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NEWSLETTER

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N. G. D. MALMQVIST, Stockholm, was in China during the Blake bicentennial year, 1957, and is returning to China this spring. His Swedish translation of An Island in the Moon was published in April and a selection of Songs of Innocence and Songs of Experience in Swedish translation will appear in Radis (Autumn, 1979).


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It appears certain that William Blake's *Visions of the Daughters of Albion* (1793) was partly inspired by Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792).\(^1\) It likewise appears true that two of his songs of Innocence, "The Little Boy Lost" and "Found," had their source in C. G. Salzmann's *Elements of Morality*, which Wollstonecraft was translating in 1789 and which Blake did several engravings for.\(^2\) That he met Wollstonecraft through his acquaintance with her novel, *Original Stories*, also seems likely.\(^3\) For the second edition of the novel, published in 1791, he designed and engraved six plates.\(^4\) But whether his poetry and art were influenced by *Original Stories* has never been clarified. The purpose of this essay is to reveal a number of relationships between Wollstonecraft's novel and Blake's writing, art, and ideas.

As the book's illustrator and as the author of the *Songs of Innocence* (1789), Blake was likely to have read this short novel on the moral education of children. D. G. Gillham says that the poet "alludes to" or "uses" it in the *Songs of Experience* (1793). Referring apparently to the novel and Wollstonecraft's other works on "education," Stanley Gardner says that Blake knew her views "well" and that he turned them "into poetry in which we recognize our own adult anticipation, which caresses the infant inevitably toward Experience."\(^5\) Gillham and Gardner do not add anything further to these comments, but they are well taken, especially Gardner's. Although he understates the force of "adult anticipation" (in both Wollstonecraft and Blake), his assertion is particularly important to our understanding of Blake's response to *Original Stories*, a novel that
seems to compare with Rousseau's *Emile*. In *Original Stories* the main character, Mrs. Mason, acts as a governess for two young girls, Mary and Caroline. Like Emile the girls need a tutor since they are for all practical purposes orphans. Their mother has died and they have been left to the care of servants (p. vii). To teach these girls to be good, Mrs. Mason continually exposes them to their faults and to the need to behave morally in the "real world." The thesis of this article is that, while Blake recognized the necessity of living in experience, he responded unfavorably to the novel's emphasis on experienced vision, which divides life into false categories like good and evil and is negative, oppressive, and dehumanizing. Such vision had already been of some concern to him in a few poems in the *Songs of Innocence*. I suggest that his reaction to it was intensified by his familiarity with Wollstonecraft's novel and its main character, Mrs. Mason, who, unlike Emile's tutor, neither regards children as independent nor educates them to be so. In the following paragraphs I discuss the character of the governess, showing how Blake reacted to her kinds of attitudes and concerns in (1) his own writing, (2) some of the designs for his illuminated works, and (3) the illustrations for the novel itself.

Wollstonecraft's aim in writing *Original Stories* was to make up for some of the parental neglect in her society (p. v). To accomplish her aim she used her novel to impart "premature knowledge" about good and evil to the young (p. v), who, according to her personal views and those of other educators (including Rousseau), ought to receive such knowledge only gradually (p. iv). At the center of her effort is the character of Mrs. Mason, whose attitudes toward life and children and whose approach and emphasis in teaching were no doubt offensive to Blake. For Mrs. Mason life has been "very unfortunate," as she says (p. 122). Having suffered the loss of loved ones, she cannot dispel her sense of "gloom" (p. 123). Preoccupied with her bleak view of existence (see p. 148), the governess imposes it on her charges just as the speaker in Blake's "Infant Sorrow" imposes her dark vision on the child in her care. According to this speaker, whom I take to be the maternal figure in the illustration of the poem (illus. 1), her birth was a tragedy and so she tells her child: "My mother groaned! my father wept. / Into the dangerous world I leapt..." With this attitude it is no wonder that the mother in the illumination of "Infant Sorrow" appears so solicitous, wishing like Mrs. Mason to give all the adult knowledge and help she can to the youth for whom she is responsible.

Like the governess she means well. But her view of youth (her own and presumably her child's) is mostly negative (ll. 3-4). It is a view that resembles Mrs. Mason's. Children are ignorant, helpless, and potentially wayward--in need of guidance and control (ll. 5-8, "Infant Sorrow"; pp. 103-06, *Original Stories*). Because Mary and Caroline are so undiscerning, the governess seldom allows them to read the Bible (p. 13)!

Instead, like the gloomy instructress on plate 14 of *America* (illus. 2), she keeps them steadily occupied with her teaching; without her direction they will not be able to get along in society. Blake may be satirizing her excessive sort of care in another of his guardian figures--the nurse in his design for "The Fly" (illus. 3). This nurse hovers over a child "in a solicitous manner which seems stifling," as John Grant says. Like the nurse, Mrs. Mason tries not to let her wards "out of her sight" (p. vii). She fosters their dependence on her, for despite her efforts to teach them goodness and virtue she does not trust them to remain steadfast. Thus, at the end of the novel when the girls are about to return to their father, the governess says that she fears for them (p. 175).

Children, alas, are weak, all too prone to forming "illusions" (p. 122) and being deceitful. For Blake such an opinion is an adult imposition on the young, an imposition that begins with the earliest stages of child rearing and invariably affects many a child's view of himself. The poet

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2 Pl. 14, Blake's *America*. 
reacted to this kind of imposition in his notebook lyric, "A Cradle Song" (c. 1793), wherein the speaker assumes that smiles "steal" furtively from her child in order to elicit continued personal comfort (i.e., fondling and caressing). According to this speaker, her child's grins are expressions of "cunning wiles that creep" in the "heart" (E 459, 11. 10, 13-14). The speaker's assumptions, like Mrs. Mason's, suggest ironically that guile is inherent in youth--instead of adulthood.

The governess's lack of trust in young people is revealed also by her disapproving eye--the kind of eye that Blake was to describe with bitter irony in "A Little Girl Lost." Just as Mary and Caroline move toward experience and feelings of guilt under Mrs. Mason's suspicious eye, so does Ona under her father's "loving [actually condemning] look" (E 29, 1. 27). The governess's "quiet steady displeasure" makes her charges feel "so little in their own eyes" that they appear visibly ashamed (p. 52). Ona appears likewise; with her father's disfavor she looks "pale and weak" (1. 30). Mary and Caroline are also frightened by Mason's disapproving eye (p. 53); similarly, Ona shakes "with terror" at her father's look (1. 29).
The real significance of attitudes like those of the governess and Ota's father did not elude Blake. As guardians committed to moral virtue, these characters are, in fact, accusers of sin—the likes of which angered the poet throughout his entire career. According to his annotations to Berkeley's *Siris* (c. 1820), "The Moral Virtues [and their advocates] are continual Accusers of Sin & [they] promote ... Dominency over others" (E 653). Although Mrs. Mason uses the word "sin" only once (p. 108), she domineers over her charges, continually correcting them for offenses against mildness, obedience, industry, and temperance. To some extent, the "admonishers" whom Blake was to satirize in *The Song of Los* (1795) resemble her, especially those admonishers who "restrain the child ... That the remnant may learn to obey, [and] / That the pride of the heart may fail ... " (6:19-7:3). Closer in time to the publication of the second edition of *Original Stories*, Blake's "Nurses Song" (in *Experience*) presents another accuser of sin like Mrs. Mason. The nurse's language implies that the children for whom she is responsible are either wasting their youth at play or up to something, whispering "in the dale" (E 23, II. 2, 7). Because of her suspicions she believes, as D. G. Gillham says, that the children "must be constantly watched" (*William Blake*, p. 38); and so she calls them home (I. 5), limiting their enjoyment as Mrs. Mason does Mary's and Caroline's (pp. 42, 128, 154, 177).

Mrs. Mason strives to teach Mary and Caroline moral virtue by focusing their attention not only on their shortcomings but also on the "real" world. Unlike the tutor in *Emile* she is mirthless, heaping excessive care on her charges. For example, she tries to inculcate patience and long-suffering by introducing the girls to Mrs. Trueman, who has retained her moral values despite having been grossly cheated by Lady Sly (p. 49). Mrs. Mason attempts to teach her charges kindness by telling them about one man who drowned his dog's litter (p. 18) and about another who "let two guinea-pigs roll down sloping tiles, to see if the fall would kill them" (p. 18). As the last two examples indicate, some of the experiences to which the governess introduces her charges are scarcely appropriate or edifying. Although they make mistakes, Mary and Caroline are neither heartless nor cruel. They would hardly learn mildness and self-control by hearing about Jane Fretful, who threw a stool and unintentionally killed her pregnant dog because it had taken a piece of her...
food (pp. 33-34), or about Mr. Lofty, who killed himself after duelling with a man he thought had insulted him (pp. 134-135).

As most of the experiences that Mrs. Mason deals with are in some way negative or unhappy, Blake devoted three of his five rejected designs and five of his six engravings for *Original Stories* to them. All of his engravings for the novel reveal together his strongest response to the governess's dour perspective. For the most part, however, the illustrations have been disregarded by Blakeans as either "naive and rude" or "competent" but "conventional and uninspired." Differing with such views, Roger Easson and Robert Essick suggest that the engravings ought to be studied closely. I agree. The illustrations were among Blake's early *original* copper-plate engravings. It is likely that he would have done them well to secure further work for himself, but more importantly to complete his original designs. He despised the separation of design work from engraving and believed, as Morris Eaves says, that "the artistic process is a perfect combination ... of conception and execution ..." The engravings, then, are not hack work. On the contrary, they are subtle, ironic, and revealing. Except for the frontispiece, which is introductory in nature, they depict stories and situations whereby Mrs. Mason pushes Mary and Caroline more and more directly into experience.

According to David Erdman, Blake parodied the frontispiece (illus. 4) in his illumination for the "Nurses Song" of *Experience* (illus. 5), which depicts a governess assisting one of her charges just outside a doorway (*The Illuminated Blake*, p. 80). Indeed, there are images in the frontispiece that are parodied. Furthermore, there are details in it that are ironic. The plate shows Mrs. Mason with her charges in front of a doorway. They are beginning to take a walk. And the governess's influence is beginning to reveal itself as the nurse's does in the illumination of Blake's lyric. Mary and Caroline appear uniform and neatly groomed (like the boy in the design for "Nurses Song"). The girls' hats, which look a little like halos, imply the virtue and probity that they are supposed to learn under their teacher's direction. But the girl on the right is out of step with her sister and the governess. And the children's hands are in different positions, indicating perhaps different degrees of repressed vitality (like the boy's in Blake's poem). Despite the engraving's subscription (words that Mrs. Mason speaks in Chapter I), there is little spontaneity or joy here. The children and their guardian are not smiling although they appear to be doing so a little in the preliminary drawing for the frontispiece (illus. 6). The governess is not even looking upward or outward at the "fine morning" but instead downward watchfully at her charges. She holds her arms outstretched not in joy but as if to present Mary and Caroline to the world. Having turned the girls' eyes and heads slightly toward her, however, Blake foreshadowed their inevitable dependence on her. He implied similar dependence in a rejected drawing entitled "Every prospect smiled" (illus. 7), which involves the same
subject matter as that of the frontispiece (but without its subtlety), and in the relationship between the governess and her charges in "Nurses Song."

The second plate in the novel (illus. 8) depicts part of a tragic story that Mrs. Mason tells Mary and Caroline. The story concerns a man named Robin, who fell into debt, went to jail, and lost his wife and two of his four children to poverty and disease. His remaining children and the family dog joined him in jail, but soon afterwards the children died of a fever. They lie on a bed in his cell. To present the woeful image that Mrs. Mason tries to create in Mary's and Caroline's minds, Blake stayed fairly close to the verbal description: "The poor father... hung over their bed in a speechless anguish; not a... tear escaped from him, whilst he stood, two or three hours, in the same attitude, looking at the dead bodies of his little darlings. The dog licked his hands, and strove to attract his attention..." (p. 23). Blake's engraving illustrates this man's grief perfectly. Robin stands rigidly with his shoulders drawn up, his arms held straight down in front of him, and his hands closed in fists. His gaze, while more poignant and less horrified than in the preliminary drawing (illus. 9), is fixed on his children. All of these details suggest a prolonged contraction of grief. Few signs of hope appear in his cell—only the prayerful position of one of his children and the consoling lick of Robin's hand by his dog. One wonders why the governess tells Mary and Caroline about this man and his family, except to make her charges conscious of life's cruelty and misfortune. She draws no specific moral, except the implicit one of being charitable to debtors; but her example is much too extreme for her audience. Despite the grief and hopelessness in this story, Blake captured something in Robin's stance and gaze that Mrs. Mason finds pathetic—namely, his determination or will to believe in life regardless of the evidence before him. At the end of his contraction of grief, he says to his dog, which he later calls by his children's names: "thou wilt not leave me..." (p. 23).
The third engraving in *Original Stories* (illus. 10) shows the governess and her charges in "honest" Jack's cottage, listening to tales about his life as a sailor—tales of imprisonment, shipwreck, and personal injury. Mrs. Mason wanted the children to hear about his experiences, for she had heard about them before and undoubtedly considered them edifying in light of his assertion that he and his family are now "very happy" (p. 74). Blake, however, did not emphasize this moral so much as his interpretation of the children's reaction to it and of the adults' reaction to them. Satirizing the theme of misery leading to happiness, the illustration shows Mary, Caroline, and Jack's family grieving about his stories. (The novel says nothing of this.) The plate is critical of Mrs. Mason and especially Jack; they sit back unresponsive to the children's distress. The governess watches her charges calmly, her hands not even turned up in support of them as they cry in her lap. Jack is even less supportive as he sits stiffly with his hands in his lap, looking at Mrs. Mason, ignoring Mary's, Caroline's, and his family's sorrow. As if retelling his experiences were not enough (we get the impression that he cannot forget them), on the wall to the left of his fireplace is a picture of a sinking vessel—a constant reminder to his family and visitors that the world is a dangerous place.

In the fourth plate (illus. 11), Blake illustrated the governess trying to make her charges confront a scene in experience directly. The scene is a ruined estate once owned by Charles Townley, a young man who continually procrastinated and as a result lost a fortune and the chance to help a friend in dire need. Blake's illustration is gloomy and ominous with trees that overhang and twine serpent-like in the setting—trees that contrast with the opening plate's foliage which dances innocently upward (illus. 4) and which Mary and Caroline enjoy very little of. Less detailed than the description in the text, the fourth plate emphasizes not so much Townley's estate as the girls' reaction to mutability and Mrs. Mason's response to them. Faced with this setting and the story behind it, the girl on the right leans against the governess for comfort. Mrs. Mason holds her reassuringly but mostly (I think) in attention to the scene. The governess's right foot suggests that she may be about to step back as if to anticipate this girl's retreat (her right heel is also visible) and her increased distress like that of the other girl, whose hand Mrs. Mason holds. This situation is similar to an earlier one in the novel, wherein both "children turned away" from another view of experience—the sight of a bird shot down by a young boy (p. 7). In spite of the girls' distress, the governess insisted that they "look at" the bird and learn how much suffering there is in life.

The fifth engraving in *Original Stories* (illus. 12) deals with one of Mrs. Mason's own experiences, which she tells Mary and Caroline. Like the previous illustration this one emphasizes the governess's concern about mutability (p. 119). During a trip through Wales she was detained "near the ruins of an old castle" (pp. 113-14). While pondering the castle, she heard the sound of a harp, and tracing that sound she came upon "a little hut, rudely built" (p. 114). Like the "desolate" castle (and the estate depicted in the previous plate), the harper's abode was dilapidated (pp. 114-15). Blake's engraving suggests hesitancy in Mrs. Mason's approach to that abode—hesitancy born out of her apprehensions about the scene. Her hands, positioned anxiously at her sides, resemble those of the woman at the top of "Holy Thursday" (in *Experience*), which also presents a desolate landscape (illus. 13). The position of the governess's hands contrasts sharply with that in the frontispiece (illus. 4), where her hands imply receptiveness and acceptance, and in plates 3 and 4 (illus. 10 and 11), where her hands encourage these traits in her charges. This contrast suggests her fears and perhaps some hypocrisy. In spite of the decrepit condition of the harper's abode, the difficulties in his life (p. 117-

111 Pl. 4, from Wollstonecraft's *Original Stories*, The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.
118), and his "old" age (p. 115), Blake portrayed him as an inspired young man sitting in a shaft of light, his hair ablaze while he plays his instrument. The engraver's perception indeed contrasted with Mrs. Mason's. According to her story, the meeting with the harper was "providential" (p. 119), but that was only because she was able to extend to him her charity—not because she perceived (as Blake did) his imaginative power which enabled him to play both the melancholy strains of experience (p. 118) and the delightful melodies of innocence (p. 119).

The sixth and last plate (illus. 14) depicts appropriately the culmination of Mrs. Mason's effort to expose Mary and Caroline to experience, for here they face directly a poor family in despair. Like several "edifying" situations in the novel, this one is arranged by the governess. Caroline has just spent the last of her money during a visit to London. To show the child that "prodigality and generosity are incompatible" (p. 173), Mrs. Mason asks a poor woman to take them to her family, which lives in a filthy garret. The focus of Blake's plate is on the family's suffering and Mary's and Caroline's recognition of it. According to the narrator of the novel, the father in this family is ill and out of work (p. 170). The illustration shows him sitting despondently in a chair. His muscular body suggests that he has done a great deal of work and could do more—if he were well and there were any work available. In front of him two of his children sit on the floor, one of them huddled in misery on one side of a grate while the other on the opposite side of the grate stares blankly into his lap. For these children this is no world of innocence: "The gaiety natural to their age, did not animate their eyes... Life was nipped in the bud; shut up just as it began to unfold itself" (p. 172). These children look as unhappy as "honest" Jack's family in plate 3 (illus. 10). In plates 3 and 6 Blake portrayed similar and contrasting details such as the unhappiness in each, Jack sitting upright in a chair while the poor man sits slumped over in his, and the ample furnishings and fire in Jack's living room versus the starkness of the poor man's. Blake's aim in depicting these comparisons and contrasts was probably to help us see that the preoccupations of a parent like Jack and the situation of one like the poor man can consign their families to the same condition—unhappiness.

Standing with an infant in her arms, the mother in plate 6 presents the most disturbing image in her family. The floppy brim of her hat indicates its age and her poverty. With her mouth open and the look of fear in her face, she stares at Mrs. Mason as if to ask what is going to happen. The situation is truly grim. As the governess looks on somberly, she holds one hand of each of her charges. The girl on the left appears uneasy, her mouth contracted in a frown and her head tilted to the side and slightly back. The girl on the right appears dismayed; her eyes wide open and staring at the misery in front of her. The gesture of this girl's left hand may hint at a desire to offer some comfort; but the gesture is too constrained and therefore ineffective.

Blake may have also produced an unnamed and unused drawing concerning the visit to London by Mrs. Mason and her charges (illus. 15). It appears to deal with an elderly woman, possibly the "distressed stationer" whom the governess and Mary and Caroline visit. The stationer is distraught with the burden of her grandchildren and a declining family business, her son having been jailed for debt and her daughter-in-law having died (pp. 165-68). The drawing seems to picture the stationer with her grandchildren at her side and a cloth clutched in her hands, her face turned upward in misery. A faint outline of Mrs. Mason's profile appears to be on the right-hand side of the drawing where she observes another example of human suffering.

