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NEWSLETTER

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"THE ETERNAL WHEELS OF INTELLECT": DISSERTATIONS ON WILLIAM BLAKE

G. E. BENTLEY, JR.

William Blake has been the subject of doctoral dissertations for over sixty years, and a sufficient number have been completed and accepted—over two hundred—to make it possible to draw some interesting conclusions about patterns of interest in William Blake and about patterns in higher education. In general, the conclusions which these facts make possible, at least to me, confirm what one might have guessed but supply the facts to justify one's guesses.

Before one places much weight upon either the facts or the conclusions based upon them, however, one must recognize the fragmentary nature of our evidence and whence it comes. About 60% of those theses of which I have records are listed in Dissertation Abstracts (1938-1969) and Dissertation Abstracts International (1969 ff.); about 60% are in Blake Books (1977); each work is supplemented by the Comprehensive Dissertation Query Service of University Microfilms which includes many dissertations not in DA and DAI; and a number come from elsewhere. No Blake dissertations at universities outside North America are listed in DA, DAI, or the Query Service, and a number of universities in North America, such as Harvard and Chicago, apparently never or rarely list their dissertations in DA or DAI. For Blake dissertations at institutions such as these, or at those which occasionally do not list their dissertations there, or for dissertations (of which there are scores recorded here) listed in DA and DAI only three, five or more years after they were accepted for the degree, the information is likely to be accumulated here only in somewhat random fashion, and it is especially likely to be incomplete for the last few years, say 1973-78. In particular, it seems likely that there were more dissertations on Blake written in Germany and Japan than are recorded here.

The national distribution of the universities at which the degrees were awarded is striking: Canada 14 (mostly from Toronto), England 24 (mostly Oxford, Cambridge, and London), Finland 1, France 3, Germany 4, India 3, Ireland 1, Japan 2, New Zealand 1, Scotland 1, Switzerland 4, the United States 204. I have no record of Blake doctoral dissertations in Australia, Italy, or South Africa. About 96% are from the English-speaking world, which is not surprising, and about 77% are from the United States, which I suppose is not really surprising either, considering that there must be about as many Ph.D. granting universities in the United States as in most of the rest of the world put together. Of the some 23% from outside the U. S. A., a curiously high proportion has been published: fourteen out of fifty-eight. The proportion is doubtless inflated because information about such dissertations is likely to come to hand most readily when they are published—publication is sometimes the condition of their being recorded. I don't think it would be a fair conclusion that dissertations written on Blake outside the United States are, by international standards, more publishable. Though the minimum Ph.D. standard in Europe and New Zealand is probably higher than that in the U. S., these countries have produced no Blake dissertations so influential as those in the United States, of, say, Mark Schorer, Margaret Ruth Lowery, and Albert S. Roe.

In all, some hundred universities awarded about two hundred sixty doctorates for dissertations on Blake, an average of about 2.4 apiece. The list of
institutions (see Table below) includes a number not very familiar in international scholarship, such as Ball State University, The University of Lucknow, The University of the Pacific, Abo University, and The University of Arkansas, but most of the great universities in England and the United States are included; the most conspicuous exceptions I have noted are The University of Michigan and The University of California at Los Angeles. A little less than half the universities represented here have produced only one Blake dissertation, while nineteen universities have fostered one hundred nine of the known Blake dissertations, or nearly half the total. These universities are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>University</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Dates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brandeis</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1969-75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1966-75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berkeley</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambridge</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1939-74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Columbia</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1953-74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iowa</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1960-75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johns Hopkins</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1954-74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1967-71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1915-76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Carolina</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1951-73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northwestern</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1954-73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio State</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1934-73</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oregon</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1963-74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxford</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1953-56</td>
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<tr>
<td>Southern</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1968-73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texas</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1958-75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toronto</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1949-76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1941-75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wisconsin</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1924-74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yale</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1935-73</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two of these institutions, Columbia and Wisconsin, have produced almost as many known Blake dissertations (23) as all the universities in Britain put together (26). It is remarkable that these Blake-prolific institutions include most of those with the greatest university-reputations as well: Berkeley, Cambridge, Columbia, Johns Hopkins, London, Oxford, Texas, Toronto, Wisconsin, and Yale. There is some reason to believe that the universities which produce more than the average number of Blake dissertations are also among the best.

Another way of judging this is by looking at the dissertations which became books, on the assumption that the better theses were published. One must of course be cautious here, for sometimes publication is a condition of acceptance of a dissertation, and inferior works are published at the author's expense; and sometimes a university press may publish a dissertation from its own institution when another press might not have published it. Some of the best Blake dissertations become books were published at presses outside the institutions which originally sponsored them--such as Mark Schorer's *William Blake: The Politics of Vision*, Irene Tayler's *Blake's Illustrations to the Poems of Gray*, Morton Paley's *Energy and the Imagination*, and Albert Roe's *Blake's Illustrations to the Divine Comedy*. (Contrariwise, of course, publication by the candidate's own university press is not necessarily a pejorative sign, as indicated by Bo Lindberg's *Blake's Illustrations to the Book of Job*, Helen White's *Mysticism of William Blake*, and Margaret Ruth Lowery's *Window of the Morning*. The dates of publication of Blake dissertations are interesting: 2 dissertations (100% of 2 finished) in 1910-19; 4 (80% of 5) in 1920-29; 2 (33% of 6) in 1930-39; 3 (37 1/2% of 8) in 1940-49; 8 (31% of 26) in 1950-59; 10 (16% of 63) in 1960-69; 7 (5% of 146) thus far in 1970-77. The average length of time from acceptance of the dissertation to publication of the book is about five years, ranging from simultaneous acceptance and publication (e.g., in the case of Bo Lindberg) to twenty-eight years (Norman). The institutions sponsoring Blake dissertations which were published were Abo (1973), Bordeaux (1924), Brandeis (1970—mostly not about Blake), Bristol (1964), Chicago (1968), Columbia (1964, 1967, 1968, 1970), Edinburgh (1970), Freiburg (1925), Harvard (1950), Johns Hopkins (1954), Japan (1950, 1963), New York (1915, 1947), Northwestern (1956), North Carolina (1951), Oxford (1946, 1956), Reading (1951), Stanford (1967), Sussex (1971), Switzerland (1956), Toronto (1949), Washington (1954), Wisconsin (1924, 1936, 1963), Yale (1935, 1964, 1969, 1970), and Zurich (1911, 1925). Of two hundred sixty dissertations on Blake, thirty-seven (14%) were published. Of the thirty-seven published dissertations, four (Ba Han, Bassalik-de Vries, Dickinson, and Norman) are negligible as books or as dissertations; twenty-two are respectable but not remarkable; and ten would be taken by most scholars as being among the most important works on Blake, works with which any serious student must be familiar. These are the theses of Helen White (1924), Margaret Ruth Lowery (1935), Mark Schorer (1936), A. S. Roe (1950), Robert Gleckner (1954), G. E. Bentley, Jr. (1956), Alicia Ostriker (1963), Morton Paley (1964), Irene Tayler (1967), and Bo Lindberg (1973). The dissertations which turned into distinguished books were from Abo, Columbia, Harvard, Johns Hopkins, Oxford, Stanford, Wisconsin (3), and Yale. Among Anglophone universities, this is a fairly familiar kind of honor-role, with no minor institutions among them. Assuming that all the best dissertations before 1972 have been published, it seems striking that the most distinguished among them were written at universities which have been long, and in this respect apparently justifiably, regarded as among the best of English-speaking universities.

Doubtless the percentage of Blake dissertations published will rise, particularly for those finished after 1966; after all, a dissertation of 1947 was not published until 1975. However, of the thirty-seven theses published thus far, only five took longer than seven years in the press, and in most respects we may regard the books as closed on theses finished before say 1970. This is particularly true of remarkably good books, for only one of them in the past (Mark Schorer's) took more than seven years to convert from a dissertation (1936) to a book (1946), and doubtless the special circumstance of the war helped to delay its publication.

The proportion of Blake dissertations published has declined from 100% in the first decade (1910-19)
to 16% for the last one for which the figures are probably nearly complete (1960-69). The first Blake dissertations published seem to be little more than vanity- or must-print-to-submit publications, and until 1940-49 there are so few Blake dissertations that extrapolating trends from them is not very meaningful. (It is, however, striking that the only two Blake dissertations of the 1930s which were published, Lowery's and Schorren's, were among the most influential ever to be printed.) The figures (37% to 16%) for the twenty published dissertations of 1940-69 are, however, steadier and more reliable and indicate that two or three in ten of the Blake dissertations finished then were turned into books. Assuming a continuation of the popularity of Blake and a steady demand for books of all kinds (very problematical assumptions, of course), we may expect something like 15% to 20% of the one hundred forty-six Blake theses completed thus far in the 1970s to be published—or twelve more than have yet appeared. If, as in the past, a third of these prove to be distinguished, we have great things to look forward to.

Of two hundred sixty Blake theses, more than half were finished since 1970; the average author of a Blake Ph.D. is not only living but, if an academic in North America, probably does not yet have tenure. More Blake dissertations were completed in 1974 than in the entire period from 1911 to 1950. The chart in Table II (see below) indicates the pattern of completion of Blake dissertations, with a scattering of none to six per year from 1911 until 1967.

The great boom in Blake dissertations began in the 1960s and reached a peak in 1968-74, when there were twice as many Blake theses completed (153) as had ever been made before altogether (70). From 1969 to 1976 (the last year for which the figures are probably fairly complete), on an average eighteen Blake dissertations were completed per year, better than one a month. Blake clearly appealed to the troubled young spirits of the 1960s in the United States. Perhaps today he is in danger of becoming a figure of the Establishment. Certainly he is part of the Academic Establishment, and there is an orthodoxy in Blake studies as in work on more conventional authors.

Or perhaps all the best topics have been taken, and students hesitate to embark on a sea as large as that of Blake scholarship. It must seem difficult to find a plausible topic in Blake which has not previously been treated responsibly, and some of the recent theses seem to be stretching plausibility to cover a good deal of rather surprising matter. Ignoring the Ph.D. dissertations at Rutgers (e.g., G. L. Waters) as being not "theses" at all but merely collections of quite unrelated essays, there are still some surprising theses produced, often at surprising places. The length varies from 56 pages (Bassalik-de Vries, Dickinson) to three volumes (Gabbett-Mulhallen, P. S. Wilson), but it seems to be shortening. A good number are under two hundred pages, and not a few are under 155 pages; one reason there are more Blake theses in 1968-75 may be that they tend to be shorter than previous dissertations and presumably easier to complete. In the 1930s and 1940s there was a tendency to give evocative but not very descriptive titles to Blake books, such as "Windows of the Morning" or "Fearful Symmetry or Infinity on the Anvil." Recent Blake dissertations have been more explicit, if no less modish. Their titles reverberate with critical cult words such as Alienation (1971), Apocalypse (1969 [2], 1970, 1972, 1973, 1976), Archetype (1973, 1974, 1976), Dynamics (1973, 1976), Symbology (1975 [2]), and, of course, Vision (1963, 1966, 1967, 1970, 1971, 1973, 1974, 1976, 1977). Some deal with peculiarly Blakean problems, such as the relationship of text and design, or the nature of the Form or Structure of his writings, and some deal with problems peculiar to this generation, such as the role of the body in Blake (Christian [1973], Frosch [1969], Kostelanetz [1967]) or the role of women (Berderian [1974], M. E. White [1972], Fullbright [1973]). Many are perfectly responsibly on the borders of the Blake world, because they are tracing Blake's influence on successors such as W. B. Yeats or D. H. Lawrence or James Joyce or D. G. Rossetti, or because they see Blake as merely part of a long tradition of, say, Millenarian Literature (Gershgoren) or Occult Traditions (Schuchard), or because Blake's poems are merely the context of a musical composition (Karvonen, W. M. Smith). More commonly, Blake is yoked with some other author (e.g., Tagore), often rather arbitrarily, to pull a dissertation which appears to be composed of fairly discrete parts, with wheels of different sizes. The excuse may be common imagery, say serpents (Pedrini), or parallel subjects of poetry, or contemporary responses to the same phenomenon (Armah, Kline, Lowenstein). But the results are not likely to illuminate Blake very much, whatever they may do to their authors. So far as the abstracts show, at any rate, the purpose often seems to be to indicate the author's ingenuity rather than to throw new light on Blake or on the other poets dealt with.

Almost all the two hundred sixty Blake dissertations have been literary in their orientation—indeed, almost all are for English Departments, though one is a Doctorate in Religion (Grimes), another in Sociology (Shain), and a third is a Ph.D. in "The History of Consciousness" (Singh). Only about 10% seem to take much account of the fact that Blake was primarily a visual artist and that all the poems he published were illustrated or "illuminated." Of the score of dissertations which consider his visual work extensively, only eight seem to be primarily concerned with the designs, and only three (Bindman, Lindberg, Roe) seem to be by art-historians. And even the dissertations concerned primarily with Blake's designs mostly concentrate on his book-illustrations, the Young, Job, Dante, Gray, Milton, and Bunyan. Blake has never been treated very seriously by the world of art-historians, and the resulting lacunae in Blake studies have largely been filled, faute de mieux, by literary scholars venturing in strange seas. Just as very few Comparative Literature scholars are fully qualified in both their literatures, very few Blake scholars (indeed none, so far as I know) are fully qualified in both genres of literature and art. For a really satisfying treat-
The danger of depending upon Dissertation Abstracts or Dissertation Abstracts International for a complete list of dissertations of Blake is manifest. Not only do they exclude all the dissertations here from institutions outside North America, but they systematically omit some of the most distinguished U.S. universities (such as Harvard and Chicago), while some universities do not record all their dissertations. Theses from forty-three universities occasionally or regularly do not appear in DA and DAI so far as Blake dissertations are concerned, including Berkeley, Cambridge, Chicago, Cornell, Edinburgh, Harvard, Johns Hopkins, London, Oxford, Paris, Toronto, Wisconsin, and Yale; and 40% of the Ph.D. dissertations listed here are not in DA or DAI. And of course many dissertations, often the best, are not listed until three to five years after they are completed. We may have to depend upon DA or DAI, but we should recognize that they omit a good many Blake dissertations, including some of the best. The danger of redundancy in Blake theses and studies is therefore a significant one.

Of the two hundred sixty Blake theses, at least seventy-eight (30%) are by women. Of these, sixteen (22%) were completed in 1963-69 and fifty more (64%) are from 1970-77. For the period 1970-77, 35% of the Blake theses are by women. Of the nine really good dissertations-turned-books, an even larger proportion are by women (White [1924], Lowery [1935], Ostriker [1963], and Taylor [1967]). In Blake studies, the emancipation of women's intellectual energies has not been a recent phenomenon.

