the rest of the Society, who appear to have sensed the presence of forgery.

It is difficult to escape the conclusion that at this period the Society was intellectually second-rate: certainly their ranks in the second half of the century can muster no mind approaching that of William Stukeley, whose varied researches had been without parallel during the Society's early years. Inevitably, this "antique" company of aged and conscious exclusiveness became the fair and easy victim of caricaturists from both within, such as Francis Grose, and without, such as Thomas Rowlandson. Joan Evans reproduces an interesting Rowlandson cartoon dating from c. 1795 which appears to be based on the opening of the tomb of Edward I in 1772, when Blake was probably present. Entitled "Death and the Antiquaries," a group of antiquaries gather round an opened royal tomb, one stealing a ring from the corpse, while a skeletal Death stands outraged above. This episode was remarkable in the Society's history because it was just about the first time they had been taken seriously enough to be allowed to interfere with a relic of national importance. The late date of Rowlandson's plate is silent testimony enough to the uneventful obscurity to which they subsequently returned.

Although such figures in Blake's work as Benjamin Heath Malkin and Henry Crabb Robinson found admittance to the Society at some point in their lives, the Antiquaries and their pursuits had little effect on Blake's imagination or intellectual development. To return to his remarks in A Descriptive Catalogue, it is clear that the "British Antiquities" have already become transformed into a part of the Blake Pantheon. Blake recognized antiquity as witness to the loss of imagination and the ascendancy of memory. The sublime truth represented diagrammatically in the well-known illustration of the Mundane Shell and Universes of the Four Zoas in Milton became distorted and petrified into the serpent temples of Britain. Milton's journey from Eternity, seen in Time by Milton's vision of Satan's fall through the Serpentarius constellation in Ophus (Paradise Lost Bk. II), was distorted by the Druids into the serpent and mundane shell configuration of the serpent temples. The transfiguring re-emergence from the mundane shell, which Blake characterizes as being without dimension, became further distorted by Druidic vision into the other half of the serpent ascending out of the circle of stones in unconscious repetition of the original fall. This portrayal of the cosmological through the antique probably had its beginnings in the eighteenth century's association of stone circles with sun worship, but the development is so extensive as to leave these theories far behind. In similar fashion, Blake's reference to the "pavement of Watling-street" in A Descriptive Catalogue comprehends not only the ancient Roman road but the traditional English (and Chaucerian) name for the Milky Way.

Unfortunately, the antiquarian writers Blake most obviously seems to have admired, such as Jacob Bryant and Edward Davies, figured little if at all in the Society's affairs and neither finds acknowledgement in Joan Evans's book. The congenial literary and mythological emphasis of these writers was declining in importance as more scientific methods of inquiry began to assert their worth (to the Society's benefit, it has to be said). Outside the Society, isolated enthusiasts continued their researches relatively untroubled by the consensus of informed development, and it was from these quarters that some of the most imaginative studies stemmed. In the final years of the eighteenth century, the antiquarian writer who most obviously exemplified the virtues Blake admired was Thomas Maurice, whose Indian Antiquities ranges over the cultures of the major Mediterranean, Northern and Eastern civilizations before returning to an extended account of Stonehenge and ancient Britain during the course of proving his thesis that all nations have spontaneously recognized a divine trinity. For the student of the backgrounds of Romanticism in comparative mythology and antiquity, Maurice's work provides a clear and well-documented guide to the state of research as it existed in these fields and may be used in conjunction with the broad outlines offered by Joan Evans, but the Blakeophile will inevitably need to consult A History of The Society of Antiquaries for knowledge of the Society's interests and personalities during the period of his apprenticeship.
Reviewed by Susan Fox

A fully developed biography of Blake which reverses the distortions of contemporary gossip and subsequent critical confusion is a major priority of Blake studies. Michael Davis has produced a diligent and enthusiastic book, but one which does not answer this need. It offers neither the new historical information nor the new theoretical approach which would justify a new biography, and it does not assemble old knowledge in a productive way.

What is suggestive in this volume is the sense it provides, in plates and brief descriptions, of the physical environments in which Blake worked. This suggestiveness is not realized, however, in any developed analysis of the effect on Blake's life and art of these environments.

Davis studied widely in contemporary sources, both graphic and verbal, but most of what he studied has been studied before. Any originality is lost in his narrative method, which absorbs generations of critical commentary without annotation. His account, for example, of the connection between Blake and John Stedman and the effect of that connection on *Visions of the Daughters of Albion* is useful, but does not progress beyond accounts by Erdman and Keynes; that it does not make the reader skeptical that any of Davis' other observations goes beyond his sources.

There are rhetorical problems which also undermine a reader's confidence in this study. One of these problems is a distracting carelessness in tone. Davis calls *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* a book "whose sharp ambiguities, versatility and irreverent humour bubble with imaginative energy" (p. 61); he asserts flatly that "The biblical story of Job does not solve the problem of suffering. Blake's twenty-one pictures do" (p. 143); he notes in passing that Mary Wollstonecraft "pursued Fuseli for a while" (p. 38), as if she were either Vala or a boy-crazy ninth-grader. These are certainly minor lapses, but they are characteristic, and they occasionally yield to graver insensitivity: "In Blake's illustrations [of *Visions of the Daughters of Albion*], Oothoon is white, as befits the soul of slavery . . . She could say, with the little black boy in *Songs of Innocence*, 'I am black, but O! my soul is white'" (pp. 54-55, emphasis mine). There is debate over the degree, even the existence of irony in Blake's use of such imagery, but however much or little irony we allow Blake, we cannot allow a critic in 1977 to pass off without clearly defined ironic purpose an attitude which equates goodness with whiteness and paternalistically assumes that blacks are, contrary to appearances, just as good as anyone else.