As a result of Mrs. Mason's influence these girls learn about the "real" world. By the

12 Pl. 5, from Wollstonecraft's Original Stories, The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.
concluding pages of the novel Mary "has acquired experience" and Caroline "an air of intelligence" (p. 186). The governess's purpose in getting them to focus on their shortcomings and on experience has been to convince them that in a world of cruelty and misfortune they should live rationally, for it is reason that "exalts a man" (p. 105). In her rational concern, however, she threatens to stifle Mary's and Caroline's vigor, imagination, and individuality. For example, she reasons that duty should always come before pleasure (pp. 42, 177). Hence, we see her charges playing only occasionally. And when they do enjoy themselves, she imposes limitations on them (pp. 128, 154). Quite unlike Blake, who claimed that "The road of excess leads to the palace of wisdom" (The Marriage of Heaven and Hell, 1790-93), Mrs. Mason believes that "Wisdom consists in avoiding extremes ..." (p. 97). She advises that "the ripenings of reason [should] regulate the imagination" (p. 108), and she warns against "wild pursuits of fancy" (p. 176). The governess also condemns the girls' "folly" as "inexcusable" (p. 30; see also pp. 50, 66-67, 76). They, in turn, strive "to gain Mrs. Mason's good opinions" (p. 37; see p. 52). It is almost as if Mary and Caroline had been on Blake's mind when he wrote the four first lines of his "Motto to the Songs of Innocence & of Experience":

The Good are attracted by Mens perceptions
And Think not for themselves
Till Experience teaches them to catch
And to cage the Fairies & Elves.... (E 490.11.1-4)

Mrs. Mason inculcates in her charges what the psychologist Jean Piaget would call "moral realism"—a kind of literalism that tends "to regard duty ... as self-subsistent ... as imposing itself regardless of the circumstances in which the individual may find himself." According to Piaget, moral realism involves obedience to authority and the judgment of others according to their conformity with established rules and not according to their intentions. For Blake such realism is repressive: "One Law for the Lion & Ox Is Oppression." As the author of "The Little Black Boy," "The Chimney Sweeper" (in Innocence), "Infant Sorrow," and "A Little Girl Lost," the poet recognized some of the consequences of this kind of realism: prejudice, child labor, and suffering.

In discussing moral realism Piaget says that when children have moral "stories" told to them (as Mary and Caroline often do), they "will ... make judgments devoid of pity and lacking in psychological [Blake would use the term 'imaginative'] insight. ..." Thus, in accordance with Mrs. Mason's stories and example, her charges begin to judge wrongdoing strictly and inflexibly. In moral realism, in moralism, there is a certain arbitrariness, an egocentrism (Piaget's term).\(^19\) Hence, even in her almsgiving the governess is egocentric—unable to get beyond her narrow perspective: "... we exercise every benevolent affection to enjoy comfort here, and to fit ourselves to be angels hereafter ...." (p. 13). By the end of Original Stories, Caroline and Mary reflect their guardian's self-concern and self-righteousness. Caroline is embarrassed because she has given her family the money depicted in plate 6 (illus. 14), whereas Mary has the rest of her spending money to give to them and is "proud of her " privilege" (p. 172). The significance of such self-righteousness, which adults often exemplify to children, did not elude Blake, who eventually called it "Satanic."

In contrast to Mrs. Mason's oppressive and self-righteous attitudes toward others, particularly children, Blake's were much more positive. As S. Foster Damon says, for Blake "Children symbolize the fecundity of the imagination, the 'Eternal Creation flowing from The Divine Humanity in Jesus.'"\(^20\) In a letter to Dr. Trusler (23 August 1799), Blake declared that "a vast Majority" of children possess "imagination or Spiritual Sensation" (E 677). And in a poem describing one of his visions to Thomas Butts (2 October 1800), he suggested that to see as a child while an adult enhances the visionary experience: "I remaind as a Child / All I ever had known / Before me bright Shone" (E 684.11.72-74).

Even though most of Mrs. Mason's views are negative (especially those concerning youth), not all are so from a Blakean perspective. For example, she urges Mary and Caroline to be considerate of all creatures and to base every friendship on truth. Blake certainly would have agreed with these ideals, for he was soon to complete poems like "The Fly" and "A Poison Tree" (both of Experience). As the author of "On Anothers Sorrow" (Innocence), he would have agreed also with the governess's charity to the poor, though it sometimes appears to be self-serving ("While we impart pleasure we receive it").

One of Mary Wollstonecraft's biographers has suggested that the novelist and Mrs. Mason were similar, but the two are actually different.\(^21\) I think that Blake as a creator of various characters and personae would have recognized the differences between Mary and the governess. According to Edna Nixon, several of the ideas and attitudes expressed in Original Stories were not "mature" Wollstonecraft.\(^22\) Indeed, her goal and strategy in writing the novel troubled her. On the one hand, she favored conveying knowledge gradually to children (p. iv). On the other, she wished to impart "premature knowledge" to them and thereby compensate for some of the parental neglect in her society (p. v). Her attempt to recommend the novel to adults as well as children did not resolve, however, the "objection" which she expected against it, namely, that its "sentiments are not quite on a level with the capacity of a child" (p. v).

Like Wollstonecraft, Blake understood the importance of living in experience. Thel's failure to do so is tragic. Such failure risks prolonging innocence to the point of narcissism, whose dangers are as great as those of experience. But to try continually to confront experience creates risks, too, especially the risk of becoming what one beholds. This could stifle whatever energy and
Holy Thursday

Is this a holy thing to see
In a rich and fruitful land
Babes reduced to misery
Fed with cold and usurious hand?

Is that trembling cry a song?
Can it be a song of joy?
And so many children poor?
it is a land of poverty!

And their sun does never shine:
And their fields are bleak & bare.
And, their ways are filled with thorns
It is eternal winter there.

Be where-ever the sun does shine.
And where-ever the rain does fall:
Babe, can never hunger there,
As poverty the mind appall.

imagination a person has. Thus, Mrs. Mason admits being "melancholy" in her recollection of sad stories (p. 149) and being disturbed at the sight of "misery" (p. 174). Effects like these, though the novel mentions only a few of them, are bound to occur throughout the lives of her charges, too. As Blake's "School Boy" (in *Innocence* and later in *Experience*) says, "How can a child when fears annoy, / But droop his tender wing, / And forget his youthful spring" (E 31, 11. 18-20). For Blake a person's involvement in experience must be relieved periodically with exuberance and delight. As Lavater's thirteenth aphorism—to which Blake annotated "All Gold"—says, "Joy and grief decide character" (E 573). Neither joy nor grief can by itself create character, but together they can. The poet's joint publication of *Innocence* and *Experience* in 1794 implies that innocence is as important to human existence as experience. Without joy as well as grief, Mary, Caroline, and all of us risk surrendering to experience and its ways as the speaker of the notebook version of "Infant Sorrow" has:

Struggling in my fathers hands:
Striving against my swaddling bands:
Bound and weary I thought best
To sulk upon my mothers breast.

When I saw that rage was vain
And to sulk would nothing gain
Turning many a trick & wile
I began to soothe & smile. . . .

(E 28, 11. 5-8; E 720, 11. 9-12)

Like these words, Enitharmon's in *Europe* consist of a warning, though she probably does not intend them as such, that concerns both the sexual and the psychological education of not only young
Forbid all Joy, & from her childhood shall
the little female
Spread nets in every secret path.

(6:8-9)


2 Joseph Nicksted, "Blake's Songs of Innocence," TLS, 18 February 1932, p. 112. In "The Figure in the Carpet," Blake: An Illustrated Quarterly, 12 (1976), 10-14, Robert N. Essick notes stylistic similarities between two engravings in Elements (pls. 28 and 47) and two of Balle's illustrations for Original Stories (the frontispiece and pl. 6).

3 Erdman, Blake, p. 156.


6 According to Rousseau, female independence is subservient to man's, however. See the section entitled "Sophie ou la femme" in Emile (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1964), pp. 445-574.

7 I agree essentially with Gillham's and Brian Willie's views that the speaker in "Infant Sorrow" is an embittered adult who dwells on the sorrows of birth and life (Blake's Contrary States, pp. 180-81; "Blake's Innocence and Experience: An Approach," Blake Studies, 6 [1975], 127).


14 Pl. 6, from Wollstonecraft's Original Stories, The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

15 A drawing by Blake, probably related to the series for Original Stories, Library of Congress, Rosenwald Collection.

writings are from this edition (E), indicated with page or plate and, where appropriate, line numbers in parentheses.


10 My understanding of this lyric is largely indebted to D. G. Gillham, William Blake (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1973), p. 66.


13 Easson and Essick, p. vii. The engravings studies here are from the 1791 edition of Original Stories.


15 In The Engravings of William Blake (1912; rpt. New York: Benjamin Blom, 1968), p. 58, Archibald G. B. Russell says that the girl "trembles ... and is gently reproved by Mrs. Mason, who ... claps her to herself."

16 In the fifth plate of the 1796 edition of Original Stories, Mrs. Mason's "eyes have been partly closed" (Easson and Essick, p. 12).

17 Erdman (Blake, p. 131) and Laurence Binyon (The Engraved Designs of William Blake [1926; rpt. New York: Da Capo Press, 1967], p. 40) note the difference in age between the harper in the text and the harper in the engraving. Binyon feels that Blake "put more of his own spirit into the plate than into the rest of the set" (p. 40).

18 A copy of a wood-cut of this drawing appears in Gilchrist, p. 91.


Selecting the large Blake exhibition held at the Tate Gallery last year, and being in the Gallery nearly every day it was on, gave me unprecedented opportunities for repeated comparisons and reappraisals; I was able to worry over particular problems day after day, week after week. Perhaps disappointingly, no drastic new thoughts came to me, but some ideas were reinforced and some new problems raised.

On the whole the various reviews of the exhibition showed a new acceptance of Blake's qualities as an artist, as did the reaction of the public at large. What criticisms there were in the press sparked off perhaps exaggeratedly protective feelings. Douglas Cooper described the praise of Blake's work in my catalogue introduction as "smug." At the other extreme, an American student asked me why I was so defensive. I was also criticized for stating that Blake's achievement should be judged by only his best works. This I stand by, though accepting the idea that for a full assessment, as opposed to a value judgement, one should take all of his work, however bad, into account.

One particular circuit of the exhibition was aroused by the criticism of Blake's facial expressions as "hardly varying (rarely a smile, or a grimace, to be seen)." This provoked me to discover a great variety of expression, and perhaps more important to confirm, as has no doubt been realized long ago by others, that Blake's villains are tragic heroes rather than villains as such. Take for example the head of Jehovah-Urizen in "God creating Adam" (No. 85 in the exhibition; such references are given throughout), "God Judging Adam" (87) and the title-page to Urizen (75). This tragic quality is also found in the head of Satan in "Satan hovering over Eve" (86) and the more ambiguous figure of Orc on plate 10 of America (61). Even minor villains such as Job's Friends in the early large print (31 and 32) have this tragic quality, though Blake was prepared to allow unadulterated villainy to such figures as the assassins at the opening to the Preludium to Europe (64) and in "Malevolence" (141). Perhaps significantly, in "Lucifer and the Pope in Hell" (84) the Pope is shown as an out-and-out villain while Satan has a tragic, almost pathetic expression.

The subtlety of Blake's facial expressions can be seen by comparing those of Job's family at the beginning of their experiences and at the end (191 and 196); this subtlety was further developed in the second series of watercolors, done for John Linnell (197), and in the final engravings (200-204). Marvelously expressive are the unfocused eyes of the tempted Eve in "The Temptation and Fall of Eve" from the 1808 Paradise Lost series (224). Even an early drawing such as that of "A Young Woman reclining on a Couch" (13) derives much of its character from the facial expression.

A study of Blake's heads led to a qualification of the accepted theory that the head of the figure in "Albion Rose" is the same as that in the early Academy study (8), usually and I think convincingly seen as a drawing of Blake's younger brother Robert. This is so in the case of the color-printed version of the engraving (10) but in the later reworked monochrome version (11) the facial type is quite different, less broad and sturdy, with a narrow mouth and altogether more refined. It would be interesting, should a copy of the putative first state of this engraving ever reappear, to see what the head of that was like.
My study of Blake's heads and expressions also led to a re-examination of the problems in dating Blake's works in the 1790s. I was able to confirm to my own satisfaction my relatively late dating for the second "Jane Shore" watercolor (17), in many ways amazingly conservative for a work that I place in the early 1790s. The existence of a drawing that must have been done between the early version (16) and the later suggests that Blake was returning to the subject after a considerable period of time and the heads of the later version are remarkably close in their sensitivity to the engraving of "Edward and Elenor," dated 1793 (18). The heads in both these works are more sensitive even than those in "The Ordeal of Queen Emm" (19), but all these works are far more sensitive and accomplished than the early series of watercolors of subjects from English history painted in about 1779-80 (16 and 21), than the second "Pestilence" watercolor (22) and than even the three Joseph watercolors of 1785 (26-30) which are magnificent but remain as stereotyped in expression as they are in composition. The drapery folds of the works attributed by me to the 1790s are also much more subtle in their variety than those of circa 1780-85, though Blake had already shown himself master of the immense subtlety of Watteau's draperies in his 1782 engravings, "Morning Amusement" and "Evening Amusement" (37 and 38).

The presence of all five versions of "Pestilence" (in its first manifestation, the watercolor of circa 1779-80 (21), the specific subject is the Great Plague of London but in the later watercolors Blake seems to have broadened the significance of his composition to embrace the whole theme) confirmed the accepted order and also what can perhaps be termed the "conventional" dating of the three middle ones (22-24) to the early 1780s, the early 1790s and the late 1790s respectively. Those datable to the 1790s neatly bracket Blake's style and achievement in the watercolor illustrations to Young's Night Thoughts of 1795-97 (104-124). The developing subtlety of expression, the gradual relaxation of the neoclassical emphasis on profile coupled with the tightening up of the function of line, merely suggested in No. 23, towards the strict bounding outline, all show a gradual development towards the renewed discipline of the biblical watercolors datable to 1805, by which time Blake had developed his aesthetic theories in a similar direction.

Satan exulting over Eve, dated 1795. Colour print finished in pencil, pen and watercolour, 42.5 x 53.2 cm. Tate exhibition No. 86, lent by the Bateson Collection.

The Penance of Jane Shore, c. 1779. Pen and watercolour over pencil, irregular, 13.3 x 18.4 cm. Tate exhibition No. 16, lent by Mrs. S. Caird.

The Penance of Jane Shore, a. 1793(?). Pen and watercolour, sized, 24.5 x 29.5 cm. Tate exhibition No. 17, lent by the Tate Gallery.

The Pestilence series also shows a development, if that is the word, in Blake's use of space. In the early works (2) and 22 the figures are more or less convincingly deployed in a Poussinesque space defined by architectural features seen in...
perspective, whereas in the later works, from No. 23 onwards, the architectural motifs merely form a backdrop behind the figures which are deployed across the surface of the picture in a relief-like composition. This abandonment of spatial recession accompanied the growing discipline of Blake's first neo-classicism as shown most fully in the Joseph watercolors (28-30), and may also have been partly suggested by his having to work on the flat page of his illuminated books. Obviously space could never be entirely done away with: for instance in "Tiriel supporting the dying Myratana" (40) of the late 1780s one looks through a colonnade into a deep vista at the pyramids that Blake introduced for iconographic reasons. Later, in such a work as "Christ in the Carpenter's Shop" (171), Blake seems quite deliberately to have introduced a distorted and confused perspective. In "Soldiers casting Lots for Christ's Garments" (176) Blake produced a feeling of space by atmospheric means to create one of his most mystical compositions.

Some Blake scholars have already expressed their doubts over the accepted dating of the various states of the large prints of "The Complaint of Job" and "The Death of Ezekiel's Wife" (31-33). The date on the later state of the Job print, "1793," and what is presumed to be a later state of the Ezekiel print, "1794," have traditionally been accepted as the dates of those actual states, the first state of the Job and the putative first state of the Ezekiel being dated to the mid-1780s. However, Robert Essick has pointed to the significance of the fact that the date on the last state of "Albion Rose" (11), which must have been done about 1800, is that of the putative first
state, "1780." Similarly in the case of the print of "Joseph of Arimathea," dated "1773" on the later state, a date that must again refer to the first state. Following this argument, the dates "1793" and "1794" on the second states of the Job and Ezekiel prints would have to be regarded as "ideal" dates referring to Blake's first treatment of the compositions. Certainly, it is the first state of the Job print that is closest in technique and chiaroscuro to the "Edward and Eleanor" print, dated "1793" (for what this is worth! One suspects that this composition of the 1790s, like the "Jane Shore," may perhaps be a re-working of an idea first developed in about 1780). The differences between the first and second states of the Job print suggest that the second state was done considerably later, not however at the time of Blake's greatest revival of neoclassical discipline, 1805, but later still when he worked again on a rather larger scale in the second Paradise Lost series of 1803 (216-227) and the temperas included in or immediately following his 1809 exhibition (205, 206, and 214). The more exaggerated contrasts in lighting of the second state of the Job are found also in "The Fall of Man" of 1807 (212) and the Petworth tempera of "Satan calling up his Legions" (209), and the flash of lightning that so enhances the dramatic effect is remarkably close to that in "The Great Red Dragon and the Woman clothed in the Sun" (187) and that in "The Temptation and Fall of Eve" from the 1808 Paradise Lost series (224).

Against these arguments however are the style of the preliminary drawings for the two compositions (not included in the exhibition) which are fully distinctive of the mid-1780s, and the closeness in power and dramatic expression of the later states of the large prints to the large color prints of 1795 (85-103). After the mid-1790s Blake quite clearly moved away from this peak of dramatic achievement, which is not really matched in the works paid for by Butts in 1805: the Samson watercolors (166 and 167) still have some of the power associated with the mid-1790s and were dated by me to "c. 1800 (?)" in the catalogue. Symptomatic of the difficulties in dating works in this series is the fact that I have since changed this dating to c. 1800-03 on the grounds that the rather stipple-like handling relates them to a feature that is constant among the watercolors actually dated 1803. Similarly, one date was actually changed for the second printing of the catalogue, that of "Christ in the Carpenter's Shop" (171) from "c. 1800" to "c. 1805 (?)" and I would have liked to have changed others; "The Angel of the Divine Presence bringing Eve to Adam" (159) from c. 1803 to c. 1803-5, "Ezekiel's Wheels" (170) from c. 1803-5 to c. 1803, and "The Great Red Dragon and the Beast from the Sea" (188) from c. 1805 to c. 1803-5. I cannot promise that more changes will not be found when my big Blake catalogue appears (it is to be hoped!) later this year.

The unprecedented reunion of the four watercolors dealing with the beasts of the Apocalypse (186-189) demonstrated that they fall into two pairs. The composition of "The Great Red Dragon and the Woman clothed with the Sun" (186), practically filled by the back of the great standing dragon, is echoed in reverse by that of "The Great Red Dragon and the Beast from the Sea" (188) in which the same dragon is seen from the front, while in the other two watercolors the composition is divided into two, with one figure hovering over another. When hung together, No. 188 could be seen to have the same painterly characteristics of the works of 1803 as does No. 186; hence the re-dating suggested above. Significantly, Blake seems to have enlarged No. 186...
beyond its original borders, by about 1 cm. at
the top and on the right and by rather less at the
bottom and on the left, perhaps in order to bring
it up to the size of the other three watercolors
in this particular sub-group of Blake's
watercolor illustrations to the Bible.

Repeated viewing also confirmed my views on
the development of Blake's late style. The
illustrations to Milton's L'Allegro and Il
Penseroso (239-250) reveal a mood completely
different from Blake's earlier works, with a new
highly sensuous quality resulting from their
relatively small scale and delicacy, their rich
colors, achieved partly at the expense of the
bounding line, and their very high finish,
achieved by a soft, painterly technique including
stippling. Some of these factors, the small scale
and the impressionistically suggested facial
features, are already found in the "Last Judgment"
watercolor of 1808 (213), but this still has the
very firm modelling of the 1808 Paradise Lost
series (216-227) which has completely gone by the
later Milton illustrations. This new relaxed
style is very close to that of "The Arlington
Court Picture" of 1821 (307) and although the
L'Allegro and Il Penseroso watercolors are on paper
watermarked 1816 there is no reason why they should
not have been painted five or so years later.

Similar in style, though in monochrome, is the
recently identified illustration to Robert Bage's
Hermesprong (255). Rather less sensuous, perhaps
because of its content, but still showing many of
the same features, is the "Epitome of James
Hervey's 'Meditations among the Tombs'" (314),
which is close in tone and in its use of gold to
the late versions of "The Wise and Foolish Virgins"
(173). The three Paradise Lost watercolors painted
for John Linnell in 1822 (228-230) show the same
development within the necessary limitations
caused by the retention of earlier compositions.
The new mystical quality of "The Archangel Michael
foretelling the Crucifixion" (230) is the result
not only of the introduction of the glow of light
emanating from Christ's body but also of the
general softening of treatment.