In terms of popularity of subject, the most common seem to be influences on Blake from the past, with forty-two theses on his sources and predecessors such as Boehme (3), Milton (8), Newton, and Pope (sic). There are thirty-eight dissertations on Blake and his successors, his reputation, or his influence, including three on James Joyce, two on D. G. Rossetti, four on D. H. Lawrence, and ten (sic) on Yeats. Thirty-three are on Blake and his contemporaries such as Burns (2), Byron (8), Coleridge (10), Goethe, Keats (7), Shelley (11), Thomas Taylor, and Wordsworth (15), though of course most are tracing little more than coincidental relationships with Blake.

For theses concentrating on Blake's writings themselves, the range of ambition is vast; some dissertations cover all his poetry, while a few spend years on just one lyric such as "The Tyger" (Shea) or "Laughing Song" (Warner). It is striking that most theses concentrating within a narrow range of the poetry focus on the Prophecies, especially the epics:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Epics</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The three epics</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vala</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milton</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jerusalem</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Epic

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shorter Prophecies</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>America</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urizen</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visions</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thal</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lyrics Etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Songs</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Mental Traveller&quot;</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Everlasting Gospel&quot;</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marriage</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poetical Sketches</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The popular conception of Blake as a lyric poet is scarcely reflected by the dissertations on him.

There are, naturally, a number of oddities to be found among such a mass of earnest works. Probably many of these authors of theses on William Blake have never seen an original copy of his writings, and some of them seem to write in something like COBOL (Scott), fit only for computers. My favorite, I think, is the abstract which concludes that "His poem [i.e., poetry] commands to be read bodily" (Singh). But of course the vast majority of works here use, if they do not much extend, conventional language and wisdom.

It seems likely that this very extensive activity among writers of dissertations is typical of Blake studies in general, particularly in terms of subjects, attitudes, and methods. Even more significantly, considering the vast number of Blake dissertations produced in the last ten years, it seems a reliable prognostication for the future, for of course these writers of dissertations on Blake are likely to produce hundreds of articles and books on him. It would probably be possible to make a fairly accurate map of the immediate future of Blake studies by studying carefully the trends visible in the last hundred Blake dissertations completed. It is plain that Blake scholars are at least imitating the prodigious energy of their subject, to whom "Energy is Eternal Delight."

Thirty-eight of the two hundred sixty dissertations of Blake have been published. Some ninety-four scholars (36%) published books or articles beyond their Ph.D. work on Blake; if we ignore degree-recipients of 1972-77, who have not yet had much time to publish, the proportion rises to 46%. The average length of time between the completion of the degree and publication of the first article is one year, ranging from eight years before the thesis was accepted to twelve years afterwards. Of the ninety-four Blake-doctors who have published on Blake, thirty-five (37%) published something on him before the dissertation was finished; another twenty-six (28%) published in the year or the year after the dissertation was finished; another twenty-six (28%) first published on Blake within two to five years of completion of the dissertation; and a final seven (7%) first published on Blake six to twelve years after completing the thesis. Assuming a year between
TABLE I: Universities Awarding the Ph.D. for a Dissertation on Blake

* MEANS NOT RECORDED IN DA OR DAI
UNDERLINED DATES REFER TO DISSERTATIONS WHICH WERE PRINTED
"OXFORD" OR "TORONTO" REFER TO OXFORD UNIVERSITY OR THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>University</th>
<th>Year(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Åbo (Finland)</td>
<td>*1973</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Agra (India)</td>
<td>*1967</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arkansas</td>
<td>1971, 1972, 1975, 1977</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ball State</td>
<td>1974</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Berne</td>
<td>*1955</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Boston</td>
<td>*1941 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Bristol</td>
<td>*1964, 1966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Columbia</td>
<td>1974, 1976</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buffalo; see State University of New York at Buffalo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Davis)</td>
<td>1969</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Irvine)</td>
<td>1974, 1977</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Los Angeles)</td>
<td>1977</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Riverside)</td>
<td>1969, 1975, 1976</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Santa Cruz)</td>
<td>1973, 1974, 1977</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(San Diego)</td>
<td>1969</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case Western Reserve</td>
<td>1975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(see also Western Reserve)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Cincinnati</td>
<td>*1931</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City University of New York</td>
<td>1977</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Connecticut</td>
<td>*1959</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Cornell</td>
<td>*1940, 1975</td>
</tr>
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<td>*Edinburgh</td>
<td>*1970</td>
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<tr>
<td>Emory</td>
<td>1967, 1977</td>
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<td>*Exeter</td>
<td>*1969, *1972 (2)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Florida State</td>
<td>1966, 1976</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Freiburg</td>
<td>*1925, *1955</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td>1974</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Harvard</td>
<td>*1950, *1963</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Howard</td>
<td>1976</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indiana</td>
<td>1965, 1969</td>
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<td>*Japan</td>
<td>*1950, *1963</td>
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<tr>
<td>*Lancaster</td>
<td>*1971</td>
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<td>*Leeds</td>
<td>*1970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Lucknow</td>
<td>*1951, *1969</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Marburg</td>
<td>*1922</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marquette</td>
<td>1974</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massachusetts</td>
<td>1973, 1974, 1975</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE II: Blake Dissertations Completed, By Year, 1911-76

[Graph showing number of dissertations completed by year.]

0 10 20 30 40 50
1911 (1) 1915 (1) 1921 (1) 1925 (1) 1931 (1) 1935 (1) 1941 (1) 1947 (1) 1950 (1) 1954 (1)
2 5 6 8
(1) (1) (2) (1) (1) (1) (1) (1) (1) (1)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State University</th>
<th>Year(s)</th>
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<tr>
<td>of New York (Albany)</td>
<td>1973</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Buffalo)</td>
<td>1952, 1967, 1974</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Stony Brook)</td>
<td>1972, 1976, 1976</td>
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<tr>
<td>*Sussex</td>
<td>*1971</td>
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<tr>
<td>*Switzerland</td>
<td>*1911</td>
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<tr>
<td>Syracuse</td>
<td>1969</td>
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<tr>
<td>Texas Christian</td>
<td>1973</td>
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<td>Texas Women's</td>
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<td>Toledo</td>
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<td>Tufts</td>
<td>1971</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tulane</td>
<td>1967, 1972</td>
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<tr>
<td>*Tulsa</td>
<td>1970 (2), 1975</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vanderbilt</td>
<td>1973</td>
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<tr>
<td>*Victoria (Wellington, New Zealand)</td>
<td>*1952</td>
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<tr>
<td>*Washington (Seattle)</td>
<td>1941, 1954, 1954, 1967,</td>
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<td>*1972, 1972, 1974, 1975</td>
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<td>Washington State</td>
<td>1975</td>
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<td>Wayne State</td>
<td>1967</td>
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<tr>
<td>*Western Reserve</td>
<td>*1963</td>
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<tr>
<td>*Wisconsin</td>
<td>*1924, *1936, 1957, 1962,</td>
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<td>*Yale</td>
<td>*1935, *1964, 1964, 1968,</td>
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<td>*Zurich</td>
<td>*1911, *1925</td>
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<tr>
<th>Other Institutions</th>
<th>Year(s)</th>
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<tr>
<td>Miami</td>
<td>1976</td>
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<tr>
<td>Michigan State</td>
<td>1974</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mississippi</td>
<td>1973</td>
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<td>Missouri</td>
<td>1973</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nebraska</td>
<td>1969, 1970 (2), 1976</td>
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<td>New Mexico</td>
<td>1969, 1971, 1973</td>
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<tr>
<td>*Nottingham</td>
<td>*1964</td>
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<td>*Oxford D. Phil.</td>
<td>*1956</td>
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<td>B. D.</td>
<td>*1946</td>
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<tr>
<td>*Pacific</td>
<td>*1975</td>
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<td>*Paris</td>
<td>*1948, *1953</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pennsylvania</td>
<td>1971, 1976</td>
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<td>Pennsylvania State</td>
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<td>Pittsburgh</td>
<td>1974</td>
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<td>Princeton</td>
<td>1968, 1975</td>
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<td>*Queen's (Belfast)</td>
<td>*1970</td>
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<tr>
<td>*Queen's (Kingston, Ontario)</td>
<td>*1974</td>
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<tr>
<td>*Reading</td>
<td>*1951</td>
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<td>*Rostock</td>
<td>*1935</td>
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<td>Rutgers</td>
<td>1968, 1974</td>
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<tr>
<td>Southern Illinois</td>
<td>1969</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stanford</td>
<td>1967</td>
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acceptance of an article or book and its publication, this means that sixty-one authors (65% of those who published on Blake at all) had something accepted for publication before the dissertation was accepted. Those who do not publish early are likely to publish little if anything.

In all, authors of dissertations on Blake have published thirty books beyond the dissertation (sixty-seven books including the dissertations) and three hundred fifty-seven articles (4,271 pages). Of these ninety-four authors, sixteen (17%) have published thirty books beyond the dissertation before they published on Blake at all. In all, they have published over one hundred pages of articles each—2,209 pages in all, or 51% of the total number of article-pages by authors who wrote doctoral dissertations on Blake. Five authors have published three hundred fifty-seven articles (4,271 pages). Of these, one hundred seventy articles (32% of the total) and seventeen post-Ph.D. books (57% of the total)—and three of these five also published their dissertations. Of those who published dissertations on Blake, one hundred wrote nothing more on him (save perhaps reviews), one wrote another book, seven wrote books and articles on him, and fifteen wrote articles on him. And one hundred sixty-eight authors of Blake theses have as yet published neither book nor article on him. The labours of Blake scholarship have not been very equally divided.

The vagaries of energy and accomplishment are wonderful and difficult of prediction. We can neither predict nor produce another Sir Geoffrey Keynes, who has thus far produced over seventy articles and fifty books on Blake,12 but we can train and foster the intellectual energies of young women and young men so that they can recognize genius and evaluate it, in a Keynes or a Blake. There is a wonderful paradox in these hundreds of literary doctors, diagnosing the work of an uneducated poet, a paradox which would, I think, have tickled their subject. The energy now devoted to Blake around the English-speaking world, particularly through studies by scholars with a doctorate about Blake, is likely to multiply works and, I hope, knowledge about the man who wrote that "Energy is the only life."13

DISSERTATIONS ON WILLIAM BLAKE 1911-76

The supplementary information is derived from Blake Books (1977).


Printed with the same title (Chicago & London, 1974). He has also published 1 article (1 p., 1975) on Blake.

Ba-Han, Maung. The Evolution of Blakean Philosophy. Rangoon [1926].

A pastiche of commonplacees (94 pp.), originally a 1925 Freiberg Ph.D.

Ba-Han, Maung. William Blake His Mystician. Bordeaux, 1924.

Blake's mysticism consists in "his insights on the supreme value of the 'self'" (p. 237); this was a Bordeaux Ph.D.

Baine, Mary Rion. "Satan and the Satan Figure in the Poetry of William Blake." DAI, XXXV (1975), 6353-6A. Georgia Ph.D., 1974.

A 137-page argument that Blake "was far from the conventional Satanist." She has collaborated on 5 essays on Blake (16 pp.).


"This analogical study discovers 'striking similarities.'"


A study of Blake's influence on Theodore Roethke, Gary Snyder, and Allen Ginsberg.


"I discuss how Joyce treats Giambattista Vico and William Blake as visionary predecessors . . . "


"This dissertation . . . places the form Blake uses in an appropriate historical context . . . primarily concerned with the language that prophets use."


A "study [of] Blake's poetic relationship with Milton": Blake challenged Milton to a full epic contest.


America "presents the outlook and spirit of the London radical movement." He has published 1 article (11 pp., 1971) on Blake.


She has published 8 articles (96 pp., 1961-74) on Blake.


He has published 2 articles (19 pp., 1969-70) on Blake.


The Marriage "is, to a surprising extent, a work writing about itself."


Deals with "the works of Richardson, Gray, Chatterton, Cowper, and Blake."


A sound, thorough study. He published one article (3pp., 1957) on Blake.


He published 2 articles (13 pp., 1972-74) on Blake.


"The series are not literal illustrations but astute critical commentaries on the shortcomings of Milton's epic . . . ."


Blake's "use of . . . [the] rhetoric [of] humor is surprisingly frequent"; it is didactic, satiric, and ironic.


"The parallel . . . is in the psychic states."


A careful and original study placing Blake firmly in the Swedishborgian context of his times. He published 5 articles (42 pp.) on Blake in 1977.


"I explore through close textual analysis, the sexual argument for Blake's rebellion against a 'classical' attitude."


"Blake structures . . . [etc] according to the Divine Analogy."


"Blake transforms" the "tradition of merging religion, politics, and art" which he shares with Milton "into an almost historical materialist one, a breakthrough celebrated" in *Vala* Night VII. She has published two essays on Blake (51 pp., 1972-75).


A reading "without recourse to external sources and to other works of Blake" in 144 pages.


Printed as *Blake in the Nineteenth Century: His Reputation as a Poet From Gilchrist to Yeats.* (New Haven & London, 1969) Yale Studies in English Volume CLXX. A useful study, concentrating on Gilchrist and Ellis & Yeats. She has also published 1 article on Blake (23 pp., 1967).


"Jerusalem displays a thematic rather than a narrative unity."


About Blake's "manipulation of dialectical progression in text and design to effectively eliminate alienation between the reader and the objective work": "the reader must participate in the Marriage."


"The mode of operation of imagination is primarily visual."


Tries to understand the poem "through a systematic study of the poem's [crit]ics."

"Blake's rationale in Jerusalem involves a concerted and sophisticated attempt to confuse and yet tantalize the reader. . . ." He has also published 1 collaborative book (1972); co-founded and edited Blake Studies (1686 ff.); published 6 articles (35 pp., 1971-77) on Blake.


Eaves has published 5 articles (86 pp., 1970-77) on Blake, and co-edited Blake Newsletter (1970 ff.). Blake's text cannot be separated from his designs.


A study of . . . its meaning for the individual," followed by chronologically arranged excerpts from critics of Urizen.


A useful study of the illuminations through the Visions (1973). He has published 2 collaborative books (1972-73) and 15 articles (352 pp., 1969-78) on Blake.


He has published an essay on Blake (8 pp., 1972).


He has published 1 article (17 pp., 1976) on Blake.


He has published an article on Blake (10 pp., 1978).


Printed as The Valley of Vision: Blake as Prophet and Revolutionary. Ed. Northrop Frye. (Toronto 1961) University of Toronto Department of English Studies and Texts, No. 9. Reprinted (Toronto, 1971). Part II does not form part of the thesis and was reserved "for inclusion in the book which I hope to produce" but which was apparently never written. Fisher also published 2 articles (42 pp., 1959-61) on Blake.


"This dissertation addresses itself to transformations which took place in English printing and book illustration from 1780-1820," dealing with Blake in Chapters IV-V.


Printed as Poetic Form in Blake's Milton (Princeton, 1976). "The two books of the Milton are exhaustively parallel." She has also published 1 collaborative book (1972-73) and 15 articles (352 pp., 1969-78) on Blake.


He published 1 article (12 pp., 1969) on Blake.


The Marriage "is a carefully organized narrative of the training of a prophet." He published 1 collaborative article (1 p., 1972) on Blake.


