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On the outside and inside front covers: Blake's Night Thoughts designs, reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.
NEWS

RECENT BLAKE SALES—See Robert Essick’s essay "Blake at Auction 1971" below, Notes.

BLAKE IN THE GALLERIES

The Tate Gallery, London, announces that “following the very successful exhibition of William Blake’s illustrations to the poems of Thomas Gray, organized by the William Blake Trust in association with the Tate Gallery, the Tate’s own collection of works by Blake has been re-hung in Gallery 29. Some additional works normally in store have been added to the display but more exciting are two important loans, “Winter” and “Evening,” lent by the Trustees of the Rev. B. T. Vaughan Johnson. These were painted by Blake to flank a fireplace at his friend The Rev. John Johnson’s Rectory at Yaxham, Norfolk, which was rebuilt in about 1820-21; they have remained in the possession of the family ever since. Unfortunately, a third painting, a frieze showing Olney Bridge, which ran across the top of the fireplace, seems to have been destroyed early this century.”

The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, exhibited the Blake collection of Mrs. Landon K. Thorne from 19 November to 22 January. The collection of books, manuscripts, drawings, and engravings had never been seen before as a unit in public exhibition. At the same time the Library showed Blake’s watercolors for Milton and the Library’s recently purchased copy of Poetical Sketches. A catalogue of the exhibition, The Blake Collection of Mrs. Landon K. Thorne (60 pp. of text, 30 pls.) by G. E. Bentley, Jr., has been published.

The Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York, in late 1971 exhibited its copy of Blake’s Job engravings and of the seven Dante engravings, both proof copies. They were purchased by the Gallery in 1943, but have never been shown as a unit, and have been shown only once outside the Gallery, at Buffalo’s 20th Century Club in 1951. (Our thanks to Professor Thomas Connolly for calling our attention to the Albright-Knox exhibit. Eds.)

Paris, early 1972, will see Blake well represented in a major exhibition of British Romantic painting. The catalogue entries for the Blake pictures have been written by David Bindman (Lecturer in the History of Art, Westfield College, London). There are likely to be twelve items shown: The Adoration of the Kings (Brighton Art Gallery); The Head of Voltaire (Manchester Art Gallery); The Ancient of Days, colored print (Whitworth Art Gallery, Manchester); The House of Death, monotype (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge); Death on a Pale Horse (Fitzwilliam); Pity, monotype (Tate Gallery); Newton, monotype (Tate); Beatrice on the Car, watercolor (British Museum); The Circle of the Dustful, watercolor (Birmingham City Art Gallery); Thornton’s Virgin, wood engravings (Victoria and Albert Museum); Songs of Innocence and of Experience (Kings College, Cambridge); Small Book of Designs, four plates (British Museum).

BLAKE FACSIMILES

A limited number of single-plate "overs" (prices £2.25, £1.50, 45p) from the hand-colored facsimiles and the offset Handbook produced by the Trianon Press, Paris, for the William Blake Trust which were on sale at the Blake Exhibition in the National Library of Scotland in 1969 are available for purchase, along with greeting cards (price 5p) of seven subjects from Songs of Innocence and of Experience. Inquiries to the Publications Officer, National Library of Scotland, George IV Bridge, Edinburgh EH1 1EW, Scotland.

BLAKE SEMINAR, MLA CHICAGO 1971

The 1971 Blake Seminar, a gathering of about twenty dedicated travelers, met on 28 December at the Newberry Library in Chicago. Morris Eaves (University of New Mexico) led a discussion of The Marriage of Heaven and Hell. As the announcement of the Seminar had warned, the discussion roamed freely from text to illustration to text, with little guidance other than literary free-association, though it showed a tendency to focus repeatedly on plates 4 and 10 and the plates most closely related to them in The Marriage.

BLAKE SEMINAR, MLA NEW YORK 1972

Joseph A. Wittreich, Jr. (University of Wisconsin) has announced that Blake and Tradition is the topic for the 1972 Blake Seminar, which will meet during the Annual MLA Meeting in New York. The papers that will provide the basis of the discussion will appear in the Fall 1972 issue of Blake Studies.

A NEW BLAKE VIDEOTAPE

A videotape interpretation of Blake’s Visions of the Daughters of Albion, produced at York University and intended for use in the classroom, was shown on 29 December to about thirty people at the MLA Annual Meeting in Chicago. After the showing there was a discussion led by the director, Bob Wallace (York University), and by the writers of the script, Janet Warner (York University) and John Sutherland (Colby College). The fifty-minute videotape was made in 1971. It includes a dramatic reading of the poem and interpretive commentary, and it uses graphics from Blake, Stedman’s Surinam, and a variety of other sources.