A stage in the development of this late style
is to be seen in the illustrations to Milton's
Comus from the Boston Museum (231-238). These are
a complete rethinking of the first series commissioned
by the Rev. Joseph Thomas in 1801 and are to be
dated, again "conventionally," to about 1815.
Unfortunately, it was not possible in the exhibition
to compare these with the earlier set which, being
in the Huntington Library, cannot be lent, nor was
it possible to compare the two sets of illustrations
to Milton's Hymn on the Morning of Christ's
Nativity of which the first set, dated 1809, is
in the Whitworth Institute (and was in fact shown
in the Whitworth showing of a reduced form of the
exhibition) but of which the second set is again in
the Huntington Library. Nevertheless, I have
absolutely no doubt but that the Huntington set is
the later. This is confirmed by the fact that of
the three related drawings two at least can be
demonstrated to have been done between the two sets
of watercolors and must have followed the composition
in the Whitworth set and preceded that in the
Huntington set. The Huntington set is in fact
close in style to the Boston Comus series, whereas
the 1809 Whitworth set still has many of the
characteristics of Blake's biblical watercolors of
1805.

Still later, the watercolor illustrations to
Dante of 1824-27 (319-339) show a further
relaxation in handling, perhaps partly as the
result of their greater scale but also paralleling
the reworking of the print of "Mirth" (251 and 252).
The more finished examples however show the highly
finished sensuous quality of the late Milton
illustrations.

I have always been careful to leave detailed
discussion of iconography to the experts (even so,
my caution over "The Arlington Court Picture" was rewarded by an onslaught of complaints from Kathleen Raine and her followers!). However, I do believe that iconographic interpretation must take into account the visual qualities of the works under discussion (though Roe's utterly convincing interpretation of "Beatrice addressing Dante from the Car" (334) as an attack on Dante's idea of the Church is a warning that one cannot always accept the sensuous quality of a Blake work at its face value). In particular, I have always felt that a guide to the content of the great series of 1795 color prints can be found by matching them up compositionally. The exhibition, in which all twelve designs were represented, at last gave one a chance to do this in front of the actual works. Given the pairings that have already been accepted--"Nebuchadnezzar" (91) with "Newton" (92); "Pity" (95) with "Hecate" (99); "Lamech" (93) with "Naomi entreating Ruth and Orpah to return to the Land of Moab" (94); and "Satan exulting over Eve" (86) with "Satan in his original Glory" and "The River of Fire" in the Tate Gallery lose considerably because of the fading of their original blues. It has long been questioned whether the large 1806 Paradise Lost series has faded and the presence in the exhibition of all twelve designs with the exception of that in the Huntington Library (216-227) made it possible to compare those nine that remained together and are now in the Boston Museum with two of the examples that were sold off separately by Thomas Batts Jr. in the middle of the 19th century (216 and 225). In fact there seemed to be nothing to choose between the Boston watercolors and the others. Blue, always the first color to fade, is to be found, though to a very limited degree, in many of the examples. In "The Creation of Eve" (223), for instance, there is none in the sky but there are touches on the flowers; it can hardly have faded from some parts of the design and not from others. The serpent in "The Judgment of Adam and Eve" (225), now in the Houghton Library, is paler than that in "Satan watching the Endermose of Adam and Eve" (219), one of the watercolors in the Boston Museum, but no more so than that in "The Expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden" (227). The local color in, say, "Raphael warns Adam and Eve" (221) is in fact fairly strong but its effect is reduced by the brownish tone of the paper. Discoloration of the paper can indeed have as radical an effect on the general effect of the colors as the fading of the colors themselves, as is shown by other examples of Blake's work: the recent bleaching of the paper of the Joseph watercolors of 1785 (28-30), like that of the Tate Gallery's "Oberon, Titania and Puck with Fairies dancing" of much the same date, has restored these works to more or less their original brightness of hue.

Moreover, a similar rather subdued coloring is found in certain other works of the same period, in particular the two "Lost Judgment" watercolors of 1806 and 1808 (211 and 213). Again it seems that discoloration of the paper is to blame. In addition it may be that Blake in all these works deliberately aimed at a comparatively subdued, ivory-like finish; this attunes well with the firm modelling of the figures.
Close examination did show that one or two other works had faded to a slight extent. A slightly darker border showed that this had happened to "The Angel of the Revelation" (185), and one was also led to suspect that the second beast in "The Number of the Beast is 666" (189) must originally have been as blue as that in the companion "Great Dragon and the Beast from the Sea" (188).

Constant exposure to the exhibition confirmed one's original faith in Blake's greatness as an artist (at times of strain during the preparations one had begun to doubt!). The exquisite quality of Blake's line, closely allied to its economical use in tightly defining the forms, in such works as Nos. 109, 110, 125, 161, and 174, all in addition masterful as compositions, was seen not to have been overrated. Nor has the inspired literalness of Blake's illustration of Shakespeare's lines in "Pity" (95), or his depiction of the threshold of the Gate over which the Sun steps in the illustration to Milton's L'Allegro (241). More surprising perhaps, given Blake's strongly held aesthetic theories, is the highly sensuous quality of much of his work, not only in his late years as in the later Milton illustrations and those to Dante, nor yet in the rich textures of the large color prints of 1795, before Blake had fully evolved his artistic theories, but even in such subtleties as the fall of light from the lamps of the wise virgins onto their legs in the watercolor of "The Wise and Foolish Virgins" delivered to Butts in 1805, at the height of Blake's aesthetic self-discipline (172); even at this period much of the sensuous quality of the later re-workings of the subject (such as 173), is anticipated. Notwithstanding the fact that much of Blake's work is of a much lower quality he must be seen as among the greatest of the visual artists that Britain has produced.

As a footnote one should perhaps add that the second printing of the catalogue, in paperback only, incorporated certain corrections including one or two alterations to dates as mentioned above. Information about the visibility or otherwise of inscriptions was brought up to date, the misprint by which the text for No. 67 was repeated under No. 68 was corrected, and a few dimensions of engravings were corrected. In this last connection it is perhaps worth remarking that the measurements as given in the standard books on Blake's prints are often incorrect for the early states that Blake himself produced. For instance, in the case of "The Canterbury Pilgrims" the usually-given dimensions are those of the mid-19th century printings; the higher quality, hand-made paper used for the early states shrunk more in the process of drying and these states are therefore appreciably smaller.

Copies of the second printing of the catalogue, in paperback, and of the first printing in hardback are still available from the Tate Gallery Publications Department at £2.95 for the paperback, plus 80 pence postage and packing (for both U.K. and overseas), and £4.75 for the hardback, plus £1.00 postage and packing.
Some twenty years ago the Chinese poet Hsu Chih-mo took down a book from my shelves, and after reading a few lines he exclaimed: 'This man is a Taoist!' These words served as introduction to a BBC lecture by Arthur Waley which was broadcast in January 1948. (The lecture, "Blake the Taoist," was later published in Waley's *The Secret History of the Mongols*, London 1963.) The lines which the young poet Hsu Chih-mo (1895-1931) had read introduce Book the Second of Milton:

There is a place where Contrarities are equally True:
This place is called Beulah. It is a pleasant lovely Shadow
Where no dispute can come, Because of those who Sleep.

It is easy enough to substantiate the claim that Blake and the Taoist thinker Chuang-tzu were brethren in spirit. The first stanza of *Auguries of Innocence* contains a lyrical summary of the teachings of the early Taoist thinkers.

Waley speculates over the possibility that Blake may have been influenced by the work *Tao Te Ching* (The Book on Tao and its Power), the classic of Chinese Taoism. He points out that a translation of that work into Latin had been acquired by the Royal Society in 1788 and noted in *Philosophical Transactions*. Blake may well have seen the work and gained some knowledge of its content. Whether he did so or not, we do know that he shared the Taoist thinkers' distrust of rational intellect as a means for true understanding. Chance may have guided Hsu Chih-mo to Blake in the late 1920s. He is known to have translated at least one of Blake's poems--his best known, "The Tyger." Unfortunately I have not succeeded in tracing his translation.

A search through the various indices and bibliographies which register translations of foreign literature into Chinese yields very meagre results as far as Blake is concerned. Prior to 1957 only a handful of Blake's poems had made their way into Chinese anthologies of English poetry in translation.

In 1957 interest in Blake flared up in China. This was not due to mere chance: the World Peace Congress had elected William Blake the poet of that year. A great many translations and analyses of Blake's writings were published in 1957. In the late summer of 1957 the Chinese Writers' Union organized a Blake evening in Peking, to which I was invited. Old Bob Winter, an American scholar who during several decades has lectured on English and American literature at Peking University, gave an introductory lecture on Blake and his work, and Guo
Moruo, President of the Academia Sinica and nestor among Chinese poets, extemporized poetry, hailing the memory of the English poet.

The poet Feng Zhi, formerly Chairman of the Department of Foreign Literature at Peking University and presently Director of the Institute of Foreign Literature at the newly established Academy of Social Sciences, has provided me with the following list of translations of and studies on Blake's writings.

Yuan Kejia, "Bulaike ersan shi" (Random notes on a few poems by Blake), Renmin Ribao (People's Daily), 22/5/57

Yuan Kejia, "Bulaike de shi" (The poetry of Blake), Wenzue yanjiu (Literary Studies), 4/57

Yuan Kejia, and others, Bulaike shixuan (Blake Anthology), Renmin wenzue chubanshe, 9/57

Dai Liuling, "Lun Bulaike de 'Lundun'" (On Blake's "London"), Zhongshan da xue xuebao, 3/57

Song Xueting, "Bulaike de shixuan" (Selections of Blake's poetry), Yiwen (Literature in translation), 9/57

Zhao Luorui, "Neng shen ai yi yi neng shen hen de Weilian Bulaike," (William Blake who was capable of great love and of great hatred), Wenhuibao, 25/6/57

Bian Zhilin, "Tantan Bulaike de jishou shi" (Random notes on a few poems by Blake), Shihkan (Poetry), 7/57

Yuan Kejia's Blake Anthology, which comprises 176 pages, contains a large selection from Blake's lyrical poetry. The work is divided into the following five parts: (1) Poetical Sketches (Shide sumiao), which contains all the poems of that collection, with the exception of "Fair Elenor," "Gwin, King of Norway," "An Imitation of Spenser," "King Edward the Third," "Prologue to King John," "A War Song to Englishmen," and the prose-poems. The translations have been done by Cha Liangzheng, who has published poetry under the pseudonym Mudan. (2) Songs of Innocence (Tianzhen shi ge), translated in entirety by Yuan Kejia. (3) Songs of Experience (Jingyan shi ge), containing all the poems of that collection with the exception of "The Human Abstract," translated by Song Xueting. (4) Poems from the Notebook 1800-1803, and poems from the Pickering manuscript, translated by Huang Yushi, Song Xueting, and Cha Liangzheng. (5) Fragments, epigrams and parts of Proverbs of Hell, translated by Huang Yushi.


2 Title page. Pu lai k'e shih hsüan (Selected Poems of Blake), Renmin wenxue chubanshe (People's Literature Publishing House), 1957, Peking.

3 Frontispiece, Selected Poems of Blake.
In his book *The Chinese Literary Scene* (Penguin 1977, pp. 222-32) Professor Hsu Kai-yu gives a biographical sketch of Yuan Kejia, who was born in 1921. As a young student Yuan Kejia took a great interest in modernistic poetry and was particularly infatuated with the works of T. S. Eliot. At the end of the 1940s he lectured in English Literature at Peking University, while at the same time editing the literary pages of the celebrated Tientsin paper *Da Gong Bao*, which earlier had been edited by the author Shen Congwen, and, after him, by the poet Feng Zhi. After the Liberation Yuan Kejia left his teaching post at Peking University and was enrolled in the team which had been given the task of translating *Mao Zedong xuanji* (Selected Works of Mao Zedong) into English. His talents as a translator secured him a post on the editorial board of *Chinese Literature*. In 1957 Yuan Kejia was offered a post in Academia Sinica, where he was charged with editing the *Blake Anthology*.

In his preface to the *Blake Anthology* Yuan Kejia suggests that *Poetical Sketches* may be considered a turning-point in the development of English literature. The false classicism which hails reason and is content with society as it is yields to a revolutionary romanticism which places enthusiasm and fantasy in the seats of honour and demands political and social change. According to Yuan Kejia the humanism which--coupled with Blake's Christian idealism--embodies both the positive (progressive) and negative (reactionary) aspects of Blake's writings. Blake's fundamentally humanitarian views make it possible for him to attack the inhuman conditions in society. But as a result of the failure of the French Revolution, Blake's humanism loses its revolutionary characteristics. The truce between England and France in 1802 inspired Blake with the mistaken notions that violence cannot lead to peace and that a tyrannical authority is capable of bettering itself on its own initiative. Thereafter, says Yuan Kejia, Blake preached a message of conciliation which makes him appear a defeatist. Finally Yuan Kejia suggests that Blake's enthusiastic support for the bourgeois revolution, his social criticism, and his demands for the emancipation of the individual make him a pioneer among the English revolutionary-romantic writers.

A few months after the publication of the *Blake Anthology*, Yuan Kejia followed the stream of

4 "The Piper." Literal translation, lines 1-3: "I come down from a deserted valley, blowing my flute,/ I play joyful songs,/ I see a child in the cloud."

5 "To Spring."
intellectuals down to the countryside, in order to be cleansed through participation in physical labour. In 1959 he returned to his post at the Academy, where he was charged with the compilation of a volume of translations of the poetry of Robert Burns, whom the World Peace Congress had chosen as the year's writer for 1959. In his preface to that volume, Yuan Kejia hands out both praise and blame: Burns' sympathy with the poor and his hatred against landowners and aristocrats cannot altogether compensate for his lack of class spirit and his reactionary view that man should be content with his lot in life and grab what little is offered while life lasts. Apart from Yuan Kejia's short preface, the Blake Anthology contains no critique of Blake's writings. Yuan Kejia does not seem to have pruned the selection in order to accommodate the Chinese readers.

Using Blake's "London" as point of departure, Dai Liuling discusses the evil social conditions in London of the late eighteenth century. The author suggests that the deep significance of Blake's "London" only recently has been noticed by certain progressive critics. (Reading Dai Liuling's paper I was reminded of the film version of Dickens's Great Expectations which was shown in Peking in 1957 and which many Chinese no doubt believed to be an authentic description of England in the 1950s.) Discussing the widespread prostitution in eighteenth century England, Dai Liuling states that poverty and hunger--these evil products of the capitalist society--were not solely responsible for the spread of prostitution. The brunt of the blame must be borne by the hypocritical sexual morality of the Establishment and the intolerant Church.

Discussing Blake's poem "A Little Girl Lost" (Songs of Experience) Dai Liuling decrees the fate of "a fallen women" in bourgeois society: "Her parents refused to regard her as a human being, since she had disgraced the family. She could find neither work nor a roof over her head, since the factories refused to employ her and even the gates of the poor-house were closed to her. Her one and only way out was therefore to earn her living as a prostitute." With an indignation which appears as genuine as Blake's own, Dai Liuling concludes her essay by quoting the first stanza of "A Little Girl Lost":

Children of the future Age
Reading this indignant page
know that in a former time
love! Sweet love! was thought a Crime.

It is not altogether inconceivable that Dai Liuling's indignation was directed at closer quarters than the worldly authorities and the Church in eighteenth century England.

Song Xueting's "Bulaike de shixuan" (Selections of Blake's poetry), which appeared in the journal Yulan (Literature in translation), 9/57, contains a few poems from Poetical Sketches ("To Spring," "To the Evening Star," "How sweet I roam'd," and "Mad Song"); three poems from Songs of Innocence ("Introduction," "Spring," "Night"); a few poems from Songs of Experience ("Introduction," "The Tyger," "Holy Thursday," "London," and "The Chimney Sweeper"), together with some poems from the Notebook and short excerpts from The Song of Los (Plate 6: Asia) and Milton. Song Xueting divides Blake's writings into two main categories. To the first category belong Poetical Sketches, Songs of Innocence, and Songs of Experience, which are said to contain "glittering jewels and sharp dagger edges." In the second category Song Xueting groups The French Revolution, America, and Visions of the Daughters of Albion, which sing of the Revolution and the emancipation of women; The Four Zoas, Jerusalem, and Milton, which are said to contain Blake's own mythological system which is difficult to fathom. Song Xueting finally mentions The Marriage of Heaven and Hell, which he considers the best prose writing of Blake.

Song Xueting states that Blake was well ahead of his time and that he therefore failed to gain the appreciation of his contemporaries. After his death bourgeois critics rendered the understanding of his works difficult, by obscuring the significance of the symbolism in his social criticism. "When we now celebrate the 200th anniversary of Blake's birth," says Song Xueting, "our main duty is to weed out all these misleading notions and restore the fundamental significance of Blake's writings." Zhao Lourui's essay "Neng shen ai yi neng shen hen de Weilian Bulaike" (William Blake who was capable of great love and of great hatred) was published in the Wenhuibao 6/57, which appeared on 12 May 1957, a few weeks before the Anti-rightist Campaign was initiated. The author characterizes Blake as "the most kind-hearted, the purest and the most sincere humanitarian," a man who refused to compromise and who never hesitated to follow the road which he himself considered the right one. Zhao Lourui presents a very fine translation of "The Sick Rose," fair renderings of Auguries of Innocence.

Bian Zhilin's essay "Tantan Bulaike de jishou shi" (Random notes on a few poems by Blake) appeared in the journal Shikan (Poetry) 7/57, an issue dedicated to the Anti-rightist Campaign. The essay is accompanied by translations of five of Blake's poems, namely "Laughing Song" and "The Chimney Sweeper" from Songs of Innocence, and "The Tyger," "A Poison tree" from Songs of Experience. As may be expected from a translator who must be considered as one of China's major poets, Bian Zhilin's rendering of "Tyger" is technically superb. The analysis which accompanies the translation I personally find too concretized and politicized:

Blake's Tyger has altogether sprung from his own imagination. Blake wrote his Tyger in the same way as our traditional painters depicted dragons and tigers. But the main theme in Blake's poem is the fearful act of creation which gave the tiger its form. The traditional view that God created the world has here given way to the new conception that physical labour created the world. Throughout his poem Blake uses the image of the smith and his work, an image which often recurs in Blake's writings. The second stanza ("In
what distant deeps or skies / burnt the fire
of thine eyes?"") makes us today think of the
prospecting teams which, struggling to build
up a socialist China, search out the natural
resources that lie hidden under thousand
mountains and ten thousand rivers. The final
verses of the fourth stanza ("What the anvil?
What dread grasp / dare its deadly terror
clasp?") remind us of the taming of nuclear
power which will bestow great blessings on
mankind. The poem teaches us that creation is
struggle, in which contrarieties are finally
united. In the penultimate stanza of the poem
("When the stars threw down their spears /
and water'd Heaven with their tears") the poet
creates another synthesis of oppositions, and
the martial song changes into a mild melody.
The struggle is over and the worker, who has
laboured with his task, sees the result and
smiles contentedly. The mild lamb and the
ferocious tiger, innocence and experience, have
been united and that synthesis harbours a new
innocence.

Bian Zhilin's interpretation of the lines "When the
stars threw down their spears / and water'd Heaven
with their tears" is interesting, as it shows that
the poet here pushes the ideologist to the side.

Bian Zhilin suggests that many people may have
been surprised at the decision of the World Peace
Congress to elect Blake the writer for the year 1957,
as he is generally regarded as a mystic. No, says
Bian Zhilin, Blake was no mystic: the verses that
may suggest that he was a mystic have been
deliberately tampered with. Throughout his life
Blake sided with the common people; he supported
endeavors to realize national democracy, national
independence, and the emancipation of women. He
sympathized with the downtrodden masses in England
and abroad, with the French Revolution and the
American War of Independence; he supported
the struggle for the abolition of slavery, openly
opposed war, advocated peace, and stood in firm
opposition to the Establishment and the Church.
Even though he was unable entirely to emancipate
himself from the traditions of the Christian faith,
he was foremost a humanitarian. Fundamentally an
idealist, with a tendency towards utopian ideas, he
clearly comprehended the dialectic principles:
"Without contrarieties there can be no progression."

