### CONTENTS

New Information on Blake's Illuminated Books  
by Robert N. Essick, 4  
Blake and the Names Divine  
by H. Summerfield, 14  
A Victorian Blake Facsimile  
by Morton D. Paley, 24

### REVIEWS

Romantic Context: Poetry  
Garland Facsimiles Selected and Arranged by Donald H. Reiman  
1 The Garland Facsimiles of the Poetry of James Montgomery  
Reviewed by Judy Page, 28  
2 The Garland Facsimiles of the Poetry of Erasmus Darwin  
Reviewed by Nelson Hilton, 36  
3 The Garland Facsimiles of the Poetry of William Hayley  
Reviewed by Joseph Wittreich, 48  
Kathleen Raine, Blake and the New Age  
Reviewed by Martin K. Nurmi, 51  
Fuseli, The Swiss, And The British: Some Recent Publications  
Reviewed by Detlef W. Doerrbecker, 53  
The Marlborough College Production of The Ghost of Abel  
Reviewed by David Worrall, 56

### DISCUSSION

Let the Dead Ardours Live!  
by David V. Erdman, 58

### NEWSLETTER

© Copyright 1981 by Morris Eaves & Morton D. Paley

---

DETELF W. DOERRBECKER is an Associate Lecturer in the history of art at Trier University. Currently he is trying hard to get together a study of Blake's principles of color composition.  
DAVID V. ERDMAN'S new edition of Blake's poetry and prose is scheduled for publication in November. A facsimile of The Four Zoas (with commentary), co-edited with Cettina Magno, is in press.  
ROBERT N. ESSICK is Professor of English at the University of California, Riverside. His catalogue of Blake's separate plates is forthcoming from Princeton Univ. Press.  
NELSON HILTON'S "Blake in the Chains of Being" should be appearing in the current issue of The Eighteenth Century: Theory and Interpretation.  
MARTIN K. NURMI teaches at Kent State University.  
JUDITH PAGE is an Assistant Professor of English at Millsaps College.  
HENRY SUMMERFIELD teaches English at the University of Victoria, B. C, and is the author of That Myriad-minded Man: A Biography of George William Russell "A.E." and An Introductory Guide to The Anathemata and the Sleeping Lord Sequence of David Jones.  
JOSEPH WITTREICH (Professor of English at the University of Maryland, College Park) is the author of Angel of Apocalypse and Visionary Poetics.  
DAVID WORRALL teaches in Newcastle Upon Tyne. His article on Blake's imagery of the stars will be appearing in Bulletin of Research in the Humanities.

---

Right: Notes, The Economy of Vegetation.  
Far right: The Economy of Vegetation, Canto I.  

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

BIBLIOGRAPHER: Thomas L. Minnick, Ohio State Univ.

REVIEW EDITOR: Nelson Hilton, Univ. of Georgia, Athens.

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

PRODUCTION OFFICE: Morris Eaves, Department of English, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM 87131, TELEPHONE 505/277-3103.

Morton D. Paley, Department of English, University of California, Berkeley, CA 94720.

Thomas L. Minnick, University College, Ohio State University, 1050 Carmack Road, Columbus, Ohio 43210.

Nelson Hilton, Department of English, University of Georgia, Athens, GA 30602.

Frances A. Carey, Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum, Great Russell Street, London WC1B 3DG, England.

EDITORIAL ASSISTANT IN CHARGE: Susan Corban, Univ. of New Mexico. EDITORIAL ASSISTANTS: Pam Blair, Wayne Erickson, Wendy Jones, Kris Lackey, James Warwick, Univ. of New Mexico.

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

SUBSCRIPTIONS are $15.00 for 1 year, 1 volume, 4 issues. Special rates for individuals, $12.00, surface mail. Air mail subscriptions are $10.00 more than surface mail subscriptions. U.S. or Canadian money order must accompany order. Make checks payable to Blake/An Illustrated Quarterly. Address all subscription orders & related communications to the Circulation Mgr., Susan Corban, Blake, Dept. of English, Univ. of New Mexico, Albuquerque New Mexico 87131 USA.

Some BACK ISSUES are available. Address Susan Corban for a list of issues and prices.

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

INTERNATIONAL SERIAL NUMBER IS 0006-453X. Blake/An Illustrated Quarterly is indexed in the Modern Language Association's Index to Periodical Literature, the Modern Humanities Research Association's Annual Bibliography of English Language and Literature, English Language Notes' Annual Romantic bibliography, and catalogues under the sponsorship of the Department of English, University of New Mexico.

INFORMATION
One of the special pleasures of studying William Blake's prints is the way new treasures keep turning up. The following is a brief report on several of his illuminated books and single leaves therefrom that have come to light in recent months, supplemented by a discussion of some previously recorded impressions with unusual characteristics deserving more attention than they have received in the past.

On 13 January 1830, Sotheby's in London offered at auction a small volume listed in the catalogue as lot 41 and described as "Blake's Phantasies, Songs of Innocence and of Experience, on 55 PLATES, brown calf, elegant, very rare." According to an annotated copy of the catalogue in the British Museum Print Room, the vendor was Robert Balmanno (1780-1865), the great Stothard collector who apparently also owned copy U of Songs of Innocence and other works by Blake. Lot 41 was sold to "Glynn" for the munificent sum of one pound. Nothing further was known of this volume to either Keynes and Wolf in 1953 or Bentley in 1977, in whose bibliographies it is listed as untraced copy BB of Songs of Innocence and of Experience. After an absence of 150 years, the book reappeared to public view in the spring of 1980 and was offered at auction once again at Sotheby's, this time in their Hodgson's Rooms on Chancery Lane, on 1 May 1980, as lot 100. According to a pencil note on the title-page, the volume was "Bought of Blake May 1816," probably by Balmanno or someone acting for him. The auction catalogue further indicates that, after Glynn's purchase in 1830, the book passed to John Wild, whose initials are written "over the small partly erased library stamp in the lower margin of the general title, and who inserted his bookplate." Wild's library passed to his cousin and the book remained in the cousin's family until its sale from "The Property of a Lady" on 1 May. The volume fetched £16,000 from Andrew Edmunds, the London printdealer, who sold it shortly after the auction to the Oxfordshire bookdealer Colin Franklin. He sold it by August 1980 to the New York bookdealer Justin G. Schiller, in whose private collection the volume now resides.

I have not seen this copy of Songs of Innocence and of Experience, but its extraordinary importance deserves preliminary notice in this journal. The information presented here is based on the auction catalogue and descriptions of the book supplied by Donald Heald, who inspected the book for me prior to the auction, and Andrew Edmunds. There can be no doubt that the volume now owned by Mr. Schiller is copy BB. It is bound in early nineteenth-century brown calf, the spine elaborately decorated in gilt tooling and stamped "Blake's Phantasies." These features explain the description of the binding and odd title given the book in the 1830 auction catalogue. At the inner margin of the general title-page are fragments of blue paper—probably remnants of the original wrapper in which Blake or Mrs. Blake bound the book. The 55 plates (the usual 54 plus pl. b, "A Divine Image") on 55 leaves are printed in black ink with the delicacy and maculated textures typical of Blake's inking. The leaves (wove paper, apparently without watermark) measure about 18.3 x 11.8 cm. Many plates contain thinly inked areas that have been carefully painted over in black, perhaps diluted India ink. This hand work suggests that the
book was not simply left uncolored but was specifically prepared for sale as a copy in black. Three plates, however, have some hand coloring (see illus. 1). Unlike the black tinting in thinly printed relief areas, the light washes in etched whites on these plates are not applied with much skill and may have been added by someone other than Blake. The plates are numbered consecutively in gray ink just above the upper right corner. The form of these numbers is very similar to those in copy T of *Songs of Innocence and of Experience*; they were in all probability written by Blake.

Blake generally issued complete copies of the *Songs* in 54 plates. Only three early copies (B-D) contain the tailpiece (pl. a) without text, and these lack "To Tirzah." Before the rediscovery of copy BB, "A Divine Image" (pl. b) was known only through the posthumous impressions in copies a, c, and n of the *Songs* and a loose impression in Sir Geoffrey Keynes' collection. The impression of "A Divine Image" (illus. 2) in copy BB is thus of considerable importance. It is the only impression undoubtedly printed by Blake and included by him in a copy of the *Songs*. It is also significant that the poem is included as plate 35 in the volume, and thus is an integral part of the book rather than a supplementary plate at the end. The presence of "A Divine Image" makes copy BB the most complete copy known of *Songs of Innocence and of Experience* printed by Blake, lacking only the early, rejected tailpiece but including complete texts of all the poems of the anthology. It certainly deserves more thorough bibliographic and chalcographic study than the cursory description given here.

Posthumous impressions of *Songs of Innocence and of Experience* are far less beautiful and interesting than copies printed by Blake. Nevertheless, they were printed from the original copperplates and thus deserve description and study. A previously un-

---

1 "The Shepherd" from *Songs of Innocence and of Experience* copy BB. Relief etching, 11.1 x 6.9 cm., partly hand tinted. Photograph courtesy of Sotheby Parke Bernet & Co.; reproduced with their permission.

2 "A Divine Image" from *Songs of Innocence and of Experience* copy BB. Relief etching, 11.2 x 7 cm., partly hand tinted in black. Photograph courtesy of Sotheby Parke Bernet & Co.; reproduced with their permission.
recorded posthumous copy has been acquired recently by the astute collector Mr. Arthur E. Vershbow of Boston. The volume consists of 42 leaves of white wove paper, 18.3 x 12.6 cm., bearing on their rectos only pls. 1-14, 16-29, 33-36, 38-43, 46, 49, 52, and 53 of the Songs in that order. These are printed in dark gray ink and bound in full green morocco, covered tooled in gilt and blind, raised bands with gilt fleur-de-lis design on the spine, stamped in gilt on the spine BLAKE | SONGS | OF | INNOCENCE | EXPERIENCE. The front endpapers are marbled, followed by a blank fly-leaf showing a foolscap watermark. The same binding papers are repeated at the end, except that the blank fly-leaf is without watermark. The plates are numbered consecutively in pencil, top right. As in other posthumous copies, most of the plates are heavily inked and printed, although the borders of some are very lightly inked. The white-line work on the title-page to Innocence is badly clogged with ink; the frontispiece to Innocence and "The Lamb" contain some fouling of etched whites. The first plate of "The Ecchoing Green" is very heavily inked, the second rather lightly inked. That this is a posthumous copy is confirmed by the fact that it is printed on J WHATMAN 1831 and 1832 paper, as indicated by the following watermark fragments:

leaf 7: TMAN | 31
leaf 10: J WHA | 18

leaf 30: TMAN | 31
leaf 34: ATMAN | 32

This volume was acquired at an unknown time, probably in the 1920s, by Mrs. George Madison (Alice) Millard of Pasadena, California. A note by her describing the book is still preserved with it. Mrs. Millard, the proprietor of the Little Museum of La Miniatura through which also passed copy N of Songs of Innocence, sold the book for $100 to Mrs. John Hudson Poole (nee Caroline Boing) of Pasadena, who died in 1931. It passed by inheritance to her husband, in whose house the book remained until his death in 1955 when his book collection was packed and stored by his heirs. They placed the Blake collection for sale with the San Francisco bookdealer Bernard Rosenthal, who sold the posthumous copy of the Songs to Mr. Vershbow late in 1979.

In the mid-nineteenth century, George A. Smith collected and bound together a large, miscellaneous group of plates from Blake's illuminated books, some separate plates, the manuscript "Order" of the Songs, and the manuscript of Allan Cunningham's Life of Blake. The contents and complex history of this collection are spelled out in Bentley, Blake Books, pp. 337-41. Three plates from this group, untraced since their sale from George C. Smith's collection at Parke Bernet, New York, on 2 November 1938, have now surfaced in public collections.
Lot 30 in the 1938 auction, containing five plates from Europe copy c, was sold to the dealer Gannon for $140. Blake Books, p. 341, records that three of these are now at New York University and that the remaining two, pls. 4 and 9, are untraced. These plates, printed on the recto and verso of a single sheet, were acquired by T. E. Hanley, whose widow, Tullah Hanley, gave them in recent years to the Achenbach Foundation for Graphic Arts, M. H. de Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco.

Both plates now in the Achenbach Collection are printed in olive green on a sheet of unwater-marked wove paper, 33 x 24.8 cm. Neither has any hand tinting. The ragged left edge of the paper was probably created by its removal from the bound collection described above. The recto, bearing pl. 4 (illus. 3), is numbered 23 in pencil upper right. Most of the leaves in the original bound collection were numbered upper right in ink; this pencil number may have been added by B. B. MacGeorge, who acquired the depleted collection by 1906. Written in ink below the image is "Murder. (the Assassin awaiting his victim)." Below this title and slightly to the left is written "The two plates on the leaf are from 'Europe,' published by W. Blake, at Lambeth, in 1794." In pencil lower right is "see back." The plate is in the second state of three, containing the white-line work in the ruts on the road, on the traveller's legs and lower stomach, and on the straps over his chest, but before the addition of further white lines on the traveller's pack, its straps, his right upper arm and shoulder, and his upper stomach. The only recorded impressions of the first state are in proof copy b (Pierpont Morgan Library) and in the collection of Leonard Baskin; the only other second state impressions are in proof copies a (British Museum) and b. The impression of pl. 9 (illus. 4) on the verso is in the last of three states. There are slight pencil marks below the image on the right; a partly erased brown ink

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Europe, copy c, pl. 4. Relief and white-line etching, second (proof) state, 23.6 x 17.1 cm. Achenbach Foundation for Graphic Arts, San Francisco.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Europe, copy c, pl. 9. Relief and white-line etching, third (published) state, 23.7 x 17.1 cm. Achenbach Foundation for Graphic Arts, San Francisco.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Europe, copy c, pl. 15. Relief etching, partly color printed, 23.4 x 17.2 cm. Houghton Library, Harvard University.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
inscription below the design reads "Famine [followed by an illegible word] to eat the child for food." This title is based on George Cumberland's inscription on the same plate in copy D of Europe (British Museum).

An impression of Europe pl. 15 was also included in George A. Smith's bound collection. This was sold with four other prints from Europe in lot 32 in the 1938 George C. Smith auction ($160 to E. Weyhe Inc.) and is listed as untraced in Bentley, Blake Booka, p. 341. The print was acquired by Mr. and Mrs. Philip Hofer, probably directly from Weyhe, and given by Mrs. Frances Hofer in 1979 to the Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts (illus. 5). The unwatermarked wove sheet, 31.3 x 22.6 cm., bears stab holes along the left margin, "36" in ink top right (George A. Smith's original foliation), "24" in pencil top left (Macgeorge foliation?), "PX" in pencil bottom left (a bookdealer's coded price?), and "Europe page 10." in pencil below the left corner of the image. A pen and ink framing line extends along all four sides of the plate mark; a second frame in the same ink is 4 mm. from the image. The basic printing color is brown, but the text appears to be an experimental pull, perhaps rejected because of the poor inking and color printing.

However, Blake (or someone else?) spent a good deal of time with pen & ink trying to salvage the print. While there are a good many unbound and now widely scattered proofs of the Europe plates, separate impressions from Milton are extremely rare: Bentley, Blake Booka, p. 305, records only a single impression of pl. 38 in the collection of Mrs. Ramsey Harvey. I recently came upon an unrecorded impression of Milton, pl. 13 (illus. 6), at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, which received the print as a gift from Carl Zigrosser in 1975. On the back of the unwatermarked wove sheet, 21.2 x 15.4 cm., Zigrosser has written the following: "Milton Descending etching by William Blake trial proof printed in two colors [sic; see below] #358 Binyon's Engraved Designs of W. Blake [followed by a reference to Blake's Milton and quotation of lines 13, 21-23 from pl. 12] This print was purchased by Alexander W. Drake, former art editor of The Century, from Gilchrists [sic] in the 1890's. Sessler purchased it from Drake's widow, living in Stockbridge Mass and I purchased it from Sesslers." This is very probably the print described by W. M. Rossetti, in his list of Blake's engravings in Alexander Gilchrist's Life of William Blake, as a "Figure, with a glory, standing before a rising or setting sun or globe."10 Apparently Rossetti did not realize that the plate was executed for one of the illuminated books. He does not indicate as much, but the print was probably then (1863) in the collection of Mrs. Gilchrist, from whom it passed to her son, Herbert H. Gilchrist, and then by sale in the 1890s to Alexander W. Drake.

There is no reason to question Zigrosser's provenance for this impression, although Sessler's purchase and sales records, 1919-1975, contain no record of the print.11 Zigrosser did purchase an unidentified "Blake print . . . framed in gold" from Sessler's for $60 on 3 November 1951; but this was acquired from "Nicholson," not Drake, and is probably the intaglio impression of the experimental relief and white-line etching, sometimes entitled "Let Him look up in the Heavens and laugh in the bright air,"12 which Zigrosser gave to Lessing J. Rosenwald in June 1961, and which is now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington.

I do not believe that it has been noticed previously that this plate exists in two states. In comparison to the impressions in copies A, B (illus. 7), and C of Milton, the Philadelphia example shows fewer relief plateaus between white-line cross-hatchings just below the figure's left breast, apparently the result of more tool work in this area. The clearest difference, however, and one that can not be explained simply as inking and printing variations, is the boldly scratched white lines below and to the left of the man's right foot, clearly visible in the Philadelphia impression but not in copies A, B, and C.13 This same second state with additional white-line work also appears in copy D of the illuminated book (illus. 8). Thus, the second state was executed rather later in the production of Milton, sometime between c. 1808 when copies A-C were printed and 1815 (or later) when copy D was printed.14

The figure and his immediate surroundings are lightly printed in reddish-brown. The dark areas above (see illus. 6) are heavily inked and printed in blue-green; the dark ground below the figure is in black. There is a small spot of olive green—perhaps simply a thin droplet of the blue-green in the sky—on the man's torso just above his left hip. The thickly printed colors show the dendritic reticulations of Blake's color printing, c. 1794-1796. I suspect, however, that these are not opaque gum- or glue-based pigments, but thick ink, perhaps partly dried even before its uneven application to the plate. Yet it is surprising to find that Blake continued to experiment, well into the nineteenth century, with opaque coloring techniques and reticulated textures so characteristic of his work of the mid-1790s.

Professor G. E. Bentley, Jr., was another recent visitor to the Philadelphia Museum of Art. That rich
collection has yielded further treasures to a most assiduous prospector, and he has asked me to record his discovery of a previously unrecorded posthumous impression of *Jerusalem* pl. 99 in this article. I am delighted to comply, and offer the following information on the print in Professor Bentley's standard format for supplementing Blake Books.

**BINDING:** Loose; inventory number: 19 75-26-21. Verso inscribed (probably by Carl Zigrosser, who gave it to the Museum) "McGeorge [sic] Coll." The rest of the inscription is not useful. This indicates that it came with the miscellaneous group of prints &c. with the Order of the *Songs*.

**LEAF SIZE:** 15.7 x 23.0 (irregular), remargined to 16.2 x 23.1 cm.

**WATERMARK:** 1830 (cut off above).

**PRINTING COLOUR:** Brown.

**ONE LEAF,** printed on one side only.

**OFFSET:** None.

**NUMBER:** "99" (or "91"?) scratched on the copper in the top right corner.

**COLOURING:** None.

**VARIANTS:** There are horizontal streaks on the plate. The lines from the substratum of design show very clearly, especially in the irrelevant cross-hatching on and at the level of the heads.

In the summer 1980 issue of this journal (see note 6), I listed the sale of three plates from *Songs of Innocence and of Experience* ("The Echoing Green," second plate; "The Little Black Boy," second plate; and "Holy Thursday" from *Experience*), for many years in the collection of Dr. Bent E. Juel-Jensen, to Colin Franklin and then to Zeitlin & Ver Brugge, the Los Angeles book and print dealer. These were returned to Colin Franklin, who has now sold them to Raymond M. Wapner of Roosevelt Island, New York. 15

While these plates were in Los Angeles, I was able to inspect them carefully. They are the only known relief etchings printed by Blake on laid India paper. The light inking of the designs and borders, combined with darker inking of the text, is typical.


9. The First Book of Urizen, copy H, pl. 1. Relief etching, 14.9 x 10.3 cm., on wove sheet 18.9 x 13.9 cm., mounted. Text ink printed in golden brown; design color printed in red, brown, gray, green, black, and blue. Beinecke Library, Yale University.

10. The First Book of Urizen, copy H, pl. 4. Relief etching, 13.6 x 10.1 cm., on wove sheet 17.5 x 12.5 cm., mounted. Text ink printed in green; design color printed in brown and green. Figure hand tinted with pink. Beinecke Library, Yale University.

11. The First Book of Urizen, copy H, pl. 25. Relief etching, 14.8 x 10.4 cm., on wove sheet 18 x 11.6 cm., mounted. Text ink printed in olive green; design color printed in gray, rose, rust red, blue, and several shades of brown. Perhaps some hand tinting in yellow. Beinecke Library, Yale University.

12. The Book of Ahania, copy Bb, pl. 1. Intaglio etching, 13.6 x 9.8 cm. on wove sheet 14.4 x 10.6 cm. Color printed from the surface (of the intaglio plate?) in gray and dark green. Beinecke Library, Yale University.

13. The Book of Ahania, copy Bb, pl. 1. Intaglio etching, 13.6 x 9.8 cm. on wove sheet 29.7 x 21.7 cm. Color printed from the surface of a plate or piece of paper in purple, green, rust red, and brown. Beinecke Library, Yale University.
of Blake's best nineteenth-century relief printing of plates intended for hand coloring. The cadmium orange ink is similar to the ink in copies U (on paper watermarked 1815), Z, and AA (both printed c. 1825) of Songs of Innocence and of Experience. The coloring of the text area in the second plate of "The Little Black Boy" and the ink framing lines (blue, rather than the usual red) are typical of late copies of the Songs. The India paper also bespeaks a late date of printing. None of Blake's original graphics on laid India were unquestionably printed until the 1820s. As I have suggested elsewhere, Linnell's influence may have promoted the use of such paper, for he favored laid India even for unfinished proofs.

The inking and printing of the plates clearly point to Blake's hand, but I am much less certain about the incomplete hand coloring. The washes on all three impressions are thin, even, and applied to fairly broad areas with some disregard for printed outlines. These features can be found in Blake's hand coloring of the early 1790s, but by the nineteenth century he had developed a far more sophisticated style with greater delicacy and precision in the application of colors. The best examples show fine brush work, similar to the technique of miniature painting, and subtle blending at the borders between colors—yet without any violation of outlines. Christ's gown on the second plate of "The Little Black Boy" is colored a bright scarlet found in no other impression. None of these three plates contains any of the drawing with pen and ink (or sometimes even pencil) so typical of Blake's work. It may be unfair to compare the coloring of these plates to finished examples in complete copies of the Songs, but my doubts persist nonetheless.

*Proof impressions of Blake's relief etchings with incomplete inking or coloring are rarely as beautiful as finished examples, but they can provide interesting information about his graphic processes. Even recorded impressions of this type in well-catalogued public collections deserve more careful study. Wandering through that enormous repository of information, Bentley's Blake Books, one can all too easily overlook the special qualities of odd proofs and unfinished pulls. Although New Haven, Connecticut, is more famous for theoretical speculation than chalcographic treasures, the city's leading university offers several opportunities to study unusual impressions of plates from Blake's illuminated books.

In 1970, Charles J. Rosenbloom bequeathed to the Beinecke Library, Yale University, impressions of pls. 1, 4, and 25 of The First Book of Urizen. All three (illus. 9-11) are richly color printed without subsequent hand coloring or pen and ink work except for a small amount of hand tinting in pink on the figure in pl. 4 and perhaps some yellow applied by hand to pl. 25. As such, they show how expert Blake was at handling a difficult medium and keeping the pigments from spreading so chaotically that all definition of forms is lost. The title-page (illus. 9) shows great technical control on the figure; unlike the heavily colored
tree on the left, he was printed so as to produce reticulated textures yet leave white areas (eyes, for example) for later development on the print. Plate 25 (illus. 11) clearly demonstrates that Blake was able to color print from etched areas (upper right, and the figure lower left) as well as relief plateaus. The extreme shallowness of the etching, particularly in The Plate Book of Urizen, combined with the thickness of Blake's color medium, permitted this type of proto-planographic printing. The etching of the design provided little more than a guide for the hand painting of the copperplate.