Another rhetorical problem is a confusing vagueness in Davis' definitions of Blake's myth: "Single vision is seen by the eye only; twofold vision sees through the eye and perceives the human value in all things; threefold vision reveals thought in emotional form and inspires
creation; fourfold vision is mystical ecstasy"
(p. 25, emphasis in original).

This kind of rhetoric is much thicker in the
opening chapters of A New Kind of Man, perhaps
because in these chapters Davis deals with a
period of Blake's life for which there is little
documentation. As soon as he gets to Blake's
maturity, about which there is, if not full
documentation, at least a lot of recorded gossip,
his narrative settles into a genial commentary
linking quotations from Blake's prose (particularly
his letters) and his contemporaries' accounts of
him.

For all its geniality, however, that narrative
has two major deficiencies. First, its
interpretations of Blake's thought and art are
often either hopelessly over-simplified (you cannot
legitimately say in one sentence that "Blake
respected Newton, as he did Bacon and Locke ..."
and then add in the next, without explanation, "A
scientific trinity who gave form to error, they
are counterparts of 'Milton & Shakspear & Chaucer',
who expressed truth" [p. 69]), or just plain wrong:
"Blake stooped to fasten his shoe before walking out
to seek inspiration for his poem Milton in the Vale
of Lambeth" (p. 47); "In complete contrast to that
unlovely attack [in Tiriet] on a world in which
imagination has been murdered by repression, shines
his exultant, endearing masterpiece of the same
year, 1789, Songs of Innocence, surely a labour of
love" (p. 43); "The Fall is experienced by every
person. It occurs in each individual's life at
adolescence and changes Innocence into Experience"
(p. 55).

Second, major terms of the biography are neither
defined nor demonstrated. Davis calls Blake, at
least from 1787-93, a revolutionary (Chapter 3 and
passim), a man "subversive but neglected" (p. 63);
he insists that "there is no doubt that Blake held
seditious views" (p. 106). Blake's revolutionism
is a principal tenet of the book, but Davis' one
real attempt to describe it is almost comically
imprecise: he calls Blake a radical, citing as
evidence his outrage at the war against the American
colonists and noting in the next sentences that
"Blake also detested government. At Basire's he
had engraved some of the many illustrations in a
book of memoirs by Thomas Hollis, an ardent devotee
of Milton's grand, ideal [?] republicanism, and
Blake found Milton's revolutionary fervour very
congenial" (p. 24). Radicalism, war opposition,
anarchism, republicanism, revolutionism—all
equated, none defined. Exactly what seditious
views did Blake hold? What is a revolutionary
anyway? One could argue that a poet who calls in
his or her work for revolutionary change is a
revolutionary--Davis does not develop such an
argument about Blake. In fact, he seems to belie it:
he hypothesizes that The French Revolution may have
been abandoned because, "in an era when a
revolutionary would, if discreet, avoid political
subjects to keep himself out of Newgate" (p. 50),
this revolutionary Blake, "a prey to 'Nervous
Fear' of imprisonment, himself withdrew the poem"
(p. 48). What kind of revolutionary? One who
promulgates revolutionary ideas only when they are
safe and harmless? Similarly but less significantly,
the "Pilgrimage in Poverty" which titles Chapter 7
is a pilgrimage unexplained. What kind of
pilgrimage?

In short, the "new kind of man" this biography
sets out to describe never emerges. The phrase
itself, taken from Francis Oliver Finch, seems to
refer mostly to Blake's emphasizing his "extreme
opinions" (p. 154). What new kind of man? The
portrait we get in this book is not only not of a new
kind of man, it is an old kind of portrait. Davis' Blake
is an alternately gruff and ecstatic eccentric who is,
Davis insists (must we still insist this?), not mad--but whom anyone not his
intimate would be justified in taking for mad, so
uncompromisingly strange did he choose to make
himself seem in public. Even Davis' readers might
feel so justified: we are meant to see here a
revolutionary heroically true to his vision, but
we are given so little understanding of that
vision that we might as easily see instead a
dirty, crabby fanatic. This portrait of Blake is as
retrogressive as the criticism which once again
turns the Songs of Innocence and of Experience
into a puberty crisis.

I do not know why this biography was
undertaken, unless it was to allow the author to
spend time and energy on a figure he admires. That
is a fine ambition, and I in no way wish to demean
it. Michael Davis reads like an amiable man with a
strong if not penetrating appreciation of a great
poet. I wish there were millions of such people.
I wish there were as many books as people can write.
Since there are not, I must question why the Univer­
sity of California Press chose to publish this one.
I think of sailing for America, where I may aid the struggles of liberty, may freely publish all which the efforts of reason can teach me, and at the same time may form a society of savages, who seem in consequence of their very ignorance to have a less quantity of error, and therefore to be less liable to repel truth than those whose information is more multifarious.

Frank Henley's project for fleeing the England depicted in Holcroft's Anna St. Eggs (1792) sums up what America meant to defenders of the French Revolution. America was the successful revolutionary society; the open society in which censorship and suspension of habeas corpus were unknown; the locus of innocence and noble savages, free of all the forms (primogeniture and the rest) that curb and corrupt. Robert Bage, in Hermespromg, or Man As He Is Not (1796), invented a Frank Henley who had been brought up in America, sent him to France during the Revolution, and then dropped him down like Voltaire's Huron in England of the Pittite repression. Hermespromg is like Blake's allegories of the American Revolution in that he can also act energetically when action is called for. He has soon discomfited and defeated the flabby aristocrats, and for good measure (being among other things a descendent of Tom Jones) shown them to be usurpers of his own rightful patrimony in England.