Bian Zhilin has a ready answer to the question
why Blake, in spite of his progressive views,
failed to influence the masses of his time. It
is commonly known, says Bian Zhilin, that
the reactionary English Establishment, with all means
suppressed opinions which were inimical to its
own interests. As a result thinkers and writers
had to express themselves in allegorical terms,
which in turn led to misinterpretations of their
works. We must also remember, says Bian Zhilin,
that Blake lacked experience of political struggle
and that he therefore sometimes tended to empty
speculation. Blake was ahead of his time and was
therefore not appreciated by his contemporaries.
Poetry lacks knowledge of the concrete historical
background of his writings. This is another reason
why Blake has been misinterpreted as a mystic.
THE "DOUBLE" OF THE DOUBLE PORTRAIT OF BLAKE: A DESCRIPTION OF TATHAM'S REPLICA PORTRAIT

RAYMOND E. THOMPSON

The double portrait of Blake, "William Blake in Youth and Age," by Frederick Tatham, in the Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon since 1964, is surely one of the better known representations of the poet. It has been reproduced in Blake-related publications on several occasions and recently in the William Blake Trust volume devoted to Blake portraiture. There, Keynes discusses this drawing in some detail and then reminds the reader that Tatham also made an enlarged replica of it for the Butts family. Having done so, he at once passes on to his next topic leaving those desiring further information on the replica portrait to seek it elsewhere. But where?--a question which prompted me to look into this matter, and which resulted in this account of my findings.

In contrast with the original portrait, it appears that detailed information about the replica is not widely known. I found no account specific to this work. And while it has been exhibited on several occasions, with one important exception, these exhibitions were otherwise unrelated to Blake. Further, I found but two reproductions, both of them illustrations in catalogues for exhibitions which probably had limited exposure. The replica's existence has been largely forgotten; at the very least, it has been neglected. However, for most of the past decade it has been on public display in The Denver (Colorado) Art Museum. Quite by chance I came upon it there some five years ago--a bit of good fortune which gave me a head start in my investigation. In addition, I received a most helpful tip from Sir Geoffrey Keynes early on.2

As in the case of the original portrait, the year in which the replica was executed is not precisely known. However, Keynes now ascribes "circa 1830" to the former and it seems likely the replica was done soon after.3 The replica portrait remained in the Butts family and in 1905, upon the death of Captain Butts (the grandson of Blake's great patron, Thomas Butts), passed into the hands of his son, Anthony Bacon Drury Butts. It was later included in the Sotheby & Co. auction of 19 December 1932. The portrait (Lot 117 in the sale catalogue)4 was the first of twelve lots consigned by Mr. Butts, collectively designated "Relics of and Miniatures Painted by William Blake." The Sotheby catalogue file in The British Library indicates that it was purchased by "Ulysses" for five pounds. The purchaser was, in fact, Jacob Schwartz the expatriate American who operated The Ulysses Bookshop in London and New York. The portrait was then listed in the shop's catalogue issued in early 1933, and the American collector T. Edward Hanley obtained it from Dr. Schwartz in that year.5

The Hanley art collection, which was both extensive and diverse and eventually included at least three works by Blake, was kept at the Hanley home in Bradford, Pennsylvania. Selections from the collection, which often included the replica portrait, were loaned for public exhibitions on numerous occasions. Mrs. Tullah Hanley informed
Portraits of

William Blake

at the ages of 28 & 69 years.

Born November 28th, 1757. Died August 12, 1827

Plut. 69.
1 "William Blake in Youth and Age" by Frederick Tatham. From the Collection of Mr. And Mrs. Paul Mellon.

2 Replica "Portrait of William Blake" by Frederick Tatham. The Denver Art Museum.
me that the replica was a favorite of Dr. Hanley who, when given the opportunity, included it in all these exhibitions along with other Blake works. The earliest and most notable such instance I uncovered was the great Blake exhibition held at the Philadelphia Museum of Art in 1939. The replica is Number 216 in the exhibition catalogue. All later showings of the replica were in "Hanley exhibitions" held during the next thirty years. Two of the earliest, 1946 and 1960, were at the Albright (now Albright-Knox) Art Gallery. The catalogue for the 1946 showing includes a small reproduction. In 1957 the replica was exhibited at the Philadelphia Museum of Art. During the period 1967-70, foremost among a number of exhibitions of selections from the Hanley Collection that included the replica portrait was a series of four showings of an exhibition initiated jointly in 1967 by the Gallery of Modern Art—including the Huntington Hartford Collection—and the Philadelphia Museum of Art. The exhibition, later travel to the de Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco (1967-68) and finally, to the Denver Art Museum (1968). Another exhibition, this one in 1969 at Canisius College in Buffalo, N.Y., included the replica, which was reproduced at a very small size in the exhibition catalogue. In 1969 the portrait, with numerous other works, was given in trust to the Denver Art Museum, and in 1974 the trust was converted to a gift—the T. Edward and Tullah Hanley Memorial Gift to the People of Denver and the Area.

Both Tatham's original and replica portraits are presented here as illus. 1 and illus. 2, respectively. The titles listed are those presently used, though in some exhibitions the replica was titled "Double Portrait of William Blake." The original is in sepia wash and pencil; the head of Blake in age is a finished wash drawing, the head in youth a pencil sketch. The sheet measures 343 x 264 mm, a considerable portion of which is taken up by the inscription. The replica is on brown paper and drawn in black and brown chalk with white highlights. The sheet measures 645 x 525 mm and is "glued" to a wood panel, and the whole is mounted in an "ebonised frame"—presumably the same frame mentioned in the Sotheby sale catalogue. There is no signature or other notation visible on the sheet.

Apart from the obvious difference in size, the replica is a reasonably good double for the original. However, it appears to be a somewhat less finished work. And, while the replica rather carefully duplicates the image of Blake in age, the youthful image is less faithful. This is most apparent in the rendering of the nose, if not the entire profile. In this respect, the original is more akin to the Blake portraits by Thomas Stothard and Catherine Blake which Keynes considers as probable sources of Tatham's youthful Blake. Since it is a direct copy of the original, the replica cannot be considered an independent portrait of Blake, and so cannot provide additional insight into his appearance. However, its association with the Butts family gives it a considerable measure of importance. Indeed, it is yet another Blakean legacy that has come down to us from Thomas Butts; one which, due to the generosity of the Hanleys, is in the public domain. And, I hope, by virtue of this account, now better known to those interested in Blake portraiture.

1 Geoffrey Keynes, The Complete Portraits of William and Catherine Blake (London: Trianon Press for Blake Trust, 1977). The double portrait is reproduced as Plate 41 and is discussed on p. 144. This is a reproduction of the entire sheet, whereas most, if not all, prior reproductions omitted the inscription portion of the sheet.

2 It should not be thought that the brevity of Keynes' remarks about the replica in Portraits resulted from a lack of information on his part. He not only informed me as to which Butts sale it was consigned, but indicated that he had some personal contact with this work about the time of the sale.

3 Keynes' Portraits contains revised dates for some of the Blake portraits previously listed in his A Bibliography of William Blake, (1921). There, Tatham's original portrait is dated 1827; the replica is not cited. Catherine Blake's sketch ("William Blake as a Young Man"), long considered to be a source for Tatham, is there dated "1875"; Keynes now favors "circa 1828." The drawing "William Blake" by Thomas Stothard, which Keynes now considers to be another possible source for Tatham's youthful image of Blake, was not cited in the 1921 publication, but carries a date of "circa 1780" in Portraits. Catalogue citations for the replica portrait have usually carried the date "circa 1826" which placed it earlier than the previously accepted date for the original.

4 Catalogue of Valuable Printed Books, Illuminated & Other Manuscripts, Autograph Letters and Historical Documents, Relics of William Blake, &c. . . . Messrs. Sotheby & Co. . . . Monday, the 19th of December, 1932, [London]. This sale is sometimes referred to as the "final" Butts sale.

5 A Catalogue of Rare Books, Pictures, Manuscripts & Letters, (The Ulysses Bookshop, New York, [1933]). The replica is item 3. The citation discusses both the original and replica portraits, and clearly indicates that it is the larger copy being offered. However, the reader is instructed to "see front cover" which, curiously, features a reproduction of the portrait area only of the original rather than the replica.


7 The two Albright exhibitions were "The T. Edward Hanley Collection: Drawings," 4 October--3 November 1946 (cat. no. 18, illustrated), and "The T. Edward Hanley Collection: Drawings, Watercolors, Pastels," 6 January--14 February 1960 (cat. no. 50). The Philadelphia exhibition was "The T. Edward Hanley Collection," 8 February--28 April 1957 (p. 3 of unnumbered checklist). The four identical exhibitions were all entitled "Selections from the Collection of Dr. and Mrs. T. Edward Hanley, Bradford, Pennsylvania" and shown as follows: New York, 3 January--12 March 1967; Philadelphia, 6 April--28 May 1967; San Francisco, [7] December 1967--11 February 1968; and Denver, 22 February--30 April 1968. The first two shared a common catalogue (unnumbered, p. 67). The same catalogue, with a new title page, was used at Denver; it appears that the San Francisco catalogue was完全不同 from the previous two. The Denver exhibition was "Works from the Hanley Collection at Canisius College," 23 November--23 December 1969 (cat. no. 233, illustrated).

8 The present acquisition number of the replica is 1974.398.

9 Details concerning the physical characteristics of the replica portrait and its relationship to the Denver Art Museum were provided through the kindness of Ms. Cameron Wolfe, Associate Curator of European Art for the Museum.
In her *Blake and the Nineteenth Century* Deborah Dorfman states that the *Spectator*’s review of Gilchrist’s *Life of Blake* was the first to appear in print, that it differed from some others in being "more knowledgeable and thoughtful," and that the reviewer was "the first writer to allude to anything that suggests 'fourfold' meaning." Dorfman indicated that she accepted my suggestion that this article—"William Blake," *Spectator*, 21 November 1863, pp. 2771-73—was written by the literary editor of this weekly, Richard Holt Hutton.¹ I had cited as my evidence an unpublished passage in Henry Crabb Robinson’s diary. Some years later, I quoted the relevant passage after pointing out that Robinson had drawn a seating plan for his dinner that evening (25 November 1863).² Robinson then wrote,

I talked with my neighbours [Derwent] Coleridge and [Augustus] De Morgan. Hutton, I was informed had whispered about my share of Blake’s *Life* civilly in the tone of the *Spectator* . . .

That Robinson in his use of "whispered" was referring to the *Spectator*’s review of Gilchrist and not to a conversation at dinner is made clear by the continuation of the last sentence: "... and the second article on the book in the *Athenæum* is still more flattering." The seating plan of the dinner shows that Edwin Field sat next to De Morgan, and that next to Field was R. H. Hutton.

The sceptic can argue, however, that I claimed too much on the basis of this evidence. That is, Robinson’s dinner-party informant may have been mistaken, for he may simply have extrapolated from his knowledge that Hutton was literary editor to a declaration that he was author. What I wish to demonstrate here, then, is that strong internal evidence supports my contention that Hutton was the writer of this important review.

The passage in the review which is perhaps most problematic as evidence states that Blake was a visionary in the eighteenth century, an age when there was "no open vision" (p. 2772). This quotation from I Samuel 3.1 is used by Hutton twice in identified articles: "Mr. Ruskin on Nature and Miracle," *Spectator*, 8 March 1873, p. 301, and "The Various Causes of Scepticism," *Spectator*, 19 October 1878, p. 1299.³ Since it appears neither in Bartlett’s *Familiar Quotations* nor the *Oxford Dictionary of Quotations* it may be described as one of the less familiar quotations from Scripture, its presence in a journal to which Hutton contributed therefore having some value for ascertaining authorship.

Somewhat more telling as evidence is this passage on p. 2772:

Imaginative children have been known (secretly) to persuade themselves that nettles were enemies, and thistles powerful enchanters, whose spell was to be broken by the prince of schoolboys.

This seems to be a variation on a theme in an 1852 essay by Hutton’s greatest friend, Walter Bagehot. In that essay Bagehot wrote,

All children have a world of their own. . . . But generally about this interior existence, children are dumb. You have warlike ideas, but you cannot say to a sinewy relative,
"My dear aunt, I wonder when the big bush in the garden will begin to walk about; I'm sure it's a crusader, and I was cutting it all the day with my steel sword. . . . You . . . hack at the infelicitous bush till you do not altogether reject the idea that your small garden is Palestine, and yourself the most adventurous of knights."

In his famous obituary article on Bagehot in the Fortnightly Review in 1877 Hutton quotes this passage, declaring that in it "Bagehot borrows from his own recollections," there being a tradition in the family that the passage is "but a fragment from Bagehot's own imaginative childhood. . . ."

The "William Blake" reviewer (p. 2773) transcribes from Gilchrist an anecdote supplied by Henry Crabb Robinson, to which the reviewer adds a significant comment:

When Blake, in his usual visionary way, had been telling of a spiritual interview with Voltaire, Mr. Robinson asked suddenly what language Voltaire spoke. "To my sensations," said Blake, "it was English. It was like the touch of a musical key; he touched it, probably, French, but to my ear it became English." The visionary, it will be seen, is as acute in dodging a snare as fraud itself.

The fraud referred to here was probably spiritualism. The reviewer's comment, then, parallels Hutton's sceptical attitude towards spiritualism, his earliest view of it appearing in his signed article, "The Unspiritual World of Spirits" in the Victoria Magazine, 1 (May 1863), 42-60, just six months before "William Blake." More significant, however, is the fact that Hutton quoted the very same Robinson anecdote in his identified obituary of Nathaniel Hawthorne in the Spectator, 18 June 1864, p. 706.

Varying in probative value is the imagery in the Spectator review. Admittedly a commonplace in Victorian writing, the image of a safety-valve on p. 2772 is characteristic of Hutton's style as may be seen as early as "'Macbeth' at the Lyceum," Spectator, 2 October 1875, p. 1227, and as late as "The Carlyle Centenary," Spectator, 7 December 1899, p. 871. Also a commonplace but nevertheless characteristic of Hutton's style is the image of sounding the depths (p. 2772). In the National Review alone it occurs in five identified articles published before this review (there are many in the Spectator after it), including "Characteristics of Goethe," 2 (April 1856), 249, and "Nathaniel Hawthorne," 11 (October 1860), 477.

More significant, however, than either of these is an image from mathematics. This is a discipline with a special meaning for Hutton. At University College, London, he studied this subject for four years under the famous Augustus De Morgan. Altogether, he was a brilliant student, often standing at the head of his class. In January 1845, in his final year he won the Flaherty Scholarship in Natural Philosophy and Mathematics. In October he led his class in the examination for honours in the same two subjects. From 12 October 1854 to 27 December 1856, he served as tutor in Mathematics at University Hall, London, and from 13 January 1858 to 10 May 1865 (during which time the "William Blake" review was published) he was Professor of Mathematics in Bedford College. Perhaps it is not surprising, then, that again and again during his entire life Hutton is to be found employing figures of speech based on mathematics. Three examples from his earlier writings will suffice. In "Newman's 'Discourses Addressed to Mixed Congregations,'" Inquirer, 16 February 1850, p. 102, he asserts that "the sphere of direct divine influence must intersect the boundaries of many faiths. . . ." In "Romanism, Protestantism, and Anglicanism," National Review, 1 (July 1855), 193, he states that the Puseyite party "are all for what the mathematicians call the principle of the Conservation of Areas." In "Romola," Spectator, 18 July 1863, p. 2266, he suggests "his character is, to use a mathematical term, the oscillating curve which touches that of each of the others at the surface, and nowhere else. . . ." In the "William Blake" review, p. 2771, the following image seems, therefore, to have strong probative value:

... Blake's singular mind was projected, we may call it, on two quite distinct planes of art,—that of poetry as well as that of painting. . . .

But it is an allusion to a didactic children's book of the later eighteenth century which is the strongest clue of all. To my knowledge no other contributor to the journals that Hutton edited ever refers to it, but Hutton always recalled with amused affection the Reverend C. G. Salzmann's Elements of Morality which had been translated into English in 1790. For instance, in the Spectator on 20 November 1875, he wrote (p. 1457) that Mrs. Ewing's From Six to Sixteen was deficient in comparison with "the didactic little story-books on which the childhood of the last generation was nourished:"

Books like . . . Elements of Morality . . . while they really answered the purpose of teaching children the difference between right and wrong in a very simple way, also answered the purpose of making everything like moral posture-making supremely absurd. . . . Mrs. Ewing will never give the young people of the present day the pleasure of laughing at her at the very time that they are learning from her, as the story-book teachers of our fathers' times used to do.

Many years later, in "What is Priggishness?" Spectator, 11 June 1892, p. 807, Hutton pointed out that the period which gave to the world . . . "Elements of Morality" (by Rev. C. G. Salzmann), the book which Blake illustrated so quaintly and so vividly for the little prigs of the last decade of the last century, was in the highest degree a priggish period. . . .
And on p. 808 Hutton reveals his close familiarity with Salzmann's volume by opening a copy and quoting at length from it.

What these passages demonstrate is that *Elements of Morality* was known to Hutton from his childhood, that he had ready access to it, probably in the form of his own copy, that he associated Blake with the illustrations, and that it was indelibly connected in his mind with didactic priggishness. Since all these features appear in the allusions to the book in the "William Blake" review, I believe that it can be attributed to Hutton on their account alone. The passage concerning the book appears on pp. 2771-72:

Many persons who will not know even his name at all may remember the quaint but forcible plates in a didactic little children's novel in three small volumes, called "Elements of Morality," which was translated from the German somewhere about 1790 for the benefit of our fathers' and mothers' childhood, and which has amused the nurseries of the next two generations with the formal stiff-jointed morality which that curious tale (less adapted for children than for stunted adults in knee-breeches) inculcated on its young readers. Thirty years ago it was a book rare but precious to discerning children who could enjoy the spectacle of a rapidly disappearing world of didactic thought, and one of its greatest attractions was the singular force of those grotesque plates, not designed but engraved by William Blake.

"Thirty years" may be a number rounded off for rhetorical purpose, but nevertheless it fits the facts of Hutton's biography; in 1833 he was seven, and therefore could have read the book at that time. Biography thus joins hands with style to reinforce my contention that the *Spectator*'s 1863 review of Gilchrist's life of Blake was written by Richard Holt Hutton.

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3 Hutton's identified articles are listed in my bibliography in *Victorian Periodical Newsletter*, No. 17 (September 1972) which contains 3600 items.
6 University College, London, Register of Students, Sessions 1841-42, 1842-43 (I am indebted to the College authorities and to the librarian for the opportunity to consult these manuscripts); "University Intelligence," *London University Magazine*, 3 (December 1858), 757; University College, London, *Distribution of the Prizes and Certificate of Honour, Session 1844-45* (London, 1846), p. 16; *London University Calendar, 1846* (London, 1846), pp. 95, 111.
7 Records of the Minutes of University Hall Council. I am indebted to the Trustees of the Dr. Williams's Library for permission to examine these manuscripts, and to the Registrar of Bedford College for the opportunity to consult the MS, *Bedford College Minutes of Council, 1867-1896*.
9 The only other article in any of the journals which Hutton edited making reference to *Elements of Morality* is "The Worship of Children" in the *Spectator*, 6 November 1869, pp. 1298-1300. The writer refers to his father as being a clergyman and reveals that as a child he used to build round-towers with his bricks. Hutton's father, an Irishman, was a Unitarian minister; round-towers are a feature of the historic Irish landscape. Clearly, this article, too, is Hutton's.
MINUTE
PARTICULARS

BLAKE'S ENGRAVING OF WOLLSTONECRAFT
AFTER OPIE

Thomas V. Lange

Readers of Blake may be interested to learn that the original copper plate for the engraved frontispiece portrait of Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin (illus. 2) is in the Department of Drawings and Prints of The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. It was given to the library in 1976 by Miss Louise Crane in memory of her mother, Mrs. W. Murray Crane.

The copper plate (measuring 7-5/16 x 4-3/8 inches) has been considerably re-worked since its first appearance in William Godwin's Memoirs of the author of 'A Vindication of the rights of women,' (1798).