The Beinecke Library also owns two impressions of the title-page for The Book of Ahania and one of pl. 4 from the same illuminated book. The first two (illus. 12, 13) constitute a rare set of progress proofs. The two illuminated books etched in intaglio, The Book of Los and The Book of Ahania, do not lend themselves to color printing from the surface of the copperplates. The pressure necessary for good intaglio printing is far too great for color printing from surfaces. The title-page to The Book of Los (copy A, British Museum) shows that the design must have been color printed or blotted with a separate plate or piece of paper rather than the copperplate bearing the etched text. The exceptionally light printing of the text in the first Beinecke proof (illus. 12) suggests that Blake may have been trying, at least in this one case, to print simultaneously from the intaglio lines and the surface of the plate in two colors. The results are not promising. The second proof (illus. 13) is much better as an intaglio impression and the four-color printing of the design area is more even with fewer streaks and uncovered spots. It seems unlikely that work of this quality could have been produced in one run through the press. Thus these two proofs may record Blake's progress from single to double printing for his intaglio, color printed books—a progress that led to a technical division between printing texts and printing designs with important consequences. In this same period during the mid-1790s, Blake's color printing began to develop independent of his work as a poet, most successfully in the great 1795 color printed drawings, and finally evolved into the so-called "tempera" paintings of 1799-1800.

In "Blake in the Marketplace, 1976-77," I recorded the sale at auction of impressions of the designs without text of "The Shepherd" and "Spring" from Songs of Innocence. These two prints (illus. 14, 15) were acquired in 1978 by the Yale Center for British Art, New Haven. They are not incomplete or working proofs, but highly finished color prints of great beauty. They are two of only three known color printed designs from Songs of Innocence: in copies of Songs of Innocence and of Experience containing color printing, such work is confined to the Experience plates alone. The Yale Center prints are cut close to the designs, and thus it is possible that the plates were originally printed with the texts and cut apart by someone other than Blake. I suspect, however, that both were printed as designs only with the texts masked. If so, then these prints are similar to Blake's work in the "Large" and "Small" Books of Design. "The Shepherd" and "Spring" now at the Yale Center may have been produced for the conjectural copy B of the Small Book of Designs or
some similar collection of color printed miniatures.  

Like the other prints described here, they testify to Blake's life-long commitment to innovation in the graphic arts. But far more than the others, these two small prints demonstrate the excellence of his best work.

EDITORS' NOTE: COPY H OF THE SONGS OF INNOCENCE AND OF EXPERIENCE HAS RECENTLY RE-EMERGED. FOR MORE INFORMATION SEE THE NEWS SECTION OF THIS ISSUE.


2 Mr. Schiller tells me, in a letter of 7 July 1980, that exclusive rights to inspect and describe the volume have been granted to one individual (not me) until August 1982. There is, however, a brief report, without reproductions from copy BB, by Sir Geoffrey Keynes in The Book Collector, 30 (Spring 1980), 39-42. Sir Geoffrey records the following sequence for the plates: 1-4, 6-7, 11, 25, 18, 19, 15, 16-17, 22-23, 20-21, 9-10, 12, 8, 27, 24, 5, 13, 14, 26, 54, 28-33, b, 38, 46, 51, 45, 47, 41, 39, 52, 43, 53, 37, 50, 42, 44, 49, 34-36, 40, 48. The plate offsets correspond to this sequence.

3 The Keynes impression, reproduced as pl. 3 in the Keynes and Wolf Census, is in gray with the upper border surrounding the text wiped free of ink (except for residual smudges). Such cleaning of the borders is typical of Blake's pre-1800 impressions of relief etchings, but is also found in a few posthumous impressions. This impression is poorly printed, but it may be an early working proof pulled by Blake.

4 The Vershbow collection also includes a copy of the 1813 quarto edition of Robert Blair's The Grave with Schiavonetti's plates after Blake's designs hand colored. A recent acquisition is Blake's original pencil and wash drawing for the fourth wood engraving (young shepherd left, old shepherd right, figure with fine lines and flick work on his engraved portraits.

5 The VERSHBOV collection also includes a copy of the 1813 quarto edition of Robert Blair's The Grave with Schiavonetti's plates after Blake's designs hand colored. A recent acquisition is Blake's original pencil and wash drawing for the fourth wood engraving (young shepherd left, old shepherd right, figure with a staff running to the right in the background) in Thornton's edition of The Pastorals of Virgil, 1821. This drawing, formerly in the collection of Mrs. Mathew Baird, is reproduced in Geoffrey Keynes, ed., Pencil Drawings by William Blake (London: Nonesuch Press, 1927), pl. 50 no. 3. I am indebted to Mr. Vershbow for allowing me access to, and permission to describe works in, his collection.

6 The collection included standard items, such as reference works, a copy of Blair's Grave (1808), and a set of the Job engravings, but nothing else of importance.

7 I previously noted this sale, and incorrectly described the volume as containing 43 plates, in "Blake in the Marketplace 1978-1979," Blake: An Illustrated Quarterly, 14 (1980), 7.

8 I take this information from Bentley, Blake Books, p. 143.


11 Sessler's records of (most?) Blake materials that have passed through the Philadelphia shop have been assembled and copied for me by Michael Young of the University of Pennsylvania.


14 Copies A-C are on Whatman paper watermarked 1808; copy D is watermarked RUSE & TURNERS | 1815. See the discussion of printing history in Bentley, Blake Books, p. 309.

15 Mr. Wapner is a partner of the New York bookdealer Justin G. Schiller, with whose permission I record the ownership of these plates.

16 See my William Blake, Printmaker (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1980), p. 220. Linnell's preference for laid India may perhaps be explained by the need for a paper smooth and hard enough to take an accurate impression of the dense patterns of fine lines and flick work on his engraved portraits.

17 At least according to the color notes in Bentley, Blake Books, p. 391.

18 Bentley, Blake Books, pp. 168, 341, records these prints as still in Rosenbloom's collection and does not note their special features. Their bequest to Yale is noted in Bentley's "Supplement" (see footnote 1). They are designated as copy H by Bentley. The three plates were once part of the large collection of prints bound by George A. Smith with the "Order" of the Songs. They were acquired by Rosenbloom at the George C. Smith auction, Parke Bernet, 2 November 1938, lot 34 ($250 to Sessler's for Rosenbloom).

19 There is a similar color printed proof of pl. 25, without hand tinting or drawing, in Sir Geoffrey Keynes' collection.

20 See Essick, William Blake, Printmaker, p. 130 and fig. 118.


22 See G. E. Bentley, Jr., "Dr. James Curry as a Patron of Blake," Notes and Queries, 27 (1980), 71-73, for new information on a possible purchaser of Blake's color prints besides Ozias Humphry.
In his later works, William Blake occasionally fails to maintain his usual sharp distinction between the God who brought about the fall into matter and uttered the Ten Commandments and the Divine Humanity who manifests as Jesus and is immanent in each individual. What, for example, are we to make of the couplets on plate 3 of Jerusalem, which announce that he who spoke on Sinai inspires the epic, or of the Prologue to For the Sexes: The Gates of Paradise, which informs us that Jehovah, having written the Decalogue, repents and interse it under His Mercy Seat?

Some commentators have recognized the problem which arises from such passages as these. Sloss and Wallis complain that "Throughout the later writings confusion arises from Blake's use of the terms God, Jehovah, and Jehovah Elohim"; Milton Percival, discussing Blake's treatment of the Incarnation, regrets that "The divine names are not clearly differentiated from one another"; and Kathleen Raine confesses that Blake does not always employ the name Jehovah consistently. Harold Bloom tackles the problem by distinguishing between a "humanizing" and a "Urizenic" Jehovah but does not specify the relations between them. Probing more deeply, Jean Hagstrum sees Christian love transforming Jehovah the tyrant into Christ-Jehovah the compassionate Father, yet we are left to wonder about Jehovah's origin and about his pre-Christian forgiveness of Cain in The Ghost of Abel. Anne Mellor's suggestion that Jesus the Imagination absorbs the reasoner Jehovah, reconciling his law and energetic wrath with love and mercy, faces the same objections and makes a puzzle of Jesus' abundant energy in "The Everlasting Gospel." Bo Lindberg locates the inconsistency in Jehovah Himself, claiming that he favors his sons Satan and Jesus alternately but overlooking the fact that it is Adam, not Jesus, who is Satan's brother in Blake's myth. Finally, Thomas Altizer's argument that Blake's God and Satan have an underlying identity depends heavily on what he admits is "a single symbolic image," namely the Seven Eyes of God, and, as Ronald Grimes points out, he blurs the distinctions between God, Satan, and Urizen.

The question at issue should not be confused with two related but distinct problems--the conundrum of who created the cosmos and the puzzle posed by certain statements in Blake's annotations to Watson's Apology for the Bible. It has long been recognized that from The Book of Urizen (1794) onwards Creation has two aspects in Blake's system. On the one hand it is "Error" (E555/K617), a degenerate state into which a portion of Eternity falls in a process described in the first chapter of Genesis; on the other hand it is "an act of Mercy" (E553/K614), a limitation imposed on the Fall to make redemption possible. Thus Blake can denounce Creation (the Fall) as the work of the Devil, yet praise Creation (the limitation of the Fall) as the achievement of Los, Jehovah, and Jesus.

Once, in 1798, Blake goes beyond the defense of nature as a merciful limitation on the Fall. In annotating Bishop Watson's An Apology for the Bible, a riposte to Thomas Paine's Deist tract The Age of Reason, Blake states that the Bible tells him that God created nature perfect and that its imperfections
result from Adam's sin; he also endorses the sixth commandment when he condemns Joshua for breaking it, and contrasts lethal "Natural" disasters favorably with Joshua's "Unnatural" carnage describing the Lisbon earthquake as "the Natural result of Sin" (E604/K388). In these notes Blake is attempting to defend Paine at his weakest against Watson at his strongest, for the Bishop is attacking the Deist claim--already refuted by Hume--that a flawless creation reflects the perfection of its Maker. Blake, as Mark Roberts has pointed out, takes refuge in the traditional Christian doctrine of the Fall. In his anxiety to vindicate Paine, he retreats from the position which he otherwise maintains early and late that the God of the first chapter of Genesis is a corrupted spirit and he assesses even post-Adamic, fallen nature with its destructive qualities as less morally deplorable than are wicked men. Towards the end of his annotations, Blake momentarily steps out of his role as a defender of Paine and exclaims, "The Bishop never saw the Everlasting Gospel any more than Tom Paine" (E608/K394). The phrase "the Everlasting Gospel" (from Revelation xiv.6) was, as A. L. Morton notes, a term used by seventeenth-century English antinomian sects to denote their doctrine, and Blake appropriates it for his own version of Christianity, which is closely related to theirs but equally alien to the orthodox and the Deists of his age.

The distinction between the accusing, lawgiving God and the Divine Humanity (or Poetic Genius) is essential to Blake's Christianity from the early 1790s onwards. In The Marriage of Heaven and Hell (c. 1790-1793), he identifies Jehovah, the Poetic Genius, with Energy, and Satan, the Accuser of the Book of Job, with Reason. Although emotionally Blake leans very heavily towards Energy, he admits that "Reason and Energy . . . are necessary to Human existence" (E34/K149), for he is adapting Boehme's notion of a division of the primal unity into two Principles as the basis of creation and also the source of evil. According to Boehme (in Blake's time known as Behmen), the two Principles can be represented as Wrath, Fire, or the Power of God and as Love, Light, or the Heart of God, and they are identical with the Father and Son of the Christian Trinity--"The Father," states Boehme, "is the eternal Power, or Virtue, and the Son is the Heart and Light. . . ." When separated from the Light or Love, the Fire or Wrath becomes the flames of Hell, yet on that Fire the existence of every created thing depends. Without the Fire, Boehme asks, where would be the Mobility, Kingdom, Power, and Glory? Therefore we have often said, The Anger is the Root of Life; and if it be without the Light, then it is not God, but Hell Fire; but if the Light shines therein, it becomes Paradise and Fulness of Joy.

Either of these Principles is incomplete without the other:

Indeed All is from one Eternal Original, but it severizes itself into a twofold Source; a Similitude whereof we have in the Fire, and Light; where the Fire is painful and consuming, and the Light meek and giving; and yet the one were a Nothing without the other. Blake was acquainted with Boehme's work many years before he embodied in The Marriage of Heaven and Hell a distortion of his doctrine, making the primal division between God and Satan instead of between Father and Son; many years afterwards he remained Boehme's ardent admirer. His treatment in later life of the lawgiving and redemptive aspects of the biblical God and his use of the names Jehovah and Jesus show signs of Boehme's influence, but he had by then come to follow Boehme in associating the First and Second Principles with the Father and the Son.

The Marriage of Heaven and Hell is a bravely anti-dualistic work, but a year or two after finishing it Blake adopts a semi-Gnostic dualism making the egregious and tragic Urizen his demiurge. At this point his interest in the Trinity, evident in The Marriage, seems to lapse to reappear during the lengthy period, beginning not later than 1797, in which he composes Vara, later renamed The Four Zoas. In this epic, he makes Urizen share the blame for the Fall with Luvah, Vala, and Man himself. Later, in Milton and Jerusalem, Urizen (an individual) fades into the background being displaced respectively by Satan (a state) and the Spectre of Albion (who is also Satan), in whom the forces that work against a return to the prelapsarian unity are focused: in these poems Satan--the Accuser as distinct from the Miltonic rebel--confronts the Trinity.

The earliest sign that Blake is recovering his interest in the Trinity is a reference to the Holy Spirit (E604/K387) in his annotations, dated 1798, to Watson's Apology for the Bible--annotations which, with their allusions to Blake's professing himself a Christian, to the Everlasting Gospel, and to the forgiveness of sins--adumbrate much in his later work. A second mention of the Third Person occurs at the end of his letter of 30 January 1803 to James Blake (E696/K822), and in a late or relatively late addition to Night VII of The Four Zoas Enitharmon laments, "Such is our state nor will the Son of God redeem us but destroy" (E355/K331). In 1807, Blake represented all three Persons of the Trinity in his painting The Fall of Man. His many subsequent allusions need not be detailed.

In Blake's fully developed myth, as in Boehme, the primal division is not the gulf between God and the Accuser but a separation within the Godhead itself. The perfect harmony among the Eternals, who are at once a multitude and a single being, does not always prevail even between the Father and the Son, and there are signs that each can be imperfect when sundered from the other.

There is abundant evidence, both visual and textual, that Blake in his later phase conceives of the Father divorced from the Son as possessing cruel, tyrannical, and destructive attributes. To begin with the paintings, on the left (the sinister side) of the Father at the top of the Epitome of James Hervey's Meditations among the Tombs, a late work, he inscribes the text--non-biblical though related to Deuteronomy iv.24 and Hebrews xii.29--"God out of Christ is a Consuming Fire." In Christ the Mediator (c. 1799-1800), a pale glow round the
head of Jesus makes a Bohemian contrast with the dark flames radiating from the Father, and the latter holds the scepter of worldly power which Satan bears in *The Great Red Dragon and the Beast from the Sea* and *The Number of the Beast is 666* (both c. 1805). Between the fourth and fifth of the Huntington set of Blake's illustrations to *Paradise Lost* (1807), the Father undergoes a change. In the fourth painting, *Christ Offers to Redeem Man*, the Father, who embraces the Son, is wingless and, judging from the vacant space on the left of his right hand and forearm, beardless; light radiates from the place where the heads of the Father and Son meet and, like the light in *Jacob's Ladder* (c. 1805), it progressively darkens as it travels down the picture away from the eternal realm. In the fifth painting, *Satan's and Raphael's Entries into Paradise*, the Father, now cut off from the Son, has become a winged, bearded, Urizenic god hovering over Raphael. The sky again grows gradually darker towards the bottom, but though there is still radiance from the Father it is much paler than in the previous illustration and, except for a narrow area immediately above his head, it is streaked with dull yellow-green stripes. This winged figure descends from the image of Urizen which Blake incorporated in 1791 (before he had named the god) in his engraving *The Fertilization of Egypt* based on a rough sketch by Fuseli. It has a successor in the drooping deity who presides over Blake's ninety-seventh illustration to *The Divine Comedy* (1824-1827). A comparable contrast may be present within a single painting, *The Fall of Man* (1807), where Death—seated in the cave between Sin and Hell, the figures being identifiable from Blake's description (E662/K441) and from one of his paintings of *Satan, Sin and Death* (c. 1808)—could well be a degenerate form of the Father above. The latter has spiky hair like that of the deity in plate 2 of Blake's *Illustrations of The Book of Job* (1825)—spikes which, as Bo Lindberg has noticed, turn out to have been a sign of the bearer's Satanic character as they develop into the hideous projections from the Devil's head in plate 11. If the Father has indeed fallen to become Death, he has acquired in his descent stylized wings and an iron crown, and his beard has shrunk, but his hands and outstretched arms retain their pose (the Urizenic pose of their counterparts in *The Fertilization of Egypt*), his left foot remains a little in front of his right, and his head still inclines to one side—now his right instead of his left. In the complex pattern of the painting, the Father is separated from the Son, the rebel from the heavenly angels, mankind from Paradise, and Paradise from the earth.

Verbal references to the degeneration of the Father when He is cut off from the Son are also plentiful. A famous passage in "A Vision of the Last Judgment" caustically declares:

1 Blake, *The Fall of Man* (1807). Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

2 Blake, Epitome of James Hervey's "Meditations among the Tombs." Courtesy of the Tate Gallery.

Thinking as I do that the Creator of this World is a very Cruel Being & being a Worshipper of Christ I cannot help saying the Son O how unlike the Father First God Almighty comes with a Thump on the Head Then Jesus Christ comes with a balm to heal it (E555/K617)

The repentant God of the Prologue to *For the Sexes: The Gates of Paradise* now falls into place—he writes the Law after he has degenerated, but, reunited with the Son in the Christian dispensation, he repents. Similarly, we need no longer be surprised that the lawgiving God should be identified with the true God, Blake's inspirer, in plate 3 of *Jerusalem*.

The names Elohim, Jehovah, and Jesus appear in the list of the Seven Eyes of God which is given in each of Blake's three epics (E366, 106, 202/K351, 494, 686). It is widely agreed that the Eyes—Lucifer, Molech, Elohim, Shaddai, Pa(c)had, Jehovah, and Jesus—constitute seven historical (and religious) periods. Though they seem to be individuals from the viewpoint of the Eternals who commission them as guardians of the fallen world, they turn out in *Milton* (32:10; E130/K521) to be states from mankind's standpoint and to be subject to corruption. The first six shrink from the self-sacrifice necessary to redeem the fallen, the self-sacrifice...
which only Jesus, the seventh, will consummate. The third and sixth Eyes are Elohim and Jehovah; "Elohim" being a Hebrew plural rendered as "God" in the Authorized Version and "Jehovah" a faulty transliteration of the sacred name piously rendered as "the Lord." Blake frequently employs "Elohim"--the only name used for God from Genesis i.1 to Genesis ii.3--for the "Cruel Being" who is "the Creator of this World," and in Night the Eighth of The Four Zoas, where he first appears as the third Eye, he creates Adam to endure the sacrificial death he himself shuns (E366/K351). In Milton, however, Adam, conceived as the Limit of Contraction, is defined or fashioned by "The Divine hand" before Elohim descends (13:18-23; E106/K494). In Jerusalem, "Los who is of the Elohim" is Adam's maker (73:24-28; E226/K713). The fourth and fifth Eyes bear the names Shaddai (Almighty) and Pa(c)had (Terror), which also denote the Hebrew God, and indeed Thomas Altizer's observation that the first six are antithetical to the seventh suggests that all six may be aspects of the Father. Jehovah, the last of these six, becomes "leprous," which recalls not only the Urizen of the earlier America (16:3, 11; E56/K203) but Jesus' threat in "The Everlasting Gospel" to the Angel of the Divine Presence, who had written the Law at Sinai:

My Presence I will take from thee
A Cold Leper thou shalt be (E513/K754)

Jehovah's leprosy is a consequence of his separation from Christ, and one of his names when he is in this state is the Angel of the Divine Presence, which in Blake always denotes a corrupt being; he is the God who covers Adam's and Eve's nakedness in the painting The Angel of the Divine Presence Clothing Adam and Eve with Coats of Skin (1803), the spiky-haired deity in plate 2 of Illustrations of The Book of Job (1825), where he is named in Hebrew "King Jehovah," and the central figure in the Laocoön engraving (c. 1820), where the Hebrew above identifies him as "the Angel of Jehovah" and the Hebrew below as "Jah" (an abbreviation for "Jehovah"), the father of Satan and Adam. (The English phrase "The Angel of the Divine Presence" appears on both Job pl. 2 and the Laocoön plate.) In "A Vision of the Last Judgment," Blake claims that people often refer to this Angel--who became the patron spirit of the Britain of the fallen world with her oak groves--when they speak of "Jehovah Elohim," this being the name translated as "the Lord God" in the Authorized Version (E549/K610).

References to imperfection in the Son separated from the Father are rarer than aspersions on the Father separated from the Son, but however much Blake, like Boehme, leans emotionally towards the Son, as he leaned towards Energy in The Marriage of Heaven and Hell, they do occur. In conversation with Crabb Robinson, Blake stated that Christ was
wrong to attack the Government and to allow himself to be crucified. On being asked how error was consistent with Christ's divinity, he replied, "He was not then become the father," indicating that the separation of the Persons had led to a temporary lapse from perfection. On a later occasion, he told Robinson that Christ was wrong to expel the money-changers from the Temple, that he "took much after his Mother And in so far he was one of the worst of men," and in Jerusalem Los says of him, "by his Maternal Birth he is that Evil-One" (90:35; E247/K736). It is part of Christ's sacrifice to assume from his mother the corruption of the Natural Man, which he must then put off before he can again become one with the Father. The point is repeated in "The Everlasting Gospel":

He took on Sin in the Virgins Womb
And put it off on the Cross & Tomb
(E515/K749)

In this poem Jesus, though dear to Blake, is not flawless. The Father, Himself vindictive in His separation from the Son ("Gods Mercy & Long Suffering / Is but the Sinner to Judgment to bring" [E512/K753]), rebukes Jesus for his degrading humility:

And when he Humbled himself to God
Then descended the Cruel Rod
If thou humblest thyself thou humblest me
Thou also dwellest in Eternity
(E511/K752)

When God goes on to command "Thou on the Cross for them [i.e. sinners] shalt pray," Jesus indignantly refuses and confesses to past error:

I never will Pray for the World
Once [I] did so when I prayd in the Garden
I wished to take with me a Bodily Pardon
(E512/K753)

Even the Jesus who, as the seventh Eye of God, "Died willing beneath Tirzah & Rahab" (E366/K351), though glorious in self-sacrifice, is not perfect, for the Seven Eyes have to unite with each other and with the Eighth, the sleeping Humanity, to become "One Man Jesus the Saviour" (Milton 42:11; E142/K534)--the fullness of the Divine Humanity itself.