A 118-page essay on Blake's ideas of 1778-93 and his relations with such "close friends" as James Barry and Mary Wollstonecraft.


She has published two essays on Blake (27 pp., 1976-78).


Approaches Blake's poetry "as a record of growth and discovery."

"Analysing Yala from a Jungian viewpoint."


"My dissertation establishes the nature of the affiliation between Blake and Yeats and Blake and Joyce through a study of the later artist's knowledge."


The thesis is "primarily concerned with eighteenth century apocalyptic poetry," but Blake is not mentioned in the abstract.


Presumably this is the work printed as Blake's Contrary States: The 'Songs of Innocence and of Experience' as Dramatic Poems (Cambridge, 1969).

He has also published 1 book (1973) and 2 articles (34 pp., 1968-75) on Blake.


Glen, Heather J. "Blake's Songs of Innocence and of Experience and Wordsworth's Lyrical Ballads: A Comparative Study in Relation to the Thought of their Knowledge."


The Romantic epics are Milton, Prometheus Unbound, and Hyperion. She has published an essay on Blake (22 pp., 1974).


Includes "a reading of the poem as visionary casuistry."


He has published 1 article (22 pp., 1973) on Blake.


On their "thematic and structural complementarities and antagonisms."


Deals with "historical studies of myth." She has published 1 article (11 pp., 1970) on Blake.


The five Prophecies are Thal, Visions, Urizen, Ahania, and The Book of Los.


Printed as The Neoplatonism of William Blake (Chapel Hill, 1961). Occasionally persuasive arguments that Blake was extensively and deeply indebted to Plato and to his 18th Century disciple Thomas Taylor. Harper has also published 10 articles (128 pp., 1953-75) on Blake.


"The purpose of this dissertation is to discuss Blake's development of a theory of knowing which would permit man to see past his fallen state on to the state of the Eternals," especially in a few of the early Prophecies.


He has published an essay on Blake (20 pp., 1972).


"Blake is not a mythmaker but a poet who exploits mythic modes of perception."


On Blake's fight with 18th Century thought. Herzog has published 1 article (16 pp., 1974) on Blake.

Hill, Gillian McMahon. "Blake as Interpreter: His Illustrations to Young, Gray and Blair, with a


Hogg, Harold. "Blake sees the child's power as two kinds of innocence." He has published a book (1976) and an article (10 pp., 1968) on Blake.


He has published 1 article (8 pp., 1973) on Blake.


She has published 3 articles (30 pp., 1971-77) on Blake.


"The study's concluding chapter examines the relationship of William Blake to slavery."


Especially on the relationship of text and design.


"The present study traces the effect of Blake's context on his organic imagery."


"The works considered are all the lyrics of Songs of Innocence and several lyrics of Songs of Experience."

Johnson's "Rambler" essays, Burke's "Reflections," and Blake's "Marriage" have "a common rhetorical pattern," i.e., "spatial rather than linear," "the structure of a montage."


Printed as Anne Kostelanetz Mellor, Blake's Human Form Divine (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1974). She has also published 1 article (15 pp., 1971) on Blake.


Applies "three interrelated dicta of William Blake" to Shakespeare's Coriolanus, Spenser's "Muliontoms," Wordsworth's "Matthew" poems, and Blake's "Little Girl Lost" and "Found."


"Their poetry seems strongly to counter the possibility of madness." She has published 2 articles (27 pp., 1972-74) on Blake.


He published 2 articles (15 pp., 1959-71) on Blake.


Blake's "Vola et beyron's "Don Juan" indicate "that both the conception of the epic hero and the vision of a desirable society changed in the Romantic age."


"The purpose of this dissertation is to provide both a review of criticism on 'The Mental Traveller' and an interpretation of the poem."


He has published 2 articles (30 pp., 1969-71) on Blake.


"ultimately he [Cary] re-creates for us the entire Blake myth-complex."


A major work. He has also published 3 articles (42 pp., 1968-74) on Blake.


It includes "a survey of criticism" and "a reading." She has published 4 articles on Blake (11 pp., 1969-75) and is co-founder and editor of Blake Studies (1968 ff.).


Their responses "to the situation of the laboring poor."


"where does Los begin and how does he evolve?"

Masterson, Donald Joseph. "The Method of Openness and the Theme of Love in the Early Poetry of William Blake." Illinois Ph.D., 1975. See *DAI*, XXXVI (1976), 6117A. Blake's poetry is "complex, ambiguous, richly connotative, or, in a word, open" (thesis p. 3); the thesis is really on two discrete subjects, Openness and Love.


Middleman, Louis Isaac. "William Blake and the Form of Error: Satiric Craft in the Engraved Minor Prophecies." *DAI*, XXXV (1974), 2947A. Pittsburgh Ph.D., 1974. "The formulation of error . . . provides in fact the underlying technique in these poems, which are thus seen to be radically satirical" and also "as a unified satiric whole." He has published 1 article on Blake (1 p., 1971).


Nathan, Norman. P*rin* William B.: The Philosophical Conceptions of William Blake. New York University Ph.D., 1947. Published Abridgment (N.Y., 1949). Printed as a book (Paris, 1975), Studies in English Literature Volume C. A work of little merit. The 1975 book does not refer to the previous dissertation or publication, remarks truly that "footnotes are invisible" and "The arguments of scholars . . . are likewise not included" (p. 7) and concludes that "the basic philosophy of William Blake" is "use your imagination" (p. 16). He has published 3 articles on Blake (5 pp., 1950-60).


5418A. Minnesota Ph.D., 1970.  

Milton "is a superbly constructed work of art."  
"The key to the structure of the poem is the principle of the arch form."


It includes identifications of "Blake's borrowings and use of biblical material."


A 177-page essay concentrating, in the Blake section, on the Songs.

Ogawa, Jiro. Mushin to Keiken no Uta Kenkyu: A Thesis in Japanese. He has also published two more books (1972-73) and 10 articles (115 pp., 1948-75) on Blake.


He has co-edited a book (1973) and published 3 articles (38 pp., 1970-73) on Blake.


"Blake remained centrally important to Yeats throughout his critical career." He has published an essay on Blake (11 pp., 1973).


A sound, responsible study. He has published a note (2 pp.) on Blake in 1977.


"Blake's use of Joy is distinguished primarily by the wide variety of contexts and associations in which he places the term."


"The second chapter is a detailed examination of Swinburne's critical essay on Blake," discussing "his important misreadings of Blake with respect to . . . his own poetry."


Sabri-Tabrizi, Gholen Reza. "The Idea of Negation and Contrary Progression in Blake." Edinburgh Ph.D., 1970. Perhaps this is his work printed as The 'Heaven' and 'Hell' of William Blake (N.Y., 1973), the "main aim" of which is to present the whole of Blake in a coherent and comprehensible way, "with emphasis upon Blake's "consistent materialism" and his "social context" (p. vii).


Schuchard, Marsha Keith Mannatt. "Freemasonry, Secret Societies, and the Continuity of the Occult
Traditions in English Literature." Texas Ph.D., 1975. See DAI, XXXVI (1975), 2792-3A.

A gallimaufry of cobbled coincidences "based largely on circumstantial evidence" (p. 425) is used to place Blake in a "Masonic" context (pp. 307-580); the compasses of The Ancient of Days and the "Universal Brotherhood" of Milton are Masonic (pp. 465, 472).


A 147-page "computer-assisted statistical study . . . written in COBOL for use on the DEC10 system."


According to the abstract, "The findings of this study provide sociology with a new speculative model for resolving . . . why certain writers and artists of the Romantic age experienced extreme feelings of self-estrangement, even though they were creatively fulfilled by their work, and were not faced with the collapse of established values and institutions."


A 143-page effort to give "a more comprehensive view [of 'The Tyger'] . . . than any of Blake's critics have thus far put forth" does not seem more comprehensive, in the abstract.


It places "an emphasis on the work of Blake and Byron."


He published 2 articles on Blake (11 pp., 1955-56).


A 150-page argument that "Blake's poetry was Romantic in nature."


A responsible study. He has published 9 articles on Blake (60 pp., 1957-73).


He has published one article on Blake (14 pp., 1973).


Printed in Blake's Illustrations to the Poems of Gray (Princeton, 1971). A persuasive commentary on Blake's 116 designs. She has also published 4 articles on Blake (86 pp., 1971-74).


He has published one article on Blake (47 pp., 1968).


The 2 volumes include a facsimile of copy I and an anthology of criticism of the Marriage. He has published 1 article on Blake (1 p., 1973).


"Blake is an active participant" in the poem. He has published 2 articles on Blake (25 pp., 1969-74).


According to the abstract, it concludes that "In Jerusalem Blake abandons creation myth entirely."


Deals especially with "the broader applications of temporal semantics." He published an essay on Blake (13 pp.) in 1975.


"the essence of the poem is in" the word "prophecy."


Vol. II (pp. 267-522) is a checklist of biblical references. He has published 18 articles on Blake (154 pp., 1962-74).

Trent, Robert J. "The Case Against Death: Transformation of 'Generation' in the Writings of William Blake." DAI, XXXII (1976), 1573A.


Blake's attitude toward death is traced through three stages.


"Jerusalem follows 'primitive Christianity' rather than the official Christian tradition."


"Blake and Shelley dramatically illuminated the core of the archtype."


Published as Blake's Night: William Blake and the Idea of Pastoral (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1973). A laborious analysis of Spenserian pastoral elements in Blake’s early work and Miltonic ones in the later poems. He has also published one article on Blake (1 p., 1974).


Examines "a number of crucial motifs" in Songs, Urizen, and Jerusalem. She has published 1 article on Blake (1 p., 1972).

Wardle, J. "Myth and Image in Three Romantics: A Study of Blake, Shelley and Yeats." Queen's
She has produced 2 articles on Blake (4 pp., 1967-68).


"Rossetti seems to have learned little from him [Blake]," and his work is "one-dimensional."


White, Helen C. "The Mysticism of William Blake." Wisconsin Ph.D., 1924. Printed (Madison, 1927) University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature, Number 23. Reprinted (N.Y., 1964). A close comparison of Blake's works and life with the mystical tradition leads to the conclusion that he "is not a great mystic in any sense that means anything."


"Blake semble avoir peu marqué la littérature française."


"It is the thesis of this study that the mythic-psychological and the social-economic levels of meaning are mutually dependent in Blake's prophetic epics, and that the main structure of the epics is the representation of the entire history of European man. The thesis is summarized in his "William Blake and Radical Tradition." Chapter 10 (pp. 191-214) of Weapons of Criticism: Marxism in America and the Literary Tradition. Ed. Norman Rudich. Palo Alto, California, 1976.


"Blake seems to have learned little from him [Blake]," and his work is "one-dimensional."


White, Helen C. "The Mysticism of William Blake." Wisconsin Ph.D., 1924. Printed (Madison, 1927) University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature, Number 23. Reprinted (N.Y., 1964). A close comparison of Blake's works and life with the mystical tradition leads to the conclusion that he "is not a great mystic in any sense that means anything."


Particularly concerned with his relationship with Berkeley. She has published 3 articles on Blake (29 pp., 1970-75).  
"The aim of this thesis is to trace the course of Blake's reflections on the meaning of history"; Blake "can truly be considered a historian."

This essay, written in the summer of 1977, has had to be patched and supplemented repeatedly as new dissertations and publications on Blake by their authors appeared. The facts and conclusions are generally up-to-date to about September 1978, but they are not as consistent as I should like them to be.

1 The great majority of these dissertations are for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, but a few are for other degrees requiring work equivalent to some U.S. Ph.D.'s: B.D. (Oxford), B. Litt. (Oxford), D. Litt. (Cambridge), M. Phil. (London).


No doctoral dissertations on Blake have been found in directories of Australian, Austrian, European, French, French language, German, New Zealand, and South African universities, no doubt partly because some of the directories are not subject-indexed.

3 The Comprehensive Dissertation Query Service, like the D.A.I. index and other University Microfilms services, is organized by computer and does not distinguish the poet from
1) Henry Robinson Delany, *Blake*, or the Hu's of America;  
2) Henry BLAKE Fuller (seven theses);  
3) The BLAKE Plateau, North Atlantic;  
4) Gastrotrich, Lepidodermella Squamatta (Dumardin) BLAKE;  
5) Galinosiga Elliptica (Ref.) (BLAKE) (a plant) (three theses);  
6) Gutierrezia Dracunculoides (DC) BLAKE;  
7) Artemesia Carruthlli, Wood var. Wrightii (Gray) BLAKE (Carruth Sagebrush);  
8) Anna S. C. BLAKE Manual Training School;  
9) Edward BLAKE (Irish Nationalist);  
10) John BLAKE white (Southern Romantic painter and playwright). Naturally theses which do not name Blake or his works in the title, such as John Grant, "Studies in the Organization of Major Romantic Epics" (Harvard Ph.D., 1960), are likely to be omitted here, even though they deal significantly with Blake. Some exceptions are the theses of Rosenblum, Schuchard, and Struck.

4 Perhaps 98% are in English.


7 See Chaves, Coomer, Daly, Drusin, Koper, Lechay, Lento, O'Brien, Rhodes, Schicker, Vogler, Wilkes.

8 See Abel, Bandy, Campbell, Hoeveler, Howard, James, Kessel, Krenen, Lefcowitz, Scholz, Skelton, S. W. Stevenson.


10 A number of these are included in the Comprehensive Dissertation Query Service, however.

11 For example, there are two theses on images of Satan in Blake, by Donse (1972) and Baine (1975), four on Los by Mandell (1972), Paley (1964), Spinks (1970), and Ruhman (1974), three on mysticism by Ba Han (1924), Kessel (1929), and Helen White (1924), and two on the critics of "The Mental Traveller" by Dunlap (1974) and Leonard (1976).