2 The copper plate of the same portrait, re-worked in a rectangular format, published by D. Eaton.

The most startling of these changes is the enlargement of the portrait from its original oval shape to that of a rectangle. Under correct lighting it is possible to see the original oval shape, the different handling of the additional stipple work, and the added background shading lines. On the copper plate it is also possible to discern the artist's and engraver's names in their original positions, now on Mary Godwin's forearms. The J. Johnson imprint has been erased and replaced by one reading "London: Sold by D. Eaton, N° 187. High Holborn." Despite these seemingly major differences, it is clear under microscopic examination that this same copper plate was used in the 1798 J. Johnson edition. Eaton, the later publisher of the portrait, had been found guilty of publishing Paine's Rights of Man in 1793, and was a frequent prisoner in the pillory for other publishing offences—see Timperley's Encyclopaedia of Literary and Typographical Anecdote, 1839 (rpt. New York: Garland, 1977).
I have been able to locate only one impression of the frontispiece in its rectangular form as published by Eaton, in a copy of Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin's Letters written during a short residence in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark . . . second edition, London: Printed for J. Johnson, St. Paul's Churchyard, 1802 (PML 46004). Traces of glue on the frontispiece suggest it was inserted in this copy, rather than being an integral part of the book; I have been unable to locate another copy in the New York area. I would therefore appreciate hearing from any reader able to locate the appearance of the portrait in its rectangular form.

PRIESTLEY AND THE CHAMELEON ANGEL IN THE MARRIAGE OF HEAVEN AND HELL

Robert F. Gleckner

In the final "Memorable Fancy" of The Marriage of Heaven and Hell Blake created a mini-seriocomic dramatic scene between an Angel and a Devil, in which he himself acts as both narrator and participant. The essentials of the scene are well known and offer little difficulty of interpretation. The Devil begins, without apparent provocation or occasion, by identifying man and God--"for there is no other God" (Plate 23). The Angel, apoplectically changing color, responds that God is "One," unique and separate from men who are "fools, sinners & nothings." Then follows the oft-quoted Devil's diatribe on how Jesus Christ, who is the "greatest man," systematically broke the ten commandments rather than, as the Angel insisted, giving "his sanction" to them: "I tell you, no virtue can exist without breaking these ten commandments." Jesus was all virtue, and acted from impulse, not from rules," he concludes (Plates 23-24). The Angel, evidently convinced, embraces the flame of fire in which the Devil stands and is "consumed" to arise "as Elijah"—that is, like Elijah in the fiery chariot. The "Memorable Fancy" concludes with the transfigured Angel ("now become a Devil") reading "the Bible . . . in its infernal or diabolical sense" along with the speaker (presumably Blake) whose "particular friend" the Angel has now become. This "sense" of the Bible the speaker will deliver to the world, "if they behave well" and, whether the world "will or no," "The Bible of Hell" itself, which the speaker says he has ready (Plate 24).

The Angel's embracing the flame of fire, of course, is his embrace of the Devil "in" the flame of fire with which the Memorable Fancy begins—and hence the corrosive melting away of apparent surface (Angel) to display the infinite (imaginative man-prophet Elijah) "which was hid." The embrace may be seen, then, as paradigmatically or symbolically a marriage of heaven and hell as well, though such an interpretation of the entire Memorable Fancy ignores the fact that Blake does not conclude the passage with this metamorphosis: the Angel-become-Elijah becomes in turn a Devil and the speaker's "Particular friend." Some sense, I think, may be made out of this apparent confusion—or even self-contradiction—by turning our attention to the extraordinary, and to my knowledge as yet unexplained, chameleon-like mutations of the Angel in response to the Devil's opening words: "The Angel hearing this became almost blue but mastering himself he grew yellow, & at last white pink & smiling . . . ." The standard readings of this passage are notably unhelpful. Nurmi supposes, not without justification, that the Angel "almost allows himself to indulge in infernal wrath" but masters himself to regain "the vapid sweetness of his piety." Erdman sees the Angel as "frightened" and "violently upset"; and others merely describe the change as chameleon-like. In a passing reference Hazard Adams, to some extent echoing Bloom's essay on The Marriage, comes closest to the essence of the passage, attributing to Blake's "comic disdain" the Angel's "turning the colors of the spectrum." While this is spectrosopically incorrect (and there is little doubt that Blake knew the spectrum), it is the right idea here.

A passage in Joseph Priestley's The History and Present State of Discoveries Relating to Vision, Light, and Colours, published in two volumes by Joseph Johnson in 1772 and very possibly known to Blake, seems curiously apropos. Boyle, Priestley writes, noted that change of color "is the chief, and sometimes the only thing by which the artist regulates his process" in the preparation of
"tinctures." One major instance of this sort of change is

the method of tempering steel for gravers, drills, springs, &c. First the steel to be tempered is hardened, by heating it in glowing coals, and not quenched as soon as taken from the fire, but held over a bason of water, till it pass from a white heat to a red one, when it is immediately quenched in cold water. The steel thus hardened will, if it be good, look whitish, and being brightened at the end, and held in the flame of a candle, that the bright end may be about half an inch distant from the flame, it will swiftly pass from one colour to another; as from a bright yellow to a deeper and reddish yellow, from that first to a fainter, and then to a deeper blue; each of which succeeding colours argues such a change made in the texture of the steel, that, if it be taken from the flame, and immediately quenched in tallow, whilst it is yellow, it will be of such hardness as fits it for drills; but if kept for a few minutes longer in the flame, till it burns blue, it becomes much softer, and proper to make springs for watches; which are, therefore, commonly of that colour. Lastly, if the steel be kept in the flame after the deep blue has appeared, it will grow too soft even for penknives. (I, 141-142)

Had Blake indeed seen the passage he certainly would have been interested in Priestley's references to tempering steel for gravers and penknives, and to the artist's preparation of his colors. But the idea of the relative hardness of steel when exposed to "a flame of fire" may well be at the base of the Angel's color transformation in The Marriage, since the sequence of color changes Blake invents for him is precisely the opposite of that produced by the tempering process Boyle and Priestley speak of. Thus the Angel's first reaction is submissive, so powerful is the Devil's flame: that is, he turns "almost blue" (my emphasis), the degree of softness fit for watch springs and perhaps even that deeper blue which indicates Priestley's ultimate malleability ("too soft even for penknives"). But "mastering himself" the Angel recovers his imperviousness, changing from blue to yellow to "white pink & smiling." The effect is precisely that of the quenching action in Priestley's passage and, accordingly, with hardened, steely self-righteousness the Angel delivers his attack on the Devil's "idolatry"--thus reassuming "the vanity to speak of [himself] as the only wise" (Plate 21).

The Devil's exasperated response to all this Blake interestingly couches in the metaphor of wheat and chaff, with the clear implication that chaff will remain chaff whatever one does to it: this fool, even if he "persists in his folly," will not become "wise" as the Proverb of Hell promises. Yet this Angel is no mere chaff. His doors of perception cleansed by the Devil's corrosively prophetic utterance, he "stretched out his arms embracing the flame of fire & he was consumed and arose as

Elijah." Like Christ he acts from impulse, not from rules. In Priestley's terms he has not only reached the malleability of blueness but has become molten--in precisely the same sense that in the fourth chamber of the "Printing house in Hell" the "Lions of flaming fire [were] raging around & melting the metals into living fluids" (Plate 15). The mere change of color, Priestley reminds us, does not always denote any great difference in the internal structure of bodies; yet he [i.e. Boyle] was induced to think that it was often an indication of considerable alterations in the disposition of their parts, as appears, he says, from the extraction of tinctures, wherein the change of colour is the chief, and sometimes the only thing by which the artist regulates his process in their preparation. (I, 141)

Tempering, then, is an insufficient apocalypse: no amount of alteration in the disposition of parts transforms error into truth, finiteness into the infinite, the fool into the prophet.

That brings us to the conclusion of the Memorable Fancy: "This Angel," the speaker tells us, "is now become a Devil" and moreover his "particular friend." So anticlimactic does this "resolution" seem that it has been adduced as evidence of what Nurmi calls the "tentative apocalypse" of The Marriage. In the total context of the work, however, it may be argued, more persuasively I think, that the Eliahs of this world, like the "I" of the entire Memorable Fancy, appear to this world as Devils. Imaginatively they are, I suggest, those "living fluids" which melt apparent surfaces away, or which analogically dis-cover the "infernal or diabolical sense" of the Bible which is to be prophetically revealed to "the world . . . if they behave well"--i.e. if they continue in their angelic ways (the tongue-in-cheekness of the phrase adapting this world's language in the same manner as the new Devil assumes conventional shape and the Bible of Hell parodically worldly status). In A Vision of the Last Judgment Blake wrote: "whenever any Individual Rejects Error & Embraces Truth a Last Judgment passes upon that Individual." The embrace here and the Angel's embrace of the fire are the same; and if he arises as Elijah rose, he also arises as Elijah--as, that is, Blake's symbolic figure of Elijah in A Vision of the Last Judgment who "comprehends all the Prophetic Characters." The Memorable Fancy as a whole, then, concluding The Marriage proper, enacts an individual last judgment which preludically leads to, while appropriately symbolizing, the totality of last judgments that is the apocalypse of "A Song of Liberty."

In her recent essay, "Blake and the Symbolism of the New Iron Age," Eileen Sanzo calls our attention to Blake's mythologizing of his own age as the archetypal iron age: "Urizen writes with 'his iron pen' in 'books of iron and brass,' the Bible and all law rigidly interpreted." Apocalypse thus comes about, fittingly, by a "marriage" of Urizenic iron and the fire of Los's furnaces, the
The last Memorable Fancy of The Marriage, then, may be seen profitably as one of Blake's earliest efforts (if not the earliest) to incorporate "the symbolism of the new iron age," of which Priestley had to be considered one of the high priests, into his art.

1 Frye calls the episode "orthodox theology" [Fearful Symmetry (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1947), p. 196], and Bloom extrapolates on this: "The Angel teaches light without heat [i.e. without energy]; the vitalist—or Devil—heat without light; Blake wants both, hence the marriage of contraries" ("Dialectic in The Marriage of Heaven and Hell," in English Romantic Poets: Modern Essays in Criticism, ed. M. H. Abrams [New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1960], p. 80). Erdman, however, cautions against too readily identifying the embracing figures on the title page of The Marriage as male or female, heaven or hell, angel or devil [The Illustrated Blake (Garden City: Doubleday, 1974), p. 98].


5 The evidence that Blake had actually met Priestley is shaky. We know from letters and diaries that "more or less frequent guests" of Joseph Johnson included Priestley (from the 1770's to 1793), and we can "assume that Blake sometimes attended Johnson's conversational Tuesday dinners in the early '90s" (Erdman, Prophet Against Empire, p. 156). The two may have met there. If only because of Priestley's connection with Johnson—and given Blake's intense interest, even early, in matters of vision—Priestley's book almost surely would have attracted the poet's especial attention. Erdman also notes that the will-o'-the-wisp-like light in "The Little Boy Lost" and "The Little Boy Found" was a "phenomenon in which Priestley was greatly interested" (Prophet, p. 126n). As a matter of fact there is a long section on the ignis fatuus (which, Priestley notes, Newton in his Opticks called "a vapour shining without heat") in The History and Present State of Discoveries Relative to Vision, Light, and Colours (I, 579-84). Donald D. Ault, in his Visionary Physics (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1974), cites Priestley's two-volume work several times, though without indicating whether he believes that Blake had seen it. Morton D. Paley has argued that Blake knew Priestley's Matter and Spirit [Energy and the Imagination (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), pp.8-10, 66-67). And, finally, it is still possible, though less acceptable these days, to see Priestley behind the character of Inflammable Gass in An Island in the Moon.


8 Poetry and Prose, p. 550.


**BIFOCAL**

Cruciform poles recede into the distance excoriating the sky with tuneless wires whose parallels intersect at Golgotha or Golgonooza, infinite or inane; someone reins in her white geese from my gander and green shoots brave the alley of gabled brick where night has slain the chameleon-tinctured sun who daily grows like what he feeds upon.

Time was once that chameleon and we were slain in the valley of Megiddo then swiftly rose like love on a green meadow where small birds hovered on impromptu wings or else resumed their pleasant parleyings while every stone shone like a thousand suns.

Warren Stevenson
The fundamental argument of Blake's Composite Art is that, although the texts in Blake's illuminated poetry can stand quite well by themselves, we must, to understand them fully, read them together with their designs. Mitchell begins with a theoretical discussion of the illuminated format and then, contending that each illuminated poem is an organic unit and develops its own particular relationship of text and design, proceeds to detailed readings of three works: The Book of Thel, The Book of Urizen, and Jerusalem. This is a well-chosen series for several reasons. First, we see Blake in the early, middle, and late stages of his poetic career. Second, we see three critical developments in his mythology: the breakdown of Innocence, the evolution of the world of Experience, and the apocalyptic recovery of paradise. And third, we see three different styles of illumination: one in which the relationship of design and text is generally illustrative; one in which the designs assume a more assertive, independent status; and one in which the pictures play a complex iconographic and structural role in Blake's most formally difficult work. Because Mitchell's outline is logical and attractive and because his writing is clear, his book can serve as a sophisticated introduction to Blake, as well as a substantial advanced study.

Before we see how Mitchell's outline actually works out, we may ask "what kind of Blake" emerges in his criticism. Basically, Mitchell has a contemporary and, I feel, sound concept of Blake. His is not an occult or mystical Blake but one who rejects transcendence and insists that "redemptive energies are in this world, or must be brought into this world" (131), one whose highest value is the imagination as a process, and one for whom a true apocalypse paradoxically "does not foreclose the possibility of continued evolution, possibly even new 'falls' into error" (136). At the same time, Mitchell's Blake has a highly distinct personality which will not appeal to every reader. His Blake is not the Piper of Innocence or Rintrah raging in the wilderness or the visionary vitalist Oothoon. His is Blake the artist—and the artist perhaps ultimately more as formalist, maker of art-objects, than as Romantic hero, although the latter is by no means absent. But more particularly, his is a Blake of ambiguities and balanced judgments, an existentialist Blake making meaning in the face of the void (Sartre and Camus dominate the few contemporary analogues), a "sane" Blake capable of laughing at himself. Above all, this is a gentle, tolerant Blake; the Blakean idea that prevails in this book is Forgiveness. Perhaps this is a Blake in keeping with a time like the late 70's when extremism is less in fashion than it was in the 60's.

Mitchell begins with a useful and effective study of the general relationship between text and
design. Arguing that Blake seeks "an energetic rivalry, a dialogue or dialectic between vigorously independent modes of expression" (4), he analyzes several common ways in which the designs diverge from a purely illustrative supplementation to the poetry. The first way appears in "illustrations which do not illustrate" anything in the text and is clearly demonstrated by the picture of the bard carrying the winged child in the frontispiece to the *Songs of Experience*. For such designs, says Mitchell, the reader must supply his own poem. Using the traditional iconography of St. Christopher, Mitchell interprets the picture as a symbol of reader and poet, both of them burdened with the prophetic task of making meaning in a spectral world. The second way is the kind of counterpart that appears in *America* where Blake uses a picture of a Urizenic Angel of Albion to illustrate a speech by Orc and one of Orc to illustrate a passage about the Angels; the result is a composite drama in which the aged oppressor is transformed into his youthful opponent (and perhaps vice versa). Here, Mitchell indubitably shows that text and design together create signification that can't be gained from either by itself. The third way is syncopation (Frye's term), in which the related text and design are widely separated. Mitchell's example, the title-page of *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, is poorly chosen. He follows a questionable tradition in associating the embracing figures at the bottom of the plate with the Memorable Fancy in which the angel, embracing the fire, turns into a devil. Is it really necessary to go through the tortuous interpretations of this design required to establish such an identification when the embracing figures appear under the word "marriage" on their own plate and when the theme of sensual enjoyment runs prominently through the text that follows? Mitchell and others argue that the figures are not clearly male and female, but the term "marriage" in this work refers to many types of marriage—among them, reason-energy, passive-active, form-content, angel-devil, female-male—and desexualizing the figures permits the expression of this full symbolic range.

Mitchell's next example of pictorial independence, a case in which a design that apparently only illustrates really adds significantly to the poetic argument, is also poorly chosen. Mitchell often proposes sources for Blake's designs in pictorial tradition, and frequently he does this convincingly. In this instance, he uses pictures of the guardian angel theme to suggest that, although in the text of "The Little Black Boy" the English boy is white as an angel and the speaker is a lost soul, in the design their states are inverted. The trouble here is that Mitchell uncritically accepts a text which, as Bloom has pointed out, collapses into incoherence unless read ironically, for if the two boys are freed in heaven from their bodies, as the poem says they are, then the speaker can no longer use his blackness to guard the white boy. The point is that Mitchell's reading of the total plate is completely dependent upon his understanding of the text alone; if the textual reading has difficulties, the composite-art reading will just get us into deeper trouble. In line with this problem, I am particularly interested in Mitchell's statement that, especially in the longer works, the text is better read reprinted by itself, since deciphering the handwriting and looking at the pictures distract one from the hard concentration that a Blakean text demands. This is a suggestive observation, although Mitchell doesn't develop it. Illumination pictorializes the poem; however, in the act of interpretation it is the words that assume dominion. In his full readings Mitchell always begins with the text, as I think nearly all Blake readers must. In effect, illumination functions as a strategy to suppress, even conceal, the words, in contrast with the exposure of the printed page. Mitchell does refer to Frye's notion of "conflicting aesthetic appeals" as a further type of independence; Blake makes distraction into an aesthetic principle, and I wonder to what extent and in what specific instances it might also be studied as a psychological principle.

Mitchell continues his treatment of the text-design relationship with an excellent discussion of Blake's attitude to the idea of the Sister Arts as one of critique rather than acceptance. He shows how Blakean practice contradicts point by point the principles of the *ut pictura poesis* tradition, in which the imagination is given a visual analogy. Blake emerges convincingly here as an anti-perspectival, anti-pictorial artist; for him poetry and painting, far from seeking analogous methods, each have to find individual ways of being visionary. But with the text attacking objective time and the designs attacking objective space, both cooperate in reshaping the perceptual world.

Mitchell valuably places the relation of text and design within the context of Blakean dialectic in general. The apparent schism between poetry and painting is simultaneous with that between soul and body, intellect and sense, and, most radically, male and female; and thus composite-art criticism leads us straight into the central Blakean problem of dualism. The independence of text and design, says Mitchell, reflects Blake's vision of fallen duality, but at the same time the creative contrariness of text and design enacts the return from divided nature to unfallen unity.

To me, the most interesting observation that Mitchell makes in his entire theoretical discussion is that the 'pictorial \'wars of intellect\' which Blake conducted with the texts of the past [in his illustrations of other poets] continue, in a sense, even into his designs for his own poems," insofar as here too he refuses merely to be an illustrator (19). For Mitchell, this indicates that the "refusal to provide visual translations of texts... is not merely a sign of doctrinal differences with his subject, but is a basic principle in his theory of illustration" (19). I think Mitchell gets closer to the truth when he says later that Blake's illuminated style "embodies the drama of a divided, polarized consciousness seeking reunification—the subject of his prophetic books" (52). But what type of internal aggression and self-division is revealed in the spectacle of a Blake who rebels even against himself? What impelled Blake to develop two artistic gifts to an unmatched degree and bring them together in a complex double art? Doubleseness in Blake seems anterior to any of its formal and thematic expressions. As Levi-Strauss has treated myths as embodiments rather than solutions of problems, so we see in Blake's double art a tremendously angry
and divided sensibility seeking external embodiments of its own structure. Yet we also see Blake struggling to transform wrath and conflict into non-destructive modes of doubleness: interplay, cleansing correction, motherhood, and marriage, as well as the striving beyond doubleness to reunification.