Blake uses "the Names Divine / Of Jesus & Jehovah" (E266/K771) in two ways. Sometimes--as in the Prologue to The Gates of Paradise, the Laozor, and the second Job engraving--"Jehovah" denotes the Father separated to a greater or lesser extent from the Son. More often, this sacred name is reserved for the Divine Humanity, who can manifest as Father, Son, or Holy Spirit, but in whom the Father and Son

5 Blake, Illustrations for The Book of Job (1825), plate 2. Courtesy of the Tate Gallery.

6 Blake, Illustrations for The Book of Job (1825), plate 17. Courtesy of the Tate Gallery.
are contained. (Since the Holy Spirit, according to
the Western tradition, proceeds from the Father and
the Son, there is no question of its becoming cut
off or incompleted.) It is Jehovah the Divine
Humanity whose Covenant is the forgiveness of sins,\(^4\)
whose Spirit is the Divine Mercy,\(^5\) whose visions
inspire the poet,\(^6\) and who, as the Father, "maketh
his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and
sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust."\(^7\)
In the fragmentary illuminated manuscript of the early
chapters of Genesis, that Blake prepared in his last
years, he tries to distinguish the fierce, fallen
Elohim from the merciful Jehovah. He inserts each of
these names once, and only once, in the King
James text, making the serpent promise Eve "ye shall
be as Gods (Elohim)" (iii.5) and making Eve acknowledge
after Cain's birth, "I have gotten a man from Jehovah" (iv.1).
Jehovah also appears, standing opposite Christ, on both versions of the title-page preceding the text, where the Holy Ghost strides over their heads emphasizing the balance between them.
However, some of the drawings (often indistinct) which punctuate the text show the Elohim—the Father separated from the Son and often accompanied by two angels—creating first the universe and then, probably, Adam, from whom he splits off Eve. The final sketch seems to depict Jehovah, the Divine Humanity, kissing the brow of Cain, over whose birth he presided and on whom he now places, as Blake's chapter heading tells us, the mark of
forgiveness.\(^8\)

Occasionally, as in "The Everlasting Gospel," Blake employs the name Jesus for the Son severed from the Father, but usually he indicates by it the Divine Humanity, in whom all the Persons are in fact comprehended. Thus Blake's rendering of the Lord's Prayer can begin "Jesus our Father who art in thy
Heavens call'd by thy Name the Holy Ghost" (E658/
K788), and in plate 3 of Jerusalem he speaks of "Jesus our Lord, who is the God of Fire and Lord of
Love" (E144/K621) showing that in this Jesus, as
Morton Paley observes, Boehme's First and Second Principles coalesce.\(^9\) Marrying word and image, Blake uses the quotations from John x and xiv in the lower margin of his seventeenth illustration to Job to show that within the Father who appears in the four preceding plates the Son also is present. In the Rosenwald drawing of the Last Judgment (c. 1810), some of the divisions represented in The Fall of Man are healed: at the top of the design human beings, as Blake tells us (E552/K613), are again in
Paradise, and the Father is united with the Son
in the person of Jesus sitting on Jehovah's throne.\(^9\)
In conceiving the Godhead thus, Blake is following
Swedenborg, who condemned this conventional Trinitarianism as atheistic and held that the three Persons were
all present in Christ, whom he regarded as the
incarnation of Jehovah.\(^8\)

Being a poet and artist, Blake thinks primarily in
images and is less concerned with strict consist-
sistency than is a philosopher. Nevertheless, when
he is first overwhelmed by the horrors of Experience
he begins a long search for a coherent solution to
the problem of evil. Passing through non-dualism
and a quasi-Gnosticism, he reaches his final position
about 1800. Confronted with an apparent contradic-
tion at the heart of this position, a grossly in-

consistent use of the name Jehovah, critics have
tended to be evasive or perfunctory. However, an
investigation of the problem reveals that Blake
develops a daring theology rooted in Boehme to enable
him to sustain with equal fervor a passionate devotion to the Trinitarian God of Christianity and an unmitigating protest against the life-denying cruelty of the moral law and the created universe.

---


4. Jerusalem 73:16-28 (E226/K713); ibid. 49:52-55 (E197/K690); ibid., pl. 77-11, 21-22 of the blank verse (E230/K718).

5. David Hume, Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion (1779), Part X. The Lisbon earthquake undermined the faith of the most illustrious Deist—Voltaire.


7. He is identified, for example, with Urien in The Book of Urizen (1794) (25:39-42--E82/K303), with the Elohim as opposed to Jehovah in conversation with Robinson (Blake, Blake Records, p. 545), and as the maker of the Natural Man in the chapter headings of the fragmentary illuminated manuscript of Genesis (E667/K333--dated 1826-27 by Keynes).

8. It is just possible, however, that, as Bernard Blackstone implies--English Blake (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1949), p. 361, n. 1—the poet is here identifying "the heaven and the earth" of the first verse of the Bible with that which existed prior to any fall, "the Eternal Creation Flowing from the Divine Humanity in Jesus" (E543/K444), the Nature that shrunk before the shrunken eyes of Har and Heva (E66/K245).


11 Letter to Flaxman, 12 Sept. 1800 (E580/K999) and Bentley, Blake Records, p. 313. For The Marriage, see n. 38 below.


13 The title-page is dated 1797. For a discussion of Blake’s conception of the Trinity, see Frye, Fearful Symmetry, pp. 52-53.

14 The line is not included in H. M. Mangelouth’s reconstruction of the earlier version of the epic—William Blake’s Vara: Blake’s Numbered Text (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956).


16 Cf., for example, The Four Zoas, Night the First:

Then those in Great Eternity not in the Council of God
As one Man for correcting their Exalted Senses
They behold Multitude or Expanding they behold as one
As One Man all the universal family & that one Man
They call Just One what in them & he in them
Live in Perfect harmony . . .

(E306/K277)

It is part of Albion’s error to declare on the brink of his fall,
"We are not One: we are Many" (Jeremiah 4:23; E145/K622).


21 Reproduced in color as pl. 17 of William Vaughan, William Blake (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977). I have also examined the original in the British Museum.

22 Jean Hagstrum (Poet and Painter, p. 126) notes that in the fourth design Christ hides the face of the father but does not mention the latter’s reappearance in the next illustration. Nor does David Bindman, who sees in Christ Offered to Re deem Man the wrathful Father in despair (Blake as an artist, pp. 188-89). The hovering figure is identified by Baker as “the Eternal Father” (Catalogue, p. 18), by Marcia R. Pointon as “the Almighty” (Wilson & English Art (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1970), p. 147), and by Edward J. Rose as Milton’s God the Father, an “Agod Presence” who “tries to pervert Messiah by sending him to rout the rebel angels” (“Blake’s Illustrations for Paradise Lost, L’Allegro, and Il Penseroso: A Thematic Reading,” Harvard Studies in Literature, 2 [1970], 40-67).


24 Reproduced as pl. 97 of Roe, Illustrations to the Divine Comedy.

25 See n. 15 above. I have inspected the original in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, on which it is clear that Death’s feet are not shackled as seems possible from the reproduction.


27 Blake’s Illustrations to Job, pp. 80-83, 204.


31 From the passage quoted above. Cf. also the references to the Elohim in the prose introduction, Jerusalem, pl. 27 (E170/K649), and in Bentley, Blake Records, p. 545.

32 New Apocalypses, p. 137.

33 Emily S. Hamblen—Minor Prophesies, p. 366—extends this passage, and Michael J. Tolley—"Blake’s ‘Edens Flood’ Again," Notes and Queries 213 (January 1968), 11-19—notes its apparent inconsistency with the favorable references to the Holy Spirit present at Creation which precede and follow it. See also Tolley, “William Blake’s Use of the Bible in a Section of ‘The Everlasting Gospel,’” Notes and Queries, 207 (May 1962), 171-76.


35 Bindman, Blake as an artist, pl. 112 and p. 138.

36 See n. 1 above. Irene Tylor, in "Blake’s Lacoön," Blake Newsletter 10 (Winter 1976-77), 72-81, argues that Lacoön is a prophet corrupted by giving his allegiance to the war and domination of the covenant of Priam instead of to the forgiveness of sins of the Covenant of Jehovah; yet she mentions that he is himself identified with Jehovah. His being the Father in a degenerate form resolves the contradiction.

37 The verse which Blake cites here as alluding to this spirit—Exodus xiv.19—actually speaks of “the angel of Elohim.”

38 Bentley, Blake Records, p. 311. This statement may be anticipated by the Devil’s declaration on pl. 6 of The Marriage of Heaven and Hell: “Know that after Christ’s death, he became Jehovah” (E315/K150). If so, the Son there represents reason, the Father energy—cf. Martin K. Nurni, Blake’s Marriage of Heaven


41 Hazard Adams finds unresolved confusion in this passage (Shorter Poems, p. 197). Cf. also Rainé, Blake and Tradition, II, 313-14. A few lines earlier Jesus displays a wrath which might be thought more characteristic of the Father; however it is not here contended that Blake's Father and Son embody precisely the qualities of Boehme's First and Second Principles, but that, like those Principles, each is incomplete and therefore imperfect without the other. For Jesus' character in the poem, see Jean Hall, "Blake's Everlasting Gospel," Blake Studies, 4 (1971), 61-72.

42 Sloss and Wills observe--Prophetic Writings, I, 200-01--that "Jesus is normally the Divine Humanity and not merely one of its agents." Harold Bottrall notes--Blake's Apocalypse, p. 441, n. 6--that in having all seven Eyes comprehended in Jesus, Blake is following a hint in Revelation v. 8. Cf. also Damon, Philosophy and Symbols, p. 368.


44 Annotations to Wordsworth's The Excursion, E656/K784.

45 The subtitle and dedication of The Ghost of Abel (E658/K779).

46 Matthew v.45, alluded to in Blake's inscriptions on his illustrations to Dante (E669/K785).


49 Reproduced Damon, Dictionary, IIIus. I. Anne Mellor makes the same observation about the Jesus in the 1808 Petworth painting of the Last Judgment (Blake's Human Form Divine, p. 223). The device can be traced back to the Pollok House painting of 1806.

50 See, for example, The True Christian Religion, 170, and The Divinity of the New Jerusalem Concerning the Lord, 30-31. J. G. Davies (Theology of Blake, p. 37), Margaret Bottrall (Divine Image, pp. 44-45), and Kathleen Raine (Blake and Tradition, II, 202) make some of these points. Morton D. Paley--"A New Heaven is Begun," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 13 (Fall 1979), 64-90--observes that Blake's interest in Swedenborg seems to have revived around 1800, which is about the time that he showed a renewed awareness of the Trinity.
The first complete catalogue of

The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake

Martin Butlin

The culmination of over twenty years of research, these two beautifully produced volumes include all of Blake's paintings, watercolors, drawings, and color prints. Full descriptions are provided with each entry and, where appropriate, the symbolism and significance of the works and their relation to Blake's thought and writings are also discussed. Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art. 919 black-and-white illus. + 239 colorplates 2 vol. set $250.00 ($300.00 after 12/81)

Yale University Press
New Haven and London

Symbol and Truth in Blake's Myth

Leopold Damrosch, Jr.

In a controversial examination of the conceptual bases of Blake's myth, Leopold Damrosch argues that his poems contain fundamental contradictions which reflect his profound sensitivity to human experience. Invoking a wide range of contexts, from modern theories of symbolism to the works of writers such as Augustine, Boehme, Cusanus, and Hegel, the author considers Blake's problem epistemologically, psychologically, ontologically, and aesthetically.

35 illustrations.

Cloth, $25.00.
Limited Paperback Edition, $9.50

Write for our Language and Literature catalogue.

Princeton University Press • Princeton, New Jersey 08540
Works of William Blake, bearing no publisher’s imprint and dated 1876 on its title page, has posed a minor conundrum in Blake scholarship. The title page announces it as “Reproduced in Facsimile From the Original Editions. One hundred copies printed for private circulation.” It is a facsimile of very poor quality, yet it made available for the first time complete reproductions of Songs of Innocence and of Experience, The Book of Thel, Visions of the Daughters of Albion, America, Europe, The Book of Urizen, and The Song of Los. These were not to appear in facsimile again until William Muir’s considerably better productions of 1884-90. Thus Works has some historical importance as a pioneering albeit seriously flawed project, but the circumstances of its publication have never been made clear up to now. In the Keynes Bibliography it is assigned to the publisher F. S. Ellis, while the Bentley Blake Books gives no publisher for Works under the main entry and assigns the facsimiles to John Pearson in individual entries for each illuminated book. In “A Supplement to Blake Books” (Blake: An Illustrated Quarterly, 11 [1977-78], 148), Professor Bentley suggests that “The sponsor, who is not identified in the book, may be Andrew Chatto.” It now can be shown that the publisher was definitely Chatto and Windus, that the actual date of publication was 1878, and that Works was probably the abortive result of an ambitious plan for a complete Blake facsimile originally conceived by John Camden Hotten.

In 1868 John Camden Hotten published the first complete facsimile of one of Blake’s illuminated books, The Marriage of Heaven and Hell. As I have shown elsewhere, this was intended as the first volume in a series which Hotten announced as “facsimile copies (exact as to paper, printing—the water-colour drawings being filled in by an artist) of each illuminated book written and illustrated by William Blake.” This plan was evidently set back by the sudden death in 1868 of Hotten’s artist, Henry John Bellars. It appears that Hotten had difficulty in finding another facsimilist of Bellars’ skill, for on 8 September 1870 Hotten wrote to the printers Banks & Co.: “I may ask if you have an artist who can successfully reduce Cruikshank’s etchings & draw on stone (or engrave), the printing to be done in colours like the plates to Tom and Jerry.” When Hotten died in 1873 at the age of forty, no further Blake facsimiles had been issued.

After Hotten’s death, a chestful of drawings after Blake, some of which may have been studies by Bellars for the projected facsimile, was found in Hotten’s cellar. These drawings were bought by the New York dealer J. W. Bouton and offered for sale as genuine Blakes, laying the ground for the story of the “John Camden Hotten forgeries.” Meanwhile Hotten’s business was acquired by his former publishing associate Andrew Chatto, who was joined in partnership by W. E. Windus. The plan for an extensive Blake facsimile was not abandoned, and in the following year considerable progress was made on it. On 17 September 1874 Chatto wrote to William Michael Rossetti, who had assisted Hotten with his Blake projects:

Dear Sir

I send herewith sample proofs of facsimiles of six more of Wm Blake’s works. When carefully coloured by hand they will look wonderfully like the originals.

Printed on paper the present size the whole of Blakes works might be contained in 2 volumes, but I think it will be desirable to strike off a few copies to be sold separately on paper the approximate size of the originals.

Yours very faithfully,
Andrew Chatto

Chatto must have found, however, that the time required was longer than had been anticipated, for
his ledger shows that on 17 November 1877, he ordered one hundred sets of "Blake reproductions" to be printed by Banks and that on 26 January 1878, 103 printed sets were dispatched to the binder Sotheran. This was a lithographic reproduction, indicated by the ledger notation "Illustrations: Stone Bonds rubbed off." (Possibly the lithographic stones had previously been used for printing bonds. The word could equally be "bands," but this makes no sense.) The costs were £100—a surprisingly large sum, especially in view of the poor quality of the work—paid to an unnamed artist, £37/10 for printing and £21 for binding. The disposition of stock is not indicated, an unusual feature in these meticulously kept ledger books.

In their list for 1877, Chatto and Windus advertised the facsimile as follows:

**"One hundred copies printed for private circulation"**

Reprinted in facsimile from the excessively rare Original Editions. 1789-94. Printed on one side only. Apparently the advertisement was issued before Bouton had seen a copy of Works, since the facsimile is not "in the original colors," though Chatto had intended that it be. When Bouton advertised Works of William Blake in his catalogue 63 (c. 1885), the wording was almost identical with that of catalogue 56, but mention of color was omitted.

With this information in mind, we are in a position to reconstruct the circumstances leading to the publication of Works. The facsimile scheme was initiated by John Camden Hotten and taken over after Hotten's death by his successor Andrew Chatto. Some proofs were ready in September 1874. Publication was anticipated for 1876, for a letterpress title page bearing that date was printed. (The absence of a publisher's imprint is not inconsistent with the practice of the time: neither Hotten's 1868 Marriage nor Pearson's 1877 Jerusalem bears one.) The plan was to issue a hand-colored facsimile, and some colored proofs may have been prepared, but possibly owing to the poor quality of the facsimile work, the book was issued uncolored and reduced in its scope. The Marriage of Heaven and Hell, still available in Hotten's edition, was left out, and so were Blake's two longest illuminated books, Milton and Jerusalem. The collection was published in a single volume in 1878.

**Works by William Blake**

A reproduction of the Original issues of the works of this remarkable Artist, comprising "Songs of Innocence and Experience," 55 leaves (1789); "Book of Thel," 8 leaves, 1789; "America, a Prophecy," 18 leaves, 1793; "The First Book of Urizen," 26 leaves, 1794; "The Song of Los," 8 leaves (1794). Carefully printed on heavy plate paper in the original colors. 1 vol. folio, hf. roxb., morocco, gilt top, uncut. $22.50.
(including the rejected "A Divine Image"). The foliation corresponds to that of no known original copy: no *Songs of Innocence* ends in "Laughing Song," and in *Works* the "Introduction" to *Songs of Experience* comes not at the beginning but after seventeen other poems! The inclusion of "A Divine Image," makes it likely that the original used was, as Bentley (*Blake Books*, p. 426) suggests, copy a, which had been sold to the British Museum by B. M. Pickering in 1864. "Laughing Song," missing from copy a, could have been supplied from copy T, in the British Museum since 1856. However, Dr. David Bindman informs me that copy BB, recently sold in London, also contains "A Divine Image." This copy must therefore be considered an alternative source. Its location was unknown from 1830 on.

2. *The Book of Thel*, 8 leaves. Copy D, in the British Museum Print Room since 1856, had already been used for the reproduction of the *Thel* title page in A. C. Swinburne's *William Blake*, published by Hotten in 1868. Presumably copy D was also used for *Works*.

3. *Visions of the Daughters of Albion*, 11 leaves. Two copies, A and B, were in the British Museum Print Room. Presumably one of these was used. According to Bentley (*Blake Books*, p. 473), it was B.

4. *America*, 18 leaves. The clue to identification here is the number of tails on the serpent in plate 13. In the various original copies, the serpent has either three tails or one. The serpent of *Works* has three, and so must derive from one of the following copies: E, F, G, I, K, or L. Bentley (*Blake Books*, p. 102) suggests that copy F, acquired by the British Museum in 1859, was the one used.

5. *Europe*, 17 leaves. In *Works* the "Ancient of Days" frontispiece is placed after the title page by mistake. Page 3, found only in copies H and K, is not present. A very likely source is copy D (as Bentley, *Blake Books*, p. 181, suggests); this had also been acquired by the British Museum in 1859. There is, however, one other possibility--copy F. In plate 18 (numbered 15 in *Works*) of the facsimile a garment obscures the penis of the male figure. This may well be a concession to Victorian prudery, but it may be significant that the penis is similarly obscured in copy F. (Owing to the fragility of the original, it has not been possible to obtain a

---

3 Freehand drawing of an enlarged detail from plate 18, copy F. In the original the cloth is colored pink.

2 *Europe*, plate 17. From 1876 *Works* (where it is numbered 15). By permission of the Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

photograph, but I have made a freehand drawing of this detail.) In the other copies, the male figure is nude, though as Bentley (Blake Books, p. 156) notes, "in copy D there are lines on the man's left hip as if to represent cloth, but the cloth is not colored." Copy F was acquired in 1866 by B. M. Pickering. Pickering later sold it to an unknown collector whose monogram was D W. It is now in the Berg Collection of the New York Public Library.

As we have seen, it is virtually certain that the records in the Chatto and Windus ledger entry headed "Blake reproductions" refer to the "1876 Works." One other hypothesis concerning these records should be mentioned here. Blake Books assigns the facsimile of Jerusalem hitherto attributed to John Pearson to Chatto and Windus on the basis of this same ledger entry. 3 However, it seems incontrovertible that John Pearson did in fact produce the photolithographic black-and-white facsimile of copy D of Jerusalem in 1877. Two reliable sources indicate this. John Muir, in a prospectus included with his facsimile of The Song of Los (1890), asserts that he has not published a Jerusalem because Pearson has already done so. As Pearson acted as the distributor of Muir's first four Blake facsimiles in 1884, 10 Muir was surely in a position to know who had published Jerusalem in 1877. Furthermore, E. W.

Hooper, who bought Pearson's original copy (now in the Harvard University Library), wrote: "Blake's 'Jerusalem' was reproduced by John Pearson, bookseller of London. A Copy of this reproduction is in the Boston Public Library. I have compared the reproduction carefully page by page with my own hand tinted copy (which I bought from John Pearson) and find it was taken from my copy." 11 There was no reason for Pearson, a reputable dealer and collector with a special interest in Blake, 12 to misrepresent the origin of the Jerusalem facsimile. It should therefore be restored to his credit as publisher, and the Chatto and Windus ledger entry must be taken to refer to the "1876 Works.


3 G. E. Bentley, Jr., Blake Books (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1977), pp. 501, 102, 159, 126, 101, 426, 473. Professor Bentley now agrees that Works should be attributed to Chatto and Windus and the 1877 Jerusalem to John Pearson, and has kindly given me the benefit of his criticism in the preparation of this note. I am also indebted to Professor Robert N. Essick for invaluable information.


5 Quotations from the letters of John Camden Hotten and of Andrew Chatto are from the copies in the Letter Books of Chatto and Windus, to whom I am grateful for permission to use them.

6 Ledger 3, p. 185. The Huntington Library copy of Work bears the stamp of the binder Bone, who also worked extensively for Hotten and for Chatto. It may be that Sotheby farmed out some of the binding to Bone.

7 From an unpaginated list appended to Choice Humorous Works by Mark Twain (London: Chatto and Windus, 1877).

The readings should of course be "Songs of Innocence and of Experience" and "Visions of the Daughters of Albion." The latter was published in 1793, not 1789; The Book of Thel bears the publication date 1799 and not 1794; and The Song of Los was published in 1795 not 1794. For some reason The Book of Los, the sole known copy of which had been sold to the British Museum in 1866, was not part of the plan. Neither was The Book of Mania, the sole known copy of which was then in the collection of Lord Houghton. The first facsimiles of these two books were published by E. J. Ellis and W. B. Yeats in volume III of The Works of William Blake, Poetical, Symbolic and Critical (London: B. Quaritch, 1893).

8 Blake Books, p. 264. Professor Bentley agrees that this hypothesis should now be withdrawn, and in "A Supplement to Blake Books," p. 148, he identifies Pearson as the publisher.

9 Pearson issued a prospectus in that year, but after Pearson's retirement from business in 1885, Bernard Quaritch became Muir's agent.

10 From a note by Hooper on a card accompanying copy D of Jerusalem in the Harvard University Library.

11 Pearson owned the former Flaxman copy of Songs of Innocence, copy D, from which Muir's facsimile was produced in 1884. He also owned a copy of Poetical Sketches and a rather dubious-sounding water color showing "a number of nude figures being led captive by a devil, and others following; the great head of a marine monster, in the mouth of which are several figures, etc." --Catalogue of the Valuable and Interesting Library formed during the past 40 years by Mr. John Pearson (Sold in consequence of declining health). The Third Portion. Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodges. Tues., 7 Nov. 1916 and following day (nos. 40, 41, 42).
REVIEWs

ROMANTIC CONTEXT: POETRY
Significant Minor Poetry 1789-1830
Printed in photo-facsimile in 128 volumes
Selected and Arranged by Donald H. Reiman

The Garland Facsimiles of the Poetry of James Montgomery
James Montgomery. Prison Amusements and the Wanderer of Switzerland, Greenland and Abdallah, Verses to the Memory of the Late Richard Reynolds/The World Before the Flood, The Chimney Sweeper's Friend.
Reviewed by Judy Page

Portrait of Montgomery from Vol IV of Holland & Everett's Memoirs from The Boston Public Library.

If you were asked to name the significant minor writers of the Romantic period, you would probably think of Southey or Crabbe or even John Clare before James Montgomery. And yet, in his day Montgomery was known in England and America as a poet, essayist, and humanitarian. His popular Wanderer of Switzerland, a tribute to the fight against French tyranny, inspired Byron to claim that it was "worth a thousand 'Lyrical Ballads' and at least fifty 'degraded epics.'" Although Byron's enthusiasm was extravagant, the historical and social range of Montgomery's work and his relationship to the major English Romantics make him interesting to modern critics.