What continues to surprise me is the fact that this image of the American Revolution as fiery Orc was primary an English one, promulgated by sympathetic English propagandists in the 1770s and in the 1790s. Even Burke, who was to find these qualities noxious in the French revolutionaries, praised the Americans' active, energetic, youthful course of action, which he contrasted with "the listlessness that has fallen upon almost all" Englishmen. The Americans are "savage . . . uncouth," but "animated with the first glow and activity of juvenile heart." But of course Burke was also defending America's loss of ancient traditional rights against the innovative commercial policies of the English government.

In 1975 M. W. Jones' Cartoon History of the American Revolution appeared, and in the year of the centennial Joan Dolmetsch published a selection of the American Revolution cartoons (or to be historically accurate, satiric prints) from the Colonial Williamsburg collection. This is a more elegant, better produced (and reproduced) volume than Jones', which had the format and general appearance of newprint. Jones supplied a racy running text with chronological lists and suggestive juxtapositions of prints (three or four to a page) of the sort one associates with a Time-Life educational series. Dolmetsch supplies catalogue entries with complete bibliographical information, description, and citations from the British Museum Catalogue of Satiric Prints and Drawings. Yet for cartoons whose artistic quality is almost nil but whose context is of great interest, Jones' tabloid format may have been more appropriate as well as more informative.
The satiric prints were almost entirely English and continental. America seems to have produced very few other than copies of the English ones: a fact which may help to explain the dearth of fiery Orc-figures. The two powerful images produced on the American side are omitted from Dolmetsch's collection, probably because technically they are not satiric prints. One is The Boston Massacre of 1770, the essential image as the American propagandists wanted it seen: helpless Bostonians being shot down by British soldiers lined up to resemble a firing squad. This was the image that stimulated the colonists to revolt and secured sympathy from the English Opposition (and was later adapted by Goya for his Third of May). The other image was a representation of the overturning of George III's statue in New York City on 4 July 1776 (the newspaper blockprint of the scene followed within days; the elaborate engraving some years later). Here are the Orc overtones so noticeably missing in earlier American propaganda. Indians are even present in the crowd, as a sort of reference to one sturdy aspect of the Americans (as Frank Henley's remarks show, "American" meant equally Indian and "savage" to eighteenth-century Englishmen), and perhaps also to the Boston Tea Party, where Bostonians disguised as Indians to carry out an un-English act. There is even present that ubiquitous eighteenth-century symbol of dissent and natural subversion, a dog.

But aside from that one blockprint in a New York newspaper none of the ritual crowd action (from Baltimore to Boston) following the Declaration of Independence was recorded in graphic imagery; any more than the active image of the Boston Tea Party of two years earlier was exploited by the Americans. The colonists did in fact react by casting tea in Boston Harbor, by tarring and feathering Tories, and by forcing customs officers to drink large quantities of tea (in one case in toasts to a large variety of subversive subjects, reminiscent of the Wilkite crowd action of the 1770s). But these scenes were portrayed for propaganda purposes only by English sympathizers of the colonists in London.

It is possible to trace the origin of the graphic image. In April 1774 there was The Whitehall Pump (Dolmetsch, no. 23), a satiric print showing Lord North pumping water over and into the mouth of a prone Britannia to revive her. She has collapsed on top of the prone Indian brave who represents America. In The Able Doctor or America swallowing the Bitter Draught (p. 7), published in the May 1776 London Magazine, the female figure has been turned into an American. Lord North is forcing the Boston tea down the throat of, and tarring and feathering, English customs officers. Then, not reproduced by Dolmetsch (reproduced by Jones, p. 49), is the atrocity print, Hancock's Warehouse for Tarring & Feathering, where the party being mishandled by the patriots has become a pretty semi-nude English woman.

There is no indication that the prints in which the Americans are the aggressors were copied in America, though they were probably imported. Another in the English mezzotint series is The Patriotic Barber of New York (no. 32), which shows the barber chasing a Tory out of his shop, razor at the ready. Especially interesting is the rearing horse of A Political Lesson (no. 25) in which the vigorous American horse is casting off his English master. These show precisely the graphic image the Americans repressed.

The difference between the internal and external images is, I suppose, that the Americans initially saw themselves as the underdog and oppressed victim. They did not want to associate themselves officially with the kind of Wilkite insubordination upon which in many ways they actually modelled their actions. Accordingly the paradigm that stirred souls was the Boston Massacre until the Declaration of Independence, when the really mythic image appeared in the destruction of the statue of George III, with its echoes of the primal horde dismembering the Father/King, which Paine had already adumbrated--in effect had called for--in Common Sense a few months before.

It was at this time that the "Don't Tread on Me" flag, showing the coiled rattlesnake, came into temporary use. (The image of the divided snake of the disunited colonies--"Join or Die"--goes back to the French-Indian War but reemerged as a patriotic image in the Stamp Act Crisis.) By the 1780s the rattlesnake of the flag had become the property of English cartoonists (Dolmetsch, nos. 79, 84; Jones, pp. 158, 177). The image is shunned by American artists, and appears to have been quickly swept under the carpet. But it is possible to conclude that in pre-revolutionary times when the colonists felt oppressed the figure invoked was passive or female; in the revolutionary moment when they were the aggressor, the figure represented a male principle. The aggressive maleness of the statue-breakers and of the snake was the aspect developed by Blake in his serpentine Orc.

But by that time the official American image (with a Federalist government in power) had been painted by John Trumbull, who on the eve of the Revolution in France was representing the successful American Revolution in terms of the Boston Massacre. Only faintly does he reflect the youth-age conflict, so powerful in Paine and Blake. In Bunker Hill the British tend to be fairly elderly and jowled, while the central American figures are young. Something like the British Oak appears in the battle scenes that follow, decaying from painting to painting until it has fallen to the ground in The Surrender of General Burgoyne, where a luxuriantly leafy tree first appears, a Liberty Tree of the sort seen in the background of the prints in which Americans tar and feather British customs officers. These are
peripheral details. Trumbull's central imagery is of passivity in the hands of a benign providence. His paintings alternate scenes of defeat or dying generals with images of such covenants as an enemy general's surrender, the Declaration of Independence, and Washington resigning his commission as general of the army.