Chapter II focuses on several central features of Blake's pictorial style. The first is the relationship of color and line. Mitchell writes that although Blake's theory vehemently suppresses color in favor of line, in his actual practice color and light play important roles and occasionally even predominate. In the theory and the poetic mythology, outline is permanent, male, Los, the naked body, while color is evanescent, female, Enitharmon, the garment, but what we actually see is a dialectic of the two, similar to the interplay of text and design. A second pictorial feature is the use of the human body as an organizational factor in composition. The body appears in a continuum of postures from the contracted, oppressed crouching form to the expansive, risen, leaping or flying form. Mitchell cautions us against oversimply applying a moral code to Blake's forms, however, by pointing out positive instances of contraction and negative of expansion; he does the same for the categories of translucence and opacity. Ultimately, each picture of the body is a frame in the "visionary cinema" of Albion's total body in its unfallen, all-flexible experience. Perhaps we fall through the vortex of the perspectival eye and rise through the spiral of the ear.

The theoretical discussion, both in its many local observations and in its general portrayal of a dramatic, dialectical composite art is on the whole an excellent piece of Blake criticism. Mitchell's first application of the theory in his reading of The Book of Thel, however, is the weakest section in the book. In his argument the work, although apparently straightforward, is permeated by ambiguities in both text and design. Most notably, it is framed by two enigmas: the opening motto, in which alternative answers can equally well be supplied for Thel's questions about eagle, mole, rod, and bowl; and the closing picture of the serpent ridden by the maiden and children, which can equally well be interpreted as a flight from Experience or as a fusion of Innocence and Experience. Mitchell finds that in general the work both elicits and underscores the two most common interpretations of Thel's fate as a regression from reality or a justifiable escape from a nightmare-world. Particularly, "we cannot judge Thel a coward because Blake strips away all possible superior vantage points from which we might pass judgment." Furthermore, "the moral structure of the poem is simplicity based on the process of self-annihilation" (as revealed, I suppose, in the speeches of the comforters), and anyone who had undergone Self-annihilation "would be capable only of forgiving her, not judging" (95).

To Mitchell, Thel's questioning is the admirable sign of her humanity; but ultimately her reasoning powers are used to retreat from experience and create a spectral self. Her problem is to confront death, and she is finally unable to understand "the paradoxical interdependence of life and death experienced by her comforters" (90). At the same time, in its total structure the work gives us a vision of such paradoxical harmony as mediated "through a perspective [Thel's] which sees life as antithetical to death" (106). The root of Thel's problem, Mitchell suggests, is her search for a "transcendent father." It is her discovery in the grave that this "illusory deity" does not exist that shatters her. And the absence of God for Thel is paralleled by the absence of a moral norm for the reader; in reading we experience the same ambiguity that defeats and divides her and are thus forced "to ponder issues which may ultimately defy all pondering" (106).

This reading is lively and, to a certain extent, helpful. But it is also badly strained; Mitchell seems to want to make The Book of Thel into a "skeptical form," reading it as works like Antony and Cleopatra and "The Nun's Priest's Tale" are often read. It is true that the world Thel rejects is a world of ambiguity and uncertainty, as evidenced by the famous paradoxes of the body in the speech from the grave. It is also true, I think, that the poem, with the motto in part possibly derived from Ecclesiastes, develops the kind of skepticism that
was later to satirize the Urizenic search for an ultimate answer, a solid without fluctuation. But to make this general point, it is not necessary to force everything in the poem into ambivalent form. The closing picture of the serpent, for example, does not seem to me a case of terminal ambiguity. While a number of ways of looking at it are possible, they are not equally convincing. The reading of the picture as an emblem of Higher Innocence, antithetical to Thel's fate, seems far more probable than any other both from internal and contextual perspectives. Hagstrum's adducing of the traditional iconography of Cupid and serpent is convincing: Oothoon's later celebration of eros in terms of Innocence ("Infancy, fearless, lustful, happy! nestling for delight / In laps of pleasure") is hard to ignore; so is a structure in which, since the title plate also depicts sexuality, Thel's story of a rejection of sex seems to be framed by symbols of acceptance. That sexuality might appear in a somewhat ambivalent form is to tinge it with Thel's perspective. But in treating aesthetic ambiguity we have to distinguish between possibilities that are equal and possibilities that are more and less likely, between the mutual refutations of skeptical form and the richness of an image surrounded by auras of qualifying connotation.

The same is true of the motto. While it may be a general Blakean principle that, as Mitchell says, we need both panoramic eagle-knowledge and intimate mole-knowledge, simply in terms of Thel's quest, the mole is more likely as a relevant guide; a "blind," or spectral, human being could tell her more about what human experience is like than any of her non-human comforters. As for whether love and wisdom can be put into rod and bowl, if the question means, "Can love and wisdom be known purely through the symbols employed by instruction or theory?" the answer is no, while if it means, "Are love and wisdom discovered in action, as opposed to abstract ideal?" the answer is yes; but in both cases the meaning of the answer is the necessity of experience. Furthermore, insofar as the questions are epistemologically unanswerable, we must remember that this is designated as Thel's motto, not The Book of Thel's, and is therefore taken more logically as an expression of intellectual helplessness than as any salutary skepticism. The questioner who does not know how to reply is no hero for Blake. As in "The Tyger," the interrogative form, when not rhetorical as in Oothoon's questions, expresses an imaginatively flawed sensibility, one that is unwilling or unable to achieve crucial recognitions, one that can discover only intellectual circularity: thus the structure of a lyric like "The Tyger," in which the last stanza is merely an intensification of the first stanza, or the adventure of a voyager like Thel, who can only end where she began.

As for the problem of judging Thel, Mitchell's reading hardly transcends the field since he clearly evaluates her behavior negatively, pointing, for example, to her retreat into selfhood, her inability to resolve the dualities of experience, her infantilism in identifying with the helpless worm. These are certainly judgments with moral implication, and I also agree with them. We need to distinguish between the narrowly moralistic judgments of conventional good and evil, on the one hand, and psychological, philosophical, or imaginative judgments on the other. Blake wants to wean us from the former to the latter. To be beside the point, but so is merely forgiving her. Instead, the poem forces us to understand her both analytically and sympathetically as a failure in the same way that we must analyze the poignant failures of many of the characters in the Songs of Innocence and of Experience. It is not precisely that we must identify with Thel, as Mitchell argues, but that we must apprehend her cathartically as that part of ourselves that regresses when faced with the challenges and dilemmas of Experience and of adult self-consciousness.

I would also take issue with Mitchell's treatment of the comforters. Mitchell seems to take their acceptance of death as part of a greater harmony as an ideal recognition that Thel is unable to achieve, and he also says that their mode of being, as portrayed in the pictures, is no different from hers. But their pictorial smallness in relation to her is, I feel, indicative that their mode of being is indeed different. They are not "Human Forms identified"; they are elfish creatures of primal Innocence, where lamb, child, and God all share the same level of being. Further, the story of the poem is in part the story of the aborted emergence of a human consciousness from its identification with nature in the state of Innocence. The comforters cannot really help Thel because they do not know death as a self-conscious human mind knows it. They know only the cycles, metamorphoses, and ultimate unity of nature. Thel's problem is to break away from one connection to nature and accept another; she must assume her alien humanity and then provisionally betray it to mortal clay. The comforters urge acceptance of the given body of nature; Thel resists it in the form of chastity and denial of death; ultimately Blake was to urge resistance in the form of eros and art. I might add that Mitchell is mistaken to say that it is relevant to Blake's poem that sex and death also come together in the castration anxieties of the oedipal phase, that stage of experience which, as Jacques Lacan stresses, divides nature from culture. What Thel--whom, as Mitchell notes, we first see on the title-page gazing ambivalently at two flower-people making love--hears from her grave-plot is, in essence, a warning that concern with sex can lead to death, and a confirmation of the anxiety that sex and death are the same. Thel is an Oedipus who cannot answer the riddles of the sphinx. Blake chooses a childlike female hero to express a failure to overcome castration anxiety, a failure to assume a phalus, that is, emotionally acknowledge and accept it. It is not for nothing that a blind mole—that is, a blinded, or castrated, Oedipus-surrogate—appears in the motto as a potential guide to the depths of Experience.
There is one point in Mitchell's chapter that I do unreservedly admire, and that is his treatment of parentalism, Thel's search for a transcendent father and her "visionary act" (p. 121). In Joyce's "self-directed irony" (p. 135). In line with

This is nowhere better shown in anything I have read than in Mitchell's interpretation of Thel's response to the Matron Clay: when Clay tells Thel that God has called her the mother of his children and has appointed her with oil, Thel answers that she did not realize that God would cherish a lowly worm with milk and oil. Her non-sequitur reveals her inability to emerge from childhood, as a nuptial relationship with God is translated into a filial one.

The chapter on The Book of Urizen is much more successful in its entirety. In "Blake's most spectacular picture book," the full-plate pictures never appear in the same order in any two editions, which is an extreme example of Blake's refusal to compromise individualism even by copying himself, as well as, in Mitchell's terms, a renunciation of the illustrative principle of the ut pictura poesis tradition. Metaphorically, Mitchell writes, the radical separation of text and design, including a tendency to divide the plate into distinct pictorial and poetic areas rather than letting them interpenetrate, is appropriate to a theme of division and isolation, to a story in which Urizen separates from the Eternals, Los from Urizen, Enitharmon from Los, and Orc from the last two, and to a set of pictures in which the human form appears locked in its own solitude, even when other humans do happen to be present. To me, the climactic pictorial example of separation occurs in the picture of the orphan and his howling dog in modern London, a discordantly composed picture in which the two figures are disposed on either side of a central emptiness and in which the viewer can't look comfortably at either figure without being drawn away to the other.

Mitchell interestingly reads Los as a figure who enters Blake's mythology as a mediator in this nightmare of division. The split between Urizen and the Eternals is not, Mitchell shows, a schism of fallen and unfallen but of one sensibility into reason and emotion. Blake thus "develops a new concept of the prophet . . . as mediator, not between man and God, but between the conflicting claims of human nature" (p. 121). Far from healing the schism, however, Los, in his divided allegiance, is himself divided into male and female. The fall into division is by its nature also a fall into the void, which the artist must fill, even if only with a Human Illusion; Los's mistakes are better than a surrender to nothingness. Indeed, Mitchell makes anticipatory use of Jerusalem in calling the fall into nothingness fortunate for without it "Blake's ultimate moral and visionary act--the act of Self-annihilation--becomes meaningless and unnecessary" (p. 133). In line with this theme, Mitchell closes his book with an epilogue in which Los-Blake is compared to Camus' Sisyphus, with the Void of the former paralleled to the Absurd of the latter and with Blake, like Camus, affirming action in the face of nothingness. This is an enjoyable part of the book, and Mitchell is quite good in delineating the changing visions of emptiness in Blake's career: the absence of a protecting

father in Thel, the "abyss of subjectivity" in Urizen, and the "Void, outside Existence" through Death's Doorway in Jerusalem. We should remember, though, that both Blake's imagination and the falling that corresponds to the word "Existence" in Blake's line. Los is trying to recover a lost sense of radical humanity that in existentialism, as well as in more recent French thought, would be regarded as a religious illusion, a myth of Presence. Mitchell claims that the Blakean imagination is not an absolute, in the conventional religious sense, because it is conscious of itself as a maker of illusions; but I think we have to face the fact that Blake's supreme fiction is that the imagination is no fiction.

Mitchell reads The Book of Urizen as a parody of Paradise Lost, in which Blake is anxious to subvert, above all, Milton's orthodox and clear-cut moral categories but is equally desirous of avoiding a simple, Satanic inversion of those categories. Thus, in a complex system of allusions, Urizen appears at different times as both Milton's Satan and Milton's God, and Los as both "cosmic creator" and "tormented Adam"; and while the establishment of law and the apotheosis of reason are the primal acts of the fall, the primal redemptive act is neither the violation of law nor the valorization of emotion. Once again, we are being weaned from the categories of good and evil, and now an ostensibly villain, Urizen, turns out not to be quite so bad after all. The designs portray him alternately as a titanically tragic figure and as a laughable one. Perhaps the ambivalence is captured most strikingly in the "handstand" picture, in which his search for a point of view, or, as Mitchell puts it, a supreme fiction, is represented as itself an act of falling; in this brilliant image we see both "upos and bathos at the same time. It is certainly true that Urizen is not synonymous with Nobodaddy; rather, he represents an internalization of that more blatant villain. And Mitchell is right to say that we can't cast out Urizen as the mistaken Eternals do since he, as much as they, is part of the mind.

Mitchell helps us sophisticate our response to Urizen, but his idea that Blake criticizes Milton for assigning all moral virtue to one party and suppressing his sympathy for the other is not the best formulation of the problem since this involves a redistribution of good and evil, not an advance beyond them. Nor is Mitchell helpful when he defends Urizen by saying that his oppressive One Law is after all motivated by a desire for peace, love, and forgiveness, for the passage in which this point is made is clearly satirical in structure.

Mitchell extends his point about Urizen in a provocative discussion of the relations between Urizen, Los, and Blake himself. Every character in the poem, he notes, appears Urizenic at one time or another, and in the designs Los even takes on Urizen's beard when he is playing the Oedipal father with Orc. Most strikingly, the title-page portrayal of Urizen, seated before a pair of tombstone-decalogue tablets and ambidextrously copying from a book half-hidden by his beard, can be read as a self-parody of the double artist. This is the most extreme form of a "self-directed irony" that Mitchell points out, in this poem and elsewhere, to show Blake humanizing a
godlike point of view and countering the potential megalomania of the prophet by poking fun at himself. Mitchell's depiction of Blake's style of humor is not quite accurate. Blake tends to use humor in a Rabelaisian way to enhance his romantic conception of himself and his work, rather than in a Byronic way to qualify or even puncture it. Another fact about Blake that we have to face is that he does have a titanic sense of himself— as he does of mankind in general. His tongue-in-cheek humor tells us prophetically that he is aware of his own egomaniacal nature, and that he is in control of it. Blake's portrayal of kinship with Urizen is also the result of a pitiless analysis of human creativity in the attempt to develop a concept of a true prophetic artist. And it is, in addition, the result of his equally acute recognition of the potential dangers in his own quest to be, unlike Thel but like Urizen, an emancipated, autonomous subject, free of parents and other men's systems. The purpose of Blakean self-parody is analysis and correction; to humanize, to elevate, not to lower. Mitchell is much better when he treats Urizen as a caricature of the Blakean illuminator in that he is apparently using one law for the lion and ox in the fashion of "ut pictura poesis," and in that, in the closing plate where Urizen is floundering in the webs of religion, he exemplifies the danger of "entrapment by one's own creation," a constant Blakean fear. Lawmaker and artist, both writers, are antitheses; furthermore, the Urizen on the title-page is a copyist, while in the narrative he is a solipsistic originator, and these are two opposite dangers for the artist. Mitchell continues persuasively to portray The Book of Urizen as Blake's critique of the historical role of the prophet as subordinate to a transcendent deity and of the difficulty of assuming the prophetic function in the absence of such a moral absolute.

On the whole, Mitchell's chapter is as strong a discussion of The Book of Urizen as any I know, but it is marred by the same over-insistence on tolerance that troubles his Thel chapter. At one point he writes that "Blake combines Miltonic sublimity with a Shakespearean relativism in questions of ethics and epistemology" (118). Once again I find Mitchell collapsing an important distinction. Getting away from a narrow moralism of vice and virtue is not the equivalent of moral relativism. Blake is certainly an extreme relativist in that he treats behavior and perception as dependent upon a subject's state of being. But he does, unlike Shakespeare, insistently call upon us to behave and perceive in certain ways; imagination is a moral category for him, and he demands that we expand our faculties to the fullest extent in a challenging and intense ethic of art and vision. "I care not whether a Man is Good or Evil; all that I care / Is whether he is a Wise Man or a Fool. Go! put off Holiness / And put on Intellect"; "A Poet a Painter a Musician an Architect: the Man / Or Woman who is not one of these is not a Christian": these are not expressions of Shakespearean relativism. Shakespeare, like Chaucer, wants to give us insight into reality. Blake, like Milton and Spenser, wants to transform reality; they are writers of the Human, as opposed to the human. However many crossovers there might be, these are distinct styles of imagination, and much is lost by assimilating them.

The Jerusalem chapter is largely concerned to develop an accurate structural description of the poem. Analyzing Jerusalem as an "antiform" that deliberately denies our usual expectations of poetic structure, especially in terms of linear development and causality, Mitchell gives several positive accounts of its form, including calling it a comic anatomy. But his chief suggestion is that the poem is organized thematically and that each of its four equal chapters deals with the peculiar "errors and visionary possibilities" of the audience addressed in prose at the beginning of each chapter. The poem thus repeats itself, adapting its theme to its different classes of readers. Chapter I, addressed to the sheep and goats of the Public, introduces to a universal audience the poem's major characters, actions, and themes, and concentrates on the universal man, Albion, in his fatal rejection of imagination. Chapter II addresses the Jews, assigning to them the special error of patriarchy and masculine obsession; the chapter accordingly concentrates on moral self-righteousness, especially regarding chastity, and on the development of the spectre, a male ego that worships a female world. The female world is the nature of "Greek philosophy" and Drudism, and so Chapter III is addressed to the Deists and concerns the ravages of the Female Will. Just as Chapter I exhibits the division of Albion into sons and daughters, the Fourth presents their deadly assimilation into "the apocalyptic form of error, the hermaphroditic Covering Cherub." In this destructive combination of the sexes, male legalism and female naturalism come together, as they do for Blake in eighteenth-century Christianity; Chapter IV is addressed to the Christians and is concerned to revise the orthodox concepts of Jesus, sacrifice, and redemption. Blake articulates this structure in the designs by using the framing devices of frontispiece, headpiece, and tailpiece as "pictorial summaries" of the theme in each chapter. For example, the frontispiece of Chapter II shows a meek Jerusalem before an overbearing, accusing Hand, the "aggregate form of the Sons of Albion"; the headpiece shows a contrary vision of sexual enjoyment above poetic lines in which "every labor of Love" and "every act" become "a Crime, and Albion the punisher and judge." In the tailpiece we see Hand metamorphosed into the three-headed male spectre, Bacon-Newton-Locke. We need as many accounts of the rich and multifold structure of Jerusalem as we can get, and Mitchell's scheme is a major contribution to our understanding of the poem.

The pictures in Jerusalem have a special iconographical complexity, and in reading them Mitchell is often able to define an essential Blakean type of ambiguity more thoroughly than I have ever seen it done elsewhere. For instance, he finds in the intriguing design of the bird-headed man watching the sunrise (plate 78) convincing evidence to identify the figure both with Hand and Los. We can thus see the form of Los emerging within the form of Hand, or Hand transformed from predator to eagle-eyed visionary, and we can understand why elements of melancholy (the birdman's expression and posture) and of hope (sunrise) are combined in the picture. Similarly, plate 76, showing Albion's adoration of the crucified Jesus, is read as revealing a transformation of the worship of the false
Jesus of orthodox religion into the worship of the true Jesus, the imagination within the self and the friend who sacrifices himself for another. And in The Book of Urizen the remarkable picture of the fetal skeleton demonstrates, for Mitchell, that the most contracted form of the body is also the beginning of a potential movement toward expansion; thus fallen and unfallen perspectives are intertwined in the same picture. Clearly, Mitchell is eager to see an optimistic symbolism wherever at all possible; even in the agones of The Book of Urizen he finds that "compulsive repetition" is not "cyclic nightmare" but "typological ripening" (132). In this case I prefer Frye's concept of demonic parody, which Mitchell explicitly rejects here. But I do think that in general Mitchell makes an important contribution to our understanding of Blakean doubleness, helping to clarify the process by which error contains truth and may be transformed into it. But his tendency to see affirmation everywhere sometimes leads him to severely strain interpretations, as well as denials of Blake's capacity for expressing the purely nightmarish, as when he sees in the Jerusalem design (plate 25) of Tirzah, Rahab, and Vala operating on the agonized body of Albion signs of lifegiving as well as torture in "a symmetrical vision of hope and fear" (201).