The Garland Publishing Company's five-volume facsimile edition allows us to view Montgomery's works in their original form, with the poet's prefaces and dedications, as well as with illustrations by contemporary engravers. While British and American collections of Montgomery are available in most university libraries, the originals are rare. Furthermore, with facsimiles, we can appreciate the poems as books that, like the Songs of Innocence and of Experience and the Lyrical Ballads, were designed to have a certain impact on an audience.

The Garland reproductions do not necessarily represent the poems that Montgomery thought to be his best and collected in his Poetical Works of James Montgomery (1836). Nor do the volumes include the works for which Montgomery is best remembered today, the Christian hymns and imitations of psalms. They emphasize instead Montgomery's relationship to the themes and commitments of the English Romantics: Prison Amusements are written when Montgomery is imprisoned for libel during the repressive 1790s; The Wanderer of Switzerland reflects disillusionment with the course of the French Revolution; The West Indies celebrates the abolition of the slave trade in England in 1807; and The World Before the Flood is Montgomery's self-consciously Miltonic poem.

Donald H. Reiman's editorial choices generally make sense from this perspective, although I wonder why the Verses to the Memory of the Late Richard Reynolds (1816) were reproduced with The World Before the Flood (1813), since the poems offer nothing but sincere praise for a pious Quaker from Bristol. Perhaps instead of these Verses, the series could have included Pelican Island (1827), Montgomery's last long poem and his only venture in blank verse. Also, the facsimiles, necessarily without modern editorial comments, would be more useful with new, separate introductions covering the material in each volume, instead of Reiman's general essay.

Montgomery was born in Scotland in 1771, the son of Moravian missionaries. When he was six years old, his parents left for the West Indies after placing him in the Moravian School at Fulneck near
Leeds. He excelled for a while, but became more dedicated to poetry than to the required curriculum. After leaving Fulneck, trying several jobs, and unsuccessfully peddling his poems in London, Montgomery was hired as a clerk on the Sheffield Register by the editor Joseph Gales. When Gales fled to America in 1794 under the threat of political imprisonment, Montgomery took over the paper, now the Sheffield Iris, and remained editor until 1825. During these years and until his death in 1854, Montgomery published several volumes of poetry, reviewed other poetry in the Eclectic Review, lectured on belles lettres and literary history in London, and participated in the workaday world of Sheffield.

Such is the bare outline of Montgomery's life. But Montgomery, like Wordsworth, would no doubt have directed us to look for his life in his works. The Garland facsimiles invite us to view the works chronologically from Prison Amusements in the 1790s through The Chimney Sweeper's Friend and Climbing Boy's Album, published in 1824 a year before his retirement from the Iris.

The first volume includes both Prison Amusements and The Wanderer of Switzerland, the former published in 1797 in London under the pseudonym Paul Positive as Prison Amusements, and Other Trifles: Principally written during Nine Months of Confinement in the Castle of York. Montgomery found himself in York Castle twice as a result of his position as editor at a time when charges of libel and sedition were regularly leveled. But Montgomery was not a Radical; the motto of the Iris read "Ours are the plans of fair, delightful Peace, / Unwarped by party rage, / To live like brothers" (Memoirs, I, 175). Montgomery warned that the staff of the Iris "Have not scrupled to declare themselves friends to the cause of Peace and Reform, however such a declaration may be likely to expose them in the present times of alarm to obnoxious epithets and unjust and ungenerous reproaches. . . . they scorn the imputations which would represent every reformer as a Jacobin, and every advocate for peace as an enemy to his King and country" (Memoirs, I, 177).

Although Montgomery commented bravely on politics in the Iris, his Prison Amusements deal neither with the political climate nor with the events leading up to his imprisonment. They are simply about passing the time in prison. In the lyrics and verse epistles in the volume, Montgomery uses conventional imagery and allegorical plot structures featuring free-spirited robins and captive nightingales. Because his treatment of his situation is superficial and his allegorical pose suggests a distance incompatible with often inflated language, the poems remain trifles. Their occasion may be curious and revealing, but the texts are limp.

The Wanderer of Switzerland and other Poems, published in London and printed by Montgomery in 1806, has more life. Montgomery wrote The Wanderer in a ballad meter and structured it as a dialogue between a Swiss patriot forced to flee his homeland after the French invasion and a hospitable Shepherd living "beyond the frontiers." The theme of natural liberty against political tyranny and what Daniel Parken of the Eclectic Review termed Montgomery's "warmth of sentiment" (Memoirs, II, 84) attracted British readers. But even the sympathetic Parken noted that the metrical style and debate structure were monotonous in a long, six-part poem, and that Montgomery's expression was not "brilliant" (Memoirs, II, 84). In the Edinburgh Review, Francis Jeffrey was typically less charitable, charging that "Mr. Montgomery has the merit of smooth versification, blameless morality, and a sort of sickly affection of delicacy and fine feelings, which is apt to impose on the amiable part of the young and the illiterate" (Memoirs, II, 133).

Perhaps Montgomery himself best explains both the popularity of The Wanderer and its failings in a comment written years later: "the original plan of a dramatic narrative for a poem of any length beyond a ballad was radically wrong, and nothing perhaps but a little novelty (now gone by) and the peculiar interest of the subject—that once romantic and familiar to our earliest feelings and personal possessions in favour of liberty, simplicity, the pastoral life, and the innocence of olden times—could have secured to such a piece any measure of popularity" (Memoirs, III, 221). The form of The Wanderer does seem wrong because the regularity of ballad rhythms is not complemented by a sparse, fast-paced narrative of events—the style of the traditional folk ballad deadened any of Montgomery's Lyrical Ballads, and of Montgomery's own "Vigil of St. Mark."
Furthermore, despite the debate structure, the poem lacks dramatic development.

In "The Vigil of St. Mark" (published with The Wanderer, pp. 137-46) Montgomery fuses ballad rhythms with structural compression. This poem is based on a legend, which Keats used in his fragmentary "Eve of St. Mark," that on this eve the ghosts of all the people who will die in the coming year walk in a gloomy procession. In Montgomery's poem, a nobleman named Edmund sees his love Ella in such a procession while he is away from home; he arrives home to discover Ella's funeral procession, a scene described in eerie flashes of action and a quick rhythm:

'Twas evening: all the air was balm,
   The heavens serenely clear;
   When the soft magic of a psalm
   Came pensive o'er his ear.

Then sunk his heart; a strange surmise
   Made all his blood run cold:
   He flew,—a funeral met his eyes;
   He paused,—a death-bell roll'd.

The poem then concludes with a vision of Edmund walking with Ella's ghost on each eve of St. Mark. Montgomery compresses the narrative but suggests action by showing the result of events, their emotional impact.

There are other good poems in the volume, such as "The Common Lot," but many of the pieces share the same weakness: Montgomery presents a situation as allegorical or metaphorical and then explains it, making it so fixed and brittle that it loses whatever imaginative freedom it had. In "The Snow-Drop" (pp. 154-60), for example, the narrator discovers a snowdrop on a walk and welcomes it as a harbinger of spring. But then the power of the metaphor is explained away:

There is a Winter in my soul,
The Winter of despair;
O when shall Spring its rage controul? When shall the SNOW-DROP blossom there?

Despite its poetic weaknesses, The Wanderer of Switzerland and other Poems established Montgomery as more than the editor of the Iris. In response to this popularity, Robert Bowyer of Pall Mall asked Montgomery to write a poem celebrating the parliamentary bill outlawing the slave trade in England. Bowyer wanted to publish a volume of several poems accompanied by engravings which would illustrate selected passages. Long devoted to abolition and remembering his parents who died helping slaves in the West Indies, Montgomery wrote The West India, a poem which traces the history of the slave trade from the days of Columbus to the present. Besides Montgomery's poems and engravings by Rainbach, Scriver, and Worthington from illustrations by Smirke, the volume includes shorter poems by James Grahame and Elizabeth Benger, as well as prose sketches of the activities of Granville Sharpe, Thomas Clarkson, and William Wilberforce. Bowyer's idea was to produce a magnificent volume founded on the principle of making the sister arts "allies" in the cause of freedom. But the distance between...
conception and execution was great, and the relationship of poetry to illustration has nothing of the imaginative tension of Blake's illustrated poems. When the book was finally published in 1809 after many printing delays and problems with the engravers, it did not sell quickly, although Montgomery's later, less expensive edition of *The West Indies* had a wider circulation.

The narrative of *The West Indies* wanders the globe as Montgomery progresses through the history of the slave trade, showing the degeneration that profiteering in human lives brought on master and slave alike, the one a "tether'd tyrant of one narrow span; The bloated vampire of a living man" (Part III, 11. 235-36) and the other "dead in spirit" and "toil degraded" (Part IV, 1. 59). The poem ends cheerfully with a vision of the entire world renovated from slavery to freedom as a result of British leadership and the establishment of the "church of God" (1. 266) in the wilderness. Choosing to ignore the ambiguities surrounding the slavery debates, Montgomery confidently sees the freedom of all men and women leading to the millennium:

--All hail!--the age of crime and suffering ends;
The reign of righteousness from heaven descends;
Vengeance for ever sheathes the afflicting sword;
Death is destroy'd, and Paradise restor'd;
Man, rising from the ruins of his fall,
Is one with GOD, and GOD is All in All.  

(11. 279-84)

Although sincere and passionate, *The West Indies* often lapses into long sermons on the plight of slaves. Montgomery is too eager for the poem to succeed as social history and rhetoric: he even provides his own footnotes on such works as Clarkson's *History of the Abolition*, Captain Stedman's *Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition* (which Blake illustrated), and Mungo Park's *Travels*. Furthermore, the poem suffers from typical formal ailments; Montgomery's heroic couplets are tiring and his explanations of conventional imagery annoying: "Bondage is winter, darkness, death, despair / Freedom the sun, the sea, the mountains, and the air" (Part I, 155-56).

In *The West Indies*, which Romantically begins with the origins of history and ends with the "New Creation," Montgomery planned a poem on a grand scale. Like his greater contemporaries, he also wanted to write an epic poem; he judged his lesser pieces the way Keats more wrongly judged his shorter works: as trifles. Even as a schoolboy Montgomery tried to write epics—one based on Genesis and Milton and the other on the achievements of Alfred the Great. With the example of Milton always before him, Montgomery longed to write of things yet unattempted in prose or rhyme, even though he sensed early in his career that he might never succeed.  

The World Before the Flood, the major poem in the next Garland volume, represents Montgomery's attempt on a Biblical theme. Inspired by the eleventh book of *Paradise Lost*, Montgomery set out to write an account of the struggle between the Patriarchs of God and the Giants of the Earth descended from Cain. Montgomery borrows liberally from *Paradise Lost*, often, it seems, relying on the
associations that readers would have with Milton's imagery and scenes. For instance, when Montgomery wants to underscore the moral and theological confusion of the assembly of Giants, he reminds us of the discord of Pandemonium:

A shout of horrible applause, that rent
The echoing hills and answering firmament,
Burst from the Giants,—where in barbarous state,
Flush'd with new wine, around their king they sate;
A Chieftan each, who, on his brazen car,
Had led a host of meaneer men to war.

(Canto 8, p. 146)

Montgomery wants to give the Giants reality by using the Miltonic context, just as Milton brings the Fallen Angels to life by identifying them with the pagan gods.

In letters written at the time, Montgomery claimed that he was inspired by Milton's Enoch, one of the Just Men in Paradise Lost, a man like Abdiel and the poet-hero Milton, who resists the temptations of cheap glory. But the focus in The World Before the Flood, as far as there is a center in this loosely-constructed poem, is on Javan, the prodigal poet who returned to the land of the Patriarchs after succumbing to temptations of fame and glory. Montgomery was more attracted to the greater humanity of the flawed poet than to the rock-like Just Man. Like Wordsworth, he was moved by the human misery of the eleventh book, and like Keats, he wanted to see more deeply into the human heart than Milton had.

Montgomery does make the tensions in Javan's heart seem real, but the character probably interests us more because we view him as a Romantic type, such as Byron's Cain, than because of the sustained power of Montgomery's creation. Byron, in fact, may have drawn on Montgomery's Javan and Zillah for his characters in Cain, although Montgomery creates an orthodox and hopeful fiction. Montgomery's characters enjoy fellowship because they have first established their faith in a God whom Byron's Cain sees as an unacceptable tyrant and whom Byron sees as a product of man's alienation from his own humanity.

The two major interests in The World Before the Flood, the story of Javan's return and the fate of the Patriarchs who are threatened by the hostile Giants, are not tightly interwoven. Nor is Montgomery's narrative skillful. The long stories of the history of the race, including the last days of Adam and Eve, do not have dramatic propriety; the storytelling is not structured so that hearing a story changes the way a character looks at the world, as the Bard's Song inspires Milton in Blake's Milton or the Wanderer's tale affects the poet in The Ruined Cottage. Javan has already returned to the flock, at least emotionally, when the poem begins; he doesn't need to be moved to action by a story. Furthermore, heroic couplets do not give Montgomery enough freedom for the extended periods that add power and variety to long narrative verse.

In the years that he was working on The World Before the Flood, Montgomery considered himself an outcast. After abandoning the Moravian religion of his youth, he lost direct contact with church members, and, while he always considered himself a Christian, he was troubled by restlessness and doubt. At the same time, he yearned for fellowship with other Christians, for the communion and community so central to the Moravian Brethren. Perhaps we can see this yearning in the character of Javan, who gives up what Milton calls "renown on Earth" (PL, XI, 698) and returns to his native land. In any event, in the year following the publication of The World Before the Flood, Montgomery officially returned to the Moravian faith and remained an active member for the rest of his life.

If The World Before the Flood is the story of the prodigal's return to his faith, Montgomery's next long poem, Greenland, is a tribute to the faithful, the Moravian missionaries who were risking their lives in an inhospitable land. Greenland—the poem and the country—had been on Montgomery's mind for years before he finally published the poem as a fragment in 1819. The first three cantos sketch the history of the Moravian church and the first voyage to Greenland in 1733; the fourth and fifth cantos refer to the lost Norwegian colonies of the tenth through fifteenth centuries. The projected cantos were to have dealt with "that moral revolution, which the gospel has wrought among these people, by reclaiming them, almost universally, from idolatry and barbarism" (Montgomery's Preface, p. vi). Although Montgomery's reasons for not completing Greenland are unclear, this sketch should indicate the difficulty of using such material with no central plot or character. The most likely assumption is that Montgomery wanted to publish the unfinished poem in order to bolster his campaign in the Iris to save the missions, and simply never returned to it. As if to strengthen the impact of the poem as propaganda, the completed cantos have long, detailed footnotes and appendices on the Moravians, information that the reader of 1819 or today could gather more efficiently from a history text. Such frequent and minute interruptions destroy the rhythmical momentum of long narrative poetry.

Despite these faults, Greenland does contain imaginative descriptive passages:

On rustling pinions, like an unseen bird,
Among the yards, a stirring breeze is heard;
The conscious vessel wakes as from a trance,
Her colours float, the filling sails advance;
While from her prow the murmuring surge recedes:
—So the swan, startled from her nest of reeds,
Swells into beauty, and with a curving chest,
Cleaves the blue lake, with motions soft as rest.

(Canto III, pp. 47-48)

What is most striking about Montgomery's imagery is the apparent influence of Shelley. Throughout Greenland Montgomery describes atmospheres full of energy and movement—rushing meteors, powerful glaciers, expanding vapours, crashing mountain ice, winds yelling like demons. The imagery of Montgomery's earlier poetry was more static and conventional; but in Greenland his images reflect the harsh and unyielding power of the natural world. Like Shelley in "Mont Blanc" (published in 1817 at
the end of the History of a Six Weeks' Tour), Montgomery invokes geological time as well as human history.

But unlike Shelley, Montgomery did not abhor didactic poetry. He wrote Greenland as veiled propaganda, and even more to the point, he edited The Chimney Sweeper's Friend and Climbing Boy's Album for the "direct enforcement of reform." This volume combines actual accounts of abuses with selected poetry, all designed to prove what Montgomery states in the Preface:

This book will exhibit such testimonies concerning the subject, in all its bearings, as ought to satisfy the most supercilious, obdurate, and prejudiced, that such an employment is inhuman, unnecessary, and altogether unjustifiable. The barbarity of the practice cannot be denied: nor can it be mitigated, for it is next to impossible to teach a child this trade at all, without the infliction of such cruelties upon his person, as would subject a master in any other business to the discipline of Bride-well, were he to exercise the like on his apprentices. Nor can any necessity, except that which is the tyrant's pleas, be proved in support of it. There are machines in use, with which ninety-nine chimneys out of a hundred might be swept... (vi-vii)

Montgomery proposes that the legislature "prohibit the masters from taking any more children as climbers" (vii) and replace human beings with machines. His central contrast recurs throughout the volume: Parliament passed a bill outlawing the trade in Negroes but it allows the trade in British children.

The Chimney Sweeper's Friend consists of pleas, testimonies, case histories, "true" stories, medical reports, legal resolutions, and petitions; the Climbing Boy's Album contains mostly poems (with the exception of brief prose fictions and a dramatic sketch) illustrating the misery of the "profession." For the Album Montgomery solicited works from all over the kingdom, getting many responses—mostly from sincere souls rather than literary talents. Some declined to contribute on the grounds that a poem on such a subject would be neither useful nor poetical: Walter Scott responded with instructions (printed in Montgomery's general preface) for constructing chimney vents so that very little soot accumulates, and what does accumulate can be cleaned with a machine; Joanna Baillie said that such a collection of poems "is just the way to have the whole matter considered by the sober pot-boilers over the whole kingdom as a fanciful and visionary thing. I wish, with all my heart, that threshing-machines and cotton-mills had first been recommended to monied men by poets" (Memoirs, IV, 61). Nevertheless, Montgomery felt that the two-part miscellany, which included three engravings by Cruickshank, would attract readers in support of the cause. And, hoping to interest the King more deeply in the plight of climbing boys, Montgomery dedicated the volume to George IV.

The Chimney Sweeper's Friend includes graphic and gruesome details of such miseries as chimney sweeper's cancer (of the scrotum), permanently deformed limbs, and stunted and crooked growth. The picture is grim: children as young as four or five sold to a master, unwashed for as long as six months, and starved so they would not grow and thrive. Masters were known to stick pins in children's feet or to light fires under them so that they would climb narrow chimneys; the instances of children dragged senseless out of chimneys either dead or soon to die occurred frequently. The massive evidence against using children is complemented by the testimony of George Smart, who invented and had been using a machine for cleaning chimneys since 1803. But repeated testimony proves that while machines existed, slavery was more profitable and some Englishmen had more reverence for their chimneys than for the children who swept them.
Beyond testaments to physical injustices, the selections include subtle personal observation. In an introductory address written by a Mrs. Ann Alexander of York for a pamphlet on the subject, the writer pleads as a mother to mothers:

Could we have endured the idea, that those who had been nursed at our bosoms, with all a mother’s tenderness; those who had repaid the toils of maternal solicitude with the sweet smiles and endearing actions of unconscious innocence; should, at the early age from five to seven years, when probably their natural or acquired dread of darkness was in full operation, be forced into the rough and obscure recesses of a chimney, in the manner described in this pamphlet? (p. 86)

Such a detail as the child’s fear of darkness adds poignancy to the evident physical dangers of sweeping. Mrs. Alexander consistently calls attention to the emotional deprivation of the children: "As climbing boys are brought up under those who had their feelings of tenderness early bluntly by their disgusting profession, and, who, probably have received little, if any, education themselves; what means of improvement can we therefore suppose such masters will provide for their apprentices?" (p. 88). This kind of life blunts the feelings and affections associated with a child’s development, so that he becomes deformed mentally as well as physically. He is deprived of the natural bonds which connect children to a responsive world.

The theme of mental and emotional deprivation runs through the pieces in the *Climbing Boy’s Album*. Many of the fictions are based on actual accounts of children either stolen from parents or sold by them to master sweeps. "The Lay of the Last Chimney Sweeper" (pp. 369-77), dated optimistically in the year 1827, tells the story of a child who for a time enjoyed a healthy, free childhood in his native glen; but when his father’s death brought hard times, his mother made her way into the city and was tricked and tempted into bartering her boy.

A sooty man, of mien austere, Pursued her steps behind; Stern were his features and severe, And yet his words were kind.

Her boy should learn his trade, he said, Nor would he aught withhold; He’d lodge him, clothe him, give him bread;— He’d show’d the tempting gold.

The lay typically contrasts natural love and country freedom with the corruption of the city. The chimney sweep becomes the outcast from society, marked by soot and deprived of fellowship.

When too, upon the village green, among the lads I stand, No friendly voice my presence hails, I press no friendly hand; I fain would mingle in their sports, but, ah! my brow doth wear A mark that bids that noisy crew my converse to beware. ("A Ballad of the House-Tops," p. 360)

Readers of this journal will be interested to find Blake’s "Chimney Sweeper" from *Innocence in the Album*, with the explanation that Charles Lamb sent the poem along in lieu of his own contribution. As far as I can tell, Blake and Montgomery had no direct contact, although Montgomery was familiar with some of Blake’s illustrations and owned a copy of the illustrations to Blair’s *The Grave*. It happens, too, that the copy of *The Chimney Sweeper’s Petard and Climbing Boy’s Album* used by Garland (from Yale’s Beinecke Library) contains on the back leaf a handwritten note that quotes Gilchrist’s comments on a strange alteration that Lamb made in the text:

In Gilchrist’s *Life of Blake* it is written:— "One poem, ‘The Chimney Sweeper,’ still calls for special notice. . . . This, I may add, was extracted 35 years later in a curious little volume (1824) of James Montgomery’s editing, as a friend of the then unprotected Climbing Boys. It was entitled “The C.S.’s F. & C. B.’s A,” a miscellany of verse and prose, original and borrowed, with illustrations by R. C. Charles Lamb, one of the living authors applied to by the kind-hearted Sheffield poet, while declining the task of rhyming on such a subject, sent a copy from the "Songs of Innocence", communicating it as "from a very rare and curious little work." At line 5, "Little Tom Dacre" is transformed by a sly blunder of Lamb’s into "Little Tom Toddy.""

Lamb’s intentions in changing the name (whatever they might have been) are not as significant as his choice of the more ambiguous song from *Innocence* than the angry one from *Experience*, in which the sweeper’s parents have gone to Church "to praise God & his Priest & King & Who make up a heaven of our misery." This choice is more politic in a volume dedicated to the current king and courting his support for the cause.

---

**MONTGOMERY’S POETICAL WORKS.**

This Day are published, in foolscap 4vo. Price 7a.

**SONGS OF ZION, BEING ILLUSTRATIONS OF PSALMS.**

By J. MONTGOMERY.

Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green. Of whom may be had, by the same Author,

GREENLAND, and other Poems, 2d Edi. 4to. Of the WORLD before the FLOOD, 4th Edi. 4to.

The WEST INDIES, and other Poems, 6th Edi. 4to.

The WANDERER of SWITZERLAND, 6th Edi. 4to.

Or the above in 2 vols, with uniform titles. 12. 12a. 12s. 12s. 6d. Also, PRINTED to the MEMORY of R. REYNOLDS, Esq. POLYTHEMIA; or Select Airs of celebrated Foreign Composers, adapted to English Words, written expressly for this Work. Price 6a.

This day is published, in 2 vols, foolscap 9vo. 12s. 6d.

**PROSE, by a POET.**

CONTENTS:— Pen, Ink, and Paper; Memoirs; Old Women; Life of a Flower, by itself; Joviality Daemonic; an Old English Year; the More malicious, a Farce; Common Place; The Forty Minis’ Tour; A Day without a Name; a Modern Combustion; the Asses, an Apologue; a Dialogue of the Alphabet; a Scene not to be found in any Play; Miranda; Extracts from my Journal at Skarbrough; the Voyage of the Blind; an Apotheosis Chapter in the History of England; a Forenoon at Harrowgate; an African Valley; the Last Day; Pastures.

Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green.

The STATE LOTTERY, a Drama. By SAMUEL HERBERT. Also, THOUGHTS ON WHEELS, a Poem. By J. MONTGOMERY. One Vol. 8vo. 7s. boards.

---
Montgomery failed because his poetry of sincerity lacks formal discipline and depth of thought. His poems often lapse into a rhetorical and preachy style that cannot rest in imaginative uncertainties; nor does he create his own sustained, coherent poetic system. The faults of much of his poetry resemble those named by Jeffrey in his review of The Excursion (Edinburgh Review [24] Nov. 1814): prolix and long-winded ideas without discipline. Overwhelmed by the sentiments of The Wanderer of Switzerland, Byron claimed in English Bards and Scotch Reviewers that Montgomery's works "might have bloomed at last" (420) if they had not been "nipped in the bud" by the "Caledonian gales" (422) of the Edinburgh Review. We do not have to agree with Byron to be grateful for the return of Montgomery's works in the shape of the Garland facsimiles.


2 The volumes are part of a Garland Series, Significant Minor Poetry, 1789-1831, ed. Donald H. Reiman. All quotations from Montgomery's poetry refer to this edition and will be cited by line or page.

3 The Greenland volume does contain some religious poems, but neither Montgomery's Christian Psalmist nor his Songs of Zion is reprinted.

4 I depend on John Holland and James Everett's seven-volume Memoirs of the Life and Writings of James Montgomery (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1854) for Montgomery's letters, speeches, and editorials, as well as for anecdotes, comments, and letters by others concerning Montgomery. I refer to this work by volume as Memoirs.

5 During his second imprisonment in York Castle, Montgomery wrote to his friend Joseph Ashton of Manchester: "I determined to rival—nay outshine—every bard of ancient or modern times! I have shed many a tear in reading some of the sublimest passages in our own poets, to think that I could not equal them. I planned and began at least a dozen epic poems ..." (Memoirs, 1, 258-59).


7 I am referring to Shelley's argument in the Preface to Prometheus Unbound that "nothing can be qually well expressed in prose that is not tedious and supererogatory in verse" (Shelley: Poetical Works, ed. Thomas Hutchinson [London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1968], p. 207).

8 Holland and Everett say that Montgomery sold his copy because "several of the plates were hardly of such a nature as to render the book proper to lie on a parlour table for general inspection," and regretted the sale when "the death of the artist soon afterwards rendered the work both scarce and proportionately valuable" (Memoirs, 1, 38).
The Spectre of Darwin
Reviewed by Nelson Hilton

"... couplets of shooting stars, lightning, the aurora borealis, fires at the earth's centre, animal incubation, volcanic mountains, calcined shells, glow worms, fire-flies, steam-engines, water engines, and 'flying chariots.'"

To consider Erasmus Darwin and Blake is to join the widening discussion over Blake's knowledge and use of Science, and the debate over the sources of his information. This discussion has thus far found its most extreme formulation in Donald Ault's important book, Visionary Physios. Ault's book, it must be said, leaves some incredulous readers with the impression that Blake compassed the *Principia*--and while that may be true, it is important for accepting Blake's active use of scientific ideas to realize that they were available through various and more popular sources. If, for example, one stands the scientifically acute Swedenborg on his head, as he did Newton, one ends up with a kind of basic Newtonianism again: core ideas can be disseminated through unlikely texts. Erasmus Darwin is similarly important for Blake studies--turned on his head, considered in the light of what he was attempting rather than the way it was realized, one could argue that Darwin is the English poet contemporary with Blake who most shares Blake's breadth of vision and his aim of ushering in the reign of "sweet science" (*PZ finis*). Whether or not Blake actually works from some of Darwin's images is not the real issue here; what is important is that Darwin represents a conduit of the latest scientific information easily available to Blake: "there is no better way," writes one historian of the period, "of ascertaining the state of science in 1789-90, or a more agreeable one, than by consulting Darwin's poems and his voluminous notes."

We can assume that Blake read *The Loves of the Plants* (*LP*), as did nearly everyone else in 1789. It was published by Joseph Johnson (as were Darwin's succeeding works) though an arrangement which Fuseli evidently helped to bring about. Two years later, Blake undoubtedly had read the succeeding volume, *The Economy of Vegetation* (*EV*, dated 1791, probably published May 1792), since he engraved and in part designed several plates for the first edition (another followed in a later edition). These two titles represent, respectively, Part II (already in a third edition) and Part I of *The Botanic Garden*, the order of publication reflecting an astute marketing decision since the more "scientific" Part I proved less spectacularly popular than the sexual double-entendres of *The Loves of the Plants*. Given this history, it seems probable that Blake also read parts of *Zoonomia* (*Z*; 1794-96), the most significant of Darwin's mammoth prose works. Almost forgotten today, *Zoonomia* enjoyed wide republication and influence, being commonly linked with such better remembered radical works as *Political Justice* and *The Age of Reason*. Primarily as the result of a concerted reactionary attack, Darwin's reputation collapsed and his posthumous poem, *The Temple of Nature* (*TN*, 1802), met with little success. However,
as the most interesting and satisfying of Darwin's poems, and one again illustrated by Fuseli, it seems likely to have attracted Blake's attention.

Like Hayley, Darwin is little read today—poetically he seems to merit regard mostly as a quintessential example of the diction against which the "Preface" to the new Lyrical Ballad exclaims. But as encyclopedias—and all three poems, with their indexes, their very extensive Notes, and still more extensive Additional Notes force that comparison—they are fascinating. And for the poet who, as W. J. T. Mitchell reminds us, delights in encyclopedic form, Darwin would represent a benighted but sincere fellow-traveller, some of whose entries were worth studying. And with respect to the present viability of Blake's science-based imagery, it is significant that Darwin was in fact one of the most knowledgeable scientific intellects of the age, making reference to the latest theoretical and experimental work in his poems and notes (for example, the OED says the The Botanic Garden offers the first English appearance of "hydrogen"). Given such an accurate state-of-the-sciences, perhaps the Poetic Genius could extrapolate future developments ("What is now proved was once, only imagin'd"). This discussion will offer some examples of how Blake could have built on images and concepts supplied by Darwin—images and concepts available elsewhere, to a regular reader of Philosophical Transactions for instance, but most accessible to us, and possibly to Blake, in their strange poetic and annotated guise.

I. PARENT POWER

The "beginning" of The Four Zoas may offer a place to start looking at Blake's "use" of Darwin. After the prayerful and oracular declarations, the poem announces, "Begin with Tharmas Parent power. darkning in the West" (4.5). We begin with Tharmas, evidently, because of an action—his darkning—and an attribution, "Parent power." To begin this way is then to begin at the beginning, but also to defer the question of origin: not the parent, but the power of parenting or generating is at stake. This suggests a curious reflection of a favorite, almost formulaic expression of Darwin's which appears first in the famous "Of Generation" section in Zoonomia and then twice in The Temple of Nature. In Zoonomia Darwin notes that Hume "places the powers of generation much above those of our boasted reason; and adds, that reason can only make a machine... but the power of generation makes the maker." Darwin goes on to support Hume's conclusion "that the world, itself might have been generated rather than created, increasing by the activity of its inherent principles rather than by a sudden evoloution of the whole by the Almighty fiat." Darwin then stops to interject, "—What a magnificent idea of the infinite power of THE GREAT ARCHITECT! THE CAUSE OF CAUSES! PARENT OF PARENTS! ENS ENTIUM!" In The Temple of Nature nearly the same words characterize the source of "the immutable laws impressed on matter," the "amazing powers... originally impressed on matter and spirit by the great Parent of Parents! Cause of Causes! ENS Entiun!" "Ens O Enion" says the Parent power in its next line, and we are reminded of one posited derivation for the name of the "Aged Mother."

Also relevant in this context is Darwin's notion of the origin of life from a primordial muscular fibre; this argument is detailed in The Temple of Nature, which tells that "Imperious Man" "Arose from rudiments of form and sense, / An embryo point, or microscopic ens!" (1.313-14). A note explains "that all vegetables and animals arose from such a small beginning, as a living point or living fibre." Fibre is, one remembers, one of Blake's pervasive thematic conceptions: Tharmas asks Enion why "every little fibre" of his soul is to be examined, and soon after that the Parent power falls—"he sunk down." Directly following:

His speciare issuing from his feet in flames of fire
In gnawing pain drawn out by her lov'd fingers every nerve
She counted. every vein & lacteal threading them... (5.15-17)

Here the syntax indicates that his specre consists—in part—of the fibres of nerve, vein, and lacteal which Enion weaves into a form of vegetation": "She drew the Spectre forth from Tharmas in her shining loom / Of vegetation" (6.1-2). Blake would not have been the first to connect the primordial fibre (line) and the Parent power—shortly after Zoonomia was published, Richard Edgeworth wrote the author to say that the attempted deistic cover-up did not deceive him: "Your Ens Entium is the same as your living filament—your God of God!" (cited in King-Hele, p. 251). For Blake also they are the same: "this Spectre of Tharmas / Is Eternal Death;" the present embodiment, perhaps, of the Darwinian powers of life that "seize, digest, secrete,—dispense / The bliss of Being to the vital Ens" (371.149-50, cf. 446). The creation of the circle of Destiny, the Ulro, the system of generation is Blake's beginning, the darkning of the Parent power which underlies Darwin's spurious homage to an apparent "Parent of Parents" and governs his self-confident vision of comprehensible, ultimate Nature.

A further example may serve to characterize the spectral presence of Darwin. In Canto III of The Temple of Nature:

"The GIANT FORM on Nature's centre stands,
And waves in ether his unnumb'r'd hands;
Whirls the bright planets in their silver spheres,
And the vast sun round other systems steers;
Till the last trump amid the thunder's roar
Sound the dread Sentence "TIME SHALL BE NO MORE!"

(385-90)

Where in "Night the First" Blake reached back to begin before Darwin's beginning, in "Night the Ninth" his ending commences where Darwin's leaves off:

Los his vegetable hands
Outstretched his right hand branching out in fibrous Strength
Siezd the Sun. His left hand like dark roots coverd the moon
And tore them down cracking the heavens from immense to immense
This first in a series of incomplete revelations shows Los, Blake's "giant form," trying to engineer a Darwinian apocalypse--his vegetable hands representing the admittedly grand extension of a vegetable imagination ("Thus all the suns, and the planets, which circle round them, may again sink into one central chaos; and may again by explosions produce a new world; which in process of time may resemble the present one, and at length undergo the same catastrophe! these great events may be the result of the immutable laws impressed on matter by the Great Cause of Causes, Parent of Parents, Ens Entium!") Los' dramatic action, after all, comes from being "Terrified at Non Existence / For such they deem the death of the body." Natural Religion or Deistic Science seizes, orders the heavens out of a fear of Non-Existence, the state of "the Spirit" (cf. 117.3-4).

These tentative illustrations of "influence" (or perhaps simply, "relevant overtone coloring") suggest two aspects of Darwin's spectral presence in Blake. First, that Blake was an appreciative and attentive reader of Darwin; and second, that this very closeness made Darwin all the more suspect for him, and so only "spectrally" present. For Darwin had done--successfully, in the popular eye--what Blake wanted to do. With a somewhat analogous method," Darwin created a system all the more troubling to Blake's imagination. Where Darwin hoped "to inlist Imagination under the banner of Science" (BG, Advertisement), Blake strives for the reverse, under the banner of "Sweet Science."

II. GEOPHYSICS

The power and appeal of Darwin at his best are evident in the following lines from The Economy of Vegetation, about which Walpole wrote a friend in May 1792, "the twelve verses that by miracle describe and comprehend the creation of the universe out of chaos, are in my opinion the most sublime passage in any author...." 17

"--LET THERE BE LIGHT!" proclaimed the ALMIGHTY LORD!

Astonish'd Chaos heard the potent word;--
Through all his realms the kindling Ether runs,
And the mass starts into a million suns;
Earths round each sun with quick explosions burst,
And second planets issue from the first;
Bend, as they journey with projectile force,
In bright ellipses their reluctant course;
Orbs wheel in orbs, round centres centres roll,
And form, selfbalanced, one revolving Whole.
--Onward they move amid their bright abode,
Space without bound, THE BOSOM OF THEIR GOD!
(I.103-14)

The Miltonic description, "self-balanced"--characteristically expanded to refer to an entire stellar system rather than just the Earth--perhaps enters into Blake's various usages of the image, but far more significant is Darwin's idea of planets born by explosions: a note adds, "If these innumerable and immense suns thus rising out of Chaos are supposed to have thrown out their attendant planets by new explosions, as they ascended; and those their respective satellites, filling in at length the immensity of space with light and motion, a grander idea cannot be conceived by the mind of man" (italics added).

But three years later, Chapter I of The Book of Urizen opens with "Lo, a shadow of horror is risen / In Eternity!.... Times on times he divided." The grander idea in the mind of Blake was first suggested in David Worrall's important and detailed discussion of Blake's adaption of Darwin's geophysical speculations--the second section of his "William Blake and Erasmus Darwin's Botanic Garden" is essential reading for any student of Blake. Darwin's idea of cosmogenic explosions involves volcanos and earthquakes: "We can have no idea of a natural power, which could project a Sun out of Chaos, except by comparing it to the explosions or earthquakes owing to the sudden evolution of aqueous or of other more elastic vapours; of the power of which under immeasurable degrees of heat, and compression, we are yet ignorant" (EV I.105n.). A note on "Solar Volcanos" suggests that "cavities are made in the sun's body by a process similar to our Earthquakes" (EV Add. N. XV), and, correspondingly, as the earth's volcanos show its center to consist of "a large mass of burning lava.... a second sun," 15 "the first earthquakes, which produced immense changes in the globe, must have been occasioned by central fires" (EV Add. N. VI). So in The French Revolution, already beginning Blake's correspondence between head and (astronomical) orb, the King of France appears with "his forehead.... in affliction, / Like the central fire" (79-80). A striking instance of geophysical dynamic was the creation of the moon:

And Earth's huge sphere exploding burst in twain.--
GNOMES! how you gazed! when from her wounded side
Where now the South-Sea heaves its waste of tide,
Rose on swift wheels the MOON'S refugent car Circling the solar orb, a sister-star
(EV II.76-80)

Blake refers to this image several times, first, as Worrall observes, in The French Revolution when Aumont "compares and dates man's first enslavement to changes in the heavens" [italics added]: "the terrible sun clos'd in an orb, and the moon / Rent from the nations" (211-12). In America the "close hall of counsel"--the skull is one referent (cf. Europe 10.25ff.)--was "built when the moon shot forth, / In that dread night when Urizen call'd the stars round his feet." 20 One of the most intriguing developments occurs in The Book of Urizen, where Darwin's cosmological dynamic seems to inform both Urizen, "rent from [the] side" of Los, "By earthquakes riv'n, belching sullen fires" (6.4, 10.4); and Los, "His bosom earthquak'd with sighs" (13.49) and then dividing to produce the first female form--all on a stage of the Void, "the endless Abyss of space"
(15.10). As R. E. Simmons first noted, these passages—which result in Urizen as a "clod of clay" and the globe of blood or incipient female "Wand'ring wide on the bosom of night"—suggest "a geophysical theory of the origin of the earth as a chunk of matter thrown off by the sun." The developing analogy can be pressed even further, for, as Darwin illustrates, gravity was commonly imaged as a chain: "Chain'd to one centre whirl'd the kindred spheres" (EV II.91).

So, directly after being rent from the side of Los (sol), Urizen is chained up—in "chains of the mind" to be sure, but also gravity (that serious matter). This points to the ontological relation between present existence, enslaved, and "creation," for in Eternity "Earth was not: nor globes of attraction" (Bv 3.36). "Creation" was the fall from energy/imagination into matter and its accompanying systems of gravity and space-time, a conception which has roots in Swedenborg's science-based fantasy of the "spiritual" universe mirrored by our tangible one. The important point, as Worrall concludes, is that "After the French Revolution, Darwin's geophysical speculations are quickly absorbed into the expanding synthesis of Albion's Angel, Urizen, and Los, where the scientific version of the relations of chaos, sun, and earth are freely interchanged" (p. 417); this opens the way to one key analogy guiding the cosmology of Blake's "cosmic" myth, an analogy which should somewhat refocus our sense of Blake's concerns. Los is, on one level, the actual sun; Urizen the Earth; Enitharmon the moon. The most far-reaching concrete analogies are set up and then spiritualized, so that Los includes the total imagistic potential of the sun and so forth.

III. BIOGENETICS

Another recent critic finds Darwin behind the "biogenetic creation" in The Book of Urizen. Unfortunately, D. C. Leonard uses relevant quotations to support forced relations. Darwin, to repeat, is spectrally present in Blake—his importance lies in the compendium of scientific imagery he offered rather than in massive direct influence. Consider, for example, as Leonard does, Darwin's memorable lines on embryonic development, as exemplified in the crocodile. The passage itself, significantly, is introduced to establish a comparison with seed development, the subject of preceding lines. To suggest the less specific but more pervasive nature of Darwin's "influence" on Blake, we must look at the movement of these eighty-some lines as a whole, for their real (and Blakean) burden is a vision of interpenetrating, interacting correspondences.

The Botanic Muse opens the subject by addressing her "Sylphs." As you hover on ethereal wing, Brood the green children of parturient Spring! Where in their bursting cells my Embryons rest, I charge you guard the vegetable nest; Count with nice eye the myriad SEEDS, that swell Each vaulted womb of husk, or pod, or shell; Feed with sweet juices, clothe with downy hair; Or hang, inshrined, their little orbs in air."

The little orbs hanging in air suggest stars and, indeed, the following four lines make the comparison explicit:

"So, late decry'd by HERSCHEL'S piercing sight, Hang the bright squadrons of the twinkling Night; Ten thousand marshall'd stars, a silver zone, Effuse their bended lustres round her throne;"

Here, then, we see stars as vegetable seeds or pods, hanging in a tracery of vegetation, perhaps like those in Blake's first illustration to It Penmaeroo. The star-seed-orbs as "husk, or pod, or shell" suggests how The Four Zoas can imagine "the stars threshold from their husks" (134.1); while the "sweet juices" feeding the seeds suggest an analogy to some stellar, etherial nutrient. The comparison of seeds to stars leads to a digression:

Flowers of the sky! ye too to age must yield, Frail as your silken sisters of the field! Star after star from Heaven's high arch shall crush; Suns sink on suns, and systems systems crush, Headlong, extinct, to one dark centre fall, And Death and Night and Chaos mingle all! --Till o'er the wreck, emerging from the storm, Immortal NATURE lifts her changeful form, Mounts from her funeral pyre on wings of flame, And soars and shines, another and the same.

A note refers us to Herschel's conclusion "that the nebulae or constellations of fixed stars are approaching each other, and must finally coalesce in one mass." The "Flame" of Nature's wings reappears as the lines following return to the discussion of seeds:

"Lo! on each SEED within its slender rind, Life's golden threads in endless circles wind; Maze within maze the lucid webs are roll'd, And, as they burst, the living flame unfold."

The "living flame" is vegetation, an image frequent enough in Blake's illustrations. More than that, it reflects organic energy, the vital power that haunts Darwin—it is but a shift of focus to see this power as spiritual or mental flames. The image of "Life's golden threads . . . Maze within maze" picks up an earlier image of the body's circulatory system, which "O'er . . . tissued membrane spreads / In living net-work all its branching threads; / Maze within maze;" just as, in turn, "So shoot the Spiderbroods at breezy dawn / Their glittering net-work o'er the autumnal lawn" (Bv III.531-33, 555-56). The discussion of seeds culminates in a picture of Earth, "the mighty ball":

And the GREAT SEED evolves, disclosing ALL: LIFE bud or breath from Indus to the Poles, And the vast surface kindles, as it rolls!

(Bv IV.406-8)
It is not far to the "globe of life blood," the seed of Nature, the first "female form" (BU 18.1, 7). These sorts of associations help to gloss some of the multi-dimensions of creation in Urizen:

... A Web dark & cold, throughout all
The torment'd element stretch'd
From the sorrows of Urizen's soul
And the Web is a Female in embrio.
None could break the Web, no wings of fire. (25.15-19)

Nature's "wings of flame" cannot break the net of its own laws. Dampened by the melancholy of natural abstraction, these flames of nature or natural inspiration are merely "another and the same," or, as Blake saw the process, "the Ashes of Mystery" animating again, "as of old so now anew began / Babylon again in Infancy Calld Natural Religion" (FZ VIII, 111.22-24).

Darwin's discussion of seeds now moves to the conclusion which interested D. C. Leonard:

While in bright veins the silvery Sap ascends,
And refulgent blood in milky eddies bends;
While, spread in air, the leaves respiring play,
Or drink the golden quintessence of day.
--So from his shell on Delta's shower-less isle
Burst into life the Monster of the Nile;
First in translucent lymph with cobweb-threads
The Brain's fine floating tissue swells, and spreads;
Nerve after nerve the glistening spine descends,
The red Heart dances, the Aorta bends;
Through each new gland the purple current glides,
New veins meandering drink the refulgent tides; (IV.419-30)

Leonard's analogy to the first four lines of "the Monster's" creation (BU 10.19-23)26 seems too groundless to bear repeating; nonetheless, every reader will probably sense something Blake-like at work. Here again, what seem to reverberate are words and minute images, rather than larger patterns or trains of images (Blake metonymizes rather than metaphorizes Darwin). Through the use of "cobweb-threads" and "tissue," Darwin's image of the brain recalls the seed and its "lucid webs" and the body's "tissue membrane" with its "living net-work" similar to that made by the Spider. So The Book of Urizen's development of Urizen's "spiders web," the "Female in embrio," is not altogether without precedent:

8. So twisted the cords, & so knotted
The meshes: twisted like to the human brain
9. And all call'd it, The Net of Religion. (25.20-22)

The brain, Milton says, "is the Seat / Of Satan in its Webs" (20.37-38). Darwin's description of "the glistening spine descends" is for Leonard a picture of Urizen

In a horrible dreamful slumber;
Like the linked infernal chain;
A vast Spine writh'd in torment
In a horrible dreamful slumber;
(10.35-37)

This association serves to remind us that Blake's vision has a far greater (and more compressed) complexity than Darwin's: Urizen's "geophysical" chain of gravity is doubled by a "biogenetic" spine; both are, inferentially, serpentine or worm-like, and both the result of "horrible dreamful slumber"--as was, perhaps, Darwin's entire vision for Blake.27 Drawing on Albert S. Roe's discussion of "The Fertilization of Egypt,"28 which Blake engraved and in part designed for The Economy of Vegetation, Leonard confidently asserts the identity of this "Monster of the Nile" [crocodile] with Darwin's Nile River God and hence Blake's "Egyptian Monster, Urizen."

IV. LIVING LINES

Leonard also reminds us of the central importance and wide applicability of Darwin's proposal "that all warm-blooded animals have arisen from one living filament, which THE FIRST GREAT CAUSE endued with animality" (2 39.4, p. 505), relating it to the "fibrous" branching of the globe of life blood, whose "fibres or filaments" Leonard sees as "the life roots of creation." More interesting, though equally lacking in credible support, is Leonard's intuitive analogy linking Orc in his initial, simple, form of a worm to Darwin's primordial filament:

... Enitharmon, sick,
Felt a Worm within her womb.