What we see are two different responses, competing by the 1790s, but by then one of them advocated most strongly by Americans, the other by the Englishmen Paine and Blake. The images summed up by Trumbull probably represent the fact that Americans considered their relationship with the king as contractual and indeed believed all political authority to be based on compact. But they also reflect the position of John Adams and the Boston Presbyterians who still drew on a belief in election for an elite and government by covenant, its model ultimately the covenant of the Chosen People with God. Naturally Trumbull used images of providential suffering and martyrdom as preparation for the victory he knew was to follow. Paine and Blake shared the same roots and traditions of English working-class radicalism, which kept alive the heresies of the Ranters and Levellers. They believed not in election for an elite but in election for all, not in government by covenant and passivity in the hands of God but in active energetic attack--indeed attack on the Father Himself as on all figures of authority. It is understandable that Trumbull represented the covenant as the essence of the American Revolution; it was Paine's purpose to destroy this idea, and he exploited the subliminal feelings of the colonists for the paternal relationship, which they as earnestly repressed. It should have surprised no one that Paine went on to demystify the Father in Heaven Himself in his Age of Reason, or that the American government was in no hurry to acknowledge him as one of themselves by seeking his release from prison during the Terror.

One view of English literary history in the 1790s is expressed by Howard Mumford Jones in Revolution and Romanticism: a shift in epistemology, from empiricism to Kantian Idealism, explains the difference between the behavior of a Washington or Jefferson and a Danton or Robespierre—and, I suppose we could add, between a Diderot and David, Wilkes and Cobbett, or Gray and Blake. Melvin J. Lasky in Utopia and Revolution argues that the uninterrupted continuation of the empiricist tradition in England (characteristically English, he implies) saved England from the rationalist excesses of the French Revolution. Carl Woodring in Politics and English Romantic Poetry argues that the rationalist emphasis on natural law and the empirical concern with individual experience explain the whole phenomenon of the French Revolution, and also the early sympathy of the Romantic poets, as well as the later conflict that developed between their liberal tenets and their growing faith in imaginative perception and organic wholeness. In effect, the conjunction of the empirical-liberal tradition and the French Revolution created Romanticism. Woodring avoids Jones' determinism (the rise of Kantian Idealism produced a state of mind that conditioned Robespierre or allowed him to do the outrageous things he did) along with Lasky's confident anglophilia, and explains the human conflict lacking in the pre-Romantic writers and artists, which sets off the poems of Blake, Wordsworth, and Coleridge.

Gary Kelly's subject is the Jacobin novel—also sometimes called the radical or reform novel, since "Jacobin" was a term applied by the unsympathetic to writing that had been largely shaped before the French Revolution began by writers some of whom were sometimes Jacobins. The paradox of Kelly's thesis concerning these novels is how little they were affected by the events of 1789 and following. The best of them, however, do seem to have required that injection of historical violence on the scale and at the distance of the French Revolution. The Revolution, in other words, may account for the difference between Charlotte Smith's Emmeline (1788) and Holcroft's Anna St. Ives (1792), and above all between these and Godwin's Caleb Williams, the one undeniably major work of the Jacobin novel genre. Anna St. Ives, a granddaughter of Clarissa, is still the object of genteel attempted rape, but Godwin's hero is locked in a master-slave relationship which involves broader forms of social violence and destroys both parties (as happened in Clarissa but not in Anna St. Ives).

Kelly's study of the Jacobin novelists is welcome. The available books on the French Revolution and the English poets, novelists, and playwrights are uniformly antiquated and limited to biography and plot summary. Kelly offers the first serious attempt to define radical fiction of the 1780s and 90s and assess its importance. He carries with him some traces of the earlier approach and of the doctoral dissertation. So few of these novels are now read that an extreme circumspectness of treatment is required for the general reader (which includes Kelly's TLS reviewer, who seems— to have read only Caleb Williams). A reader becomes a little impatient with the equally emphatic coverage of one item after another, and annoyed to find words, phrases, and sentences repeated verbatim sometimes only a few pages apart. Nevertheless, Kelly's treatment of the subject is both intelligent and sensitive, often stimulating, and here and there adventurous (as in his treatment of names as historical allusion). Given its scope, the book is extremely informative. Its limits are Inchbald, Bage, Holcroft, and Godwin. The chapter on Godwin is easily the most impressive thing in the book. Kelly has written his equally good Wollstonecraft chapter as introduction to his edition of Mary and Maria in the Oxford English Novel series.

I will try to place Kelly's findings in context. One's first literary referent in any revolutionary period is the drama—the danger spot most closely scrutinized by politicians; witness Walpole's Licensing Act and Corbyn Morris's supporting opinion that it is far more difficult
to efface the impression of what is seen and heard than what is merely read. It is therefore no surprise to find the dramatic response to the French Revolution in operatic entertainments. The plays that went seriously, though clumsily, at the real issues and took sides were prohibited and never performed. Even so, the surviving texts show that they generally took the allegorical way out, through parallels in earlier English history or in Roman or Swiss history (just as the French were doing across the Channel). A few attempted to dramatize the current events in Paris, with Charlotte Corday or Robespierre as protagonist.