13 This article, first completed in April 1977, has been finished a number of times since then, as the months passed and new Blake dissertations and publications by authors of Blake theses came to my attention. Of course, each new dissertation discovered required the revision of all generalizations referring to it (e.g., "two hundred sixty dissertations on Blake"), an exceedingly extensive and worrying process. The text above comprehends information I had absorbed up to September 1978; I learned thereafter of the theses by Bullard, Cox, O'Hare, Riedes, Tolley, Warner, Wieland-Burston, and Wilfong, and have not attempted to alter the text yet again to refer to them.
Although everyone seems to have heard of Blake's visionary heads, some of these extraordinary images must be among the least known of his works. For example, the drawing catalogued by Rossetti as "38. Socrates. Vivid eye, talking mouth" (Gillchrist, 1880 ed., Vol. 2, p. 260) has not, so far as I know, been reproduced in any book or journal. Equally unfamiliar, I would guess, is "Rd. Coeur de Lion. Drawn from his Spectre. . . . at 3 Past 12. Midnight". A reproduction of this head is to be found, I am told, in an early issue of Art (Vol. 1, No. 3, Feb.-March 1921, opp. p. 57); but since neither the Bodleian nor the British Museum can supply a copy, one may assume that many students of Blake have never seen it. Even more inaccessible during the last forty years, however, has been the drawing described by Rossetti as: "Nebuchadnezzar. Vivid, and not wanting in truth to the Assyrian cast of countenance. Below the head is a 'coin' of Nebuchadnezzar, engraved in Varley's 'Zodiacal Physiognomy'". (loc. cit., no. 36). Originally in the Linnell collection, this was sold, according to Sir Geoffrey Keynes (Bibliography, p. 318n.), at Christie's, 15 March 1918 (lot 163, Parsons, 42 gns.). In 1939 it was in the big Blake exhibition at Philadelphia (Cat. no. 209. Lent by the American Art Association--Anderson Galleries, Inc.). Since then it has disappeared. And although Linnell's engraving of the reverse of the coin is in Varley, and a reproduction of his engraving of the crowned head (so reminiscent, incidentally, of Death in Blake's Death on a Pale Horse) appears in Sir Geoffrey's The Complete Portraiture of William and Catherine Blake (Trianon Press, 1977, pl. 21), no reproduction has been available of the drawing as such until the present time. The version shown here (illus. 1) is one of five tracings of visionary heads which I recently acquired from Mrs. S. M. Johns, a great-granddaughter of John Linnell. The group includes tracings of the aforementioned "Socrates" (illus. 2) and "Rd. Coeur de Lion" (illus. 3), together with the better-known "Caractacus" and "Edward the first as he now exists in the other world. . . ." (illus. 4 & 5).

The inscription on the "Nebuchadnezzar" is particularly interesting. Both Keynes's Bibliography (p. 318) and Bentley's Blake Books (p. 626) give the impression that Blake's drawing bears the words "Coin of Nebuchadnezzar seen by Mr. Blake in a vision" (Keynes has "coin", and a full stop after the final word). The Philadelphia catalogue, on the other hand, has "Nebuchadnazar [sic] Coin as Seen in a Vision by Mr. Blake." On the tracing is written "Nebuchadnezzar [sic] / Coin as seen in a Vision by Mr Blake", which is almost identical with the Philadelphia rendering, and helps to explain why Rossetti's description, quoted above, fails to make it absolutely clear that Blake drew two sides of a coin, not a coin beneath a head. Rossetti's assertion that "Below the head is a 'coin' . . ." is curiously misleading, and extremely difficult to account for if we accept that the original is inscribed "Coin of Nebuchadnezzar . . ." as Keynes and Bentley suggest. But if we assume, as I think we must, that the most faithful transcript is the one to be found on the tracing--where the king's name is not only the first word but also on a line by itself--it is easier to understand why Rossetti's entry in Gillchrist reads as it does.

Unlike the heads themselves, however, the inscriptions, although very similar in appearance to those on Blake's drawings, have not been produced by tracing. For example, the last three words on
the "Edward the first" ("like a crown") constitute a fourth line of text on the copy, but are part of the third on the original (reproduced in *Blake Records*, opposite p. 261). This might suggest that Varley, who would hardly have troubled to make a perfect facsimile of his own captions, was responsible for the writing in both cases, and that the tracings should therefore be attributed to him. But in fact they bear faint indications of earlier inscriptions, in a rather different hand, and my guess is that they are more likely to be the work of Linnell (or possibly one of his sons), and that the titles were subsequently re-done by someone wishing to make them conform more closely to what Varley had written on Blake's originals. At all events, someone in the Linnell family eventually saw fit to mount the five thin, semi-transparent sheets on pieces of Whatman paper (watermarked 1867), and to inscribe in pencil, on the verso of each mount, the initials "J. L."

*Nebuchadnezzar* [sic] / Coin as seen in a Vision / by Mr Blake [.]
Born 1156 Died April 6 1199 / 10 h at Birth / Rd. Coeur de LION. / Drawn from his Spectre / W Blake fecit Octr 14 1819 / at 1/4 Past 12 Midnight ...
5 King Edward the first as he now exists in the other world - according to his appearance to Mr. Blake he here has his skull enlarged like a crown [...]
Despite several determined attempts to fix the dates of William Blake's writings, interest in the chronology of the poems continues, stimulated by the related concern to understand precisely Blake's relationship to his age. In this context, An Island in the Moon excites special interest because of its many allusions to the contemporary scene and its importance as a central biographical document. The scholarly consensus that Blake was writing An Island in 1784 is most forcefully represented by the arguments of David Erdman and G. E. Bentley, Jr. Drawing upon the unpublished researches of Palmer Brown and Anne Buck, these scholars argue that allusions to short-lived, contemporary fashions in ladies' dress, together with other supporting evidence, narrow the date of the manuscript to late 1784. In this article I propose to go over the familiar ground mapped by Erdman and Bentley, and to argue that Blake was very probably composing An Island in 1785 or perhaps slightly later.

In chapter 8 of An Island Miss Gittipin quickly wearies of her companions' bookish talk and turns to her "favourite topic," the supposed distance between her own cloistered life and the freer social whirl of the Misses Double Elephant and Filligreework. "I'm sure I never see any pleasure," laments Miss Gittipin.

Scholars agree that Blake was writing An Island during that relatively quiet period in his life between the printing of Poetical Sketches in 1783 and the etching of Songs of Innocence in 1789. But narrowing the date within this period depends in large part upon Miss Gittipin's catalogue of "pleasures," specifically "Balloon hats... the sorrows of Werter & Robinsons." The balloon hats so admired by Miss Gittipin were introduced into England from France in late 1783. In December 1783 the European Magazine's "Man Milliner" regretted the inconvenience of the cumbersome style of hat though he had to admit that the "engaging actress, Miss Farren, [who] wore one of these whimsical hats this evening, in the character of Estifania... lost none of her beauty under it." Elizabeth Farren played Estifania in Beaumont and Fletcher's Rule a Wife and Have a Wife only once in 1783, with the Drury Lane company on 27 November. From the playhouse to the fashionable London salons appears to have been a short step, for the December Lady's Magazine reported the balloon hat and "Robinson" hat (also admired by Miss Gittipin) under "FASHIONABLE DRESSES." When Vauxhall and Ranelagh--the famous...
pleasure gardens attended by Miss Filligreework—opened their doors on Easter Monday, 1784, the *beau monde* arrived in balloon hats and "Robinsons," various items of dress associated with Mary "Perdita" Robinson. These fashions flourished through the summer season and into the autumn of 1784, when the chill winds forced the closing of Vauxhall.

Like "Robinsons," Miss Filligreework's "sorrows of Werter" probably included a fairly large number of stylish hats and dresses inspired by Goethe's popular book during the 1780's, but if so these fashions have not been traced. The earliest known reference to such a style appeared after the close of Vauxhall in the *Gazetteer* of 9 December 1784. There the "Werter bonnet" is reported to be "much the rage." But the real question for the date of *An Island* is whether balloon hats, Robinsons, and Werters survived the winter months of 1784-85 and were to be seen when the pleasure gardens opened in the spring of 1785. On 26 July 1785 the *Gazetteer* announced: "The balloon hat has had its day;—the Werter, Lunardi, and Gypsey are now on the decline, while the umbrella bonnet is making rapid advances." This statement, together with the absence of other references to these fashions in 1785, and the disappearance of Perdita Robinson from the fashionable scene after 1784, have been taken to mean that balloon hats, Robinsons, and Werters were old hat by the beginning of 1785. From my reading of the fashion columns of these years, however, I rather suspect that a journalist writing late in July—very late in the London "season"—would be unlikely to write an obituary on a style six months dead. More probably, balloon hats had by late July been replaced fairly recently, while Werter bonnets were, as he says, "on the decline" but still visible. That Blake could have seen, heard of, or read about these fashions in 1785 and used them in *An Island* seems to be very probable.

That Blake was writing *An Island* in 1785 or slightly later gains support when one considers Miss Gittipin's friend Mr. Jacko who "knows what riding is." Jacko, according to David Erdman, is Blake's caricature of Richard Cosway, the "mushroom-rich miniature painter and . . . fabulous dandy" known for his simian features. Erdman traces the name "Jacko" to "General Jacko," identified by M. D. George in the *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires in the British Museum* as "an astonishing monkey from the fair of St. Germain's, Paris, who performed at Astley's Amphitheatre during the summer of 1784." Since Astley's was primarily an equestrian circus, the link between General Jacko and Blake's Mr. Jacko who "knows what riding is" seems plausible enough. And, of course, General Jacko's appearance in 1784 is consistent with the date of *An Island* established by Erdman on other grounds.

M. D. George, however, appears to be a year off in dating the French ape's English engagement. A search of the newspapers for 1784 reveals no reference to General Jacko. The *Gazetteer*, which regularly carried advertisements for Philip Astley's Westminster-Bridge circus, makes no mention of Jacko among the many performers of the 1784 season (21 April-14 October). But in April 1785 both the *Gazetteer* and the *Daily Universal Register* (later *The Times*) announced Jacko's exhibition in language that unmistakably identifies the monkey as a new arrival on the London theatrical scene. The *Gazetteer* for 4 April 1785 proclaimed:

*The Second Week's Exhibition will Continue until Saturday, the 9th of April [and will include] General Jacko, (never exhibited in England) from the Fair of St. Germain's, Paris, who has been celebrated for his astonishing Performances on the TIGHTROPE, and other Exercises, which are beyond Conception.*

Throughout the summer of 1785 General Jacko was one of Astley's featured entertainers. By September Jacko was dividing his talents between Astley's and the rival Sadler's Wells and Royal Circus where, dressed in red, he rode a horse called Marplot. Although Jacko's manifest appeal for English audiences in 1785 suggests that he probably performed somewhere in London in the following year, evidently Astley did not renew Jacko's contract when the Amphitheatre re-opened Easter Monday, 17 April 1786.

The question of course is what to do with this monkey business. At the least we may re-date c. 1785 the satirical engraving, "The Downfall of Taste & Genius or The World as it goes" (illus. 1), attributed to Blake's fellow artist and engraver Samuel Collings and dated c. 1784 by M. D. George. The print depicts the rout of true native arts by a combined force of imported and domestic entertainers. General Jacko rides a mastiff and carries an identifying pennant inscribed "Genl. Jacko." The Learned Pig (a domestic porker whose erudition seems to be very probable.

The relevance of the revised date of General Jacko's English engagement to the date of Blake's *Island in the Moon* is less clear cut. Scholars convinced on other grounds that the evidence of composition overwhelmingly points to 1784 have some reason to disregard the Mr. Jacko/General Jacko connection as accidental without severing the Mr. Jacko/Richard Cosway identification urged by Erdman. In the first place, Blake's Mr. Jacko "knows what riding is" in a coach, but nowhere in *An Island* is

"The Downfall of Taste & Genius or The World as it goes." British Museum.
he said to ride a horse. Further, the name "Jacko" may have been, like "Jocko" following Buffon's coinage of 1766, a fairly common name for a monkey in the late eighteenth century. For example, the Morning Herald, and Daily Advertiser for 2 December 1784 included a poem in the manner of Gray's mock-epic "Ode on the Death of a Favourite Cat called "Stanzas on the Death of a Lady's much esteemed Monkey" which contains the lines:

For Death, the parent of all dread,  
Nor man nor monkey can controul;  
So Jacko finds it--now he's dead--  
Old maids, have mercy on his soul!

There exists, moreover, a long tradition of English combinations of "Jack" and "ape" that might have inspired Blake to construct a comic name for Miss Gittipin's friend like those given to other islanders. And, finally, if the claim in the newspapers of 1785 is not merely advertising puffery, then General Jacko had been "celebrated for these Two Years last past" and Blake could have heard of the French ape before his English tour of 1785.

There are, then, several plausible explanations for Blake's use of the name Jacko, but none, I would urge, more probable than Blake's awareness of General Jacko's much publicized equestrian act of 1785. Nor does the other evidence usually taken to date An Island 1784 contradict this later date. The explicit reference to the Royal Academy Exhibition, the possible allusion to the Handel Festival of 1784, and the identification of Quid the Cynic's plan for "Illuminating the Manuscript" (ch. 11) all admit of differing interpretations and cannot be decisive as to date.

In chapter 7 Suction the Epicurean, who may be smarting from a recent disappointment, says "If I don't knock them all up next year in the Exhibition Ill be hang'd." From the context it is clear that Suction looks forward to the annual Royal Academy Exhibition in May. Though Suction has never been identified as Blake, the fact that Blake contributed paintings to the Royal Academy exhibits in 1780, 1784, 1785, and not again until 1799 has been taken as evidence that Suction is speaking sometime in May-December 1784 of the 1785 exhibition the following year. But this is to confuse a fictional character's hypothetical ambition with the author's actual performance. In any event we do not know that Blake did not intend to exhibit in 1786.

The possible allusion to the 1784 Handel Festival in An Island, chapter 11, identified by David Erdman
I find even less convincing than the explicit Royal Academy reference. The popularity of, and patriotic objections to, overpaid foreign musicians (and trained animals for that matter) reflected in Blake's Doctor Clash and Signior Falalasole are familiar subjects of eighteenth-century satire. But, even granting that the mention of "handels waterpiece" might suggest a Handel Festival, such festivals were held in Westminster Abbey and the Pantheon not only in 1784, but also in 1785, 1786, and 1787.

The identification of Quid's proposal on the final page of text for "Illuminating the Manuscript" with George Cumberland's plan to produce engraved mirror writing is similarly inconclusive. Once taken to be an allusion of Blake's own method of illuminated printing, Quid's ambitious plan is identified by Erdman and Bentley with Cumberland's because Cumberland, like Quid, proposed to print "2000" copies of any work by his method. But Quid's proposal is not sufficiently detailed to be confidently equated with either Blake's or Cumberland's. The published reports in late 1784 of Cumberland's "New Mode of Printing" do not include the number of potential copies, and to assume that Cumberland told Blake privately of his plan may be to pile conjecture upon conjecture without hope of discovering the facts of the case.

Although these allusions do not help us to pinpoint the year in which Blake composed An Island, some of them may help to indicate the season in which the action of the satire is supposed to occur. In addition to the annual spring celebration by the charity school children of "Holy Thursday," the annual Royal Academy exhibitions in May, the spring music festivals, and the "high fashion" season of Vauxhall and Ranelagh, there is Steelyard the lawyer's song, "As I walk forth one may morning" (ch. 9), and a reference to cricket in chapter 11, a game played during the warm spring and summer months. The Antiquarian's swallowing that "seem'd to be going on their passage" (ch. 1) suggests either an autumn or a spring migration, while, on the other side, the song in chapter 11 celebrating the victory of William the Prince of Orange in November 1688 would, I suppose, be most appropriate to one of the yearly celebrations of that event in November.