4. Yet helpless it lay like a Worm
In the trembling womb
To be moulded into existence

5. All day the worm lay on her bosom
All night within her womb
The worm lay till it grew to a serpent
(BU 19.19-26)

This may be seen, in part, as a description of the penis in the vagina and also, evidently, as the male seed (already known to consist of worm-like forms29). Leonard and also Carmen S. Kreiter30 develop the idea that the worm's change to "Many forms of fish, bird & beast" which "Brought forth an Infant form" suggests embryonic "evolutionary" recapitulation. Of equal interest is the development of "the worm" into Blake's general silk-worm imagery, and the obliquely related idea of some form of "line" at the source of creation. This idea might be summarized as follows:

(chain = spine = serpent/worm = fibre) = line
(= speech/writing [lines of text])

For Darwin, the idea of the first filament/fibre/line seems to have accompanied some sort of imaginative revelation, since while lines pass unremarked in The Botanic Garden, after the discussions of fibres in Economy they come to prominence in The Temple of Nature. A reference to spiders in the earlier work evokes a tag from Pope while hinting, as mentioned above, at an analogy between the spider's "glittering net-work" and the body's "living net-work":31

So shoot the Spider-broods at breezy dawn
Their glittering net-work o'er the autumnal lawn;
From blade to blade connect with cordage fine
The unbounding grass, and live along the line; 
(BV III.555-58)

The branching threads become living lineaments of art in a revision of the formula as it appears in *The Temple of Nature*, a passage which might remind the reader of Los's sculpted halls (p 16.61ff.):

Unnumber'd ailes connect unnumber'd halls, 
And sacred symbols crowd the pictur'd walls; 
With pencil rude forgotten days design, 
And arts, or empires, live in every line. 
(1.85-88)

But the real burden of *The Temple of Nature*—versifying what had already been worked out at length in *Zoonomia*—appears in passages such as the following:

**ATTRACTION** next, as earth or air subsides, 
The ponderous atoms from the light divides, 
Approaching parts with quick embrace combines, 
Swells into spheres, and lengthens into lines. 
Last, as fine goads the gluten-threads excite, 
Cords grapple cords, and webs with webs unite: 
And quick CONTRACTION with ethereal flame 
Lights into life the fibre-woven frame.--
Hence without parent by spontaneous birth 
Rise the first specks of animated earth; 
From Nature's womb the plant or insect swims, 
And buds or breathes, with microscopic limbs. 
(I.239-53)

Given lines, the whole fabric/tissue/text of creation follows, woven in the looms of nature; so *The Loose of the Plants* tells of the "inventress of the Woof, fair LINA" (II.67)---cotton's appropriate Latin name---in whose loom is worked "the fibre-line" (II.78; lines become linen). Among the primal microscopic forms of life are "Self-moving lines" (II.286), while in seeds, "The Reproductions of the living Ens" commence as "the living fibre shoots" and "new embryon fibers... form the living line" (SV II.63, 65, 79-80). Out of such reproductive techniques "heaven born STOREGE weaves the social chain;" and "soft affections live along the line," for "Birth after birth the line unchanging runs / And fathers live transmitted in their sons" (TN II.92, 94, 107-08). Darwin's note on "imagination's power" over reproduction says, "It is not to be understood, that the first living fibres, are produced by imagination, with any similarity of form to the future animal, but with appetencies or propensities, which shall produce... corresponding with the imagination of the father" (II.118n.). For Blake, imagination is the father of all reproduction, the creator (not reproducer) of the line which (as for Darwin) is only "tinctured" in the loom/womb textile machinery of the mother:

And first he drew a line upon the walls of shining heaven 
And Enitharmon tinctur'd it with beams of blushing love 
It remained permanent a lovely form inspir'd 
divinely human 
Dividing into just proportions Los unweared laboured 
The immortal lines upon the heavens 
(PZ Vila 90.35-39)

This offers a more encompassing vision of Darwin's "chemic arts" which "disclosed in pictured lines, / Liv'd to mankind" (SV I.367-68); Darwin's line is finally the agent and expression of imitation (artistic or "genetic") rather than imagination.32

*The Temple of Nature* also presents the living-line or fibre as the basic unit of animation because of its power of contraction. A note to the lengthy passage quoted above says that "The power of contraction, which exists in organized bodies and distinguishes life from inanimation, appears to consist of an ethereal fluid which resides in the brain and nerves of living bodies, and is expended in the act of shortening their fibres" (1.285n.). A power of expansion, which Darwin nowhere posits (expansion being the result of another contraction), was already part of Blake's conception of Eternity: "The will of the Immortal expanded / Or contracted his all flexible senses" (BU 3.37-38). Eternity, evidently, is non-linear: the pure state, perhaps, of the "etherial fluid" or "spirit of animation" (II, p. 30).34 Given the heritage of Locke and Newton (in the "Questions" appended to *The Opticks*), and particularly Hartley (who greatly influences Darwin), our textured universe of lines and fibres testifies to the impossibility of Edenic perception; for Darwin, indeed, "The word idea... is defined as a contraction, or motion, or configuration, of the fibres" (2, p. 11). The lines of thought, in turn, become chains, "links of the chain of fibrous actions" (TW Add. N. VII):

Last in thick swarms ASSOCIATIONS spring, 
Thoughts join to thoughts, to motions motions cring; 
Whence in long trains of catenation flow 
Imagined joy, and voluntary woe. 
(TW I.277-80)

Individual words reflect "In parted links the long ideal trains" and are, furthermore, "Chain'd down in their infancy may affect the modes of thinking and reasoning of whole nations, or of different classes of society; as the words of them do not accurately suggest the same ideas, or parts of ideal trains; a circumstance which has not been sufficiently analysed" (TN IV.398n.).

The silk-worm occupies an interesting position in this universe of lines: a kind of "living line," it cocoons itself with self-produced line, only to burst its "well-woven house of silk" (TW Add. N. IX) after transformation. Darwin's images also serve to remind us that "worm" was a standard term for "silk-worm," a convention which has ramifications for Blake's references:

The Silk-Worm broods in countless tribes above 
Crop the green treasure, uninform'd of love; 
Erewhile the changeful worm with circling head 
Weaves the nice curtains of his silken bed; 
Web within web involves his larva form, 
Alike secured from sunshine and from storm; 
For twelve long days He dreams of blossom'd
groves,
Untasted honey, and ideal loves;
Wakes from his trance, alarm'd with young
Desire,
Finds his new sex, and feels ecstatic fire;  
(TN II.295-304)

The rationale for this is "sexual reproduction only, which seems to have been the chef-d'oeuvre, or capital work of nature;" as appears by the wonderful transformation of leaf-eating caterpillars into honey-eating moths and butterflyes, apparently for the sole purpose of the formation of sexual organs, as in the silk-worm, which takes no food after its transformation, but propagates its species and dies" (TN Add. N. VIII). The silk-worm's change raises in particular the question of instinct:

Conscious of change the Silkworm-Nymphs begin
Attach'd to leaves their gluten-threads to spin;
Then round and round they weave with circling heads
Sphere within Sphere, and form their silken beds.

--Say, did these fine volitions first commence
From clear ideas of the tangent sense;
From sires to sons by imitation caught,
Or in dumb language by tradition taught?
Or did they rise in some primeval site
Of larva onat, or microscopic mite;

No answer is suggested here, but Darwin's discussion of the Portland Vase in The Economy of Vegetation pointed the way to an analogy that might have interested Blake. Instinct, the "dumb language," and the "spirit of imagination" exist outside the immediate organization of lines to effect the transformation of line into expanded plenum: each parted linear link of word is also like a worm, waiting for its wings.

V. THE PORTLAND VASE

The famous Barberini Vase, which had been brought to England eighteen months previously, was acquired by the Duke of Portland in June 1786. A few days later it was loaned to Josiah Wedgwood, who had long desired to create some copies of it. Wedgwood was another close friend of Darwin's: their families were to be linked by marriage, and Wedgwood's remarkable industrial pottery, "Etruria," was so named by Darwin because he thought that Wedgwood had rediscovered a kind of ceramic painting previously known only to the ancient Etruscans. Darwin no doubt studied the original and in 1790 was sent the first copy for approval. Against this background it is no surprise to see a slight reference to the vase in The Economy of Vegetation--

Or bid Mortality rejoice and mourn
O'er the fine forms in Portland's mystic urn
(II.319-20)

--occasion several different views of the vase (illus. 1-4) and a lengthy "Additional Note" whose explanation of the scenes on the vase "is still regarded as the best." The views were evidently copied and engraved by Blake, who--judging from Johnson's letter to Darwin of 23 July 1791--was for a time entrusted with the vase itself. Darwin's remarks would in any event have interested any student of Bryant and the other mythologists, for, according to Darwin, the vase "represents what in ancient times engaged the attention of philosophers, poets, and heros, I mean a part of the Eleusinian mysteries" (Add. N. XXII). Darwin's deep interest in these matters emerges more strongly in the "Preface" to The Temple of Nature where he writes that "in the mysteries the philosophy of the works of Nature . . . are believed to have been taught by allegoric scenery . . . which gave rise to the machinery of this poem." The scenes on the vase he describes as "the first part of this scenery," representing "Death, and the destruction of all things." In The Economy of Vegetation, Darwin sees the central figure, a female in a dying attitude (represented by the inverted torch in her hand, "an antient emblem of extinguished life"), as "an hieroglyphic of the Eleusinian emblem of MORTAL LIFE, that is, the lethu, or death, mentioned by Virgil amongst the terrible things exhibited at the beginning of the mysteries." Another figure, "The MANES or GHOST appears lingering and fearfull, and wishes to drag after him a part of his mortal garment, which however adheres to the side of the portal through which he has passed." Such images
perhaps helped to point Blake toward his later use of body-as-garment. And while there are many sources, conscious and not, for Blake's varied and multivalent serpent images, the following passage must have occasioned some interest: "A little lower down in the group the manes or ghost is received by a beautiful female, a symbol of IMMORTAL LIFE. This is evinced by her fondling between her knees a large and playful serpent, which from its annually renewing its external skin has from great antiquity ... been esteemed an emblem of renovated youth." This may suggest another interpretation for the mysterious design in America, pl. 14, where a would-be scholar prays to a seated woman with a fondled serpent between her spread knees. The "death-preaching sibyl" seen by David Erdman is an academic projection--the serpent at the bottom of the plate ejaculates those same flames from which the student, as Orc or "renovated youth" in the design of pl. 10, could emerge. So also the serpent of pl. 11 ridden by children and reined by a young girl could offer extremely positive associations: in the text of pl. 15, the female spirits "glowing with the lusts of youth ... feel the nerves of youth renew, and desires of ancient times." As the same design of the ridden serpent appears at the end of That, these same associations may affect the interpretation and dating of that final plate, already generally considered as a later addition to the poem.

But the most interesting explanation comes towards the close of the note; it offers information available elsewhere, but in succinct and memorable form summarizes an emblem essential for considering, inter alia, the title page of Jerusalem:

The Psyche of the AEgyptians was one of their most favorite emblems, and represented the soul, or a future life; it was originally no other than the aurelia, or butterfly, but in after times was represented by a lovely female child with the beautiful wings of that insect. The aurelia, after its first stage as an eruca or caterpillar, lies for a season in a manner dead, and is inclosed in a sort of coffin, in this state of darkness it remains all the winter, but at the return of spring it bursts its bonds and comes out with a new life, and in the most beautiful attire. The AEgyptians thought this a very proper picture of the soul of man, and of the immortality to which it aspired. But as this was all owing to divine Love, of which EROS was an emblem, we find this person frequently introduced as a concomitant of the soul in general of Psyche. (Bryant's Mythol. Vol. II. p. 386).

This rich description could serve to gloss many of Blake's images which point to the cocoon or chrysalis stage of lepidopteral metamorphosis: the couch of death, covering veil, golden bed.\(^\text{38}\) "In Eden [Beulah, del.] Females sleep the winter in soft silken veils / Woven by their own hands to hide them in the darksom grave" (FZ I 5.1-2). The female forms weave their veils "in sweet raptured trance" of sexual organization, the "dreams of bliss" of the sleepers of Beulah--reminding us that in the Blakean aufhebung of the image Darwin's aurelia becomes Blake's human larva. Time itself is a cocoon:
"every Moment has a Couch of gold for soft repose" 
(M 28.45ff). The sleeping (time=sleeping) "for a season in a manner dead" is only prelude to the main event which interested Blake, pupation or "bursting": "Graves . . . bursting with their births of immortality" (VL, E 543). Such references assume a formulaic dimension, emphasizing--curiously--the "bottom" of the grave/couch/cocoon, as when multitudes of warlike sons "Burst the bottoms of the Graves & Funeral Arks of Beulah" (J 89.6, et al.). This bursting consistently represents a kind of de-evolution or birth (as descent, perhaps) into cruel "male forms without female counterparts or Emanations" (FZ VIIa 85.19). The dynamic is perhaps similar to that of "The Crystal Cabinet"--the bursting of which suggests that the cabinet is in part a chrysalis--where the male gets wrapped up in Beulah-love, but by intellectually striving to seize its inmost form breaks the intended pattern of his development and falls back to the weeping babe stage. For all Blake's emphasis on mental fight and individual exertion, there is a contrasting faith in a kind of spiritual "genetic programming," a saving "inmost form"--"this was all owing to divine Love," to use Darwin's words. But Blake reverses Darwin's conception of emblem and actuality.

VI. ODDS AND SEXUAL ENDS

The idea of "emblem," evident in Darwin's interest in the Portland Vase, appears more directly in a footnote which Albert S. Roe also finds "suggestive with reference to Blake." Commenting on "the holy Halo" in the first canto of The Economy of Vegetation, Darwin writes:

I believe it is not known with certainty at what time the painters first introduced the luminous circle round the head to import a Saint or holy person. It is now become a symbolic language of painting, and it is much to be wished that this kind of hieroglyphic character was more frequent in that art; as it is much wanted to render historic pictures both more intelligible, and more sublime; and why should not painting as well as poetry express itself in a metaphor, or in indistinct allegory? A truly great modern painter lately endeavored to enlarge the sphere of pictorial language, by putting a demon behind the pillow of a wicked man on his death bed. Which unfortunately the cold criticism of the present day has depreciated; and thus barred perhaps the only road to further improvement in this science.

EV I.358n.)

5 "The Tornado." Courtesy of Robert Essick.

6 Table of Contents for The Temple of Nature, Canto IV, "Of Good and Evil." Repr. from Scholar Press facsimile.
Darwin's off-hand characterization of painting as a science which can improve through experiments in expression would probably have elicited Blake's interest: "The serpents of America, for example, seem to offer a "kind of hieroglyphic character" in their part of that work's metaphor or "indistinct allegory."

Striking also is Darwin's spectre-like conception of Jealousy, [who] with Gorgon frown Blasts the sweet flowers of Pleasure not his own, Rolls his wild eyes, and through the shuddering grove Pursues the steps of unsuspecting Love

For Darwin, Jealousy is sexual strife, and so an expression of vital energy—here he is not far from a foreshadowing of natural selection. He notes that the horns of stags "have therefore been formed for the purpose of combating other stags for the exclusive possession of the females, who are observed, like the ladies in the times of chivalry, to attend the car of the victor" (TW II.32ln.). So Darwin concludes this theme with a reference to the "Knight on Knight, recorded in romance" who looked to the admiring eyes of the female bands, "Bow'd to the Beauty, and receiv'd her smiles" (TW II.333). Faint reward indeed, but perhaps remembered by Blake in the dark conception of Vala-centered strife through Jerusalem, Chapter 3:

This is no warbling brook, nor shadow of a mirtle tree: But blood and wounds and dismal cries, and shadows of the oaks: And hearts laid open to the light, by the broad grizly sword: And bowels hid in hammerd steel rip'd quivering on the ground. Call forth thy smiles of soft deceit: call forth thy cloudy tears: We hear thy sighs in trumpets shrill when morn shall blood renew. (J 65.50-55)

Given "the importance of the sexual love which Darwin believes to be the most highly developed kind of love" (Hassler, p. 84), it is not surprising that Darwin turns from sexual strife to the domestic "triumph of despotic LOVE"; even "the enamour'd Flowers":

Breath their soft sighs from each enchanted grove, And hail THE DEITIES OF SEXUAL LOVE. (TN II.409-10)

But for Blake such deification is woven to dreams, and "Sexes must vanish & cease / To be, when Albion arises from his dread repose" (J 92.13-14). This may serve as Blake's final response to what must have been the most compelling aspect of Darwin's vision—a positive delight in sexual organization that had troubled Blake as far back as The Book of Thel.

Darwin's vision of the sexual universe reaches heights of modern fascination in his discussion in verse and footnote concerning curved forms, or "IDEAL BEAUTY." "If the wide eye the wavy lawns explores," or "Hills, whose green sides with soft protuberance rise, / Or the blue concave of the vaulted skies,"--anytime the eye sees lines which reflect "the nice curves, which swell the female breast":

The countless joys the tender Mother pours Round the soft cradle of our infant hours, In lively trains of unextinct delight Rise in our bosoms recognized by sight; Fond Fancy's eye recalls the form divine, And TASTE sits smiling upon Beauty's shrine. (TN III.227-32)

Concerning "wavy lawns," Darwin offers a long and detailed footnote (taken verbatim from Zoonomia XIV.6) to support his contention that when we see any object of vision which bears any similitude to the form of the female bosom, "if the object be not too large, we experience an attraction to embrace it with our arms, and to salute it with our lips, as we did in our early infancy the bosom of our mother." This may suggest an additional link between "beauty" and "Beulah"—as in Milton 30.10-11, "Beulah to its Inhabitants appears within each district / As the beloved infant in his mothers bosom round incircled."

Darwin's attraction to this idea is evident in the catalogue of poetic paraphrases he finds for women's breasts: "velvet orbs," "milky fount," "the Paphian shrine," "pearly orbs," "salubrious fount," "the perfect form." Indeed, considering the opening request in The Temple of Nature that the "mystic veil withdraw" from the Goddess in order to "Charm after charm . . . display / And give the GODDESS to adoring day!" and the echoing closing image of the poem, it is not too much to say that for Darwin the female bosom equals "TRUTH DIVINE!": Urания (the reader's guide),

Thrice to the GODDESS bows with solemn pause, With trembling awe the mystic veil withdraws, And, meekly kneeling on the gorgeous shrine, Lifts her ecstatic eyes to TRUTH DIVINE! (TN I.168-70, IV.521-24)
which thus lifts up or overturns every thing within its spiral whirl." This offers a potentially significant lesson in Blakean psycho-physics: expressed more simply, "The surface of contact between two currents curls over to form a vortex"--perhaps even the surface of contact between "currents of creation," or even, contrary ideas. Blake's engraving is striking in comparison with others done about this time—as a Tornado, or spiral eddy, the various coiled serpents represent the circular velocity of the vortex. The left-hand figure in plate 6 of *The Book of Urizen* suggests, in particular, the inverse, inverted image of "The Toronado."

But there are other pleasures to reading Darwin aside from reading-in Blake. One can only feel great admiration for the man, and for the growing power of experimental science, after pondering Darwin's note that the larynx is "something like the trumpet stop of an organ, as may be observed by blowing through the wind-pipe of a dead goose" (*TW* Add. N. XV). And there is a certain charm in Darwin's style, when taken in small doses:

> [the NEREID's] playful Sea-horse woos her soft
> commands,
>
> Turns his quick ears, his webbed claws expands,
> His watery way with waving volutes wins,
> Or listening librates on unmoving fins.
>
> *(EV III.227-80)*

And there are haunting lapses—as in the verses on the "electric kiss" (*EV I.349-56*), or the story of the plague-disease Aegle and her lover Thyrsis, who "claps the bright Infection in his arms" (*EV IV.106*). And there is still the pleasure of "archeological" discovery; who knows?—someone may yet vindicate Richard Edgeworth's belief that "in future times some critic will arise who shall re-discover *The Botanic Garden* and build his fame upon this discovery. . . . It will shine out again to the admiration of posterity" (cited in Logan, p. 94). But anyone, surely, can safely take the pleasure of reading Darwin once.

**D**arwin's poetical works are now available in facsimile as part of the Garland "Romantic Context" series, with a serviceable introduction by Donald H. Rimmer. Unfortunately, these are not as successful as the facsimile editions published by the Scholar Press in 1973—most importantly with regard to the illustrations, which in the Garland edition look like bad xeroxes, with the names of artist and engraver sometimes cropped off. The Garland series chooses, curiously, to reproduce the second edition of *The Loves of the Plants*. This opens the way to some interesting comparisons for the student having access to both reprints or to other later editions, but offers a slightly less successful text for the single-copy reader. The Garland *Temple of Nature* also includes *The Golden Age*, a parodic epistle in verse issued under Darwin's name; the fact that one university bibliographer once accepted the attribution hardly justifies its inclusion, which only serves to make one the more regret the exclusion of the truly damaging parody, "The Loves of the Triangles." Still, every undergraduate library should now include Darwin, and for those that do not, the Garland edition would be the easiest solution.


2. Students of Darwin, who usually delight in showing his considerable presence in the imaginations of the Romantics, have been at an imaginative loss in dealing with Blake. For Desmond King-Hele, "Blake detected the technology celebrated in *The Economy of Vegetation*, and was probably none too pleased that his superb engravings contributed to the poem's success" (*Doctor of Revolution: The Life and Genius of Erasmus Darwin* [London: Faber & Faber, 1977], p. 306); Donald M. Hassler finds that Blake "did not use [like Shelley] science as a rhetorical foundation for his Platonism... Blake had no reason to be indebted to Darwin and, in fact, deliberately stayed away from Darwin more than did any other Romantic" (*Erasmus Darwin, Twayne's English Authors Series* [New York: Twayne Publishers, 1973], p. 127).


4. Fuseli acted as the initial go-between for Darwin and Johnson (King-Hele, p. 162), and Darwin effusively praises the "nightmare . . . mark'd by FUSSELI'S poetie eye" (*The Loves of the Plants*, III.51ff).

5. King-Hele reports that "*The European Magazine* quoted the opinion that *Erasmus Darwin* 'bids fair to do for Medicine what Sir Isaac Newton's *Principia* has done for Natural Philosophy,' and *the Monthly Magazine* thought it 'one of the most important productions of the age'" (p. 241).

6. See Norton Garfinkle, "Science and Religion in England, 1790-1800: *The Critical Response to the Work of Erasmus Darwin,* *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 16 (1955), 376-88. The most effective attack was a sustained parody appearing in the first issues of *The Anti-Socinian Review* (1798); entitled "*The Loves of the Triangles,*" it is thought to have been authored by George Canning and two collaborators.

7. The poem is so named only on the title page, reflecting a last-minute change from the unavailable pre-publication title (then subtitle), *The Origin of Society.*

8. According to Coleridge, "Dr. Darwin laboured to make his style fine and gaudy, by accumulating and applying all the sonorous and handsome-looking words in our language. This is not poetry . . . ." (Hassler, p. 100). James Logan concludes that Darwin offers "a supreme example of bad taste in ornate language" (p. 141).

9. Many quotations could be introduced here; Coleridge again, but he soured on Darwin for "mark'd by FUSSELI'S poetic eye" (*The Loves of the Plants*, III.51ff) over anything except the Christian! Dr. Darwin possesses, perhaps, a greater range of knowledge than any other man in Europe, and is the most inventive of philosophical men. He thinks in a new train on all subjects except religion"; King-Hele writes, "Though I may be biased, I regard Erasmus Darwin as the greatest Englishman of the eighteenth century" (King-Hele, pp. 260, 323). In addition to his own writing Darwin translated Linnaeus, founded the famous "Lunar Society," was so noted a doctor that he was requested to become the Royal Physician, and was Charles Darwin's grandfather.


12. *TW* IV.453n.; cf. Add. Note VIII. Darwin is cited from the Scholar Press Facsimiles of *The Botanic Garden* and *The Temple of Nature* published by the Scholar Press (Wensley, Yorkshire) in 1973 with introductory notes by Desmond King-Hele; these reprint the first editions of each work or part (so creating a facsimile of *The Botanic Garden* which was never offered to the public—although many subscribers to the first edition of *The Loves of the Plants* undoubtedly bound up their own after purchasing *The Economy of Vegetation*).

13 If these illustrations do have any relevance they should necessarily posit a post-1802 date for the composition of the two passages from The Four Zoas.

14 Compare Logan’s description of the presence of Lucretius in Darwin: “ghostlike, the influence... is more pervasive than factual and detailed” (p. 121).