Scholars examining this material tend to look for specific references to France or liberty or rebellion, and have overlooked the area of greatest literary interest: the analogical plots developed by writers who could not, or did not wish to, express their feelings directly. We are told that Holcroft’s play Love’s Frailties (1794) was hissed off the stage for the line "I was bred to the most useless, and often the most worthless of all professions; that of a gentleman." Such a sentence was one sign of Jacobin sentiment. But what distinguishes Love’s Frailties is its modification of the Marriage of Figaro plot, brought into the revolutionary period (Holcroft also made an expurgated translation of Beaumarchais’ play). The English version of the droit de seigneur is an uncle who controls the marriages of his charges—siblings, each of whom is in love with an unsuitable person, a soldier for her and a painter’s daughter for him. The old guardian who prohibits these matches pursues young girls himself, and the plot is an animated version of a Rowlandson situation with the old guardian, the young girl he pursues, and her young lover (who, of course, turns out to be the old man’s charge). On the one hand the young folk rebel and marry as they please, and on the other the old man is thwarted in his personal designs on the young girl. Love, it is made clear, is both the great leveller and the great catalyst for rebellious action, and the battle is between generations (whether the participants are called father-son-daughter or guardian-brother-sister).

As Kelly’s examples document, the situation of domestic tyranny was already present in novels of the 1780s as a paradigm of repression and rebellion. As early as Mount Beneth (1782) Bage was using his characters’ speeches to make the analogy between domestic and national tyranny; and what is implicit in the 80s becomes explicit in the 90s in references to the situation with Hastings in India and the lost colonies of America (Man As He Is, 1792). Bage is the least representative of these novelists, because he remains fairly well confined within the comic tradition of Fielding and Smollett. Kelly thinks, with good reason, that his covert and overt domestic analogies fit politically into the rationalist and empirical opposition to Filmer’s patriarchal monarchy. But the question of continuum or interruption haunts Kelly’s book. There is a chasm between the emphasis domestic tyranny receives in the 1780s, let alone the 90s, and in Tom Jones and Marriage à la Mode, where it is also an integral part. Intervening—though Kelly does not mention the fact—are the intensifying phenomena of Wilkes and the Gordon Riots, as well as the American Revolution and Burke's attack on Hastings. There is the question whether, as Kelly says, “events had turned one of Bage’s favourite themes into a piece of provocative radicalism” or whether as a result of the possibilities loosed by the Wilkite propaganda and the American Revolution, some literature itself was turning in this more radical and provocative direction.

Some questions remain. Why does Bage—admittedly an imitator of Fielding—have to go to Montesquieu (as Kelly has him do) for his stress on “virtuous living rather than the mere outward forms of religion”? The theme was an old one in England, present in the works of Bishop Hoadly as well as Fielding, long before Bage began to write. How do we distinguish the image of the villainous titled aristocrat as a phenomenon of the 1780s (the dividing line, Kelly notes, seems to have been baronet/baron)? Richardson’s Lovelace was not an aristocrat in the later sense. When and why does the break occur with the older and more conservatively-convention of attacking not higher orders but “fashion” and the middleclass “desire to ape a higher level of society”? "Luxury" too was essentially a topos used by the upperclass to criticize the lower orders. Why then in the 1780s does it become attached, as Kelly shows it does, to the titled aristocrat?

The convention that could probably bear most investigation is the arranged/forced marriage, already present in Hogarth’s Marriage à la Mode and Richardson’s Clarissa. Here the question is less the rape of an innocent than the forced marriage from which Clarissa escapes into rape. A story can often be dated by its solution to the problem of how to overthrow this tyranny. In Marriage à la Mode overthrow is effected by natural forces after the marriage; in Clarissa by the daughter’s willful action before the marriage takes place, but with equally terrible consequences. In all the Gothic novels out of Walpole’s Castle of Otranto the defiance precedes marriage—as in the old romances—by mere flight. The literary aspect of the change in the 1780s turns on the conventions of the Gothic, which transform the situation of domestic tyranny into a more extreme situation with ruined castles serving as implicit trappings of royal tyranny (on the decline). One other factor only glancingly mentioned by Kelly is the women novelists of the Gothic who preceded Inchbald, in particular Charlotte Smith. The Gothic charge was picked up by a novelist like Smith, who found therein a vehicle for expressing her own feelings in the figure of a Gothic heroine—feelings the male novelist simply did not share, did not even have much reason to feel or notice in her novels.

The woman’s experience, like that of the black slave, was a model standing ready for use when the Revolution erupted in 1789. The experience of the female chattel, of oppression with no recourse to law, of sexual pursuit and assault upon body and mind, all provided the woman novelist (who had also read Clarissa and Otranto) with the experience...
and the point for a revolutionary novel—or an anticipation of one—which could be adapted by Holcroft and Godwin when the moment was ripe. The emphasis might be on the wife's feelings of guilt, but at its best in Inchbald's Simple Story (1791) the scenario ends in the increasingly censorious and dictatorial husband against whom his wife can only rebel in adultery. Wollstonecraft's Vindication of the Rights of Woman and Maria are only the discursive and melodramatic extremes of this plot.

In the 1780s and into the 90s Charlotte Smith's women remain peripheral, the marital horrors and the adultery taking place off stage, and usually to secondary characters. The emphasis is on the virtue of the heroine who remains faithful to her worthless husband, but the strength of the novel lies in its portrayal of the husband. Then in Desmond (1792) the characters talk about the Revolution in France, underline the parallels between the French and English situations, and shift our admiration from the wife's virtue to her brave behavior in a situation of tyranny.

What sets apart Kelly's main protagonists, Inchbald, Holcroft, and Godwin, is their adherence to the rational strain of literary-political-philosophical theorizing. This is present not only in the dialogues on philosophical issues in their novels but in the theoretical basis for the formal structure that sets their best novels above other English fiction of the 1790s. This was the search for "unity of design" which Holcroft was advocating in the preface to Albyn as early as 1780—and so the simplicity which is requisite (taken up in the title of Inchbald's Simple Story). Unity and simplicity also derived from the integration of plot and character through the "doctrine of necessity," the belief that "The characters of men originate in their external circumstances." The formal result at its best was a remarkable union of character and incident.