It is in such instances that the principle of forgiveness is generalized out of Blakean shape. Blakean forgiveness applies to individuals, not states, and in the above plate we are witnessing the state of Tirzah. The entry of Bacon, Locke, and Newton into Eden certainly does not imply any reconciliation with their views, any cessation from mental fight. Intellectual enemies are not forgiven their wrong ideas in Jerusalem, any more than the angel is in The Marriage. Reading Mitchell, with his emphasis on the themes of moral accusation, judgment, punishment, and forgiveness, one gets a vivid sense of Jerusalem as a journey deep into the tormented core of a guilt culture and as an epic celebration of a healing new love that seems, thematically, as different from eros as it does from agape and pity. But when Mitchell writes that in the apocalyptic embrace on Plate 99—an embrace that in its pictorial details comprehends both sexual and non-sexual love—we see not only Albion and Jerusalem reconciled, but Orc and Urizen, and Thel and her "father-lover," forgiveness has to be distinguished very sharply from the premature type of reconciliation that Urizen is always preaching. For Thel to find her father is to consummate a hallucination. Her missing father and God could only return to her as an exuberant sense of the deity within her own breast and within the breast of a lover. Mitchell does point out significantly that the patriarch is forgiven and redeemed by his prodigal child or emanation-lover, as much as the reverse. But the complexities of Blakean forgiveness go even further. What does it mean for Blake to conflate on plate 99 a sexual embrace with a reconciliatory embrace, and a coming together of man and woman with a coming together of parent and child, even father and son? Mitchell notes that in one copy of Jerusalem the two figures are both male. He also observes, as I noted earlier, that the sexes of the embracing figures on the title-page of Jerusalem seem to vary. Such changes of sex have a surreal effect. I am reminded of the Charles Addams cartoon in which the head of a man in a barber's chair is reflected back and forth in a series of mirror-images, all of which are identical likenesses, except one, which is the head of a werewolf. In the headpiece to Jerusalem, Chapter II, sexual variation from copy to copy leads Mitchell to suggest that the embracing figures represent a view of both joyful heterosexuality and also "the ambiguous lesbian union of Jerusalem and Vala" (206), ambiguous because that union itself represents both "prelapsarian harmony and freedom" and the corrupting assimilation of imagination to nature. Aside from the consideration that both heterosexuality and homosexuality would seem to be fallen categories in Blake, such a reading takes ambiguity to the point of vertigo. What is all this changing of gender, this figurative erasing of genitals, that goes on in Blake's art?

Thematically, the answer is that the Blakean sexual ideal is androgynous. As Mitchell points out, his pictorial ideal, like Michelangelo's, is an androgynous athlete; and Edenic sex is a mingling "from the Head even to the Feet." However, from an external, psychoanalytic perspective, the vision of androgyny is based on a pregenital regression, and idealization of the time before people had sexes. I think such a perspective is required to understand the apocalyptic embrace of plate 99, which hovers between the parental and the sexual. In the redemptive return to Existence we see, among other things, the child's fantasy of erotic union with the parent of the same sex, just as we originally saw the void, in Mitchell's reading, as the absence of the protective father. The theme of forgiveness hinges on a textual problem of gender which forces us to read Blake on a latent level, a critical path which Mitchell points us toward but doesn't actually take himself. If we follow that path, we are compelled to consider the possibility of a Blake whose diatribes against authority, Nobodaddy, and Urizen conceal a fantasy of rescuing the father and reuniting with him.

In the same way that I find Blake more problematic, less neat, and less optimistic on ambiguity and forgiveness than Mitchell does, I find him so on the question of his attitude toward woman. Mitchell interprets Gwendolyn's reversal in Chapter IV—in which, having carried her campaign against the male sex to the point of reducing Hand to a tiny worm, she suddenly repents in horror at what she has done and enters Los's furnaces—as a sign "that the apocalyptic reversal of history is sparked by woman, or by the feminine aspect of consciousness" (191). Another such sign occurs in the treatment of the birth of Enitharmon in The Book of Urizen. Using evidence from the designs, where Enitharmon plays a more important role than she does in the text, Mitchell argues that, although her emergence horrifies the Eternals and represents an ultimate schism, it also transforms Urizen's nightmare into "a night-vision of inspiration" and redefines the void "as a field for exploration and creativity" (154); she thus appears at, or as, the nadir and also as an image of hope. Similarly, Mitchell defends Los's pity for Urizen as the only positive alternative to complete surrender: "his
division into sexual forms is a way of guaranteeing that the prophetic role will be fruitful. . . . to provide imaginative alternatives to the societ­
ies bred by Urizen" (133). In the case of Gwendoly­

n, we see an expression of Blakean faith in a dialecti­
cal structure of existence that does not permit
total annihilation: to reach bottom, as in Dante, is to turn upwards. But Mitchell's stress on the


I think we first have to accept the idea that
Blake's imagination, like Milton's and unlike
Spenser's, is ruled by a male principle. As Brian
Wilkie has written, Blake follows epic tradition in
portraying the life of total imaginative energy in
"severely masculine" terms (Visionary Poems Dramatic,
ed. Erdman and Grant, p. 367). His image of ful­

filled, heroic humanity, Jesus Christ, is male; it
is a male, Los, who in Jerusalem actually sparks the
reversal of history through the totality of his

efforts; and the pictorial androgyynes are long­

haired males without genitals, just as the textual
androgyynes, like Albion, are male in their relation­
ships and their pronouns. Woman, or the female
aspect of consciousness, is a necessary force in the
work of redemption but only after being subdued and
subordinated. In general, when women spark anything
by themselves, they are acting, as Vaia does, in a
phantasmagoric extension of the error of uxorious­
ness. The wars of intellect, the clashings of
contraries, are subverted by the values identified
in both Blake and tradition as feminine—repose,
reconciliation, passivity—unless the latter accept
a second place. All this seems clear on the surface,
and it is what Mitchell is trying to see through.

But I think when we see through it, we do not find
exactly what Mitchell says.

It is pity that divides the soul into male and
female, and woman is the embodiment of pity;
Enitharmon is the "pious image of my soft desires
and loves" (Jerusalem, plate 17). Thematically, pity
is an emotional allegiance to the fallen, or nature,
not the unfallen—Urizen as he is, not as he was.
Some of Mitchell's most inspired writing comes in
explication of the astonishing picture in Urizen
in which Los is suspended over a red globe with his
hands to his head; this is "Los giving birth to his'
pity' for Urizen in the form of a globe of blood
which is the embryonic form of Enitharmon." This
plate, Mitchell continues,

fuses the imagery of birth and creation, and
their associated feelings of pleasure and
pain. One view of the design will enlarge the
globe to a diameter of eight thousand

miles, placing it in outer space with a
giant deity hovering over it. A blink of
the eye reduces it to a human being alone
in darkness, dreadfully wounded and pouring
out his life in catacarts of blood. The
setting of the picture is the most absolute
void in the whole book—a dead blackness
which offers no sign of element, horizon,
or boundary. The synaesthetic networks of


flow from the figure produce a related
ambiguity, forcing us to see the figure as
weeping, bleeding, and suffering extreme
pain (indicated by the rigid extension of
the fingers), and yet simultaneously involved
in a life-giving, nourishing, protective
act, as if the process of impregnation,
formation of womb and placenta, gestation,
and birth were being undertaken as a single
act of conscious, external creation. The
maternal overtones are so strong, in fact,
that it has been difficult for some viewers
to see this as the male figure of Los;
Keynes identifies it as Enitharmon.

(156-57)

I would add the following: we see a male giving
birth; we see a male functioning as a woman. And
the picture itself, with the globe of blood torn
away from Los's body, is perhaps above all an image
of castration. To feel pity, to experience the
soft emotions, is to become a woman. We should
recall this plate when we see pictures of Los carry­

ing the red globe or the sun of vision to understand
how the imagination can be construed as an external
object, an appendage. Following the imagery of
Jerusalem plate 103, which Mitchell reads in terms
of the unfallen androgyne Urthona with his emanation
Enitharmon and his spectre Los hauling the globe
back into fallen history, we can say that to fall
from androgyne is to undergo through the oedipal
phase a division in which one discovers one's gender,
in which the other sex, as castrated male (or female
with phallices), embodies one's anxiety about oneself,
and in which the lost part of the self returns in
the form of one's imagination, which is one's memory
of wholeness, one's Divine Vision. We need to
understand the extent of Blake's dread of being
ruled by a woman or by his own inner feminine
elements. We also need to understand that the fear
of being a woman is connected with a desire to be
the prodigal son and embrace the father.

Even so, insofar as the female aspects of the
mind, in the form of the lost emanation Jerusalem,
are represented as suppressed and desired, we also
need to see in Blake a longing to reintegrate those
aspects and a struggle to understand the female in
terms other than castration. Albion feels that
"Love and Pity are the same; a soft repose! / Inward
complacency of Soul: a Self-annihilation" (plate
23)—both castrations; but, in context, this is the
fallen error of a dreaming humanity. Jerusalem
depicts a struggle between positive and negative
evaluations of the female element within the male.
It embodies both a conflict and an attempt to heal
and transform that conflict. One way that Blake
represents this doubleness is the poem's counter­
pointing of two relationships, one (Los-Enitharmon)
in which the male is in the right, and the other
(Albion-Jerusalem), in which the female is in the
right. Jerusalem expresses Blake's inner struggle to
accept as integrative, rather than disintegrative,
certain elements in himself which he identified as
feminine—such as passivity, love for a father, and
subordination to another, as in self-sacrifice. I
am not sure that the issue is decisively resolved
one way or the other since the ultimate fallen image
(the hermaphrodite) and the ultimate redemptive image (self-annihilation) can both be interpreted as symbols of the female aspect of the male. We are confronting here, it may be noted, a problem close to the one that Freud dealt with, much more pessimistically, at the close of one of his own essays in the awakening of sleeping humanity, "Analysis Terminable and Interminable," when he wrote that the greatest obstacle to the analytic treatment was the male's "masculine protest," his resistance to accepting a cure from his analytic father-surrogate, and the woman's resistance to giving up her wish that the treatment might provide her with a penis. It is in terms like these that we must see the poem as, to use Mitchell's words, an anatomy of Blake's own melancholy.

Mitchell begins his book by saying, "It has become superfluous to argue that Blake's poems need to be read with their accompanying illustrations" (3). As much as I share the feeling that Blake's illuminated poetry offers one of the most unusual and powerful artistic experiences available to us, as grateful as I feel for the excellent work, including Mitchell's, on that composite art in the last decade, and as much as I agree with Mitchell that we need detailed studies, of the type he provides here, for all the illuminated poems, I would insert a small caveat. I would not want to see composite-art criticism become a new orthodoxy in Blake studies, and I would be sorry to think that, for example, any graduate student might feel any reservations about undertaking a dissertation that happened not to treat the designs. I feel it necessary to say this because composite-art criticism has a tendency—although perhaps not an inevitable one—to produce a largely centripetal, formalistic kind of study; therefore, in effect it defines an approach rather than a field of subject matter. This centripetal tendency is further accented when Blake is interpreted primarily according to his own categories—an understandable strategy since his categories are as intriguing as anybody else's.

Blake's Composite Art is a lively and substantial example of this formalism. Its only major weakness is a frequent straining in its interpretations, but this straining arises from a concept of Blake in which every inconsistency and every element that might disturb a contemporary sensibility is only apparent. I prefer a Blake with somewhat rougher edges; and I feel that the most interesting problems raised by Mitchell's formalism cannot be fully explained purely in terms of that formalism. If we acknowledge the problems as not apparent but real and if we are willing to use external perspectives, such as the psychological one I have attempted in this essay, to complement and extend a thematic approach, I think we may discover an even larger, richer, and more dramatic Blake than we usually encounter at present. A Blake, for example, who both analyzes and expresses melancholy at the same time.
The enterprising Eassons—founders of both Blake Studies and the American Blake Foundation, presumably with the advice and consent of their Foundation, certainly with its imprimatur—are now initiating a series of color facsimilies of Blake's illuminated books. The conception behind this series is commendable; the execution is problematic, yet emendable. Copy B (the Huntington Library copy) of Milton, never before issued in facsimile, has now been published: richer in coloration than Copy A (in the British Library) but identical in all essential points to it, except for its border design on plate 30. Copy B offers the best, because most finished, conception of Blake's initial idea for this prophecy. Copy C of the poem, unfortunately, is still unavailable in facsimile, a fact that is particularly regrettable inasmuch as this copy, in the New York Public Library, is crucially transitional. One thing is certain: a color-facsimile, even with imperfect coloration, is superior to the black and white reproductions now readily available for classroom use. The Easson edition has the further features of a separate text for the poem, accompanied by a commentary and brief bibliography, the commentary focusing attention upon Milton's journey, its geography, and what, ingeniously, the Eassons call "the structure of prophecy."

One would like to say that the separate text, commentary, and recommended readings constitute additional advantages— are icing on the cake. But they are not, for this is a cake from which many will wish to pull away the icing. It is not very good, really, and one can only hope that the recipe for making it will soon be improved. Start with the text, which normalizes punctuation "for reading convenience," spelling where it "interferes with current reading habits," and capitalization "only when change in, or addition of, a mark of punctuation necessitated such alteration" (p. 59; my italics). And take the matter of capitalization first. The editors' explanation covers the four shifts to lower casing, as well as one to upper, in 5:1-5—but none of these others: "for" to "For" (3:22), "blessed" to "Blessed" (3 [CopyD]:4), "Island" to "island" (4:20), "Dead" to "dead" (4:29), "Two" to "two" (5 [CopyD]:14), "Rocks" to "rocks" (5 [CopyD]:42), "but" to "But" (5:31).

(N.B. I have checked only pp. 61-71 of this text, up to the beginning of plate 6). Normalization of spelling poses few problems here: "contempable" for "contemible" on plate 2, or "cruelties" for "crueities" (5 [CopyD]:12), or "Persuaded" for "Perswaded" (5:38). However, there is a real question about whether to render a word like "pondering" poetically ("pond'ring"), or, as the Eassons do, prosaically ("pondering"; 3:17). And there is a notable error: "Finchely" for "Finchley" (4:5).

Punctuation is another matter altogether, complicated, admittedly, by the habits of another age, by possible eccentricities of Blake (perhaps we should now investigate the former—as Jerome McGann is doing for Byron—so as to come to some
determination about the latter), plus the obvious difficulties of a printing medium that prevents absolute certainty about periods, commas, etc.—at times, some of the time. In this regard, the Eassons' editorial procedures are arbitrary—actually more Victorian than modern. At times, it is true, the insertion of a comma clarifies the meaning of words or phrases in the line, but correspondingly the alteration of end punctuation sometimes affects the sense of the entire line: in the first quatrain of the opening lyric, for instance, a question mark substitutes for one of exclamation; in the third quatrain of the same lyric, semi-colons replace colons in lines 1 and 2, and in line 3 a colon is replaced by an exclamation point. It is not clear in plate 3, line 16, why a hyphen is substituted for a comma, not even when current standards of punctuation are invoked; nor four lines later, why a hyphen substitutes for a colon. Especially annoying is the tendency to insert unauthorized exclamations whenever the editors' collective temperature rises (e.g., 3:25; 3 [Copy D]:5; 4 [Copy D]:20, 26, 28; 5:18, 27, 28, 30, 50). Oddly, in plate 5, line 18 where an exclamation is sanctioned at mid-line, it is omitted in favor of a dull semi-colon: hence, "Mark well my words;" instead of "Mark well my words!". Let the Bard witness. Let the Bard himself exclaim! The editors offer wise counsel: "the punctuation often shapes the reader's perception of the meaning of Blake's words" (p. 59). So wise is that counsel that these editors, henceforth, should follow it. And they should take into account a further matter: Blake's punctuation is highly, provocatively rhetorical—often it is like an accent mark, a form of italics.

Everyone should be grateful to the Eassons for their wish, now fulfilling itself, to make previously unavailable copies of the illuminated books available—in color no less! At the same time, one might wish for a text faithful to the copy being reproduced and, in the future, hope that in place of the current critical apparatus there will be one more generously informative and more genuinely descriptive, one that lays stress on the visual component of these illuminated books.

In a textual note, we learn (I gather from second-hand authority rather than fresh investigation) that Copies A, B, and C all are "on paper watermarked 1808" (p. 59). We do not learn what is unique to Copy B, that two of its plates appear to carry an 1801 watermark (plate 23: "TMAN / [18]01" and plate 24: "NH / [18]01"). Or on a list of recommended readings, inexplicably, we do not find reference to the searching commentaries by Leslie Brisman in Milton's Poetry of Choice (1973) or by Christine Gallant in Blake and the Assimilation of Chaos (1978), nor any mention of three particularly important essays: Northrop Frye's "Notes for a Commentary on Milton" (1957), Albert Cook's "Blake's Milton" (1972), and John Grant's "The Female Awakening at the End of Blake's Milton" (1976). It would be more than useful—it would seem essential—to be sent from this edition to other facsimiles of Milton: the Muir facsimile of Copy D, neither of which receives notice in the "bibliography. And what of the elaborate notes on these illuminations provided by David Erdman in The Illuminated Blake? Surely they deserve mention here.

They receive none. Which points to the chief problem with the commentary the Eassons offer: it is a rather breezy encounter with the verbal text, and no encounter at all with the visual component of this illuminated book. That commentary, too, is inordinately preachy: "the reader must enter Milton loving Blake... If we fail to enter Milton lovingly we could become judgmental; we could attempt to assert control over Blake's text. Then we would be the tyrant readers Blake would deplore" (pp. 139-40). The most satisfying portion of this commentary is that which charts Blake's geography: "the eternal spaces of Eden, Beulah, and Golgonooza; the created spaces of Allamanda, Bowlahoola, and Golgonooza; and the illusory spaces of Entuthen Benython, Udan-Adan, and Ulro" (p. 145), and thereupon the effort to interiorize that geography, elucidating all by "definitions of the anatomy and physiology of the eye... drawn from the Reea Cyclopaedia" (p. 147), but not, surprisingly, by reference to Newton's Opticks. The least satisfactory section of the commentary, on the other hand, is the one devoted to "the structure of prophecy" (pp. 159-70), hence the structure of Milton, which we are told correctly is a prophecy. Milton, according to this structural analysis, possesses four structures:

The first of these is the two-book structure...; the second is a three-part thematic structure; the third is a structure of six aggregate journeys; fourth is a linear structure that underlies the poem and its events. (p. 160)

However, we learn very little about the structural principles that everywhere inform Blake's prophetic art—nowhere are engaged with such particularities as W. J. T. Mitchell, in Blake's Composite Art, provides for the understanding of such art. Structure in Blake, says Mitchell, is "some species of 'antiform'... is a denial of our usual ideas of structure" (p. 165); "when we say... a structure of antiform, we mean that it treats as an illusion or fiction the temporal continuum which normally stands behind narrative, and that it is designed to subvert our assumption that the logical is equivalent to the chronological... Antiform means that the poem's structure undercuts the whole notion of predictable linear chronology by embodying it as chaos" (pp. 169-70); "an essential feature of... [such a] structure... is that it repeats itself constantly, but is never quite the same" (p. 173); chapter and book do not depict "a temporal progression but... clarifications of particular kinds of error" (p. 185); each part contains "a sense of the whole, implying and alluding to all the others but reviewing the whole in terms of a distinct emphasis" (p. 192). Mitchell, of course, is talking about Jerusalem, but his remarks, especially these, pertain to Milton as well. And as we pursue Blakean structures, it is worth remembering with
Fredric Jameson, in *Marxism and Form*, that "the surface of the work is a kind of mystification in its structure" (p. 413):

... the various elements of the work are ordered at various levels from the surface, and serve so to speak as pretexts each for the existence of a deeper one, so that in the long run everything in the work exists in order to bring to expression that deepest level of the work... or... to foreground the work's most essential content. (p. 409)

It is the 'essential content' of Milton that never clearly surfaces in the Eassons' commentary, never becomes foreground. And this is but an aspect of all my other complaints about this valuable, yet limited, edition: essential facts are missing, essential questions are never broached. What ought to be a question-answering commentary is a question-begging one. What is here in the way of explanation leaves us in the forest: "To redeem John Milton's dualism, Blake... structured Milton in two books, with Book I being the male journey and Book II, the female journey. Since the feminine virtues... are 'the weak,' Book II is shorter, 'weaker' than Book I." (p. 161). Here and elsewhere, the forest we are in is a place of confusion and error: "John Milton, Blake thought, had seen people as being like sheep, appointed to their respective sheepfolds by the shepherd. Blake's view, in clear contrast, is individual; judgment of the individual's merits is the individual's own responsibility" (p. 165). William Blake read Milton, if not *De Doctrina Christiana*, certainly Book III of *Paradise Lost* where Milton denies Calvin's view of election. It is nice to be told of Blake that "he loves Milton" (p. 169)--and would be nicer still to be told that he was a great knower, understander of Milton. His perceptions of Milton have always been controversial; however, though, were they crude--nor so obviously mistaken.