In sum, Blake was probably composing An Island in the Moon during the spring (or perhaps the autumn) of 1785 when General Jacko was performing for London audiences his exercises "beyond Conception" and the stories of dress envied by Miss Gittipin were still fresh in the public mind. Yet it is difficult to claim that 1785 is more than a probable terminus a quo for the unique manuscript in the Fitzwilliam Museum. David Erdman observes, perhaps too confidently, that the manuscript was "obviously copied from an earlier draft, the most frequent revision being a second thought replacing a word just written down." G. E. Bentley, Jr. concludes from the evidence of changes in handwriting, inks, and pen-points that there were "seven stages of work" on the text. Though I have not seen positive evidence that An Island is later than 1785, if these scholars are right, then it is not impossible that Blake was writing this manuscript slightly later than the events alluded to, perhaps over a period of time.

The evidence of fashions and trained animals, then, does not provide as conclusive a date for An Island as one would wish to have, though it does redefine the limits of our uncertainty. One happy side effect of knowing about learned pigs and wonderful haries may be of interest to readers of Blake. I for one now have a clearer sense of Blake's meaning in the bitter and ironic directive found on page 40 of The Notebook:

Give pensions to the Learned Pig  
Or the Hare playing on a Tabor
Angus can never see Perfection
But in the Journeymans Labour[.

But this may be to start more hares than I am able to run down.


3 See the Palmer Brown and Anne Buck correspondence in the Island file, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. I am indebted to Mr. P. M. Woodward, Keeper, Department of Manuscripts and Printed Books, Fitzwilliam Museum, for directing me to these documents.

4 Among recent commentators on An Island I find only two voices dissenting from the 1783 date. Nancy Bogen, "'Island Revisited,'" pp. 115, postulates a slightly later time of writing, "for if this work records actual events, chances are that it was written after the events occurred, not while they were in progress" (p. 117). Kathleen Baine, Blake and Tradition (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969), I, 17, 379, dates An Island after 1787 on the grounds that the draft of "The Little Boy Lost" in chapter 11 shows that Blake was influenced by Thomas Taylor's translation of Plotinus' Concerning the Beautiful (1787).


6 If the "Advertisement" to Poetical Sketches (Poetry and Prose, p. 764) does not exaggerate Blake's devotion to his "profession" of engraving and his consequent neglect of poetry during 1778-83, then An Island must be later than 1783. Erdman, Prophet, pp. 92-93, dismisses the older view that An Island reflects Blake's break with the "Mathew Circle" in 1784, but it is possible that the Mathews' conversations were the occasion for, though not the specific targets of, Blake's satire. J. T. Smith, "Miss Alice and Miss Tina" (London, 1829), II, 464, says that after 1783 "Blake's visits" to the Mathews "were not so frequent," which suggests that the break may have been gradual rather than sudden.

7 By 1789 Blake had revised, illustrated, and etched three songs found in An Island, chapter 11, as "Holy Thursday," "The Little Boy Lost," and "Nurse's Song" of Songs of Innocence (title page dated 1789).

8 Other objects envied by Miss Gittipin do not help to pinpoint the date of An Island. "Stormonts" were almost certainly items of dress associated with Louisa Cuthbert, the second wife of David Murray, Seventh Viscount Stormont. Anne Buck (letter of 8 Aug. 1952 to L. A. Holder) found "Stormont gowns" mentioned in the Lady's Magazine, 181 (1781), p. 209. There is no reference to "Stormonts" during the period 1783-89. The "Queen of Frances Puss [i.e., puce] colour," on the other hand, is found in the fashion columns throughout this period and is therefore irrelevant to the question of date. It is a matter of some interest to note that the coaches so envied by Miss Gittipin were the objects of heavy taxation during 1785. See the Daily Universal Register for 24 September 1785.


10 "Lady's Mag., 14 (Dec. 1783), 650.

11 "See E. Beresford Chancellor, The Pleasure Haunts of London (London: Constable, 1925), 233-35. Ramelagh, with its rotunda, was a year-round pleasure spot. Vauxhall normally opened on Easter Monday, but in 1785 it opened several weeks later, on 19 May. See "Eur. Mag., 7 (May 1785), 356.

12 "Balloons were fashionable during the 1784 season. See Eur. Mag., 4 (Dec. 1783), 406. Gazetteer for Jan. 31, Feb., 19, Feb., 11 June 1784, and Morning Herald, and Daily Advertiser, 18 Sept. 1784, for a sample of the accounts of this fashion. "Robinson" gowns, hats, and other apparel were fashionable from the early 1780's. See Lady's Mag., 14 (March 1783), 121. (April, 1783), 187; (May 1783), 268; (Dec. 1783), 650; 15 (March 1784), 154; (June 1784), 303.

13 "Werter" bonnets were reported in the Gazetteer for 16 Dec. 1784 and 13 Jan. 1785 (first noticed by Palmer Brown).

14 "The precise date of Perdita's illness and subsequent departure for the spas of Europe is in dispute. For a sentimentialized account, see Memoirs of the Late Mrs. Robinson (London, 1803), II, 95-98. The Gazetteer, 20 Dec. 1784, includes the rumor that "Perdita is returned from the spas, and was suffered the same newspaper for 18 Jan. 1785 announced her fall from fashion.

15 Erdman, Prophet, p. 96. Erdman notes that Cosway was called "little Jack-a-dandy" but he does not say when. J. J. Smith, Mollkoma, II, 407, claimed that the following undated lines attributed to Peter Pindar were attached to Cosway's door, which was guarded by two stone lions:

When a man to a fair for a show brings a lion,
'Tis usual a monkey the sign-post to tie on;
But here the old custom reversed is seen,
For the lion's without--and the monkey's within.

16 Mary Dorothy George, Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires Preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, VI, 1784-1792 (London: B. M. Trustees, 1938), no. 6715.


20 "Jacko" and the Learned Pig figure prominently in Gillray's print, "The Theatrical War" (30 June 1787).


22 Samuel Johnson, Nov. 1784, as quoted in James Boswell, Boswell's Life of Johnson, ed. George Birkbeck Hill and L. F. Powell (IV Oxford: Clarendon, 1934), 373-74, 542-48, where Johnson argues that education, however painful, has at least prolonged the learned pig's life. When Anna Seward reported the appearance of the pig, it was performing in Nottingham and apparently did not reach London until the spring of 1785.


24 Lunardi's first balloon flight on 15 Sept. 1785 was followed by several others in the following year. The European Magazine, 7 (May 1785), 385, reported that on 13 May 1786 Lunardi ascended in a balloon painted like the "Union Flag of England." In Collings' print, however, Lunardi's balloon is identifiably French.
26 See B. M. Satirée, no. 6715, for M. D. George's fine description of the details of the print. It is clear that Jacko is a caricature of a real person, though I have not identified the target of the joke.

27 Buffon, Natural History, General and Particular, trans. William Smellie, 2nd ed. (London, 1785), VIII, 77-105. See also ORGA entry "Jocko." Buffon, pp. 77-78, says of Jackos and orangutangs: "of all the apes, they have the greatest resemblance to man."

28 Daily Univ. Reg., 26 April 1785.

29 For example, Erdman, Prophet, p. 91 fn. 5, and Bentley, Blake Books, p. 222 fn. 3.

30 Erdman, Prophet, p. 102.

31 An anonymous writer in the Daily Univ. Reg., 6 April 1785, complained that the "revenues of a learned horse, or a learned dog, or a learned pig, would preserve from indigence half a dozen learned men."

32 See Charles Burney, An Account of the Musical Performances in Westminster-Abbey, and the Pantheon, May 80, 87, 89, June 4, 6, 1784 (London, 1785), and European Mag., 8 (July 1785), 78; 9 (June 1786), 468; 10 (June 1787), 459.


34 Cumberland published a description of his "New Mode of Printing" in Henry Maty's A New Review; with Literary Curiosities, and Literary Intelligence, 6 (Oct. 1784), 318-19. Although Erdman, Prophet, p. 100 fn. 22, says it is "hard to think who" Cumberland might be in An Island, it would seem logical to identify Cumberland with Quid on the evidence Erdman presents. One might argue that Quid, like Cumberland and unlike Blake with whom he is almost always identified, does not seem to be a professional engraver or printer. Quid says that he "would have all the writing Engraved instead of Printed" and that "they would Print off two thousand" copies. One could see George "Candid" Cumberland, a mere amateur engraver and printer, farming out the production of these volumes.

35 The annual charity school service described in the draft of "Holy Thursday" (ch. 11) was first held in St. Paul's Cathedral on 2 May 1782, and annually thereafter (e.g., 12 June 1783, 10 June 1784, 26 May 1785, 1 June 1786, 7 June 1787, 5 June 1788, 28 May 1789) until late in the nineteenth century. For the distinction between these services and the "Holy Thursdays" of the church calendar see W. H. Stevenson, ed., The Poems of William Blake, text ed. by David V. Erdman, Longman Annotated English Poets (London: Longman, 1971), p. 60 fn., and Thomas E. Connolly, "The Real "Holy Thursday" of William Blake," Blake Studies, 6 (1975), 179-87.

36 As Erdman observes (Prophet, p. 91 fn.), Suction's reference to "next year" would be most appropriate from May to December, though I have heard "academics" of a different sort refer to next year, i.e., the Sept. school opening, in July.


38 Erdman, Poetry and Prose, p. 766.

39 Bentley, Blake Books, p. 223.
Blake and the Assimilation of Chaos
Christine Gallant

In all of his works Blake struggled with the question of how chaos can be assimilated into imaginative order. Blake's own answer changed in the course of his poetic career. Christine Gallant contends that during the ten-year period of composition of Blake's first comprehensive epic, THE FOUR ZOAS, Blake's myth expanded from a closed, static system to an open, dynamic process. She further argues that it is only through attention to the changing pattern of Jungian archetypes in the poem that one can discern this profound change. $12.50

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BLAKE AND MORLAND: THE FIRST STATE OF "THE INDUSTRIOUS COTTAGER"

Jenijoy La Belle

Among Blake's more conventional efforts as a reproductive engraver are two companion prints, "The Idle Laundress" and "The Industrious Cottager," both published by J. R. Smith in 1788 after paintings by George Morland. Keynes, in his Separate Plates catalogue, lists three states of these skillfully executed plates in stipple and line, but his third "state" is simply an impression of one of the previous two states which has been hand colored. A heretofore unknown state of "The Industrious Cottager," undoubtedly earlier than those previously recorded, was recently sold by a London book dealer and is now in the collection of Robert Essick.

Although the newly discovered state (illus. 1) has been cropped closely along its lower margin, the signatures of the designer and engraver are preserved: Morland pinx (left), Blake sculp (right). The signature on the right cannot be seen in the photograph, but is clear in the original. In what Keynes calls the first state (illus. 2), dated 1788 in the imprint, and in the final state issued by H. Macklin in 1803, the signatures are Painted by G. Morland and Engraved by W. Blake. Of more
importance are the differences in the designs. The newly discovered print is a fine, rich impression, whereas copies of the previously recorded 1788 state typically exhibit considerable wear. Note, for example, the hatching lines on the woman's clothing over her breasts. Clearly, illus. 1 is the true first state.

The most significant changes between the first two states reproduced here are in the faces. In the first, the child's uplifted eyes are particularly prominent. In the second, they have been surrounded and partly covered with additional stipple, her cheeks and chin have been filled out and rounded, her hair re-engraved, darkened, and lowered to cover more of her forehead, and her smiling mouth puckered into an inane expression. A bright and cheerful little girl has been changed into a vacuous creature. The woman's face has undergone similar changes that weaken her expression and character. The almost Oriental eyes of the first state have been softened and conventionalized, and the pleasant mouth given a slight pucker. The total expression is now one of melancholy, rather than contentment. These many small changes in the features of the two figures alter the mood of the entire composition from a portrayal of the pleasures of simple country life to a depiction of the burdens of peasant labor.

Unfortunately Morland's oil painting of the design has been lost, and thus we are not able to determine without question which version is closer.

1 "The Industrious Cottager." Blake after George Morland, 1788. Stipple etching/engraving, first state, 21.3 x 26 cm. Essick Collection.

2 "The Industrious Cottager." Blake after Morland, second state, 1788, 21.3 x 26 cm. Essick Collection.
to the original. The second (Keynes' first) state, however, is closer to the sensibility exhibited in Morland's other works. Morland seems to have favored rosebud mouths for children, as in "Fruits of Early Industry and Economy," an oil of 1789 now in the Philadelphia Museum of Art. The child's mouth in the newly discovered first state is distinctly Blakean—turning up slightly at the corners and revealing a thin line of teeth beneath a delicate upper lip with a small but prominent inverted bow. It is the mouth of Blake's Adam and Eve in the tempera paintings (Maxwell Collection), of Mirth (in the separate plate), of Christ (in the engraved title page to Night The Fourth of Young's Night Thoughts), and of a host of other characters in Blake's designs. It is quite possible that the second (Keynes' first) state was executed in order to bring the print closer to the painting, or at least to eliminate peculiarities that the Morland-loving purchaser might find disturbing. If Blake, rather than some journeyman, were required by his publisher to make these alterations, then "The Industrious Cottager" is an early example of the sort of interference and demands for "softer" effects Blake would experience years later at the hands of Hayley and Lady Hesketh.

W. M. Rossetti wrote in the margin of his copy of Gilchrist's Life of Blake that, except "for Linnell, Blake's last years would have been employed . . . [in] making a set of Morland's pig and ploughboy subjects." Rossetti notes that "it was I think, [Alexander] Munro who told me this Nov. [18]63, as if he knew it from some authentic source." This "source" may have known that Blake had indeed engraved one of Morland's large pigs in "The Idle Laundress," and projected Blake's horrid fate on the basis of his commission of 1788. Yet Blake's copying of Morland was not without redeeming value, at least in his own eyes. In one of his odder Notebook jottings, Blake quoted from a story from Bell's Weekly of 4 August 1811, p. 248, concerning a jailed artist, Peter Le Cave, who had been Morland's assistant. Le Cave claimed "that many Paintings of his were only Varnished over by Morland & sold by that Artist as his own." On this point Blake commented that "It confirms the Suspicion I entertained concerning those two [Prints del] I engraved From for J. R. Smith. That Morland could not have Painted them as they were the works of a Correct Mind & no Blurrer." By dissociating "The Industrious Cottager" and "The Idle Laundress" from an artist of whom he disapproved, Blake was able to compliment these works and justify his own efforts in copying them.

That Blake did indeed find something of worth in these two paintings is supported by his borrowings from them. The thick trunks of the two large trees behind the figures in "The Industrious Cottager" lean towards each other. Blake repeated this same configuration in the background of the upper design on the second plate of "The Little Girl Lost" in Songs of Experience (illus. 3) and behind Nebuchadnezzar on plate 24 of The Marriage of Heaven and Hell. Apparently Blake found this motif to be a way of representing the dense and impenetrable nature of the forest of experience where children lose their way and beasts roam. To the right of the cottager's left foot (clearer in illus. 2 than in 1) is a clump of spiky leaves. Many years later Blake engraved a remarkably similar plant in the lower margin of Job, plate 6 (illus. 4). Also in this corner of plate 6, just below the thistles, is one of Blake's typically large leaves that appear in a number of his works (for example, Europe, plate 12). Leaves of this sort, growing close to the
ground, also appear in the lower right area of "The Industrious Cottager." These admittedly minor borrowings show once again Blake's talent for making use of motifs he learned from works very unlike his own.