Shown here are three samples of graphics used in the videotape, plates from Capt. J. G. Stedman’s Narrative of a five years’ expedition, against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam ... 2 vols., 80 pls. (London: J. Johnson & J. Edwards, 1796). Stedman drew all the illustrations for his book, and Blake engraved about sixteen of them, including the three shown here.
January 27

American distribution for the videotape is now being arranged.

BLAKE AND GINSBERG ON ABC-TV'S "DIRECTIONS" Two films, both produced and directed by Aram Boyajian, were shown January 16 and 23 on ABC-TV's Directions. Allen Ginsberg sings and reads from Blake's works in illuminated printing as plates from those works are shown. A facsimile was used in the preparation of the films for shots of Jerusalem only; otherwise the photography is of originals.

The subject of the first film, William Blake: Innocence and Experience, is There Is No Natural Religion and the Songs. Ginsberg talks about the influence Blake has had on his own poetry, sings "Ah! Sun-Flower", and reads several other songs. Besides plates from the Songs, there are shots of Westminster Abbey and of the high-rise building now on the site of Blake's birthplace. William Blake: Prophet, the second film, includes shots of the cottage at Felpham. Ginsberg talks on camera about the feeling of "going mad" when he heard a voice speaking Blake's poems, and he sings "The Sick Rose." He reads as selected pictures from The Book of Urizen, Milton, Jerusalem, the watercolor Job series, and the Dante series are shown.

ROSE LECTURES ON BLAKE E. J. Rose, Chairman of the Department of English at the University of Alberta, delivered the Edmund Kemper Broadus Lectures at the University January 24-27. All the lectures were on Blake: "Blake's Los," 24 January; "Blake's Orc," 25 January; "Blake's Woman Figure," 26 January; and "The Shape of Blake's Vision," 27 January.

THE SONGS ONSTAGE IN NEW YORK

In January the Dance and Drama Theatre of New York City presented Three Pieces in Multi Media. The third of the three was Blake's Songs of Innocence and of Experience" directed by Michael Fischetti.

W. H. STEVENSON AT STUDIES IN ROMANTICISM

The well-known Blake scholar W. H. Stevenson is now editor of Studies in Romanticism (published quarterly by Boston University Graduate School at 236 Bay State Road, Boston, Mass. 02215). Although founded in the Department of English, the journal publishes articles on all aspects of Romanticism--its literature (in any language), art, music, history, philosophy, and science--and thus it is of interest to anyone with a specialized or general interest in the period. There have been articles on Blake at different times by such scholars as G. E. Bentley, Jr., Robert F. Gleckner, John E. Grant, Martin K. Nummi, Morton D. Paley, and Edward J. Rose (who also has an article in the Winter 1972 issue). The fourth number of each volume is usually devoted to one author or topic within the field of Romantic studies. Subscriptions are $6.50 for one year; $12 for two years; $16 for three years. A cumulative index is available for the first ten volumes, 1961-1971, price $1.

MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT NEWSLETTER

The Mary Wollstonecraft Newsletter will be published twice a year beginning in May 1972. Its subject will be women writers of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, and women in the literature of the period. Short articles of fewer than 3000 words, notes, and reviews are welcomed from
subscribers. Manuscripts—accompanied by a stamped and addressed envelope for return—and subscriptions ($4) may be addressed to Janet Todd / Department of English / University of Florida / Gainesville, Florida 32601.

WORKS IN PROGRESS

Hoover, Suzanne (Sudbury, Mass.): a group of essays on unexplored aspects of Blake's reputation in the nineteenth century. Mrs. Hoover will be in England as an NEH Fellow for the academic year 1972-73 to study British art and literature with particular reference to Blake.

Mills, A. C. (Newnham College, Cambridge): a detailed study of the illustrations to Jerusalem, their imagery and their relation to the text and to other of Blake's works.

Paley, Morton D. (University of California, Berkeley): a book on Jerusalem. Paley has been named a Guggenheim Fellow for the academic year 1972-73 in order to enable him to complete his book.


AULT LEAVES NEWSLETTER

After this issue, Donald Ault leaves our editorial board in order to devote more time to his own work. We are grateful for the help he has given us as Assistant Editor during the past two and a half years.