The special kind of novel that was produced had as its object, in Holcroft's words, to "develop the emotions that preceded and the causes that produced the passion, and, afterward, trace it through all its consequences." The action was, in short, a passion—a relationship or entanglement, with its emotions and causes as well as its consequences analyzed in some depth; and the form the passion took was one involving love and compulsion, rape of one sort or another, and mastery, based on the model of Clarissa. The line of transmission was from the Clarissa-Lovelace symplegma which ends in mutual destruction, a consequence of his need to subjugate and hers to resist, and indispensable to its form. The integration of plot and character through the "doctrine of necessity," the belief that "The characters of men originate in their external circumstances." The formal result at its best was a remarkable union of character and incident.

What makes A Simple Story so attractive is that the situation it dramatizes is remarkably appropriate to the time, without being in any way allegorically or analogically related to what was happening or even was about to happen, since it was largely written before 1789) in France. Kelly has it exactly right when he sums up the strength of the novel as Inchbald's portrayal of "the repression and the force of powerful but natural feelings." His remarks are illuminating on the subject: "Dorriforth, Miss Milner, Sandford [the clergyman friend of Dorriforth], are all locked in a moral and psychological bastille built by reason and pride, and since words are the language of this super-ego, only gestures can elude the censorship of conscience to tell the story of the heart's imprisonment." Although "bastille" is his own metaphor, Kelly is uncovering the strand connecting A Simple Story to Sterne's Sentimental Journey, and even to Joseph Andrews. It is still part of the sentimental tradition, where the inauthenticity of words was an essential ingredient. ("But how unimportant, how weak, how ineffectual are words in conversation," we read in A Simple Story, "—looks and manners alone express—") But A Simple Story also shows how these assumptions can become Jacobin, either by placing Sterne's caged starling, or even Rousseau's, in a context of the fall of the Bastille, or by intensifying the feeling and the symbolism of the situation by adding, however implicitly, a political dimension.

A Simple Story is the work without which Anna St. Ives and Caleb Williams would have been inconceivable. If one theme, as Holcroft states his aim in Anna St. Ives, is "teaching fortitude to females," and this fortitude is in the face of a guardian or husband, another that follows is the conflict of the generations. Here it is the old Sir Arthur St. Ives and Abimilech Henley against young Anna and Frank, and the relationship of the oppressive or foolish parents and the rebellious
children joins the Jacobin thesis that education and changing circumstances affect character ("the virtuous children can make preparation for the errors of their parents," in Kelly's words). There is also, carried over from *A Simple Story*, "the conflict between [Anna's] rational intentions and her unconscious yearnings and fears" (cf. Inchbald's "showing the force of feeling by the force necessary to suppress it"). In her terms, her love for Frank conflicts with her duty to Sir Arthur as passion conflicts with reason: "Indeed indeed, Frank, it is not my heart that refuses you; it is my understanding; it is principle; it is a determination not to do that which my reason cannot justify." But of the real problem, she says: "I cannot encounter the malediction of a father!--What! Behold him in an agony of cursing his child?--I cannot!--I cannot!--It must not be!"

... because," says Frank, "this wise world has decreed that to abhor, reprove, and avoid vice in a father, instead of being the performance of a duty, is offensive to all moral feeling."

The lesson of these rather fine though minor novels is that the important precursors of Caleb Williams (or Things as They Are, or the Adventures of Caleb Williams, Godwin's first, Jacobin title) are not the overt radical novels but some grand-daughters of Clarissa. What Godwin does is to change the sex, making it man against man, father against son, instead of the father (husband) against the daughter (wife) of Inchbald and Holcroft. He does not omit the sexual nexus of the Caleb-Falkland relationship, but now it introduces the Oedipal dimension which had been displaced heretofore to the daughter. And he ruthlessly carries out in both of his endings the implications elided by his fellow Jacobin novelists. His revised ending is not very satisfactorily explained by Kelly as Godwin's wanting an optimistic ending which mitigates Caleb's triumph with remorse. Rather the fact that Caleb has in effect become the murderer Falkland, the slave and master changing roles, reflects the central problem, which Godwin shared with his contemporary Blake, of whether history is a closed structure as the MS. ending suggests; one involving irreversible change or merely cyclic and repetitive.

If we put aside the Godwin model for a "Jacobin novel" embodied in this succession of novels, we are left with a number of more traditional models. These are masked by the tendency to call Jacobin fiction (plays as well as novels) Such Things Are as They Are, and Maids as They Are (Inchbald, 1787 and 1797), Man as He Is, Things as They Are, Elmor, or The World As It Is (Mary J. Hanaway, 1798), and What Has Been (Mrs. Mathews, 1803). These titles, usually disingenuous, do express the attempt to get out from behind the conventions of fiction and show conditions as they were. The greatest and most successful case was Goya's *Desastres* with the inscriptions "Can such things be?" or "Such things are," or "I saw this myself." But in England these titles expressed an ideal rather than an accomplishment.

We can imagine a writer asking himself: how does one write a revolutionary novel (overt or covert) in the 1790s in England? The novelistic alternatives seem to have been to portray a hero who goes out into the world and learns how corruptly society operates, and is disillusioned; or to portray a hero who, once he has learned this, goes around setting things straight. The first was Holcroft's strategy in *Hugh Trevor* (1794-97), which is hardly an advance on *Roderick Random*. The second solution was followed by Bage in *Hermesprong*, or *Man as He Is Not* (1796). An American, an echo of the Huron in Voltaire's *L'Ingenu*, with no clear past, enters and disrupts the remote, over-conventionalized society of Grondale. He talks about the French Revolution and the clampdown of freedom of speech and thought in England, seeing from the vantage of an American who has come to England by way of France.