1 Morland (1763-1804) was a prolific, popular, and profligate artist who depicted instructive scenes of domestic and country life. See Samuel Redgrave, A Dictionary of Artists of the English School, 2nd ed. (London, 1878), pp. 297-98.


3 Very likely the successor (and son?) of Thomas Macklin, the engraver and print publisher who employed Balke to execute "Morning Amusement" and "Evening Amusement" after Watteau (1782), "The Fall of Rosamond" after Stothard (1783), and "Robin Hood and Clorinda" after Meheux (1783).


6 Bentley, Blake Records, p. 274, n. 1.


ANOTHER CUMBERLAND BIBLIOGRAPHY
ADDENDUM

Christopher Heppner

The Blacker-Wood Library at McGill University holds a Cumberland MS not noted in the Cumberland Bibliography by G. E. Bentley, Jr., and it seems worth describing this briefly to keep the record up-to-date, in line with Bentley's own addition in Blake 42, the format of which I have followed.

Part C. Manuscripts which have been traced.

Studies from Nature. 1846 (date of completion).

Title: a transcription of the title-page reads as follows:

This volume of 310 studies from nature, in various branches of natural history, the amusement of many pleasant hours [sic] of his father George Cumberland--he presents to his son Sydney, 1 as a proof of his esteem and as an example of vacant hours, not mispent [sic]

June 28th 1846. G. Cumberland. [signed]

Binding: Half leather over boards.

Paper: Heavy, no visible water-marks.
seems more intent on learning and applying the classification schemes of such men as Linnaeus and Cuvier than on developing his own, but the depth of interest shown in such areas as animal vision (drawings 110-23) and the "Parts of Generation of the Garden Snail" (drawing 14) is impressive.

A few drawings give us glimpses of Cumberland's reading, and of his other interests. The drawing of a boy labeled "Datura arboria" (illus. 1) is clearly taken from some book, and drawing 250, titled "Pyramid of Cholula," is described as from "Humbold's [sic] Researches Vol. 1. pubd 1814." The reference is to Researches Concerning the Institutions and Monuments of the Ancient Inhabitants of America---by Alexander de Humboldt, and Translated into English by Helen Maria Williams, London: Longman et al., 1814. The plate from which Cumberland has sketched faces p. 81 of Vol. I. Unexpectedly, his drawing 249, of a "Mexican Sun altar" (illus. 2) with a "channel for the blood of the victims—which were human," is not taken from these volumes, and I have not traced its source.

There is also a note on the verso of 83, a drawing of a grey mullet, that "Irvine had of these 21 Duplicates 19 of Julio Bonasoni," followed by a list of titles. The Irvine referred to is presumably the James Irvine to whom Cumberland dedicated A Poem on the Landscapes of Great-Britain (A Bibliography of George Cumberland, p. 7). Cumberland of course had a fine collection of Bonasoni's engravings, wrote a monograph about him, and is assumed to have had a hand in pushing the later Blake towards the linear style of engraving that appears most conspicuously in the illustrations to Dante's Inferno. Cumberland, like Erasmus Darwin, had more than a touch of the Renaissance universal man about him, and the juxtaposition on the same piece of paper of a drawing of a grey mullet and a list of Bonasoni engravings suggests something of the range of the man's interests.

Despite the ambiguous syntax, the dates make it quite certain that George Cumberland is referring to himself in this sentence. His father, also a George Cumberland, died in 1771 (see G. Keynes, , 2nd ed. [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971], p. #230). The dates scattered through the MS run from 1798 to 1830. George Cumberland died in 1848, not long after writing this inscription in a slightly shaky hand.
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Anthony J. Harding, *Development and Symbol in the Thought of S. T. Coleridge, J. C. Hare, and John Sterling*

Ann Marie Ross, *Matthew Arnold's Elegiac Essays: The Death and Fame of the Poet of Nature*

Henry J. Staten, *Newman on Self and Society*

Pauline Fletcher, *Romantic and Anti-Romantic Gardens in Tennyson and Swinburne*

Barbara Fass Leavy, *The Romanticism of Meredith's "Love in the Valley"*

Michael Sprinker, *Ruskin on the Imagination*

Reviews by Donald H. Reiman, Anne K. Mellor, Hazard Adams, and David Wagenknecht

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**Romantic Rhetoric**, essays solicited and introduced by Paul de Man

**A Miscellaneous Issue**, including essays by Robert F. Gleckner, Anne K. Mellor, Peter Manning, David E. James, Joseph Kishel, and Douglass Thomson

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Editor: Subscriptions ($12.50 for individuals; $20 for institutions):

Professor David Wagenknecht

Studies in Romanticism

236 Bay State Road

Boston, Massachusetts 02215

Published quarterly by The Graduate School, Boston University
This is the first book-length study of *The Four Zoas* to appear (not counting individual editions). As such, Blake scholars may well find it remarkably unambitious. It does not seek to offer a new interpretation of the poem, but rather "fundamentally to reinforce the consensus of Blakeans." It does not seek to resolve—or complicate—the textual problems (Night VIIb is discussed in an Appendix). It does not attempt to examine the relationship between the text and the illustrations in any consistent way. Instead it aims "to intensify the effect of the poem for all readers," and to emphasize the importance of a direct response to the text. The authors believe that "what new readers of the Zoas need most is not the guidance of authority but the communal reinforcement of their insights and help in clarifying them."

In the introduction they suggest that *The Four Zoas* presents unusual problems for the reader because it "seems to exist without a context." This view of the poem is reflected in the organization of their study: a blow-by-blow commentary, with one chapter devoted to each Night. In practice, the poem's relationship to Blake's other writings, to the work of other Romantics, to contemporary history and to other myths is dealt with in passing, as occasion arises. This kind of commentary has obvious advantages: it encourages attention to detail and it serves to meet the reader's difficulties at every point. But it does have some disadvantages. Continual paraphrasing is needed which, inevitably, becomes mercilessly reductive in places: "Tharmas says that his emanations are lost, then that he has hidden Jerusalem, then that Enion has abducted her, then that he has taken Enitharmon in and cannot cast her out, then that he has accepted as refugees the Emanations of the other Zoas who have been striken dead." A sentence like this seems more likely to discourage the reader than help him. A more serious difficulty arises with the need to clarify the relationship between elements which stand far apart in the narrative sequence, but which stand together thematically. The authors point out that readers of the poem "are expected to keep suspended in their minds, for hundreds or even thousands of lines, motifs and images that will not be resolved or entirely clarified until near the very end." But this difficulty is not entirely overcome in the commentary. The role of divine providence in the poem is a case in point. In the chapter on Night I the authors comment briefly on the "hints of an elusive-to-define providence" in the work, but a full discussion of the status of the Council of God is deferred. In the chapter on VI we learn...
that "Blake sets up an ambiguous relationship between the divine will and human perversity, one that seems not to implicate God in the evil he allowed when he might have intervened." In its context this statement seems fair, but what is the reader to make of the passage in IX where Many Eternal Men appear, who do seem to be in some way implicated in the fall of Man ("we cast him like a Seed into the Earth / Till times and spaces have passd over him" 133:16-17)? Are these Eternals to be identified with the Council of God? The authors state simply that they "apparently personify a viewpoint above the main action." Curiously, the whole question of the nature of Blake's Christianity is not discussed until the chapter on IX, and the role of the providential agency in the poem is never fully clarified because at no point are the various references to it brought together into focus.

But the authors are concerned that the broad structure of the narrative should not be obscured by the details of the symbolism. They emphasize, for example, that the poem can be seen as three triads, each of which follows a similar movement, not only from fall to rebound, but also from instinct and imagination to passion and then reason; and they stress that the middle movement of the poem (Nights IV to VI) can be seen "as a single action at the same time as a set of alternatives," as the birth of Orc and the incarnation of Urizen are virtually the same event. By continually outlining the larger units of the narrative, they really do manage to give the reader a vivid sense of the general design of the poem, and even more important, a sense of the coherence of that design.

The authors' feeling that the poem seems to exist without a context is reflected not only in the organization of their study, but in their interpretation. They emphasize the "psychodrama," and give less weight, relatively, to the social themes of the poem. (This tendency may have been encouraged by thinking of VIIb-a Night in which references to contemporary history are particularly in evidence-as an appendage, rather than an integral part of the narrative.) A consequence of this tendency can be seen in the following passage from the commentary on VIIb: "Blake ... allowed a hope to survive that somehow, perhaps through some loophole of events in the world, the human community would eventually be renovated. That would be a bonus, however-a something added after the true kingdom of God which is within has been sought and found. One must do first things first: start with the inner man and then let Demogorgon, the necessary or at least hoped-for logic of events, work as he will." This is too tentative and arbitrary for the Blake of The Four Zoas. In the ninth Night there is surely no suggestion that the renovation of the human community and the coming of the kingdom of God are separate events.

One of the ways in which the authors seek to reinforce a direct response to the poem is by adducing "analogies from personal and familiar experience," intended as stimuli rather than definitive explanations, to help bring the poem alive. One instance here must stand for many: Blake's phrase "the Sciences were fixd" is explained by referring to the behaviourist whose thinking becomes rigidly conditioned by his own adopted methods-an example which quite typically clarifies both the meaning and relevance of Blake's thought. Just occasionally, the authors' wish to bring the poem home gets the better of them: the claim that the sustained agricultural metaphor in the last Night is "virtually a practical handbook on farming" would raise a few eyebrows in my home village.

Surprisingly, perhaps, the parts of this study that I find most refreshing are those which emphasize expressive characteristics of the poem. The authors draw attention to the "strange tonal contrasts and combinations" in Enitharmon's song in Night II, to the "almost gravitational acceleration" in III, the "peculiar monotony of tone and plot" in VI (which, they note, appropriate to the reductionist world view it dramatizes). They notice the "brilliantly theatrical moments" in the tragico-comic confrontation between Urizen and Orc in VIIa, and they point out that in Urizen's renunciation speech in IX "there is an undertone of his old distrust of excesses, as if he were daring his brother zoas to do their worst, go to extremes, have it their own way and find out whether they will like the consequences." Such a large proportion of the critical work on Blake's longer prophecies has been devoted to the difficult task of elucidating symbol and myth that it may now seem audacious or even bathetic to draw attention to the poetry, or to the dramatic qualities of the "Visionary forms dramatic." The authors provide a timely reminder that Blake's meaning is to be grasped not only by decoding symbols and myths, but by being fully sensitive to the expressive qualities of his work. More of this particular kind of commentary would have been very welcome--a kind which most clearly encourages a direct response to the text. Take the following lines, which are quoted in this study:

But infinitely beautiful the wondrous work arose
In sorrow & care. a Golden World whose porches round the heavens
And pillard halls & rooms receivd the eternal wandering stars
A wondrous golden Building; many a window many a door
And many a division let in & out into the vast unknown
For many a window ornamented with sweet ornaments
Lookd out into the World of Tharmas, where in ceaseless torrents
His billows roll where monsters wander in the foamy paths

(32:7-11; 33:5-7)

If we read these lines properly, we should be aware of the importance of their sound: the open vowels, the avoidance of harsh consonants, the
various kinds of repetition (including cadences: "sorrow and care," "wandering stars," "vast unknown"), the slight but grating insistence of "division"--a combination of effects which creates a hypnotic mixture of awed admiration, regret, and even, at the end, relief. A poetry of genuinely mixed feelings which eludes any simple paraphrasing, and makes the most sophisticated exposition seem crude. As the authors rightly point out, "Any attempt to say what The Four Zoas means hinges on the even more fundamental question how it means." It is a question which they consistently keep in mind, and their book benefits accordingly.

For this reason the book should fulfill its perhaps modest purpose of intensifying the effect of the poem for all readers, and it will certainly help to smooth the way for new readers. It is generally lively, well informed, and it is sufficiently detailed to keep the reader afloat at all stages of his journey. It leaves the unanswered questions, however, unanswered.


LOS'S VISIT

Your increasing energy amazes me. While I slept, you worked through the night, single-handedly, in bright, black letters, writing, and making dawn come again.

I wept when you left, but the vision of your delight makes you beautiful, beyond my words or yours. As you leave, with the new day, in your arms, you carry the sun.

Katharyn R. Gabriella
Karl Kroeber and William Walling, eds.
Reviewed by Anne K. Mellor

The twelve original essays in this exciting collection approach the interdisciplinary study of literature and the visual arts in nineteenth century England from a broadly humanistic perspective. Wisely avoiding the obsessively verbal and overly abstract methodology of the structuralists, these essays see both literary and artistic works as "complexly engaged in a cultural density of particular time, place and circumstance." They range from Rudolph Arnheim's speculations on the translatability of temporal experiences into spatial form to detailed analyses of Turner's imagery. En route, they establish the breadth of concerns and vitality of such an interdisciplinary approach to romanticism.

Of most immediate interest to Blakists will be Jean H. Hagstrum's "Blake and British Art: The Gifts of Grace and Terror." Defining two distinct traditions in Blake's art, the sublime or terribilità of Michelangelo and the beautiful or delicate, Hagstrum identifies several possible and hitherto overlooked influences on Blake's art. Most convincing is his analysis of the affinities of George Romney's black chalk drawings in the classically sublime style (now in the Walker Gallery, Liverpool) to Blake's depictions of Urizen and of Romney's images of threatened innocence (in the same collection) to Blake's depictions of Thel. Hagstrum quite rightly emphasizes Blake's conscious emulation of the style of delicate beauty also found in works by Stothard, Flaxman, Banks and Romney, which is a useful corrective to the tendency to focus primarily upon Blake's monumental or horrific images in the sublime style of Fuseli.

All of these essays will reward the reader interested in the relations of literary to visual texts, and I have space here only to point to a few of the highlights. Lorenz Eitner provides an extensive survey of the imagery of cages and prisons in nineteenth century literature and art, developing the historical interpretation that one might expect, namely, that the eighteenth century cages of security and protected innocence gave way, after the French Revolution, to a negative view of the cage as a repressive prison. William Walling's superb study of Sir David Wilkie and the Scottish literary tradition suggests that an overriding concern with the energy and diversity of social life led both Wilkie and his literary contemporaries, Robert Fergusson, John Galt, Robert Burns and Sir Walter Scott, to eschew abstract formal designs. When, in response to Enlightenment aesthetic demands, they attempted to give a clear structure to their works, these structures seem forced, insincere and theatrical. Walling's concluding "regret" that a critical, academic concern with abstract structures has led us to ignore or undervalue the richness of human diversity and hence of such "episodic" artworks, should give us all pause.