**Morton D. Paley**

A comparison of the Shambhala Milton reproduction with the original in the Henry E. Huntington Library shows that the color plates are of fair quality and free from gross distortions. There is, however, a tendency for the color register to be more intense in the reproduction than in Blake's original; this, coupled with the choice of a glossy paper which is entirely unlike Blake's, makes the Shambhala edition considerably less faithful to the original than it might have been. A few remarks on particular plates will bring out the consequences of these general differences. Plate numbers refer to the pagination of the Huntington copy, which is also that of the Shambhala edition.

Pl. 2. Blake's yellow at r. becomes gold.
Pl. 3. Blake's blues are much lighter than this.
Pl. 4. Blake's blues are much lighter, while the large white area behind Blake's text becomes light blue.

Plate 6. Blake's delicate color washes become blatant. There is much more yellow in the original than in the reproduction.
Plate 8. The two male bodies should have a rosier tinge; the flames should have less yellow and more blue in them. Blake's background is not uniformly black as in this reproduction, but is variegated in tone.
Plate 11. Again Blake's yellow turns to gold, and in general Blake's colors are paler than this.
Plate 13. The body of Milton simply does not have the glaring whites reproduced. The background should be far more variegated.
Plate 15. Well reproduced on the whole, but the hill should be greener.
Plate 16. All areas behind text have been made some shade of blue, rather than white as they ought to be.
Plate 20. There is more violet in the original.
Plate 23. Blake's delicate rainbow wash has darkened.
Plate 24. The white area behind the text is blue again.
Plate 27. Blues too dark, yellows golden, whites not white enough.
Plate 28. The violet areas of the original have been lost entirely.
Plate 29. Fairly good, but the areas above and below William's outstretched arm should be blue, not black.
Plate 32. The Luvah disc should be gray, not blue as here; the Urizen disc should be much lighter.
Plate 33. Robert's body has been given a purplish tinge it ought not to have. The rich variations of dark blue in the background have been reduced to blackish opacity.
Plate 35. Very good reproduction of color washes.
Plate 36. The greens are too brownish, especially on Blake's front lawn.
Plate 38. The color tones of the whole plate should be lighter.
Plate 40. The wash is much too violet, and many whites are altogether lost.
Plate 41. Color tones are generally too dark; the bluishness of the sky is lost.

It is of course understandable that a moderately priced reproduction cannot achieve the standard of fidelity that we expect of the much more expensive Triaxon Press facsimiles. It is harder to understand why the Shambhala edition could not approach the fair reproductive quality of the Oxford University Press *Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, priced at $7.95. This book not only reproduces Blake's colors with reasonable fidelity but also uses a paper similar in aesthetic effect to that used by Blake. Blake characteristically printed his illuminated works on cream-colored wove paper of medium weight, relatively smooth but not shiny. To print the plates of *Milton* on glossy paper is to radically alter the appearance of the original--and for no discernible reason. The late Ruthven Todd once wrote in a letter that he had had a terrible nightmare about Blake. In his dream Blake had been born in the Victorian period and had printed his illuminated works by chromo-lithography! The Shambhala Milton is not a fulfillment of that bad dream, but in some of its effects comes close to it.

Reviewed by Susan Fox

David E. James sees *Milton* as a poem about poetry, about making it and reading it and achieving through it a transcendence of its own isolating conditions of reason and language. Poetry includes for Blake, according to James, political and psychological considerations ("Blake saw . . . that the rejection of imagination from the center of poetry was symptomatic of wide corruption in the body politic" [p. 12]; the Bard superimposes "specific historical reference over the more general psychological reference of the previous section" [p. 25]), but as the means of absorbing and ordering those considerations it is the paramount activity of the progressive human consciousness. Furthermore, *Milton* not only defines poetry, it continuously enacts the process of creation by which poetry comes to exist, not on a page but in the minds of author and reader: "the whole poem appears as a model of Blake's mind. . . . *Milton* is not simply the record of Blake's imaginative renewal, but the means whereby that renewal was effected" (p. 163); the poet forces "the reader to complete *Milton* by the effort of his own imagination, to recreate by himself the timeless moment of perception that is the center of the poem" (p. 5).

This attitude toward *Milton* is hardly a new one, and the strategies by which Blake reveals his own imaginative process and commandeers the reader's are familiar to all serious students of the poem. James does not really add to our knowledge of those strategies, but he does define them clearly, gracefully, and insistently, and in doing so he provides a service to anyone who needs company at the gates of Golgonooza.

He describes the basic motion of the poem as "centripetal," as a replacement of linear development by a spiraling around a single focus of action, the annihilation of what must be annihilated. All the participants in that action are for James "analyses" of the two main antagonists, Milton and Satan (see especially pp. 44-45), and he sees the author's activity in the poem as a process of "separating what has been mixed," of clarifying the alliances of those analytic figures so that what must be annihilated can be annihilated (pp. 128 ff.).

James believes that the structure of *Milton* is mimetic of its conception of visionary reality, that the development of the poem is "not logical and sequential but repetitive and cumulative" (p. 132). His own work is to some extent mimetic of what it interprets, and consequently it approaches its argument "successively from a number of different points of view" (p. 6). These points of view range from an opening close reading of the Bard's Song through various perspectives on the main action of the poem to accounts of the biographical contexts of *Milton* and their relation to Milton's culminating speech. Because the poem ends, after all its spiraling perspectives on reality, in Blake's Felpham garden, the only "real" place in the poem (p. 149), James ends his book with an account of William Blake in Felpham and of the visionary conversion which produced *Milton* and which is best defined in the poem by Milton's last speech.

To attempt to imitate in rational critical prose not only a poem, but a poem which is explicitly suprarational in substance and form, may seem reductive or quixotic, but it is also an ambitious act of sympathy. Sympathy seems to me the real virtue of *Written Within and Without*, which offers little new interpretation. The few hints it gives of special insight (e.g., the idea that Blake's poetry should be approached "in terms of the
conditions of the visual arts" [p. 110], the occasional suggestive analyses of syntax, the approach to Milton's last speech through Hebrew versification (pp. 127-79) are brief and subsidiary, and leave the reader wondering why the author settled for restatement of familiar approaches to the poem instead of pursuing the more original interpretation he is capable of. One answer may be the format of the book, which is a "European University Paper" and may be intended for a general academic audience not schooled in recent Blake criticism (and presumably not interested in such useful devices as an index, which the volume does not contain). For such an audience this may be a helpful introduction. For a readership more committed to Blake's poetry, however, there are problems. For one thing, the book reads like a decent monograph padded out with obligatory dissertation demonstrations of context and close reading (do we really still need an account of John Milton's reception in the eighteenth century, or a basic reading of The Marriage of Heaven and Hell? And a blow-by-blow commentary on the Bard's Song is simply not justified at this stage of Blake criticism). James knows the perils of abstract definitions of Blake's mythic constructs but, like all of us, is forced to make them and, despite his exceptional care to recognize the necessity of context to definition, his definitions are sometimes oversimplified: his presentation of the vortex (p. 80), for example, is perfunctory and, in its emphasis on the positive aspects of vortical consciousness, precariously one-sided; to call the sleeping humanity and the emanation of divided man positive and the spectre and shadow negative (pp. 75 ff.) is to propound a relative truth which is nonetheless a falsehood--no aspect of fallen humanity is simply positive, and the emanation in particular is frequently destructive in her own name, not just the shadow's name.

These and other local problems with James's study might have been corrected in a different format. There is a major issue in his analysis which is not a subject of such correction, but which I must dispute in what I hope will be under­taking of Blake's epistemology. If Milton's activity were identical but redundant. Renovated theory renovates practice, just as inspired poetics creates an inspired poem. That poem is created anew each time one of us reads it imaginatively--but it is not created out of a vacuum: it is created out of the fifty plates of Blake's Milton, a "self-consuming artifact" which manages to stay an artifact, a poem, a practice.

James makes much of the replacement of Orc by Los in Blake's poems, assuming that Los means an Ideal poetry as opposed to the Materialist politics of Orc. But Los does not simply substitute visionary poetics for revolutionary fire; Los, like Orc and like Rintra, is a Reprobate prophet whose most dangerous act in Milton is to restrain his wrath and permit Satan to usurp Palamabron's harrow. If all he has to be angry about is heroic couplets, that's a waste of a lot of good wrath. True, his most positive act is also a restraint of wrath, that of Rintra in Palamabron toward the descending Milton, and one might argue that this parallel means that Edenic, inspired wrath is positive whereas historical, political wrath is negative, that Imagination should be allied with Rintra in matters of the immortal spirit and with Palamabron in matters of the historical flesh--but in both the Edenic milieu of the Bard's Song and the Generational milieu of Golgonooza it is fatal to divide Rintra and Palamabron: vision must be contrary to be whole; the stormy prophet who warns the Israelites of all nations is as necessary to the Last Harvest as the mild poet who heals them and sustains them.

Both Rintra and Palamabron are wrathful at the appearance of Milton's shadow, and their wrath is Blake's own wrath at oppression. That Milton can dispel that shadow through inspiration, that he can do so because Los's mercy permits him to descend, means that whole, embracing vision is the source of the reversal. History is a corruption of eternity, and only those who understand that corruption can eradicate it. But that process of eradication is only begun at the end of Milton. Though James sees the conclusion of Book I as a apocalypse "foreshadowing" the final apocalypse at the end of Book II (p. 85; see also p. 121), in fact Judgment
has only been prepared by the end of the poem; everything is ready for the harvest but the harvest has not begun. The passage James cites as evidence that the Judgment has occurred and Blake has transcended space and time to become "one with his art," 42:24-27, is actually about Blake's return to time and space to await Judgment.

Throughout the poem vision and action are identified, but action—Milton's descent to Blake, Los's descent to Blake, Ololon's descent to Milton—Los-Blake—is nonetheless real; vision cannot exist without it. At the end of the poem we have seen the vision of Edenic forgiveness which initiates the harvest. What process, what action realizes that harvest, what will happen in Felpham now that Albion is rising, what the Judgment of the twenty-four cities will be—these things are not spoken. Citing the change in the development of Blake's ideas "from political activity to art alone as the means of regeneration" (p. 122), James merely begs the question of what art really is, of what it is concerned with and how it operates on human beings.

It may be that Blake did not mean to suggest any political action resulting from the purified vision of Milton, that he believed, as many have supposed he did, that purified vision can be transmitted through poetry alone until all the lord's people are prophets. James has not proved this, and he has not thought through certain compelling arguments in the poem which may not refute that supposition but at least challenge it. He argues, for example, that the vision of Bowlahoola and Allamanda at the end of Book I is Los's vision of the Last Judgment, that is, that the Last Judgment is a product purely of the imaginative principle. But Bowlahoola and Allamanda surround Golgonooza in Generation; the vision of them by which Los calls his sons to the harvest is a vision not of eternity but of time and space, not of Judgment but of what is to be judged (see especially 27:49-63). Furthermore, Los has that vision only when he has been united with Milton in Blake; the vision is enabled by its embodiment in a mortal poet at the most desperate moment, the ultimate political crisis, of fallen history.

James sees "the dangers of Orc-like energy and especially its political direction" as part of the satanic forces contending with Los (pp. 122-23), part of the analysis of Satan. But Orc, however much he participates in satanic activity, is not a form of Satan and will not be annihilated; he will be reintegrated into Albion. Milton, according to the prophecy Los remembers from Eden, returns to history not to vanquish Orc, but to set him free (20:59-61). Setting Orc free has never before Milton failed to mean political revolution. If it means something different here, Blake does not tell us so. James frequently asserts that in Milton Blake "turns his 'back on these Heavens builded on cruelty' (32:3), on the political vision of his youth" (p. 150), but he is also aware that Blake "felt and accepted a pressure of commitment to the outside world equalled only by Shelley of poets of the period," that the "reference of Blake's vision encompasses all humanity and in no sense can a charge against him of some kind of mystic solipsism be warranted" (pp. 168-69). James's explanation for this paradox of both turning away from this world and accepting a commitment to it is that Blake interpreted that commitment in a new way, not as political activism but as poetic purification. If that is true, it argues not "mystic solipsism" but political confusion, in Blake and in critics who do not challenge such principles. Obviously you need to know what is wrong with the world in order to change what is wrong: the False Tongue, like all manifestations of false consciousness, must be known to be defeated. But just knowing what's wrong won't change it. The Socratic idea that knowing the just and true way to proceed ensures proceeding justly and truly—even if we grant "knowing" to be a vast and comprehensive state—has been refuted throughout history. Our enemies do not vanish because all of us learn the same regenerating truth, first because there is no way, not even by the finest poetry, for us all to learn that truth in time for peaceful conversion, and ultimately because there is no such central truth, unless it is something as vaporous as that we must live in peace or die in war, that we are all the same flesh and the same spirit, or that some greater power... divinity, ecology, or singing spaceships... wants us to be good. If all human beings could be purged in imagination we might make a start—not only is that a comic if, but even if, it would only be a start.

That Blake saw the start of regeneration in purified consciousness is unexceptionable. If he saw only purified consciousness as full human salvation, he was naive. Such naivete would be understandable in a bitterly obscure radical poet enduring Napoleonic reaction. But it can not be allowed to be passed, either by Blake or by his critics (or by his contemporaries, however august their philosophical system), for wisdom.

The debate on Blake's politics is not new, and James neither proves the anti-political reading of Milton nor criticizes it. The issue is not central to his analysis, though it is important insofar as it justifies his focus on the poem as a study of "poetry." His treatment of it is characteristic of his treatment of all the provocative issues in Written Within and Without: interesting, well-worded, sincere, but undeveloped.
Blake

AN ILLUSTRATED QUARTERLY

ARTICLES, NOTES, REVIEWS, DISCUSSION, NEWS OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS, EXHIBITIONS, AND SALES. AN ANNUAL CHECKLIST OF BLAKE SCHOLARSHIP, SPECIAL BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ISSUES, AND ILLUSTRATIONS OF HIGH QUALITY. SUBSCRIPTIONS: $12 PER YR. SPECIAL RATE FOR INDIVIDUALS, $10. OVERSEAS AIR MAIL, $17. WRITE: CIRCULATION MGR., BLAKE, DEPT. OF ENGLISH, UNIV. OF NEW MEXICO, ALBUQUERQUE NM 87131. EDITORS MORRIS EAVES AND MORTON D. PALEY
ALVERTORPE GALLERY

Due to Lessing J. Rosenwald's death the Alverthorpe Gallery has been closed and the collections are unavailable in preparation for their transfer to Washington, D.C. where they will be housed at the National Gallery of Art and the Library of Congress. Inquiries related to the prints and drawings collection may be addressed to the Department of Prints and Drawings, National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C. 20565 and requests for photographs may be addressed to Photographic Laboratory Services, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. 20565. Inquiries related to the rare books collections as well as requests for photographs from the volumes may be addressed to William Matheson, Chief, Rare Books and Special Collections Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540. Blake scholars can check the Rosenwald Collection handlist published in Blake Newsletter 35 to determine where particular works will be housed. Responses to queries and requests for photographs will be answered at the earliest possible time. The Alverthorpe Gallery apologizes for this unavoidable inconvenience.

MR. B'S RAINBOW

Readers presented two scenes from Alan Tory's play, Mr. Blake's Transatlantic Rainbow, at the College of San Mateo (California) on 15 May 1979. A workshop followed. Characters in the scenes included Blake, his wife, Mrs. Tattle, Fuseli, Los, Orc, and Urizen. The reading was directed by Richard Rohrbacher. Blake was played by Martin Ponch, Mrs. Blake by Olwen Morgan. Tory is a former chairman of the Social Sciences Division of the College, and the author of several books and plays.

DOONESBURY

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RUTHVEN TODD MEMOIR

There is a feature essay on Ruthven Todd by Julian Symons—the poet, crime-story writer, critic, editor—in the April/May issue of London Magazine.

MORTON D. PALEY

Anyone needing to correspond with Morton Paley before December 7, 1979 should write to the Chelsea Arts Club 143, Old Church Street London, S.W.3 England.

MIDWEST MLA BLAKE

There is to be a Blake forum—"Blake and the Fall of Man: Part I"—at the meeting of the Midwest Modern Language Association in Indianapolis, Indiana, 9 November 1979. The Chair is Mary Lynn Johnson of Cornell College and the University of Iowa, and the participants are

Martin K. Nurmi (Kent State University), "The Structure of the Fallen Psyche"
Dan Miller (University of Iowa), "Allegory and the Fall"
John E. Grant (University of Iowa), "The Exoulsion as the Titlepage of Songs of Innocence and of Experience"

BLAKE SALE

On 14 June 1979 John F. Fleming Inc. paid $140,000, a record price for any work of English literature, according to the auctioneers—for Arthur Houghton, Jr.'s copy of the Songs of Innocence and of Experience. "Just fantastic," said Christie's spokesman of the unexpectedly high prices being paid for items in the Houghton collection.

WINTER ISSUE

We mailed the winter issue with the spring issue because we discovered to our dismay that the winter issue was still there—in boxes stacked in the mail room of the university post office—when the spring issue was sent over from the printing plant! Our apologies for any inconvenience caused by the post office's error.

SUSAN CORBAN

Blake has a new circulation manager and editorial assistant, Susan Corban, whose B.A. (in English, with a minor in Art History) is from Wells College in Aurora, New York. Susan is the only member of the Blake staff at the University of New Mexico who gets paid. Everyone else is a graduate-student volunteer. Volunteer editorial assistants are responsible for much of the design, layout, and pasteup of the journal. They do a lot of work.
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Reviews by Hana Wirth-Nesher, Janice Friedman, Joyce Field, Elliot Rosenstock, Bonnie Lyons

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LESSING J. ROSENWALD
1891-1979
The Spring number of THE BOOK COLLECTOR is entirely devoted to the work of William Blake and Samuel Palmer. The leading article is on Blake and the recent exhibition of Palmer's illustrations for Milton and Virgil at the Victoria and Albert Museum, and there are four main articles:

Michael Phillips WILLIAM BLAKE'S SONGS OF INNOCENCE AND SONGS OF EXPERIENCE FROM MANUSCRIPT DRAFT TO ILLUMINATED PLATE
Geoffrey Keynes BLAKE'S SPECTRE
Raymond Lister THE BOOK ILLUSTRATIONS OF SAMUEL PALMER
Arnold Fawcus THE BLAKE TRUST SAMUEL PALMER VOLUME AND EXHIBITION

Michael Phillips's long and important article, based partly on a detailed study of the Fitzwilliam and British Library manuscript books and partly on a new insight into Blake's environment at the time of composition, offers a new and exciting explanation of the growth of Songs of Innocence and Experience. Sir Geoffrey Keynes points out an unsuspected connection between Stedman's Narrative and Jerusalem. Raymond Lister explores Palmer's neglected work for book-publishers in detail. All these articles are copiously illustrated. Arnold Fawcus's valuable account of the Trianon Press's work for the Blake Trust is not, but he promises a real specimen of it for a future number of THE BOOK COLLECTOR. There are in addition the regular features on book binding, 'News and Comment', 'Bibliographical Notes & Queries', and book reviews.

This special Spring number is available separately to readers of The Blake Quarterly at £3.00 ($7.50), post free. If you find THE BOOK COLLECTOR of more than passing interest, if its distinctive mixture of bibliography, literature and graphic art, the history of the book, libraries, book-collecting and book-selling, appeals to you, and you would like to subscribe, please fill in the subscription form over. Articles on Blake and his circle occur not infrequently, and have included Geoffrey Keynes on George Cumberland, Blake's early patron, and the illustrations for Gay's Gables; Robert N Essick & Morton Paley on the printing of Blake's design for Blair's The Grave; and 'William Blake at the Tate Gallery'.

Finally, in 1972 THE BOOK COLLECTOR published a special number in honour of Sir Geoffrey Keynes, doyen of Blake studies. Copies of this are still available at £4.00 ($10.00).
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