It is no surprise to find a great many children either disowned or cut off by their fathers. (Hugh Trevor has the same sort of relationship with his grandfather.) In *Hermesprong* Glen's father will not acknowledge her, Miss Campinet's will barely acknowledge her, sending her off to live with an aunt; Miss Fluart's father has died, turning her over to a lawyer-guardian. Bage takes up Burke's panegyric on primogeniture and aristocratic chivalry and gives us appalling examples in Lord Grondale and Sir Philip Chestrum, with Dr. Blick their toady clergyman. A sprightly dialogue between Miss Campinet and Miss Fluart replays the argument between Anna and Frank Henley on the loyalty to a father, concluding that a tie of blood is not sufficient sanction for tyranny. Hermesprong is lucky enough to have no such ties. Asked where the "price" of custom "is not paid," he answers Miss Campinet: "Amongst the aborigines of America, Miss Campinet. There ... I was born a savage." "I am a young American, without father or mother; but with a fortune that sets me above..."

His being himself an aristocrat is a convention which keeps the novel safe. Another is Bage's denouement. After preparing for an uprising of Lord Grondale's miners, with his fieftdom collapsing around his ears and this English Louis XVI even planning a "flight to Varennes," Bage has the revolt fail to materialize when Hermesprong dissuades the miners, using arguments of an almost Pittite hue.

Kelly sees these novelists as somewhat more original than I do. He argues for various kinds of revision, or what he calls Jacobinizing, of the conventional forms, both social and fictional. The Jacobinization of the Smollettian picaresque in *Hugh Trevor* involves making the "impetuousity" of
the picaro reflect the French, supposedly regarded by the English as impetuous, and moreso in their catastrophically over-zealous revolution. Richardson's Sir Charles Grandison, the perfect Christian hero, is Jacobinized by Godwin into Ferdinando Falkland. It emerges that Jacobinization means allegorizing, or re-allegorizing, conventional forms or topoi. Kelly's chief contribution, I believe, lies in his drawing attention to these revolutionary reformulations, though (as in the case of "impetuosity") I do not always find myself convinced in particular cases.

Coke Clifton, the potential Lovelace of Anna St. Ives, undoubtedly carries with him Burkean overtones of chivalry, to be seen in their "true colors." The Chateau of Villebrun appears to be a translation of Brunswick and the count who has read the Provencal poets and romanciers "till he has made himself a kind of Don Quixote" evokes, of course, Paine's name for Burke. One thinks of Erdman's interpretation of Blake's Europe, with its allusions to Gillray caricatures of Burke and Pitt, when Kelly argues that Sir Barnard Bray and Falkland (and to some extent St. Leon) are all portraits of Burke; as Dr. Blick, the fat Bishop in Hugh Trevor, and other bad clergymen are portraits of Bishop Horsley; Lord Idford alludes to the Duke of Portland; and Bryan Perdue contains references to the "English Pit" and to pitfalls. All of these--most of them probable--at the very least provide annotation not to be found in the volumes of the Oxford English Novel series.

Kelly is also right to detect allegorical formulations in Anna St. Ives. A general allegory of class is set up in Sir Arthur's mania for improvement and his Tactitum Abimelech Henley's exploitation of this mania, and the central triangle of Coke Clifton, Anna, and Frank represents values of chivalry, reform, and perhaps nature--"a paradigm of the political situation of the 1790s," says Kelly. Kelly's most interesting point is that allegorical resonance is achieved by the play on names. He gives us elaborate sources for Coke Clifton and other Holcroft names, but settles down to business with Caleb Williams. Falkland's name is meant to recall the Lord Falkland of the Civil War (down to the fact that he fought a celebrated duel) and Ferdinando is a particular reference to the "heroic and chivalric King of Spain." We can at least accept Ferdinando as a generally chivalric name, and certainly Godwin, like many of his contemporaries, brought the present conflict into the context of the English Civil War.

I become less easy when I read that Falkland therefore equals ancien-régime France, and Caleb equals the early moderate reformers of the Revolution--Lafayette and the Girondists, and in particular General Dumouriez, who was "faced with the agonizing decision of having to join France's enemies and seek her downfall, or leaving the national distemper to run its course." Kelly's argument gains plausibility from the existence of Dumouriez' Memoirs, translated by a friend of Godwin's in 1794. "By attempting to root out the evil of the old feudal regime," writes Kelly, "Caleb Williams, and the French moderates, found they had helped to destroy the whole fabric." This may or may not be; but Kelly's main points about topicality are convincing, especially as regards the agencies of Pittite oppression finding their reflection in "the kind of social and semi-legal persecution Caleb Williams had to endure for daring to question the integrity of Falkland his employer."

There is only confirmation in the fact that Goodwin's fictions after Caleb Williams become ever more allegorical, or that even Inchbald retreats into fable in that "Satire upon the Times" which became Nature and Art, where she translates Pope's "And wretches hang that Jurymen may dine" into the literal scene of William passing sentence of death on his ex-mistress Agnes, who swoons "while he adjourned court to go to dinner." The circumstances that produced A Simple Story and Caleb Williams were unrepeatable, and both writers returned to easier and more conventional ways of dealing with political issues, which themselves became increasingly fuzzy. It is the accomplishment of Kelly's English Jacobin Novel that we can now see these high points in a clearer relation to contemporary run-of-the-mill novels and plays, to their predecessors, and to the various alternative ways of dealing with the Jacobin experience in fiction.
BLAKE THEFT FOILED

According to a report in the *Guardian* for 1 March 1978, p. 2--"Aladdin's cave haul found by police"--police officers in London had arrested a man after finding "Items worth £160,000" in his flat: prints, silver, china, glass, and--"original paintings by William Blake," "illustrations for the poems of Mr Thomas Grey [sic]," which according to the report had been "valued at up to £100,000 by Bonham Galleries." All the stolen items were put on display at the Marylebone police station.