Several essays concern themselves wholly or in part with Turner's art. James A. W. Hefferman, in "The English Romantic Perception of Color," argues that Turner's use of color parallels Wordsworth's conception of the "moulding" eye of the imagination which sees every object in nature as distinct and yet part of a single harmonious whole. Karl Kroeber's fine essay on "Romantic Historicism: The Temporal Sublime" rightly emphasizes the insistence in the works of Turner, Carlyle and Tolstoy upon the ways in which the past is dynamically recreated in the present. Ronald Paulson's searching essay on the meaning of Turner's images, "Turner's Graffiti: The Sun and Its Glosses," brilliantly analyzes the range of associations—religious, political,
psychological—carried by Turner's sublimely overwhelming sun/god/king/father. And Paulson argues that the vortex structure within which this sun characteristically appears grows as much out of verbal signs and ideas ("Turner"'s name, his barber-father's whorled pole) as out of Turner's early sketches of vortically copulating bodies. Paulson's psychoanalytical speculations are carried to an extreme by R. F. Storch who argues, somewhat simplistically, that Shelley's and Turner's tendencies to abstraction can be equated with an alternation between aggression toward women and a dream-fantasy of total love. Storch then applauds Constable's and Wordsworth's "sobriety" at the expense of Shelley's and Turner's overly dissociated object-relations, a position that many will find controversial. Martin Meisel, in his concluding study of the use of John Martin's and Turner's designs as theatrical scenery, speculates that Martin's designs were preferred for infernal and apocalyptic scenes and Turner's for paradisiacal scenes because Martin's clear outlines emphasize the separation and insignificance of man while Turner's visual blurring of all distinctions between the human form and its environment creates an impression of heavenly reconciliation.

I have saved the first essay, Rudolph Arnheim's "Space as an Image of Time," for final discussion because I find myself in partial disagreement with Arnheim's contention "that any organized entity, in order to be grasped as a whole by the mind, must be translated into the synoptic condition of space." Arnheim seems to believe, not only that all memory images of temporal experiences are spatial, but that they are also synoptic, i.e. instantaneously perceptible as a comprehensive whole. I would like to suggest instead that all spatial images, however static and complete as objects, are experienced temporally by the human mind. In other works, we "read" a painting or piece of sculpture or building in much the same way as we read a page. After isolating the object to be read, we begin at the upper left, move our eyes across and down the object; when this scanning process is complete, we return to the images of greatest density and complexity, or to those which the formal design emphasizes, for closer study. However quickly this process of framing, scanning and focusing occurs, it is a process with a definite temporal dimension. In this sense, spatial and temporal artistic works have even more in common than Arnheim acknowledges; temporal works are re-called as spatial structures, but those spatial structures must in turn be "read" or dynamically apprehended through a temporal process.

Reviewed by John Kilgore

This new edition of Blake's poems seems attractive enough until one starts making the inevitable comparisons to older editions—comparisons which become especially pointed in this case because in paperback Ostriker's text will sell for the same price ($7.95) as the Erdman and Keynes editions. It is easier to repeat the cry of a mistaken soul—"More! More!"—than it must be to prepare a new edition of Blake in an inflationary economy. Still, the main defect of the new text is simply that the old ones offer more for the money: more of Blake (K includes all of the prose, E all except for some of the letters), more textual commentary, and more paper (the 7" x 4-1/3" leaves of the new text are rather cramped and make the volume itself, at 1071 pages, somewhat unwieldy).

The new edition forms part of the Penguin English Poets series, and it is in accordance with the general policy of that series that all of Blake's poetry and none of his prose has been included. Often the distinction itself does not suit Blake
very well. An Island in the Moon, for instance, loses most of its charm and all of whatever unity it can be said to possess when Ostriker prints only the songs, sometimes leaving a few shreds of prose attached. Likewise, some of the epigrams and satiric verses which Blake wrote in the Annotations to Reynolds and other prose works seem pointless and obscure once separated from their contexts. The same complaint could be made against W. H. Stevenson's annotated edition of Blake (The Poems of William Blake, London: Longman, 1971; New York: Norton, 1972)--another Complete Poems which forms part of a series--though Stevenson gives larger prose fragments from An Island in the Moon. Luckily both editions incorporate all of The Marriage of Heaven and Hell, rather than trying to define and extract poetic "parts"; and Ostriker (unlike Stevenson) even manages to smuggle in There is No Natural Religion and All Religions are One. But there are other reasons for questioning the appropriateness of a Complete Poems in Blake's case. Blake's prose is slight in volume but large in its significance to the study of his thought and his symbolic system, and if a complete edition is out of the question, the needs of the classroom are probably better served by a text which excludes some poetry in order to admit some prose. In this respect Ostriker's edition might be compared to Hazard Adams's Rinehart edition (William Blake: Jerusalem, Selected Poems and Prose, New York, 1970), a selected text priced at $4.95 which gives both The Four Zoas and Milton in excerpted form but manages, in 170 pages, to provide generous samplings from every category of Blake's prose. More to the point, the Penguin edition might simply have added a section of prose without cutting anything; such a feature would increase the value of the book more than it increased the price.

So far there exists no major edition of Blake's writings which gives anything approaching adequate representation to his visual art, and Ostriker's text will not change this situation. Except for the handsome cover, a color reproduction of a detail from "Death on a Pale Horse," the new edition contains no illustrations of any kind--this, once again, due to the general policies of the Penguin series. K is likewise devoid of illustrations; E gives a slightly better sense of Blake's "composite art" by offering several reproductions; Stevenson includes some reproductions, and very usefully indicates the positions of designs in the illuminated books by printing "Design" in brackets. But I would not think it very difficult or prohibitively expensive for any of these editions to include photographic sections of, say, twenty pages, a feature which might have considerable suggestive value; if Penguin had been the first to take the step it would have a more competitive volume than it has now.

Like Keynes and Stevenson, Ostriker gives Blake's poems in a simple chronological sequence (or in the best approach to one that is possible), an arrangement which has the obvious value of illustrating Blake's development as a poet. The alternatives here would be to observe generic or textual distinctions, separating the shorter poems from the prophecies (as in the Adams edition) or the "published" works from the manuscript poems. E offers a complex and largely unchronological arrangement of the poetry, one which consolidates and gives particular emphasis to the illuminated works which supposedly comprise Blake's "major canon" (p. xxiii). One can argue for or against any of these procedures. Erdman's groupings are often useful, but they are also rather confusing, and I balk at any definition of the "major canon" which excludes The Four Zoas. It is a little awkward to have Milton and Jerusalem separated by miscellaneous verses and epigrams in Ostriker's text, or by a congeries of poetry and prose in K, but is also useful. To have the prose separated from the poetry and consolidated into relevant categories (as in E and the Adams edition) is convenient, but then of course one loses track of chronological relationships. Ostriker follows Keynes in her presentation of Blake's manuscript poems, making a considered decision to include variant passages as part of the main text:

For poems which exist only in manuscript form, this material is incorporated in the text through italics and brackets, reproducing as far as possible the condition of the texts in their 'workshop' state, with successive stages of revision evident as one reads along. The assumption here is that unfinished poems should not be presented to the eye as if they were finished, and vice versa; and that the reader will benefit from an opportunity to sense Blake's verse both as working process and as completed product. (p. 8)

The Four Zoas is the work chiefly affected by this procedure, and many modern commentaries have indeed approached that poem primarily "as working process," scrutinizing Blake's revisions and tracing relationships between early and late "layers" of the manuscript. Ostriker's arrangement may be pleasing to teachers who wish to take a similar approach in the classroom; for my own part I do not like to see The Four Zoas treated in this way. The commentaries I speak of too often seem to practice a reverse hermeneutics, expounding the poem's disunities at the expense of the unity and the aesthetic success which it has largely achieved. Likewise, a text which incorporates variants inevitably does so at the expense of "the completed product"--or of a product which is at least more complete than such a text suggests. It may be a distortion to present the poem "as if it were finished," but is a greater distortion to resurrect, even in italics and brackets, passages which Blake himself deleted; this is to do the poet's "unfinishing" for him.

In any case, Ostriker's text can hardly be said to "make successive stages of revision evident" in The Four Zoas. Most variants make their way into the text simply because they happen to have been decipherable despite Blake's attempts to delete them--not because they all belong to the same date or represent anything like a coherent stage in the composition of the poem. It is rare that the
inclusion of such fragments clearly depicts the growth even of a single passage, much less of the poem as a whole. Major waves of revision are often completely unaffected by the Keynes-Ostriker procedure, for to distinguish a main text from variants is not nearly the same thing as distinguishing early or "original" passages from later ones. Thus, for instance, the lengthy late additions in VIIa and VIII which develop the roles of Los, the Spectre, and Enitharmon—and in so doing shift the poem's center of gravity and perhaps cause the VIIa-VIIb problem—are in Ostriker's text indistinguishable from earlier material. Now this is as it should be in such an edition, for a text which (like Bentley's transcript in the facsimile volume) consistently distinguishes the various "layers" of the manuscript becomes almost unreadable. But when major revisions must remain hidden, what is the point of dramatizing minor ones?

Ostriker's notes are virtually devoid of textual information, and this makes her treatment of the manuscript poems all the more questionable; Keynes, by contrast, supplies copious annotations which give the reader a chance to understand what he is really seeing in the italics and brackets. But I would like to see the "workshop" approach abandoned altogether, in both editions, for on the whole its effect is simply to make *The Four Zoas* seem more confused than it really is. Let the variants be left in the notes, as in E.

Overall, the "apparatus" in the new edition is less useful than that in E owing to its lack of textual information; but in proportion to their length, Ostriker's interpretive notes seem to me as good as any I have seen. They concentrate on tracing relevant allusions, on cross-referencing Blake's endlessly self-interpretive canon, and on providing the kind of basic explanations of the symbolism which most readers need and most scholars would find reasonable. The notes to *Jerusalem* in particular contain many adroit and compact glosses of difficult material, and they introduce the poem quite well. It is impossible, of course, to annotate a text without bringing in some kind of bias; still, Ostriker's notes are attractive for their balance, simplicity, and scholarly reserve. In these respects they present a favorable contrast to Harold Bloom's "Commentary" in E, a critical discussion of great value which nevertheless seems a bit too "exuberant" and partial to serve in the place of judicious annotation. Keynes is as silent on interpretive matters as Ostriker is on textual ones, so her notes will be more useful in most classrooms; they do not quite come up to the standard set by Stevenson's extraordinarily detailed annotations in the Longman edition, but that text is not available in paper and sells for $14.95 in hardback.

Ostriker gives a brief Preface but no Introduction, and this is unfortunate, for there is a gap here that needs filling. In all the major collections the task of explaining Blake's symbolism is left almost entirely to the notes, which by their nature afford only local and fragmentary insights. What the general reader needs is a coherent and systematic introduction which summarizes Blake's politics, his religious views, his epistemology, his theory of symbolism, and his vision of the structure of the psyche, and which then tries to explain just why he wrote as he did in the prophecies. How much of this one could really accomplish in a short space is debatable, but the attempt ought to be made. Somewhat curiously, the best models for such an introduction are now found in two selected texts, the Adams collection and Frye's *Selected Poetry and Prose of William Blake* (New York: Modern Library, 1953), the latter a modest anthology which conceivably remains in print chiefly on the strength of its Introduction.

The unique complexity and difficulty of Blake's art will doubtless continue for some time to defy all attempts to create an Ideal Edition—an edition which includes all of Blake's writing, doesn't cost too much, and satisfies all of the diverse claims of the manuscripts, the visual art, and "the system." Meanwhile a less-than-ideal edition has various opportunities to define a scholarly or an economic niche for itself, but Ostriker's text has missed too many of these opportunities; it does not seem a really needed or peculiarly useful edition.
The reader is warned that this will not be a comprehensive review of Professor Altick's fascinating history of London exhibitions from 1600 through 1862. Instead, it seems appropriate for us to take a Blake's-eye view of the proceedings; to ask what The Shows of London has to tell us about the life of the great city in which Blake lived and moved. Although the results are necessarily speculative--Blake's name is mentioned only once in the book (p. 408)--they are, I think, worthwhile. Blake was, as we have come to realize more and more, a man very much in his time; and Altick's richly informative history gives us, both in its text and in its wealth of illustration, much to imagine about what Blake could have seen and heard. --And, after all, "What is now proved was once, only imagin'd."

Could Blake have seen a real Tyger, \(^1\) whatever the explanation of the enigmatic nature of his design? Perhaps the likeliest place was the menagerie at Exeter Exchange, where George Stubbs bought a dead tiger for his anatomical investigations (p. 39). That was presumably in the late 1770's, though Altick does not give a date; there were tigers at the Exeter Exchange again in 1797, and elephants as well. As for the Learned Pig of Blake's epigram, \(^2\) the most celebrated of that breed performed in London in 1785 (pp. 40-42); it was advertised as "well versed in all Languages, perfect Arithmetician & Composer of Musick" and was the subject of a caricature print by Rowlandson (The Wonderful Pig, fig. 46). For hares playing the tabor Altick refers us elsewhere \(^3\)--but play it they did.

Among human performers of possible interest to Blake, we find Dr. Katterfelto, now a leading candidate for the prototype of Inflammable Gass the Windfinder. \(^4\) "According to his flamboyant publicity," writes Altick, "his 'lectures' and 'experiments' ... drew on 'mathematics, optics, magnetism, electricity, chemistry, pneumatics, hydraulics, hydrostatics,' and such obscure realms as 'poetics,' 'stynacraphy,' and 'caprimancy'" (p. 84). In An Island in the Moon, though, it's Chatterton rather than the Windfinder whom Aradobu calls "clever in Fissic Follogy, Pictinology, Aridology, Arography, Transmography, Phizography, Hogany Hatony, & hall that..." (E 444). In 1782-83 Katterfelto was entertaining audiences by projecting through his solar telescope images of the "insects" which supposedly caused influenza. He also sold a remedy, Dr Bato's medicine against the disease. ("I have got a bottle of air that would spread a plague," says Inflammable Gass--E 442). Katterfelto also used black cats for electrical demonstrations, in the course of which they gave off sparks. By 1783, however, Katterfelto had exhausted his popularity and offered for sale his "philosophical and mathematical apparatus"--perhaps the "puppets" with which Inflammable Gass proposes to "shew you a louse [stimming] or a flea or a butterfly or a cock chafier the blade bone of a little back..." (E 452). In an anonymous caricature of 1783 (fig. 16), Katterfelto prepares to joust with another quack, Dr. Graham, both mounted on phallic instruments. Katterfelto threatens Graham with "Fire from mine Finder and Feavers on my Tumb; in An Island Inflammable Gass turnd short round & threw down the table & Glasses & Pictures, & broke the bottles of wind & let out the Pestilence." (E 453)

Was Blake interested in spectacles such as the Phantasmagoria and the Eidophusikon? The Phantasmagoria and its successors (pp. 217-220) depended for their effect on magic lantern projections in a dark room, and this may well have been too
mechanical for Blake's taste. The Eidophusikon was another matter, involving brilliant artifice rather than thrilling illusion. Performances usually culminated with the Pandemonium scene of *Paradise Lost*, a subject to which Loutherbourg brought the same inventiveness that he displayed as Garrick's scene designer. Drawing upon the supposed eyewitness account of William Henry Pyne, Altick describes the effect as follows:

"Here, in the fore-ground of a vista, stretching an immeasurable length between mountains, ignited from their bases to their lofty summits, with many-coloured flame, a chaotic mass rose in dark majesty, which gradually assumed form until it stood, the interior of a vast temple of gorgeous architecture, bright as molten brass, seemingly composed of unquenchable fire. . . . In this palace of the devils, serpents were entwined around the Doric pillars, and as the fires rose the intense red gave way to a transparent white, expressing thereby the effect of fire upon metal. . . ."