NOTES

JOHN BEER: PETERHOUSE, CAMBRIDGE

Blake's "Donald the Hammerer"

In Blake Newsletter 15 (Winter 1971, pp. 75-77) Robert Essick describes the pencil-and-ink drawing known as "Donald the Hammerer" in the UCLA Library, and states that he has been unable to trace its subject, though he thinks that Blake might be illustrating a scene in a book.

I think that Donald himself is to be identified with a character mentioned very briefly in Scott's The Abbot (1820), ch. xxxiv. Roland Graeme, explaining how he comes to have the skills of a metal worker, says,

My patron the Knight of Avenel used to compel the youth educated in his household to learn the use of axe and hammer, and working in wood and iron—he used to speak of old northern champions, who forged their own weapons, and of the Highland Captain, Donald nan Ord, or Donald of the Hammer, whom he himself knew, and who used to work at the anvil with a sledge-hammer in each hand. Some said he praised this art, because he was himself of churl's blood. . . .

The appearance of two hammers in Blake's design reinforces the identification with "Donald of the Hammer."

What was not at first clear to me was whether Scott had here created a character for his own purposes or was adding a touch of veracity to his narrative by referring to an actual historical figure. Reference to Scottish records failed to solve the mystery. In the end, however, I consulted Dr. James Corson, Honorary Librarian of Abbotsford and an authority on Scott, to whom I am most grateful for looking into the matter and discovering that Donald the Hammerer was in fact a real person. I quote from his letter to me:

Donald nan Nord was Donald Stewart of the Invernahyle family, a younger branch of the Stewarts of Appin.

In 1817 Joseph Train presented to Scott a manuscript called "An authentic account of the Stewarts of Invernahyle." The manuscript is still at Abbotsford. In 1818 Gale and Fenner, the London publishers, asked Scott to edit a new edition of Edward Burt's "Letters from a gentleman in the north of Scotland." This book was one of Scott's great favourites and he used it extensively in The Lady of the Lake and in Waverley. He declined, however, to edit it and passed the task on to Robert Jamieson. This edition was called the 5th and was issued in 1818 and also in 1822 when it was still called the 5th. To this edition
Scott contributed the story of Donald the Hammerer taken from the manuscript presented by Train. To Scott's annoyance the publishers put on the title page: "The history of Donald the Hammerer, from an authentic account of the family of Invernahyle; a MS communicated by Walter Scott, Esq."

If Blake was using Scott he would be more likely to use Burt (either 1818 or 1822) rather than The Abbot, where there is only a brief reference.

I have looked at the 1818 edition and agree with Dr. Corson that Blake must have come across Donald in Burt rather than in Scott's novel. The actual phrase "Donald the Hammerer" was used only by Burt; in addition there is an incident in the account as communicated to him by Scott which corresponds to Blake's design. Donald was the only surviving child of Alexander, the first Invernahyle (called "the Peaceful"), who had been basely murdered by Green Colin and his men. He has been rescued by his nurse, the blacksmith's wife of Moidart, and brought up secretly as one of her own children. The account continues:

When young Donald had acquired some strength, he was called to assist his supposed father in carrying on his trade; and so uncommon was his strength, that when only eighteen years of age, he could wield a large fore-hammer in each hand, for the length of the longest day, without the least seeming difficulty or fatigue.

At last the blacksmith and his wife resolved to discover to Donald the secret they had so long kept, not only from him, but from the world. After relating the mournful tale of his parents' death, the smith brought a sword of his own making, and put it into Donald's hand, saying, "I trust the blood that runs in your veins, and the spirit of your fathers, will guide your actions; and that this sword will be the means of clearing the difficulties that lie in the way of your recovering your paternal estate." Donald heard with surprise the story of his birth and early misfortune; but vowed never to put the sword into a scabbard until he had swept the murderers of his parents from the earth. (lxvi-lxvii)

The rest of the account is concerned with the consequences of his vow. Donald became a man of blood and plundered the Highlands from end to end. He ended by quarreling with his own son, Duncan, who had settled with his wife at the smithy where Donald had been brought up and was cultivating the land as a man of peace. The account concludes:

Once, as Donald was walking upon the green of Invernahyle, he looked across the river, and saw several men working upon the farm of Inverfalla. In the mean time Duncan came out, and took a spade from one of the men, seemingly to let him see how he should perform the work in which he was employed. This was too much for the old gentleman to bear. He launched the outrash (a wicker boat covered with hides) with his own hand, and rowed it across to Inverfalla. As he approached, Duncan, being struck with the fury of his countenance, fled from the impending storm into the house; but the old man followed him with a naked sword in his hand. Upon entering a room that was somewhat dark, Donald, thinking his degenerate son had concealed himself under the bed-clothes, made a deadly stab at his supposed son; but, instead of killing him, the sword went through the heart of his old nurse, who was then near eighty years of age.