15 In this respect Darwin represents the culmination of a history of “visionary”—scientific didactic poetry which includes Blackmore’s Question, Brook’s Machinry for a Philosophic poem; and a host of others. There is a volume to be written on this tradition and its relation to Blake.

16 Logan accurately notes that “Permeating The Botanic Garden and The Temple of Nature is a deep exhilaration, perhaps unconsciously transmitted into his work. It derives from his delight in the order and unity of nature, and his intense realization of a wonder newly born into the world, the infant science. The generation of poets that followed... failed to perceive that Darwin was a modern prophet, not inspired perhaps, but nevertheless a seer. ... the first English poet to interpret modern science” (p. 147).

17 Walpole also wrote of the poem, it “is so deep, that I cannot read six lines together and know what they are about, till I have studied them in the long notes” (The Letters of Horace Walpole, ed. Mrs. Paget Toynbee [Oxford, 1900], XV, 110).


20 The same night, evidently, that the stars threw down their spears/spheres/tears.


22 Like Ahania:

... a faint shadow wandering
In chaos and circling dark Urizen,
As the moon anguished circles the earth; (SB 2.38-40)


24 Darwin stated at the outset of the poem that the Sylphs, together with the Gnomes, Nymphs, and Salamanders of Rosicrucian doctrine, afford Darwin “proper machinery for a philosophic poem: as it is probable that they were originally the names of hieroglyphic figures of the Elements, or of Genii presiding over their operations. The fairies of more modern days seem to have been derived from them...” Klingseder’s observation that “Darwin’s nymphs reveal a grave charm and a mischievous propensity for unexpected metamorphoses into machinery, plants or elemental forces of nature” (p. 37), suggests that they are not entirely unrelated to Blake’s “mighty ones”—or to his Genii, Gnomes, Nymphs, and Fairies for that matter.

25 I discuss this further in "Spears, Spheres, and Spiritual Tears: Blake’s Poetry as The Tyger, 11. 17-20," forthcoming in Philological Quarterly.

26 3. The eternal mind bounded began to roll
Eddies of wrath ceaseless round & round
And the sulphureous foam surging thick
Settled, a lake, bright, & shining clear:
White as the snow on the mountains cold.

27 Hassler notes that Darwin “is not troubled with trying to discover one central myth—not troubled because he basically understands, I think, that there is no such final unity” (p. 28)—for Blake also “a Perfect Unity Cannot Exist,” but everything hinges on whether or not one wishes to pursue the qualification, “but from the Universal Brotherhood of Eden” (PE 3).


32 A note adds that “the Greek word Storge is used for the affection of parents to children” (Add. N. 11), offering another possible source for Blake’s unique description of “Love of Parent Storgous Appetite” (EE V. 61.10).

33 James Logan writes: “It must be admitted that [Darwin] narrowed down the mental process called imagination to more precise terms than any one who went before him. But in doing so, he greatly limited the scope of imagination... imagination... according to Darwin, is a state in which our ideas are evoked by mere sensation, by the emotions of pleasure and pain; it is best designated by the word reverie” (p. 54).

34 Darwin continues, “The circumstances attending the exertion of the power of ATTRACTION constitute the laws of motion of inanimate matter”—Eternity precedes the constitution of these laws (“Earth was not: nor globes of attraction”).

35 This same argument in Darwin’s Physiologia, or a theory of vegetation” (Dublin, 1800), adds “... and much pleasure is afforded” (cited by Hassler, p. 76).


37 G. E. Bentley, Jr., Blake Books (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969); for Blake there would have been the added pleasure of having his engravings used rather than some existing ones by Barbolozzi. The engravings are dated Dec. 1, 1791.

38 "Gold" enters the association through "chrysalis" (from Greek chrysos, gold) and the aureate possibilities of "aurelia."

39 Roe identifies the painting referred to as Reynolds’s “Death of Cardinal Beaufort” (“The Thunder of Egypt,” p. 166).

40 There is, indeed, some special pleading in Darwin’s argument; for as Logan notes, no one can write a poem on scientific processes and be pictorial without being abstract except through allegory, personification, and simile: “Everything must be interpreted through symbols, if fantastic none the less. If no concrete symbol can be found, then the abstraction must be addressed directly, hailed by name and importuned, and thus dragged bodily before the mind of the reader” (pp. 135-39). For example, “an illicit love affair is used as an allegory for the chemical reaction of nitric acid with oxygen to produce what is probably a nitrate salt. During the course of this reaction, a reddish vapor is given off and heat escapes; and Darwin likens this result to Mars’ seduction of Venus and to Vulcan’s ensuing anger, which ties them together with a net, that, the chemical bond” (Hassler, p. 56). For Blake, such limited symbols must ultimately be subsumed to apparent confusions of text—that is, the whole text itself is the only adequate “symbol.”

41 Compare the Blakean spectre which “hunts [the] footsteps” of the Emmanation (W 32.4-5).

42 Hassler notes that “Darwin uses various techniques throughout his verse to make his characters as sensuous and as ‘sexual’ as possible” (p. 63).

43 David Erdman characterizes The Book of Thel as “pictorially and metaphorically... a curious counterpart of The Loves of the Plants; some of Blake’s flowers and their human forms seem to derive from Darwin’s text, notes, and illustrations... Darwin’s emphasis on sexual encounter and aggressive masculinity seems particularly relevant” (The Illuminated Blake [Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1974], p. 33).

44 In connection with Darwin’s “breast-esthetic,” Logan observes: “Here we have the whole foundation of Darwin’s theory of poetry
and art. Beauty is frankly sensuous; it arises from those things, belonging to nature which have given us pleasure through our different senses. . . . It is a much cleverer, and certainly more modern, explanation of the delight that we receive from curving lines than Hogarth’s ‘wanton chase’ theory’ (p. 62).


47 For example, in the first edition:

So NINON pruned her wither'd charms, and won
With harlot-smiles her gay unconscious son;--(I.125-26)

and in the second edition:

So, in her wane of beauty, NINON won
With fatal smiles her gay unconscious son.--(I.125-26).

The second edition drops the wonderful sequence about the Polish salt mines and their underground cities (first ed. IV.309-26).

“Far yet extend that biographic page!”: Some Thoughts on Donald Reiman’s Hayley

William Hayley. Ode to Mr. Wright and Other Poems, The Eulogies of Howard/Ballads/Poems on Serious and Sacred Subjects, A Poetical Epistle to an Eminent Painter and Other Poems, An Essay on Sculpture.

Reviewed by Joseph Wittreich

Students who learn from their mentors only that Blake left Felpham in a snit, that thereupon he “immortalized [Hayley] as a fool not to be endured,” and so conclude, “no one much cares what Hayley said,” are unlikely to be affected by, much less interested in, historical judgments of Blake’s patron—are indeed apt to be impatient with them and unappreciative of an effort, such as Donald Reiman’s, to situate Hayley in a “Romantic Context.” They may even be suspicious, if not wholly contemptuous, of an enterprise that would publish four volumes of Hayley’s verse under the caption, “Significant Minor Poetry” (my italics). This poetry is not by current standards, much less by the standards of Hayley’s more astute contemporaries, good. It is, in the most generous terms, an achievement of the left hand, yet offers its own rewards, even to the most recalcitrant Blakeans, presuming they are able to cast off prejudice long enough to ask the right questions. Why Blake left Felpham we know. Why he went to Felpham in the first place and what he and Hayley talked about, off and on for three years, are matters of interest that these four volumes might fuel. They do not answer such questions, to be sure, but set forth clues for answering them; they might even inspire a more enterprising student to heed the Hayleyan plea—“extend that biographic page!”—and, in the process, to adjudicate between widely discrepant assessments of Hayley’s place in literary history and of the role he might have played in Blake’s life and art, even in the formation of an aesthetic that underlies it.
The simple allegorizing of Hyle into Hayley, invented in our century and popularized by Blake's editors, is analogous to the allegorizing of Prometheus against which Hayley himself registered a protest in *An Essay on Sculpture*; it would seem, moreover, to run counter to Blake's own preference for a visionary over an allegorical mode of poetry and to become increasingly more dubious as one weighs the judgments of history against those imposed upon Hayley by the Blake cult. Against its generally hostile evaluations are the more temperate estimates of literary historians and critical theorists (such as H. T. Swedenberg and Northrop Frye) and of reviewers and poets roughly contemporary with Hayley, yet not nearly so rough in their appraisal of him (such as Southey, Coleridge, and even Byron). There are finally the highly laudatory remarks about Hayley that come from Miltonists of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: the editor of the *Paradise Lost* printed by C. Whittingham in 1799 draws upon Hayley for his epigraph and admits he is chiefly indebted to Hayley; and Charles Dunster, in his 1800 edition of *Paradise Regained*, portrays Hayley as the age's best knower of Milton. Perhaps the truth about Hayley, especially about Blake's regard and disregard of him, is too complicated to be fairly represented by a single spokesman and thus is to be approached through a variety of perspectives that in their very contrariness lead one closer to that truth. As Samuel Palmer might say in this instance: "Truth . . . seems . . . to stand at a fixed centre between its two antagonists, Fact and Phantasm."

Reiman's Introduction, not tailored to individual volumes but expediently (for the publisher) reprinted four times, formulates the paradox of Hayley's once being among "the most respected poets, as well as the most popular . . . in England" (p. v) and now being scarcely remembered except by Blakeans, and then usually scornfully. The praise bestowed upon this poet by the popular culture, which contributed to his being offered the Laureateship in 1790, was an anathema to most of the major Romantic poets who even if they judged Hayley unworthy of that honor (so Hayley also judged himself) could accept, albeit grudgingly, Southey's estimate of him quoted in the Dictionary of National Biography: "everything about that man is good except his poetry." Like his fellow Romantics, Blake probably judged Hayley to be a rhymer not a poet, but, again like them, may have found something, both in his prose writings and in conversation, to redeem Hayley. Even if Blake was as jealous in his independence, as petty in his relationships, and as stingy in his praise, as some critics make him out to be, he might have concurred in the following sentiment so long, that is, that he did not know its author was Leigh Hunt: "two things must be remembered to his honour . . . he has been the quickest of our late writers to point out the great superiority of the Italian school over the French; and . . . has been among the first . . . in hailing the dawn of our native poetry. To be remembered too, though not always to his honor, is Hayley's relationship with Blake, a three-year encounter, which, having for so long been caricatured, needs now to be humanized and then re-viewed along the lines that Reiman proposes: "His work on plates for a number of Hayley's titles suggests that a study [of them] . . . in the light of Blake's ideas is likely to point to the origin of details (perhaps parodying Hayley's ideas) in Blake's own writings after 1803" (pp. xii-xiii). In this way the blankness of the historical record regarding the extent of their agreements and disagreements might be filled in with plausible speculation that remains faithful to the principles of both men.

What did Blake and Hayley talk about? Why might Blake have felt intellectually in his debt despite deep, even irreconcilable, differences? Hayley's poetry, along with the accompanying notes, provides some ground for conjecture. They talked about Milton certainly (in *An Essay on Sculpture*, 1800, Hayley calls him "the hallow'd Homer of the Christian world" [II.170]); and they probably talked about the whole epic tradition of which Milton was England's mighty exemplar, of Sidney and Spenser perhaps, and of Dante and Tasso. Hayley thought Dante's poetry, especially the Ugolino episode, might provide a new subject matter for painters and, in *An Essay on Epic Poetry*, 1782, offered the first sustained English translation for the Commedia—"a rendering in terza rima of the first three cantos of the Inferno. As early as a Poetical Epistle to an Eminent Painter, 1778, addressed to George Romney, Hayley urged, "Let Milton's self be lead by his art, to poetry the scenes that blaze in his immortal song," singing out his Michael and especially his Satan who is "more sublimely true" than that of Raphael, Guido, and West—a Satan who has not yet lost his original brightness as he awakens his legions or, still earlier, as he is "falling from the Realms of Bliss, / Hurl'd in the Combustion to the deep Abyss" (II. 451-74, Notes, p. 76). Allusions to Milton elsewhere in Hayley's poetry reveal a mind captivated by the episode of Ithuriel's spear. Romney picked up such hints, and Blake may have responded to them as well. In *An Essay on Sculpture* Hayley returns to Milton, this time to celebrate him with Tasso as one who "Imbib'd the fervour of sublime design" (I. 133); with Michelangelo as one who, achieving a perfection that no precepts teach, "close[d] / A life of labour in divine repose, / In that calm vale of years" (1.157-60); and with Newton as an example of "ceaseless toil" producing "pure minds" (1.151-54). Here again Hayley urges sculptors "To quicken marble with Miltonic fire" (II.194) and, later, praises the "industry and genius of Fuseli's Milton Gallery. Here too he will praise *Paradise Regained* for containing "the sublimest censure of the national conduct of Rome" (Notes, p. 306) and, in *An Eulogy on the Death of Sir William Jones*, 1795, the "local exactitude" of Milton's descriptions (Notes, p. 25). But in *An Essay on History*, 1780, he had already complained of the "Danger of dwelling on the distant and minute parts of a subject really interesting," observing Milton's "Failure . . . in this particular" (III, Argument). There are poems like *The Eulogies* of Howard that through an epigraph, "to tell of deeds / Above heroic," will establish a Miltonic context or that through a subtitle, "A Vision," will invoke a tradition of which, in comparison with Blake, Hayley has but a diminished awareness.

Subjects raised by Hayley's poetry might also have provided topics for conversation: Michelangelo and Raphael; John Howard, the prison reformer;
Newton, religionist and scientist; Cowper, Romney, Reynolds, Flaxman, and Fuseli; William Jones, Thomas Maurice, and their Asiatic researches; Bishop Lowth and his lectures on the bardic poetry of the Hebrews. Individual phrases, however puerile their contexts, might have captured Blake's attention—"mental eyes," "mental vision," "optics of the mind," "a mental mist," "unfetter'd forms," "art divine," "living forms," "vast design," "radiant structure"—perhaps even an entire line like this one from Ballada: "I see thee riding in the sun, / Upon the Eagle's back" (III). Certain of Hayley's ideas, however inadequate their poetic embodiment, might similarly have provided occasions for conversation: "the removal of . . . galling fetters" from mankind; "Jesus enthron'd in every human heart"; "boundless vision . . . uncramp't by time and space;" "the bard, to rhymes no more confin'd;" "Adam's race redeem'd from woe . . . [and] Paradise to man restored." Blake would have entered his demurrals, of course, and Hayley may have been patronizing, or worse, in receiving them. But if our renewed consideration of their relationship were to suggest a more human and civilized dimension, a modulation of rancor into guarded respect, we might sense that Blake came to feel with Hayley that an appropriate tribute to such respect is to realize another man's ideas, even if realizing them means sometimes altering so as to improve upon them.

If Blake had read Hayley's Felpham, 1814, he might have cast himself into the role assigned to Cowper, that of a Miltonic bard laboring to unfetter the human mind. Blake might even have imagined himself accomplishing what Hayley says his son—had he lived—would have accomplished: "Confederate arts" joining "to see / Their English Michael Angelo in thee" (p. 22). The extent to which Blake came to Felpham as a surrogate son who disappointed, and was disappointed in, his father needs exploring. With Hayley's conception of the arts and of artistic objectives as they are set forth in An Essay on Sculpture Blake could not help but have agreed. He would have joined Hayley in resisting those "mental tyrants" in their effort "To limit England in the sphere of Art" (II.165-66), with Hayley he would also have belittled "foreign Theorists, with System blind, / Prescrib [ing] false limits to the British mind" as Hayley puts it in A Poetical Epistle (II.15-16). He would have agreed with Hayley that through the arts a nation makes bold advances to ideal life, that the arts, while they reveal the "destin'd havoc" of the world, are also heralds of a purer day (IV.578-86). He would probably have found Hayley's analogizing of the young artist to "A young Prometheus in a vulture's clasp" (VI.20) pointedly relevant, even ironically apt, to his own situation of which the very man who hoped that young artists would not be tyrannized by engravers and who, in A Poetical Epistle, allowed as how fashion "fetters the creative hand" (I.53-56) now seemed so remarkably insensitive. It remains one of the ironies of literary history that Hayley who chastized others for confounding, depressing, dampening the genius of young poets seems to have done just that, at least for a time, with Blake.

Hayley must have seemed a strangely divided personality to Blake, as he did to other of the Romantic poets. Yet all of them, including Blake, would be expected to see art, along with Hayley in An Essay on Sculpture, as emerging, still emerging, from darkness and "shin[ing] through Oppression's storm" (IV, 22-23)—as being a projection of that history, at once epical and tragical, which it would alter. The very alignment that Hayley, in An Essay on History, perceives between history and art, the former lending a dramatic center to the latter, must have fired Blake's interest in, impelled his scrutiny of both history and art, the former not chronicled but mythologized however, and the latter raised to the key of prophecy and vision. In the very act of identifying Hayley with Hyle, some of Blake's critics have scandalized a relationship that begs to be psychologized; moreover, they have Newtonized a vision whose ultimate goal is to save us from single vision and Newton's sleep. Blake's poetry is not, in the words of An Essay on Sculpture, "mere allegory" (Notes, p. 188). If Donald Reiman's Hayley helps to redeem us from the simple equation, Hyle = Hayley, it will have performed a valuable service for Blakeans; and in the very act of setting Hayley within a Romantic context Reiman has brought us one step nearer capturing the spirit of an age that is as much the age of Hayley and Hunt as of Southey and Shelley, of Byron and Blake.
This book is a collection of essays all but two of which were delivered as lectures during the past decade or so. The essays are: "England's Prophet"; "Everything that Lives is Holy"; "Blake's Christianity"; "Blake's Last Judgement"; "Taylor, Blake and the English Romantic Movement"; "Blake, Wordsworth and Nature"; "Innocence and Experience"; and "Berkeley, Blake and the New Age." The book is intended, says the Preface, "not for the academic, but for the common reader and especially for those in search of what Blake himself claims to have possessed, spiritual knowledge, and all the essays are said to be "studies of Blake's thought as it has an immediate bearing on changes taking place at the present time" (vii).

Raine sees the new age that Blake called for in the Preface to Milton as the "change of premises" going on in the last part of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth that will replace materialism and restore mind as the first principle of the universe. She does not deal with these changes or with the direct relevance of Blake's thought to them except very generally, almost incidentally. And, as readers of Miss Raine's Blake and Tradition would know, Blake's thought is conceived of less as ideas developed by himself than as spiritual knowledge received and transformed from the esoteric tradition of the west, especially from Plotinus and Plato through their contemporary interpreter and translator, Thomas Taylor.

Blake's originality is vigorously denied in this book: "Blake was not an original thinker, and the arrows he loosed with such force from his bow of burning gold, though tipped with his own fire, were seldom of his own making" (p. 151). And "At the risk of shocking those lovers of Blake who see in him a visionary of absolute originality, I must say that with better knowledge of Blake's own deep studies it seems to me that his most remarkable gift was that of imaginatively assimilating the ideas of his chosen teachers" (p. 115). While no one I think during the past three decades at least would claim for Blake "absolute originality," taking away as much of it as these statements do is to take away too much of the reason for being interested in him at all.

In addition to what is called here "the Platonic tradition," among Blake's immediate teachers are not only Thomas Taylor but also Swedenborg and Berkeley—who again share in the Platonic tradition as conceived here. Returning in the last essay of the book to the theme of the New Age, Raine writes:

It was Blake who proclaimed the new age; not on his own authority but upon that of Emanuel Swedenborg . . . When in his Marriage of
Heaven and Hell Blake announced 'a new heaven is begun', the prophecy is Swedenborg's; and the new vision of the age is--allowing for common sources within a tradition--Berkeley's philosophy. (p. 151)

Though recognizing that such a sweeping statement may "well be challenged" and may need definition and limits, the only limits set by Raine consist of her saying that in the Platonic tradition "it is not always possible to say which particular writer is the source of some common idea" (p. 151). There is no indication that a reader looking into The Marriage of Heaven and Hell would there find Swedenborg very vigorously and unambiguously attacked, though it is true that Blake did owe more to Swedenborg than his treatment of him in The Marriage would suggest. In the discussion that follows there are many suggestive parallels between Berkeley and Blake drawn piecemeal from a variety of works. But if, as was suggested, the new vision announced in The Marriage was based on Berkeley's philosophy, there are only four incidental references to The Marriage to show for it, and no mention of Blake's idea of the Contraries, one of the central themes of the new vision.

Thomas Taylor is mentioned throughout the essays, but the strongest claims for his importance not only to Blake but to the Romantic movement as a whole come in the fifth essay, where Raine asserts that, though no "great flowering of the arts could ever have one cause, . . . the most powerful source of inspiration of the Romantic Movement was a revival of the Platonic philosophy" through the translations and commentaries of Thomas Taylor. There is a good deal of useful information here about Taylor and the extent to which he was known in his time. But the view of Romanticism we get is limited to literary Romanticism and that only in England. Romanticism was indeed a "great flowering of the arts"--not only literature--and of politics, etc., in numerous languages and cultures, in which influences of the Platonic tradition or, much less, Taylor do not always seem to appear.

It seems to me very unfortunate that Raine feels she must deny Blake's originality as much as she does. Blake is certainly not the completely culturally isolated phenomenon he was thought to be by some many years ago, and he has some roots in the esoteric tradition as well as many other places. But if he was not as original as once thought--and probably no one ever was--he was fiercely independent; and it is very difficult to imagine his being as derivative as he is said here to be. It seems to me that Blake's sources may be more profitably studied if we don't deny the affective impression we all had on first looking into him, of an enormously fresh and original poet and artist with depths of meaning only to be guessed at, rather than a visionary transmitter of ideas merely assimilated from Platonic tradition--and from Swedenborg and Berkeley. In considering his debt to the Platonic tradition and to Plato himself as made available in his time by Thomas Taylor, there is the stubborn fact that Blake in all his works has few kind words to say about Plato.
Johann Heinrich Füssli has been repatriated. Posthumously the Swiss painter who, under the name of Henry Fuseli, became Professor of Painting and Keeper of the London Royal Academy is now accepted as one of the major figures of eighteenth-century Continental art, and many of his most celebrated works have, during the past seventy years or so, found their way "back" into Swiss, German, and Italian collections. Also, much of the scholarly work on Fuseli has been published on the Continent, and now two aspects of his work which are not readily available to the museum public, his poetry and his drawings, seem on the verge of gaining the recognition they deserve.

Professor Schiff's pioneering analysis of the British Museum's Roman Sketchbook, which prepared the way for the 1958-59 exhibition of the then little-known Zeichnungen von Johann Heinrich Füssli in Zurich, and Eudo C. Mason's rare edition of some of the painter's poems, have been followed more recently by a number of important books and exhibition catalogues. Some of these are briefly described in the following notes, leaving, however, the chef d'oeuvre of all Fuseli scholarship to the present day, Gert Schiff's monumental catalogue raisonné, for separate discussion later.

As a poet Fuseli indeed has to be considered in the context of German-language literature. The relation between painting and poetry in his œuvre differs considerably from that in Blake's, where the terminology of the "sister arts" and a "composite art" seems more legitimate. The Sämtliche Gedichte do not follow the concept of *ut pictura poesis* at all; on the contrary, with few exceptions they are quite abstract and non-visual, written in the manner and under the marked influence of Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock. Guthke points out what the reader of Fuseli's poetry feels from the beginning: the author favored the classical ode; his stanzas are alcaic or asclepiadeic; he makes use of hexameters or distichs—"all rather complex poetic devices employed with an extensive knowledge of antique traditions. These suit much of his subject matter, which is full of learned allusions and sometimes close to an allegorical hide-and-seek.