Unfortunately or fortunately, the Blakes turned out in the end to be a Blake Trust facsimile. ITEM COURTESY OF G. E. BENTLEY, JR.

SWEDENBORG $3000

According to UPI reports, Swedenborg's skull was sold at auction by Sotheby's to the Swedish Royal Academy, which will bury the skull with the rest of the body, first buried in London (1772), then moved in 1908 to Uppsala Cathedral in Sweden. The skull was stolen in the early nineteenth century. It brought $3000 at auction in March.

JOB IN FRANKFURT SCHAUSPIELHAUS

In Gilchrist's *Life* we find the record of a conversation between Samuel Palmer and William Blake concerning the *Job* illustrations. Palmer recollects that he "asked him [Blake] how he would like to paint on glass, for the great west window [of Westminster Abbey], his 'Sons of God shouting for Joy,' from his designs in the *Job.* He said, after a pause, 'I could do it' kindling at the thought." (Gilchrist, 1863, I, 303). Almost 150 years after Blake's death this idea--mutatis mutandis--was finally put into practice, not in Westminster Abbey and not by Blake himself, of course, but on stage at the Frankfurt Schauspielhaus by the scenic designer Erich Wonder. On 5 June 1977 I went to see the first performance of Tankred Dorst and Horst Laube's new play, *Genozwirt oder: Die Abschauffung der Todes*--itself, I thought, rather disappointing. The stage directions for scene 16, however, demanded the interior of a small Gothic chapel where members of the 1871 Paris Commune were to be seen during one of their last meetings prior to their final defeat, which was inflicted upon them by the troops of the reactionary Thiers. The design for the one "stained glass window" shown in the scenery was taken from Blake's *Job* watercolors. A giant transparency enlargement of the Butts version of "When the Morning Stars Sang Together" had been cut into the shape of a slightly pointed twelfth-century Gothic window, thus spreading some spiritual comfort and hope on the representation of that otherwise desperate moment in history. Whether Erich Wonder in his stage design did so with or without knowledge of the Blakean context I cannot say. For me--and I hope some others in the audience too--the appearance of that reproduction both meant that the sufferings of the Commune members were related to the sufferings of the Biblical patriarch, and that at the same time there was a promise for their final redemption (which will be ours too). DETLEF W. DOERRBECKER, FRANKFURT.

JAMES JEFFERYS UPDATE

In *Blake* for spring 1977 it was hinted that two further developments were imminent in the rediscovery of James Jefferys. Both have now appeared in the April 1977 issue of *The Burlington Magazine*. The first article, by John Sunderland, reports the discovery by Timothy Clifford at the close of the Jefferys exhibition that the drawing formerly accepted as a self-portrait from behind by John Hamilton Mortimer in fact shows a figure holding a drawing by Jefferys included in the exhibition. It was also clear that the drawing was inscribed in Jefferys' hand, including the address "To Mr. Benchley," Jefferys' early patron at Maidstone. The conclusion is that both this drawing, now in the Mellon Collection at Yale, and the companion self-portrait seen from the front, in the National Portrait Gallery, London, are by Jefferys. It is interesting that Sunderland had already suspected that other so-called Mortimers from the same source as these two drawings were not by him; one can now look for a strongly Mortimeresque phase in the development of Jefferys' very eclectic style.

This may be still more eclectic than has been supposed. The other article was by Nancy L. Pressly, identifying Jefferys with the mysterious "Master of the Giants." Various attributions to such artists as Prince Hoare have proved untenable and, although Mrs. Pressly's identification has not yet been wholeheartedly accepted in all quarters, it seems convincing to me. The sketchy treatment of the background figures of the "Master of the Giants" drawings, perhaps more than the more consciously finished foreground figures, seems particularly close to Jefferys' style; a distinctive manner of drawing kneecaps is a characteristic feature of both groups of drawings! It is good news that Mrs.
Pressly is continuing her study of the activity at Rome in the 1770s of such artists as Fuseli, Serpei, Alexander Runciman, John Brown, Romney and Mauritius Lowe: the terribilita, forceful rather than accomplished, of much of Blake's work in the 1780s seems to owe as much to these artists' revival of Mannerism as it does to the more orthodox tenets of Neo-Classicism. Martin Butlin, Keeper of the British Collection, Tate Gallery, London.


3 Nancy L. Pressly, "James Jefferys and the 'Master of the Giants,'" ibid., pp. 280-84, drawings by Jefferys. including some formerly attributed to the Master of the Giants, repr. pp. 282 and 285, figs. 80-86.

MLA Blake Seminar 1979

W. J. T. Mitchell of the University of Chicago will be discussion leader for the 1979 session of the MLA Blake Seminar at the MLA Annual Meeting. The topic will be "Blake on Language and Writing." Those interested in being on a panel should send Mitchell a paper of not more than fifteen pages by 30 March 1979 at the latest, sooner if possible. (This Blake Seminar should not be confused with the one scheduled for MLA December 1978--discussion leader Anne Mellor.)

PAPERS ON JUNG

Deadline: 15 December 1978. Papers for possible presentation at a conference, "Jungian Perspectives on Creativity and the Unconscious," that examine the nature of creativity, that present Jungian critical studies of the arts, architecture, literature of all languages, film, philosophy, and in psychology (especially as a means of promoting creativity among university students in the arts and humanities). Critiques of the Jungian perspective are welcome. Abstracts of 500 words for papers approximately 20 minutes in length should be sent to Donald W. Fritz, Dept. of English, 234 Upham Hall, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio 45056.

Jungian Studies

James Jefferys, "Fallen Warrior lying against a Dead Horse." Pen and grey wash over pencil 19-3/4 x 30-1/4 (50.1 x 76.8) Maidstone Museum and Art Gallery.