After this unfortunate accident Donald became very religious; he resigned all his lands to his sons, and went to live at Columkill, where he at last died at the age of eighty-seven.

Blake's drawing is fairly clearly intended to illustrate the incident in which the smith and his wife come to the young Donald to tell him his secret, and in which the smith urges him to revenge. But certain elements in the drawing encourage one to approach it in terms of Blake's own ideas and imagery, as expressed in other works. The gestures of the woman, who is holding up one hand outstretched and pointing downwards with the other, correspond very closely to those of the central woman in the Arlington Court Picture (apart from the fact that right and left are reversed). The male looks like one of Blake's figures of energy: his left hand is held up like the woman's right; his right hand is pointing outwards—in the direction (though not with the sweeping spread) of those of the male in the Arlington Court Picture.

In Blake's Visionary Universe, I argued that the Arlington Court Picture represents Blake's interpretation of the last chapter of Revelation, and in particular of the phrase "The Spirit and the Bride say 'Come'"—the Spirit being the spirit of organized Energy and the Bride the Jerusalem who stands for Blake's concept of vision. A related interpretation may be traced here, except that the blacksmith, the figure of energy, is shaded, and seems to be more ambiguous than the "Spirit" of the Arlington Court design. For a closer identification, it is better to go to a story which would naturally be brought to mind by Donald's career as a Scots man of blood—that of Shakespeare's Macbeth. In my book I also suggested that Blake read Shakespeare's play as a play about the ambiguity of energy, the weird sisters presenting to Macbeth a destiny which in his visionless state he accepts as one of ambition and destruction, but which could be interpreted at a nobler level as an invitation to assume the sovereignty of his own human nature. According to such a reading, the nobility of Macbeth's own heart and blood-consciousness is constantly expressing itself through his imagery, while his deeds are carrying him further into a sea of shed blood.

A similar interpretation may be applied to "Donald the Hammerer." The lineaments of Blake's Donald are those of a good character, but one who...
is still innocent and unformed. If he were fully
to understand his own nature, the smith’s words,
“I trust the blood that runs in your veins, and the
spirit of your fathers, will guide your
actions...” would be interpreted as a call to
peace, not to war, to imitate his father rather
than to avenge him, but the smith also calls him to
use the sword, and Donald’s hand is already resting
on it. In a few years, therefore, he will be a
complete “man of blood” in the ignoble sense, his
energies fully devoted to destruction. Following
the smith’s misdirection, indeed, he will end by
murdering the smith’s own wife—the nurse whose
mercy and care had originally preserved him from
the effects of war and whose gestures in Blake’s
design are still inviting him to a more visionary
and merciful view of humanity.

Study of Burt’s book suggests, in other words,
that Blake found in the story of “Donald the
Hammerer” an echo of his interpretation of Macbeth
(as also of his own Smith-Figure, Los) and a
fitting emblem of the misapplications of energy
in his own industrialized and war-obsessed civiliza­
tion. Just as the Spirit and the Bride of the
Arlington Court picture were seen calling humanity
to a fuller exercise of energy and imagination than
that offered by self-imprisonment in a world
limited by generation and death, so the inner
lineaments of the male and female of the design
suggest a better sphere for the energetic man;
those of the male indicating a world which would
benefit from works other than those of weapons of
war, those of the female indicating the larger
world of imaginative vision which he might enjoy
as an artist.

In his letter to me Dr. Corson also points
out that Scott returned to Donald in his Tales of
a Grandfather (Ch.xxxix); but this, as he points
out, was after Blake’s death. It follows, of
course, from the date of Burt’s fifth edition that
Blake’s design was executed in or after 1818; and
it is by no means impossible that the line of
thought which gave rise to it also played its part
in the gestation of the Arlington Court picture,
which is customarily dated about 1821.