Many of these verses are addressed to Fuseli's friends in Switzerland; then there are the odes on patience, "auf den Portwein," and "an das Vaterland." Other groups are devoted to the Nibelungen saga and Germanic history, the anti-slavery campaign and the American War of Independence, or the author's theory of art. That Fuseli's finest achievement as a poet is one of his few love poems, "Nannas Auge," has long been accepted. Though Fuseli has been identified as one of the major exponents of the Storm-and-Stress movement, Guthke justly emphasizes that his poetry is far from being impeccable. Often
there are signs of rhetorical over-working, a fault that Fuseli recognized and criticized himself.\footnote{Federmann's book,} Judging the quality of his literary work, however, we ought to remember that what we have of his later poetry is in most cases known from working drafts only, and Mason's earlier hypothesis, that many of the poems might have reached a mature state in the lost fair copies, still seems valid.\footnote{Federmann's book.}

The majority of the forty-six poems, printed here in an tentative chronological sequence, were written early in Fuseli's career, and only two of them in English. If seen in the context of contemporary German and English literature, all of them bear witness to the stylistic conservatism of their author. The mature work of Goethe and Schiller, of Hölderlin and Kleist, of the German and British Romantics made no mark. The odes bear an especially strong resemblance to Klopstock's "Hermann und Thusnelda"—which Fuseli deliberately remodelled in about 1760—while the prose poem "Klagen" is somewhat reminiscent of Young's Night Thoughts. Another group reflects Fuseli's admiration for his countryman Rousseau,\footnote{Federmann's book.} and throughout he shows a critical awareness of the decaying feudal structures of European society, as seen through his own republicanism. The cult of artistic creativity that is apparent in "Die Gaben Gottes", the attack on colonialism and slavery and his "prophecy" of the American Revolution in "Chincona" and "Colombo" are close—but close in subject matter only—to Blake's works of the early 1790s. Though Fuseli's poetry clearly suggests that his friendship with the engraver grew out of a number of political and artistic ideas that they shared, I cannot see any direct poetic influence of the one on the other of the two men. [Mis-reading the Gedichte as prose essays, however, we find Fuseli's Erste [und Zweite] Ode über die Kunst of the early 1770s foreshadowing Blake's Descriptive Catalogue in its praise of Michelangelo and outline at the expense of Titian, Correggio, and coloring. (Though Raphael, too, was one of Fuseli's effeminate demons!) Fuseli's exclamation "Höllle, sei mir gegrüßest!" appears to echo Blake's Marriage, and any Blake scholar will feel at home with the attacks on kings and priests that are launched repeatedly.

Guthke's Nachwort supplies the reader with yet another short biography of Fuseli which, though there is nothing new in it, is necessary to an understanding of the various auto-biographical pieces. Rather more important is the analysis of the obvious discrepancies between Fuseli's poetic and pictorial oeuvre, and Guthke is also helpful with respect to the formal development of Fuseli's poetry in its historical context. Mason's introduction to the edition of 1951, however, is not superseded by Guthke and Bircher. In my opinion it remains the best detailed and balanced account of Fuseli's poetic achievement that has been published to the present day.\footnote{Federmann's book.}

Though the title promises Sämtliche Gedichte, the edition is not complete. Thus, for unknown reasons the lyrical fragments among Fuseli's letters, which are known from Federmann's book,\footnote{Federmann's book.} have been left out. Also, I am not entirely comfortable with the editorial principles employed in this first, and probably for a long time to come the only, collection of Fuseli's poetry that is available to a wide public. Too much may have been left to the uncontrollable "Ermessen des Herausgebers" and the extent of Bircher's "modernizing" can be only estimated by comparing the facsimile reproductions of the manuscripts with the edited versions.\footnote{Federmann's book.} This may be justified by the attempt to achieve "eine lesbare . . . Textform"; I doubt, however, that the same text can meet with the demands of a "wissenschaftlich zuverlässige Textform."\footnote{Federmann's book.} In any case, the incompleteness in the apparatus of variants will be regretted in the long run, especially by those scholars who cannot easily consult the original manuscripts in Applecote (Ashford, Kent), Berlin, and Zurich. And yet, if Bircher and Guthke's edition is measured against what we had before, these criticisms shrink to their proper proportions. While Fuseli may be only a minor Swiss poet, the publication of this handsome little volume—about the size of Blake's Poetical Sketches—should nevertheless be welcomed for the insight it makes possible into the painter's feelings as well as his ideas.\footnote{Federmann's book.}

Whereas the 1977 Milan catalogue of some forty-five of Fuseli's disegni e dipinti gives little relevant information beyond a number of new ownerships,\footnote{Federmann's book.} Yvonne Boerlin-Brodeck's work on the Basle collection of Fuseli's drawings deserves more attention. Cleaning and restoration of this group, combined with the author's scrutiny on watermarks and the like, has yielded a number of interesting new results.\footnote{Federmann's book.} Almost eighty works from what probably is the finest Fuseli collection in our day, the Kunsthauz Zurich, were on show at Geneva in 1978, and, more recently, an exhibition comprising not only the "painter in ordinary to the devil" but also his circle in Rome, was held at the Yale Center for British Art.\footnote{Federmann's book.} Yet another exhibition, concentrating on the Auckland Fuselis, travelled to various cities in Australia and New Zealand from April to November 1979. The Auckland drawings did not come to scholarly light until 1963; they were then published in Peter Tomory's important catalogue of 1967. The booklet accompanying their latest showing is a slightly revised and considerably enlarged version, prepared by the same author. This time, Fuseli's designs were put into proper perspective: the 100 items on show included work by such artists as Barry, Blake, John Brown, Jefferys, Mortimer, Romney, and Alexander Runciman, forming, according to Tomory, a Poetical Circle around the British-Swiss master.\footnote{Federmann's book.} For Blake enthusiasts, Tomory's new hypothesis that the engraver William Blake may have been the original owner of the Auckland Fuseli collection should certainly add to the attractiveness of the catalogue. Prof. Tomory argues that the album may have passed through Linnell's hands and then into the possession of Albin Martin, the former owner of the much disputed New Zealand set of copies from Blake's Job.\footnote{Federmann's book.}

Besides the Milan catalogue, another Italian effort in Fuseli studies ought to be mentioned. L'opera completa di Fuseli has many merits.\footnote{Federmann's book.} First, the 64 full-page illustrations in quarto format represent the largest group of color plates from Fuseli's oeuvre published to the present day; and the modest price of the book makes us put up with the fact that some of them are rather marred, and
that they often show a beastly tinge of red which of course is absent from the original oils and watercolors. Then there is a competent "elenco cronologico e iconografico di tutti i dipinti di Füssli o a lui attribuiti," compiled by Paola Viatto under the quidance of Gert Schiff. This "catálogo delle [318] opere" is illustrated with tiny black-and-white reproductions of the paintings. Complete with an appendix (a descriptive and fully illustrated list of 122 important Fuseli drawings), an "itinerario di un'avventura critica," a select bibliography, a timetabled, a thematic index, and an introductory essay by Gert Schiff on "il classicista 'malgré lui,'" this makes up a fine and most useful compendium. Side by side, the London catalogue of 197519 and this volume from the "Classici dell Arte" series constitute, as it were, an abbreviated version of the monumental catálogo raisonné.

In spite of the warnings of Anthony Blunt and others,20 both Blake and Fuseli scholars, where dealing with the relation between the two artists, have all too often been preoccupied with establishing dubious priorities in the use of this or that motif. It is to be hoped that the wealth of materials published by now, including some listed in this announcement, will help in tackling more ingenious questions. Thus, the similarities in subject matter may be weighed against the basic differences in personal style; Fuseli, the outsider inside the academic system may confront Blake, the outsider outside all systems but his own; Fuseli, as a representative of the Cinquecento tradition may be set against Blake, the "creator as destroyer."21 I can think of no Fuseli painting which would be mistaken as a Blake—"in the present state of research it seems to be worthwhile to accept the challenge and to ask why. What is needed now is a comparisic investigation of the formal constituents of a number of iconographically similar works by both artists. I should think that we all have had enough of the narrow-minded and partial quarrels between Fuselians and Blakeans, which often appear to be as irrelevant as they are subjective, characterized by a mutual ignorance of the results of the literature in the neighboring field of studies.22 The latter, at least, need not be, and in the future we may try not to

[Reparatrices] with pedantic rage
And [strew] with [Truisms] the unmeaning page.
Till Sense with Nonsense, Truth with Falsehood toss't
On Fancy's wave, [sink] in Confusion lost.23

1 Thus, the first modern monograph, Arnold Federmann's Johann Heinrich Füssli: Dichter und Maler 1741-1825 (Zurich and Leipzig: Orell Füssli, 1927) was published as vol. 1 of a series entitled "Monographien zur Schweizer Kunst;" similarly, the catálogo raisonné is vol. 1 of the "Oberevkataloge Schweizer Künstler," published for the Swiss Institute for Art Research (Gert Schiff, Johann Heinrich Füssli 1741-1825. 2 vols. [Zurich: Berichthaus, Munich: Prestel, 1973]). Recently Herbert von Einem discussed Fuseli in his book on Deutsche Malerei des Klassizismus und der Romantik 1780 bis 1860 (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1978).--it was in Rome and in England that Fuseli developed from a gifted amateur into a professional artist. Still, there might be a kernel of truth in Pevsner's hint that Fuseli's "Swiss-ness" may explain the basic discrepancies between his and Flaxman's style (see The Britishness of British Art, London: Architectural Press, 1956, pp. 126ff.). Thus, I do not mean to ridicule, in a precipitiant way, what has been termed the "national character" in art. Together with all milieu and social theory of art this complex of questions undoubtedly belongs to the realm of unsolved problems in post-war art history. The painter's own feelings for Switzerland obviously remained unsettled, which is hardly surprising with an emigrant. Compare, e.g., the satirical drawing Schiff no. 565 and the poem on "Schweizerns Künstler."


4 See Mason 1951, p. 12.

5 See Mason 1951, p. 12.


7 See Mason 1951, pp. 7-45. The opinions here are by no means identical with the same author's rather rash verdicts in The Mind of Henry Fuseli (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1951), pp. 26-29, a book that was in print when the editor first learned about the Fuseli poems in the "North-Komvolt" (see Mason 1951, p. 21n2).

8 See Federmann 1927, pp. 115f., 120, 133, 135, 136, 141, 145.

9 Bircher, "Zum Text," in Bircher & Guthke 1973, p. 120.

10 E.g., in the second Lavater ode I count upwards of forty "modernizations," including one misreading, in a poem of not more than twenty-two lines. See Bircher & Guthke 1973, p. 90 and the opposite page for a reproduction of Fuseli's autograph.


12 Finally, interested readers should be aware that only 1000 copies were printed, and those six years ago.


14 Yvonne Boerlin-Brodbek, Zeichnungen des 18. Jahrhunderts aus dem Basel Kupferstichkabinett (Basle: Kunstmuseum, 1978), nos. 72-103, pp. 44-52; (c. $10.00).

15 Dagmar Hnkova, Johann Heinrich Füssli 1741-1826 (Geneva: Musee Rath, 1976, c. $5.00); as far as I can see, the entries in this 50-page leaflet are drawn entirely from the information supplied in Schiff 1973. When writing this note, my copy of the Yale catalogue, prepared by Nancy L. Pressly ($11.50) had not arrived in Graz. Fuseli it duly be recorded, however, in next year's "Checklist."

16 Peter A. Tomory, The Poetical Circle: Fuseli and the British (Florence: Centro Di, for the Australian Gallery Directors' Council, 1979 ["Centro Di cat. 108"]; c. $15.00), being the second, revised and enlarged edition of A Collection of Drawings by Henry Fuseli, R. A. (Auckland, N. Z.: City Art Gallery, 1967),
which has been reviewed by Michael J. Tolley in Blake Newsletter 11, 3 (Winter 1969), 51-52.

17 See Tomory 1979, p. 15.


21 This, of course, is not to say that there is no "Tradition" or "Antiquity" in Blake's work; he made use of them, however, in a radically non-affirmative way. To simplify matters: where the Swiss-born painter draws on artistic and intellectual traditions, he does so as an "imitator" (understood according to the definition in his own first Academy lecture); Blake's strengths and weaknesses, on the other hand, originate in a method of "Copying" based on "Inspiration," not "Mnemosyne." See Ralph N. Wornum, ed., Lectures by the Royal Academicians: Barry, Opie, and Fuseli (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1848), p. 348, and Blake's Milton.

22 The game was started contemporarily by Stothard, and among its devotees we find Gilchrist, Federmann, Albert S. Roe, Gert Schiff, and all too many others.

23 Fuseli's "Dunciad of Painting," in Bircher & Guthke 1973, p. 81.

---


Reviewed by David Worrall

From Aardvark to Z Theatre Company, in music, dance, mime and drama, there were over 330 shows, including 180 premieres, on offer at the 1980 Edinburgh Festival Fringe. Listed in the Fringe program between a revue called West Ham v. Bocarta and a play named The Human Puppet Theatre, the eye was arrested by the detail that Marlborough College's production of Blake's The Ghost of Abel would be playing three shows a day during the second week of the Festival, sponsored by the prestigious and enterprising Richard Demarco Gallery.

The Edinburgh Fringe is a unique jewel in the cultural life of Britain. For three weeks in late summer a bewildering mixture of professional and amateur groups from both sides of the Atlantic compete to fill excruciatingly uncomfortable seats hastily installed in countless church halls, schools,
youth centers, at least one enlightened nightclub, the odd marquee and perhaps even a few "legitimate" theatres. Audiences can be tiny even at the very low prices charged and Fringegoers can be as choosy as they please. If Prickly Heat University's production of Genet's juvenilia proves to be less than definitive, it can be consoling to know that Add Hock Th. Co. will be opening at the other end of the street in ten minutes' time.

Not that more philosophical tastes are neglected. The Ghost of Abel, produced by one of Britain's leading independent schools, under the direction of Michael Davis, proved an engaging and demanding event that crammed much into its half-hour playing time. Rather than leaving Blake crying in the wilderness to a passing audience perhaps unfamiliar with English romanticism (or even Cain and Abel), it had been decided to present Blake's drama as the last statement in a gradually unfolding Christian myth beginning with Genesis 4 and then proceeding to The Ghost of Abel via extracts from Coleridge's The Wanderings of Cain and Byron's Cain: A Mystery.

Marlborough College was not the only company operating from St. Francis' Hall, and its show was sandwiched between two other groups performing almost immediately before and after. Such a quick change around must have been difficult for everyone. A church-hall accommodating a succession of performances cannot offer much in the way of normal theatrical facilities and Michael Davis was wise to opt for simple uniform of jeans and kaftans for his cast.

The play began with a semi-ritualistic enactment of the Cain and Abel section of Genesis with each verse spoken by a different actor. In this scene, and at times throughout the play, a seated chorus of onlookers was used to good effect in echoing the stylized facial and grouping characteristics of the Job designs. Indeed, one could have wished that the nettle of the language of stylized gesture had been grasped more firmly and confidently by the company, because it is a mode of expression that seems particularly well suited to swiftly moving epic-grammatic language.

Coleridge's The Wanderings of Cain does not adapt easily to the stage, even in abridgement, but Cain's subtle edging towards repentance is quite close to Blake's lines on the forgiveness of sins which concluded this episode. Furthermore, the Coleridge piece was dramatically relevant because it introduces Abel's ghost, which is not present in Byron's play. Byron's Cain: A Mystery was a successful third movement not merely because it directly gave rise to The Ghost of Abel but also because it contains promisingly dramatic writing. Adam's "Eve! let not his, / Thy natural grief, lead to impiety" sounded eminently mealy-mouthed in contrast to Eve's almost shrillish "His will! .... May all the curses / Of life be on him!" These are appropriate colleagues for Los and Enitharmon in their weaker moments and suitable precursors for elements in Blake's Adam and Eve. The skillfully cut Cain: A Mystery ended with Cain in painful self-knowledge addressing Abel's corpse and providing a cue for The Ghost of Abel: "Now for the wilderness!"
Perhaps it is well to have further discussion of the inscription on Blake's sketch: see David Bindman, "The Dead Ardours Revisited," Blake 56, Spring 1981, p. 211, querying my "Leonora, Laodamia, and the Dead Ardours," Blake 54, Fall 1980, pp. 96-98. Bindman and I have both examined the original sketch, in his collection, while the photograph of it as reproduced in Blake 54 has given people a wretchedly faint image to examine. Here, with better reproductive results be it hoped, is a re-photographing on high-contrast paper, giving much sharper definition.

"There can be no doubt about the initial words 'The dead,'" Bindman agrees, adding: "nor, I believe, that they are in Blake's own formal script, but it is still not even clear how many words follow." He also questions whether Blake was the one who put his initials in the far left and whether "Perry" can possibly be the word crowded in at the end of the inscription--though he apparently takes it to be in Blake's hand: to Bindman it seems "very improbable that Blake would have brought in the name of such an obscure engraver in this way, in the same formal script as the title, even if there were other evidence to connect it with the Leonora engravings."

I find it hard to conceive of anything that would more powerfully connect this design with the design which Blake made and Perry etched for Leonora (see plate 380 in Bindman's Complete Graphic Works of Blake) than the striking resemblances between the "dead" somethings in this sketch and the "Forms" "of Death" (according to line 2 of its inscription) in that plate that was etched and published. To Blake, Perry need not have been "an obscure engraver" even though he was a bad one and we may suppose that Blake disliked, not his obscenity, but his ugly transformation of Blake's faces and bodies with his stippling deconstruction.

That the word I have read as "Perry" might rather be a word integral to the caption, as Bindman implies, seems to be ruled out by the nature of the caption as a mock-up or layout, something I alluded to before but have now given closer attention to, thanks to the questioning. Lettering, in a design plan, is not inscribed but positioned. Bindman makes no note of the letters "V O L U M E" which have been partly cut off but are visible in the upper left portion of the sketch. It will be left to a lettering engraver to inscribe that half-title. And even the caption itself, far from being all in "Blake's own formal script," is approximately formal only in the opening "The" and the second and third "d". The smaller letters are only roughly indicated, to lay out the spacing, if later revised a bit for legibility. In short, this is not a finished inscription but a mock-up for an engraver to follow in his own style. In the three stipple engravings actually used in Leonora it seems evident that the identifying phrases "Blake inv:" and "Perry sc:" in the corners of the plates were not inscribed by Blake: quite possibly they were not inscribed by Perry either but by a specializing lettering engraver.
Thanks to David Bindman's query, I can now see that the "P" of "Perry" is rather more like the "P" as engraved in the published plates than it is like Blake's--though, pace Bindman's other viewers of the original sketch, nothing like a formal "L" can be seen here. The letter is a formal "P" in the style of copperplate hand employed by Blake (see "O Prince" for a flourished example, in \textit{FZ} 38:15) as well as in that of the lettering engraver.

Why should "Perry" be crowded up so against the last word of the caption, and too close for a properly flourishing "P"? And why "W.B." put off toward the left edge? I take it that although the caption itself had to be carefully spaced and its style indicated, the placing of the names would depend on the final shaping of the plate. They were simply jotted here, by Perry or by some foreman, as reminders. If the design were used as a vignette under "SECOND VOLUME" (to guess at a number) it might float as a cloud above blank space and the names be tucked inconspicuously under the corners of the cloud: compare Bindman, plates 381 and 382.

As for the caption itself, however, infrared photography yields no trace of any letter where Bindman hesitantly conjectures (and abandons) a "b" for "bard." But "ardours" stands out even more clearly than "dead"; the pencil mending Bindman mentions I take to be Blake's turning the sketch into setting-copy, so to speak. If the New Mexico printer doesn't now betray us, I think no one need worry further about this transcription. David Bindman, however, has generously invited the curious to consult the original.

And what next? Perhaps someone working in publishing history will discover what aborted Volume these ardours were intended to adorn.

W B. The dead ardours Perry
David Bindman Collection.

\textbf{SONGS COPY h}

Another copy of Songs of Innocence and of Experience has re-emerged on the auction market after a disappearance of over sixty years. At an unknown time, the great bibliophile H. Buxton Forman acquired at least ninety-eight posthumous impressions of the Songs. These he had mounted on linen stubs and bound in three volumes in dark maroon levant morocco, Jansen style, with elaborately gilt dentelles. Each is stamped on the tail of the front paste-down endpaper "BOUND BY RIVIERE & SON FOR H. BUXTON FORMAN" and each bears Forman's bookplate on the inside front cover. One volume, designated as g\textsuperscript{1} in \textit{Blake Books} and containing 23 plates, is now at Princeton; another (g\textsuperscript{2}), with 18 plates, is in the Rosenwald Collection of the Library of Congress. The third and largest volume (h), containing 57 plates on 57 leaves, disappeared after its sale to the bookdealer A. S. W. Rosenbach at the Buxton Forman auction at Anderson Galleries in New York on 15 March 1920, lot 53 (\$90). This volume, not previously described in any detail, has now come to light at Christie's New York auction of 22 May 1981, lot 36, with "A Divine Image" and "The Sick Rose" reproduced in the catalogue. It is now in my collection.

The 57 plates in copy h are in the sequence given below and show fragments (cut by the edges of the sheets) of J WHATMAN 1831 and 1832 watermarks as indicated. Unless otherwise noted, the ink is gray, ranging from very light to almost black. Plates: 1, 1 (a light red-brown terra cotta ink, hereafter designated simply as "brown"); watermark J WH/18), 3 (ATMAN/31), 2 (J WH/18), 4, 6 (ATMAN/31), 7, 8, 5, 25, 9, 10 (J WH/18), 22, 23, 16, 17, 24 (brown; J WH/18), 19 (brown), 11 (ATMAN/31), 12 (ATMAN/31), 18 (brown), 20, 21, 26 (brown), 27, 13 14, 28 (brown, with a few spots of gray), 29, 30 (brown), 31 (brown), 38, 40 (brown; J WH/18), 42, 34, 35 (J WH/18), 36 (brown.
with dark brown ink or paint stains on the lower right corner of the leaf), 32 (brown; J WHA/18), 45 (brown; TMAN/31), 33, 49 (brown), 41 (brown), 39 (TMAN/32), 52 (brown), 52 (J WH/1), 54 (brown), 43 (brown; TMAN/31), 44 (brown; TMAN/31), 50 (brown), 48 (brown), 53 (J WH/1), 53 (brown), 46 (brown), 51 (brown), 37 (brown), 47 (brown), b (dark reddish brown—clearly a different ink than the other brown; ATMAN/832).

Plate 15, "Laughing Song," is lacking; it is not included in any of the three volumes bound up for Forman.

The leaves measure approximately 28 x 19.5 cm., except that the first leaf and the 45th (bearing "To Tirzah" in gray) are short at the bottom, only 24.1 and 24.3 cm. high respectively. This is the approximate leaf size in copies g
1
 and g
2
. These two smaller leaves are a slightly thicker wove paper than all the rest. Each leaf is numbered in pencil consecutively, 1 through 57, below the lower left corner of the plate. Other pencil inscriptions are "KSNS/200 (clearly a bookdealer's notation) on the verso of the front free endpaper, "2" below the plate on the first leaf, "Gilchrist calls this 'Christian Forbearance' II. 65 1863" below "A Poison Tree" on the 41st leaf, and "20" on the verso of the last leaf (bearing "A Divine Image" on its recto).

Three plates are partly hand colored in water colors. Plate 38, "Nurse's Song" in Experience, is awkwardly painted in green, rose red, blue, and yellow, with the title gone over in gold. The pale blue, green, and yellow washed on plate 40, "The Fly," are more skillfully applied. Plate 45, "The Little Vagabond," has been touched with blue and olive green in a few spots.

The vendor of copy h at Christie's auction was Charlton M. Theus, Jr. According to his letter to me of 11 June 1981, Mr. Theus acquired the book c. 1946 from Mr. Reid, a bookseller of Chesterton, South Carolina. I have not been able to learn anything of the book's whereabouts between 1920 and 1946.

Like all posthumous copies of the Songs I have seen, copy h contains a good many poorly inked and printed impressions. Some plates were printed with such great pressure that they have been embossed into the paper. But copy h has one distinctive characteristic. With its three duplicate plates (1, 52, 53) and inclusion of only the sixth known impression of "A Divine Image," it has more plates than any other copy of Songs of Innocence and of Experience. ROBERT N. ESSICK, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, RIVERSIDE.