Although Reynolds and Gainsborough were among the early admirers of the Eidophusikon, the five shilling admission price probably put the show beyond Blake's means in 1781; there were, however, more popularly priced productions at Exeter Change in 1786 and at Spring Gardens in 1793. Loutherbourg's device was in its way a work of composite art, and of the various pre-cinematic inventions discussed by Altick, the Eidophusikon is by far the most interesting.

The *Shows of London* is also generous in its descriptions of places in which exhibitions took place or which were themselves exhibitions. Among these are Vauxhall, Ranelagh, the Temple of Flora, and Apollo Gardens, all alluded to in Blake's works. At the time when Miss Gittipin enviously said "There they go in Post chaises & Stages to Vauxhall & Ranelagh" (*E 447*), these were indeed places of resort with certain pretensions—Vauxhall even had a pictorial gallery of works on Shakespearean subjects. But by the early nineteenth century, "Vauxhall's developing reputation for occasional riotousness and licentiousness (it became something of a summer retreat for a class of women then known by the erudite euphemism of 'Paphians') eventually sped its decline" (p. 320). Ranelagh, celebrated for its immense rotunda and for a fireworks show which depicted the Cyclops forging Mars's armor in the cave of Vulcan, closed in 1803. Fittingly it is one of the places from which Hand rises up against Los in *Jerusalem* 8:1-2 (*E 149*). As for the Temple of Flora and the Apollo Gardens, Altick's information usefully supplements that previously given by David V. Erdman. The Temple of Flora or British Elysium was erected in 1786 in St. George's Fields on the Surrey side of Westminster Bridge. . . . This resort boasted a summer garden, a winter garden, an orange grove, a hothouse with a statue of Pomona, a Chinese pagoda, goldfish ponds, and a grotto complete with the indispensable hermit" (p. 97). Across Oakley Street was the Apollo Gardens, where, in addition to horticultural displays, transparencies of George III and his family (including one showing their first meeting after the King's recovery from an attack of madness) could be seen. But these places too declined and closed as "An originally respectable, if not fashionable clientele gave way to low-life characters whose riotous behavior got the managements in trouble with the neighbors and the magistrates." Thus, as Erdman points out, we have Blake's reference in *Milton* 25:48-49 to "Jerusalems Inner Court, Lampeth ruind'd and given / To the detestable Gods of Prian, to Apollo. . . ."

Many buildings are illustrated and described in *The Shows of London*, and Blake, as a walker in London's opening streets, must have been familiar with at least the exteriors of, among others, the Pantheon, the Panorama, and the Egyptian Hall. Built at the corner of Oxford and Poland Streets in 1772, the Pantheon occupied the site until it burned down in 1792; in 1784 Lunardi's balloon was exhibited there (fig. 17). The circular Panorama, where an astonishing 360 degree view of London was displayed (figs. 29, 30), opened in Leicester Square in 1794. Perhaps most interesting of all as a building was William Bullock's Egyptian Hall on Piccadilly near the end of Old Bond Street (fig. 69), begun in 1809 and opened in 1812. Bullock's London Museum (as it was officially known) was designed by Peter Frederick Robinson in a style which Altick terms "Egyptian eclectic":

It was nominally inspired by the great temple of Hat-hor at Dendera, a late Ptolemaic and Roman building which then was counted among the most impressive Egyptian monuments. . . . The central facade was crowned by a huge cornice supported by sphinxes and two colossal nude statues in Coade stone representing Isis and Osiris.

(p. 236)

Given Blake's long-standing interest in the highly cultivated state of Egypt, this striking edifice must surely have interested him. In 1820 the Egyptian Hall housed Giovanni Belzoni's sensational exhibition of the Tomb of Seti and other Egyptian antiquities, prefiguring, as Altick suggests, our own Treasures of Tutankhamen.

Only two chapters of *The Shows of London* are about paintings; although this probably gives the subject the relative importance it had in relation to Londoners' other showgoing tastes, a full length history of London art exhibitions has yet to be written. Among the events described by Altick, the Orléans shows of 1793 and of 1798-99 stand out in importance. The first is characterized as "the first exhibition of Old Masters ever held in England"; consisting of Flemish, Dutch, and German paintings, it had an enormous success and attracted more than two thousand people during its last week alone. The second comprised the French and Italian paintings acquired for the Bridgewater, Carlisle, and Gower collections. It is hard to believe that Blake would not have taken the opportunity to see these treasures, and it is a pity that we do not have his response as we do Hazlitt's.
A mist passed away from my sight; the scales fell off. A new sense came upon me, a new heaven and a new earth stood before me. I saw the soul speaking in the face... 6

Of other important art exhibitions in Blake's time, some one-man shows stand out, giving us an idea of what Blake was trying to accomplish with inadequate material resources in 1809-10. John Singleton Copley drew 20,000 persons to see his The Death of Earl Chatham in the Great Room at Spring Gardens during six weeks of 1781; and in 1791 60,000 persons saw Copley's The Floating Batteries At Gibraltar in a tent near Buckingham House (p. 105). A generation later, Benjamin Robert Haydon, whose aspirations in so many ways resembled Blake's, showed Christ's Triumphal Entry Into Jerusalem at the Egyptian Hall: over thirty thousand visitors paid a shilling a head to see the painting in 1820 (p. 243). Blake did not have the means to rent a fashionable showroom and to invite persons of quality to a private view, but we can see that in a modest way he was trying to do what Copley had done and what Haydon would do: to appeal to the public directly, without the intermediacy of the Royal Academy or of any other official body.

The Shows of London is of course much more than a compendium of information about London exhibitions. It is a study in cultural history, one which might take for its motto "By their amusements shall ye know them." All who visit Altick's Panorama will, like their counterparts of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, find both pleasure and instruction.

1 On this subject, see also John Buck, "Miss Groggery," Blake Newsletter, 2 (1968), 40.


5 Ibid., pp. 288-90.

6 P. 104, quoted from "The Pleasures of Painting."

QUERY

I am working on a new catalogue raisonné of Blake's separate plates for Princeton University Press. I would appreciate hearing from anyone with information not recorded in Keynes' *Engravings by William Blake: The Separate Plates* (1956), Bentley's *Blake Books* (1977), or other standard reference works on the separate plates. I am interested in new information about states, printing or coloring techniques, and paper, as well as the location of unrecorded copies of the original graphics ("Joseph of Arimathea," "The Ancient of Days," "The Three Accusers," etc.) and the rarer reproductive plates ("Morning Amusement," "The Fall of Rosamund," "Robin Hood and Clorinda," etc.). Please write to Robert N. Essick, The Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif. 91108. I will of course acknowledge in the catalogue the source of all new information sent to me.

TODD COLLECTION

As our readers know, Ruthven Todd died in Galilea, Mallorca, 11 October 1978. According to Robert Latona of The American School in Mallorca, Todd's collection of books, prints, and photos related to Blake will be going to the University of Leeds, where they will form the nucleus of a new collection. Leeds will also receive Todd's papers on Blake, including manuscript material that was to have been included in the revised life of Blake by Gilchrist.

MISSING ISSUES

We are only too well aware that subscribers sometimes don't receive their issues; here we always lay the blame on the Addressograph machines, the shippers, and the post office. But we always try to be helpful and sympathetic with our subscribers when they file claims for issues not received. For practical reasons, however, we have found that we must set a limit on the time within which a valid claim will be accepted: we will accept claims for a period of one year from the date of publication of the issue for which a claim is being filed.

JUNGIAN PERSPECTIVES

A conference, "Jungian Perspectives on Creativity and the Unconscious," is to be held at Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, 2-4 June, 1979. Scheduled to open the conference on Saturday are special lectures by and a symposium composed of Silvano Arieti, M.D. Psychoanalyst, author of *The Will to be Human, The Intrapsychic Self, and Creativity: The Magia Synthesis,* and recipient of the National Book Award in Science, 1975; Walter Darby Bannard, painter and art critic, and recipient of the National Foundation Arts Award, 1968-69; Richard Howard, Pulitzer Prize-winning poet, translator and critic, author of *Untitled Subjects, Findings, Two-Part Inventions, Fellows Feelings,* Walter Netsch, architect with Skidmore, Owings, and Merrill; and June Singer, Ph.D. Jungian Analyst, author of *Boundaries of the Soul, The Unholy Bible and Androgyny.* Sessions of Jungian studies in art, architecture, film, literature, philosophy, and religion are scheduled for Sunday and Monday. A special section on promoting creativity in the arts and humanities at the university level will be scheduled for Monday afternoon.

PAPERS READ

At the annual meeting of the Midwestern American Society for Eighteenth Century Studies, held this year at the University of Kansas in Lawrence, James E. Swearingen (Marquette University) presented a paper on "Blake & the Anatomy of Nihilism" as part of the session on "New Approaches to Eighteenth Century Literature," 16 November 1978.

At the annual meeting of the Western Society for Eighteenth Century Studies, Nelson Hilton (University of California, Santa Cruz) presented a paper on "Blake's *Visions: Of Mary Wollstonecraft & Henry Fuseli,"* 18 February 1979.

TWO RECENT LECTURES IN LONDON

Lectures given in London this year have fleshed out, slightly but significantly, the circumstances surrounding two publishing ventures that involved Blake's designs. G. E. Bentley, Jr., in his lecture on "Blake and the Illustrated Book Publishers of his Time" at the Tate Gallery on 19 April 1978, set Richard Edwards' deluxe edition of Edward Young's *Night Thoughts* in the tradition of Boydell's *Shakespeare* and Macklin's *Bible,* and pointed out that it was the continental market that made all the difference to the viability of such ventures. When war with France destroyed this market in the 1790s, restricting sales to Great Britain alone, such publications were no longer profitable, hence the collapse of Edwards' venture after only one of the projected four parts had been printed, in 1797.

Dr. Pedro Schwartz, in a paper on "Ackermann and the Latin-American Market" given at the Ackermann symposium held at the Berkeley Hotel on 22 September 1978, gave the background to what has always seemed,
at least to me, the inexplicable re-issue of Blake's designs for Robert Blair's *The Grave* to accompany a completely new text in Spanish by José Joaquín de Mora (1783-1864). This was the *Meditaciones Poeticas* published in 1826 by "R. Ackermann, No. 101, Strand: y en su Establecimiento en Mexico: asimismo en Colombia, en Buenos Ayres, Chile, Peru, y Guatemala." As Mora explained in his preface, he had written new poems to complement and throw light on the magnificent designs of "Guillermo Black."

Robert N. Essick and Morton D. Paley, in their article on "The Printings of Blake's Designs for Blair's *Grave*" (The Book Collector, winter 1975, pp. 545-57), have supplied a considerable amount of information on Mora, this edition of Blake's designs, and Ackermann's Spanish-language publications. But Dr. Schwartz has demonstrated that Mora played a major role in Ackermann's Spanish publications, a fine example of enlightened self-interest. Already in 1815 Ackermann was assisting Spanish exiles in England. In 1820 the Spanish troops sent to quell a rebellion in South America themselves rebelled and established a liberal constitution including the freedom of the press, hitherto subject to the Inquisition in its most restrictive form. This led Ackermann, in 1822, to establish a Spanish-language journal similar to his Repository of Arts. This was first edited by the lapsed priest Joseph Blanco White (1775-1841) but in 1826, under a new title, its editorship passed to Mora, who had already edited other publications for Ackermann including a Spanish-language equivalent of the annual *Forget me not*, translations of Sir Walter Scott, and works on history and geography. The re-issue of Blake's designs, bought by Ackermann from Cromek's widow and already re-issued with the original text in 1813, thus falls into place as part of Mora's literary work for Ackermann's Spanish-American ventures during the years 1824-7. MARTIN BUTLIN, TATE GALLERY, LONDON

RECENT EXHIBITIONS OF INTEREST

The David and Alfred Smart Gallery of The University of Chicago held an exhibition from 4 October to 26 November 1978 of thirty-one of the large plates published by John and Josiah Boydell to accompany The Dramatic Works of William Shakespeare (1791-1803). Accompanying the exhibition was a catalogue: *Alderman Bodgell's Shakespeare [sic] Gallery: An Exhibition of a Selection of the Engravings Made After the Paintings Commissioned by Alderman John Boydell, Organized by the David and Alfred Smart Gallery. With an Introduction Written Expressly for this Catalogue by Richard W. Hutton and Catalogue Entries Prepared and Written By Laura Nelke. The David and Alfred Smart Gallery, The University of Chicago [1978].*

The useful, unpretentious catalogue reproduces fifteen of the plates. The author of the introduction is preparing a doctoral dissertation on Robery Boyer's Historic Gallery and its illustrations to Hume's *History of England* (1806). The Smart Gallery, itself a very new institution, had been given the 100 large separate plates in 1976.

The Boydell Shakespeare, the Bowyer Hume, and the Macklin Bible (1800) were the most ambitious illustrated editions undertaken at that or perhaps any other time in England, but Blake had a hand only in the first, and that in a minor way, and he felt the neglect bitterly. On 11 December 1805 he wrote: "I was alive & in health & with the same Talents I now have all the time of Boydells Macklins Bowyers & other Great Works. I was known by them & was lookd upon by them as Incapable of Employment in those Works." Or, more outrageously,

*Was I . . . angry with Macklin or Boydel or Bowyer*
Because they did not say 0 what a Beau ye are

[Notebook, p. 23]

It is appropriate and gratifying that these great works are being exhibited and seriously studied once more. G. E. BENTLEY, JR., UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

19. John Flaxman

The Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery held an exhibition of "English Book Illustration circa 1800" during January and February 1979. The exhibition was organized by Shelley Bennett and Patricia Crown under the headings of the Sublime, the Beautiful, the Picturesque, and the Comic. The works on exhibition--forty-one altogether--included illustrations by Blake, Stothard, Flaxman, and Fuseli, among others. There is a catalogue of the exhibition, also by Bennett and Crown.

During February and March 1979 the Yale Center for British Art held a special exhibition of drawings by George Romney, organized by the Fitzwilliam Museum in 1977, and with an illustrated catalogue by Patricia Jaffe. Scheduled for 12 September-11 November 1979 is an exhibition on "The Fuseli Circle in Rome: Early Romantic Art of the 1770's," with illustrated catalogue published by the Center.