Fifty Additions to Blake Bibliography:
Further Data for the Study of His Reputation
in the Nineteenth Century

Bibliographies, like other books, may be made for
many reasons. But whatever may have moved the
compiler to his labors, the bibliography of a
single author provides, among other things, the
raw materials for the study of that author’s
reputation. Thus, the historical account of
Blake’s reputation began officially in 1921 with
Sir Geoffrey Keynes’s splendid, pioneering
Bibliography of William Blake. Wide-ranging and
filled with new material as it was, the Biblio­
graphy may be seen now, not surprisingly, to have
been fairly incomplete. For example, its census
of Blake’s Illuminated Books was expanded by
Keynes himself in a later work, and its list of
nineteenth- and early twentieth-century bio­
 graphical and critical items has since been
multiplied several times over. And yet, Keynes
was able, through his numerous—and, one would
say, strategic—discoveries, to reveal both a
breath of interest and a lack of interest in
Blake during the nineteenth century that had not
previously been suspected.

The manner of publication of Keynes’s biblio­
graphy is itself a paragraph in the history of
Blake’s reputation. This useful volume was not
published in a regular edition. It was, instead,
printed for New York’s Grolier Club in a
“sumptuous” edition limited to two hundred and
fifty copies. Of these, fourteen were given to
Keynes to distribute among the great libraries of
England and Scotland; the remaining copies were
offered to Club members at the price of seventy­
five dollars. Thus, the Bibliography was acces­
sible, outside the Club, only to more or less
determined scholars: a limitation due, surely—even if only in part—to the fact that interest in
Blake was at a rather low ebb in the second decade
of this century.

But that was about to change. Within a few
years of the Bibliography (approaching the
centenary of Blake’s death), several very
important books on Blake were published; in the
fifty years since, appreciation of Blake has
grown to an almost alarming degree—especially in
the last ten years. With so many people newly
attuned to Blake’s original and prophetic voice,
we have at last become properly curious about the
way in which Blake was regarded—and disregarded—
in the past. Partly to answer this need, the
bibliographical study of Blake was resumed in the
1950’s by G. E. Bentley, Jr. and Martin K. Nurmi.
Their Blake Bibliography was published in 1964 in
a regular edition by a university press. It
aspired to exhaustiveness in every area it dealt
with except that of commentary on Blake after
1863 (i.e., after the publication of Alexander
Gilchrist’s Life of William Blake). By thus
aspiring, and particularly by making some further
strategic discoveries of early commentary on Blake,
the new bibliography made a detailed history of
his reputation feasible for the first time. And in fact, it has provided the basis for at least two extended studies of that fascinating subject. 4

Perhaps a word should be said here about the efforts, past, present, and future, of Blake bibliographers to be exhaustive. Individual items in the present list, or another list, may vary widely in importance, but there is virtually no item that is unimportant, especially when viewed as part of the history of Blake's reception by succeeding generations. For example, the smallest review of Gilchrist's biography of Blake modifies, however slightly, our general view of the public response to it. Or, several minor items may assume a collective importance, like the articles below by Sir Sidney Colvin that mention Blake only briefly but which, brought together, suggest a sympathetic preoccupation with Blake on the part of one of the most influential art critics of the late Victorian period. But happily, there are important items in the present list, as well as minor ones. Special mention might be made of the catalogues and handbooks of both the Manchester Art Treasures exhibition of 1857 (see items 8 and 9 below), and the International Exhibition of 1862 (see items 11 and 13). In spite of Gilchrist's mention of the Blakes at the Manchester exhibition, it has been implied in our time that Blake's work was never publicly exhibited between 1812 and 1876. 5

1796

1 Anon. "Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition against the revolted Negroes of Surinam in Guiana . . . by Captain J. G. Stedman." British Critic, 8 (Nov. 1796), 539.

The reviewer finds fault with some of the plates engraved by Blake, without mentioning his name. For a detailed account of this review by the present writer, see the Blake Newsletter, 1 (June 1967), 7-8.

1830


Review of Cunningham that dismisses Blake as "an amiable enthusiast, on the wrong side of the line of demarcation as it respected his sanity" (p. 142). The "Ghost of a Flea" anecdote follows.

1857


Mary Howitt comments on some works by Blake in a letter to February, 1830 (II, 6-7).

1833


Sentimental anecdotes of Blake quoted from "the life of Mrs. Blake" in Biographies of Good Women (1832-1833), one of the works under review. The anecdotes are taken from Cunningham.

1834


Interesting Blake reference on p. 64 omitted by Bentley and Nurmi in their entry for this article (item #633). Author now identified in the Wellesley Index of Victorian Periodicals.

1848

6 Emerson, Ralph Waldo. "Journal Gulistan 1848" [Houghton Library Ms. #108].

"I cannot remember J.(ones) [sic] Very without being reminded of Wordsworth's remark on William Blake, 'There is something in the madness of this man that interests me more than the sanity of Lord Byron and Walter Scott'" (p. 136). The Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson, from which this remark appears to be quoted, was published in 1869. Emerson and Robinson became acquainted in 1848. See items 16 and 17 below.

1850


From David Scott's notes: "Blake touched the infinite in expression or signification, without distraction from lower aims, and in a kind of Christian purity. He is very abstract in style or meaning, but very defective in execution" (p. 238). As the epigraph to his last chapter (p. 334), W. B. Scott quotes Blake's dedication "To the Queen" of his illustrations to Blair's Grave (1808). This poem was requoted by George Walter Thornbury at the end of his chapter on David Scott in British Artists from Hogarth to Turner (London, 1861).

1857

Two Blakes listed under "Drawings in Water-Colours": "130. Oberon and Titania on a Lily, lent by Wm. Russell, Esq.; 130a. Vision of Queen Catherine, lent by C. W. Dilke, Esq."

The Handbook is "a reprint of critical notices originally published in 'The Manchester Guardian.'" Blake is paired with R. Dadd "as examples of painters in whom a disordered brain rather aided than impeded the workings of . . . fancy" (pp. 12-13).

1859?


A note of thanks for having been permitted to borrow the volume, with observations on Blake's feeling for color. Maria Denman, Flaxman's sister-in-law, died on 23 December 1859 at the age of eighty, which gives us the latest possible date for the letter.

1862


Blake's paintings were listed as "221. Christ in the Lap of Truth, and Between his Earthly Parents . . . R. M. Milnes, Esq.; 965. Joseph Ordering Simeon to be bound . . . J. D. Coleridge, Esq.; 966. Joseph Making himself known to his brethren . . . J. D. Coleridge, Esq.; 967. Joseph's Brethren Bowing Before Him . . . J. D. Coleridge, Esq.; 968. Canterbury Pilgrimage . . . W. Stirling, Esq." The first of these, a tempera, was listed as an oil painting. The next three were watercolors, and the last was a tempera listed with the watercolors.

1863


Review of Gilchrist's biography. This item and the one following are evidently the first published reviews of the Life.


Review of Gilchrist.
Short review of Gilchrist's Life, "an addition to biographical literature of some importance" (p. 352).


Very favorable review of Gilchrist, of just over two hundred words.


This very appreciative passage on Blake's Job series (I, 229-31) written by Lady Eastlake, was called to my attention by Professor D. A. Robertson, Jr.

1866


Blake discussed (pp. 67, 78-79) as master of "the sublime or terrible grotesque" by disciple of Ruskin.

1867


Comparison between Blake and Stothard (p. 472), very favorable to Blake. See item 30 below.

1868


On pp. 76-78 of the second article Blake is compared with Whitman and Swedenborg.

1869


A one-paragraph comparison of himself to Blake, apparently prompted by the lengthy comparison by Swinburne in his William Blake. According to the editors, this miscellaneous jotting "is contemporary with the appearance of Swinburne's book" (p. 53).

There is a passing reference to "the half-mad vision of William Blake" in Good-Bye My Fancy (1891). (See Prose Works 1882, ed. Floyd Stovall, [II, 670], in Collected Writings of Walt Whitman [New York: New York Univ. Press, 1961-].)

1873


Interesting description of Blake (p. 39) as the only successful painter in the eighteenth century of "the sublime and the terrible." In the next article in the series, on Fuseli (Portfolio [1873], pp. 50-56), that artist is compared with Blake (p. 50).

In Colvin's Memories & Notes of Persons & Places, 1852-1912 (London, 1921) there is an account of Colvin's visit to Trelawny (1792-1881) in February 1881. Trelawny "declared his great admiration for William Blake . . ." and then stood to recite "London" (pp. 250-51).

1874


An article on varied topics, including a review of Sidney Colvin's Children in Italian and English Design (1772). Blake is the central figure of this review.

1876

32 Rossetti, W. M. "News and Notes." Academy, 6 June 1874, p. 645.

Report of the discovery of Blake's original illustrations for Young's Night Thoughts.

1878

Corrects some of W. B. Scott's statements in the catalogue of the Blake exhibition at the Burlington Fine Arts Club.


Scott replies to Rossetti's criticisms of the previous week.


Review-notice of the Blake exhibition at the Burlington Fine Arts Club: "This collection is the largest and most varied we have ever seen..." The review concludes with this note: "At the conversazione held by the Graphic Society in University College on the 8th, there was also exhibited a goodly collection of Blake's works; but, to the honour of the members of the Burlington, it is said, the great proportion of the pictures came from their club."


Ecstatic reference, apparently to the Blakes at the Burlington Fine Arts Club exhibition (II, 417 [May 1876]). Also, there is an interesting allusion to Blake's illustration "Help! Help!" from *For the Sexes: the Gates of Paradise* (II, 590 [1879]; III, 504 [1890]).

1877

37 Anon. "Etchings from Blake." Spectator, 50 (29 December 1877), 1660-61.

Review of William Bell Scott's renderings of ten of Blake's paintings and drawings.

1881


Review of the second edition of Gilchrist (1880). See item 42 below.


Appreciative review, interesting for its remarks about the availability, in the 'seventies, of the first edition of Gilchrist.


Atlantic Monthly, 47 (1881), 717-19.

Review.


Blake's wife and marriage considered (pp. 389-91).


An article that eulogizes Scott and compares him to Blake and Dürer.

1882


Review.

1886


Two letters about James Thomson ['B.V.'] and Blake (pp. 282-83).

Before he wrote these letters, Melville had been compared to Blake at least twice. See review of *Clarel*, New-York Daily Tribune, 16 June 1876; and W. Clark Russell, "Sea Stories," Contemporary Review, 46 (1884), 343-63. On p. 357 of Russell's article *Moby Dick* is compared to "a drawing by William Blake... madly fantastic in places, full of extraordinary thoughts, yet gloriously coherent."


45 Anon. Critic, 6 (1886), 91.

An indignant note accusing Mr. Alfred H. Combe of having plagiarized a "design for the interior decoration of a family tomb in the Decorator and Furnisher for July 1886 from Blake's design for The Grave entitled "Death's Door."

1890


Poem celebrating centenary of *Songs of
Innocence. Called to my attention by Professor Morton D. Paley.

47 Anon. "The Blake Drawings in the Quaritch Collection." Critic, 13 (1890), 110.

Descriptive article.

There are more Critic notes and reviews in the 'nineties. Perhaps the most interesting of these is a review-notice of an exhibition of drawings and sketches by Blake, Turner, and Gainsborough at Keppel's.

"The Blake drawings, which are the most important, belong to Dr. Charles E. West of Brooklyn . . ." (12 [1892], 188). The remaining items are as follows: 15 (1891), 85 and 116; 16 (1891), 60; 20 (1893), 86; 21 (1894), 4.

1893


Review of the Quaritch edition (1893).

1905


Of the nine letters that contain Blake references, seven were written to John Sampson in connection with Raleigh's preface to Sampson's Oxford edition of Blake's Lyrical Poems (1905). All the important letters were written in 1905.

Notes


2 Keynes's own word. See his account of the making of the bibliography in "Religio Bibliographica," Library, 8 (1953), 64-76.


5 Alexander Gilchrist, Life of William Blake (London 1863), I, 3. It might be said that the Blakes at the International Exhibition also are mentioned by "Gilchrist," but this is a more complicated matter. As Gilchrist died in 1861, he had nothing to say about the International Exhibition of 1862, nor was notice of it added to the biography proper by those who completed the manuscript left unfinished at his death. However, W. M. Rossetti, in the "Descriptive Catalogue" which formed part of the supplementary material that made up the second volume of the Life as published, notes the presence of works by Blake at the International Exhibition. All of the items in Rossetti's Catalogue that had been sent to the two exhibitions (seven works in all--see items 8 and 11 below) bear notes to that effect. The second edition of Gilchrist in 1880 introduced into the biography itself brief notices of the display of four paintings at the International Exhibition (Life, I [1880], 57, 274).

6 Nothing is listed in Keynes or in Bentley and Nurmi having to do with the Manchester Exhibition or the International Exhibition. Bentley and Nurmi state that the so-called Blake Revival, begun by Gilchrist, "introduced Blake to a mass audience for the very first time, both as an artist and as a poet" (Blake Bibliography, p. 15). Although Blake's works at these two exhibitions were not much noticed or sympathized with, it is only fair to say that he had been introduced to a "mass audience" as an artist before 1863. Indeed, it was a much larger audience than Gilchrist's was to be. An article on the exhibitions and Blake by the present writer will appear in a forthcoming issue of the Blake Newsletter.

1 (near right) Frontispiece of Lavater's Aphorisms on Man, 3rd ed. (London, 1794), engraved by Blake after a design by Fuseli. The Greek inscription, written in capital letters, transliterates GN0THI SEAUT0N ("Know thyself"). From the Library of Congress, Rosenwald Collection.

2 (far right) Fuseli's pen and ink design for the frontispiece of Lavater's Aphorisms. Photograph courtesy of Ernest Seligmann.
Toward the end of 1970, during my last visit to London, I went to call on my old friend Ernest Seligmann, the bookseller in Cecil Court, off the Charing Cross Road. Such a visit today, although a luxurious experience, is little more than a courtesy call, for I can seldom afford to buy the treasures which Ernest produces for my delectation and temptation. I think that by now he has almost ceased to look upon me as a genuine customer, but we remain friends in memory of the days before and during World War II when books were still within my means because I had a taste for the off-beat which I then shared with a mere handful of friends, most notably including Geoffrey Grigson. Our caviar was cheap then as there were few competitors who had developed a palate for it, but now the hordes who used to snack on loaves and fishes have become intrigued and so our one-time reasonable delicacies have become as outré as Périgord truffles stuffed with Beluga. Ernest, knowing as well as I did myself that I was not able to buy anything costing more than a pound or two, nonetheless led me into his back room.

He peered at an enormous old cabinet of print-drawers, upon which stacks of books were piled precariously, and then, pausing on occasion to consult his memory as a guide through the maze of magic within the cabinet, dug through drawer after drawer before producing a large manilla envelope. He smiled at me wickedly as he slipped out two old and fragile sheets of paper.

These were passed to me with the right surfaces facing up. I had no difficulty in identifying the unique strangers which I was now handling. They were Henry Fuseli's original drawings for the plates engraved by Blake as the frontispiece for the Rev. John Caspar Lavater's Aphorisms on Man, 1788, and for the last page of Fuseli's own Lectures on Painting, 1801. Clearly such items were not for me to possess and after a long time I laid them aside with a regretful sigh.

Ernest, however, is generous in a stealthy way (he once, knowing I needed copies of the Everyman Gilchrist, had his assistant send me one as a gift with a note saying that Mr. Seligmann had asked him to send it off, just before he himself went into hospital). I dropped by his shop a couple of weeks later as I wanted to take another look at the Fuseli drawings, to pin them like butterflies to cork on my memory, before they...
disappeared into some collection which, even in these days of charter-planes, I could not hope to visit for a long time, if ever. Ernest returned once again to his mysterious print-cabinet and, instead of producing the drawings at once, handed me two long, stiff pieces of paper. During the interval he had achieved, by some strange legerdemain, full-sized photographs of both rectos and versos of the Fuseli drawings.

So I want to celebrate and thank Ernest Seligmann, one of the great art-booksellers I have known in any country, for the thoughtful generosity which has inspired and made possible this venture.

Apparently afraid to go out on a limb, G. E. Bentley, Jr., and Martin K. Nurmi, in their _A Blake Bibliography_, 1964, in describing the _Aphorisms on Man_ go no further than to suggest that "the frontispiece, representing a seated man, looking up, is signed 'Blake sc,' and was probably [my italics] designed by Fuseli." The engraving, 120 x 75 mm., is known in three states, all to be seen in the Rosenwald Collection of the Library of Congress. The third is reproduced here (fig. 1) as it, presumably, shows the final intentions of both artist and engraver.

As his plentiful annotations on his own copy (now in the Huntington Library) show, the book was of immediate importance to Blake, but it was also highly significant for Henry Fuseli who had not only translated it from the German manuscript with considerable freedom but had also supplied the introduction.

It was issued as the first of a proposed pair of volumes, of which the second was intended to be Fuseli's own _Aphorisms on Art_. According to his official biographer, John Knowles, _The Life and Writings of Henry Fuseli_, 1831, vol. I, p. 160: "In conformity with this intention, one sheet was worked off and corrected by him; but an accidental fire having taken place in the premises of the printer, the whole impression was destroyed, and Fuseli could never bring himself to undergo the task of another revision." However, as Eudo C. Mason, _The Mind of Henry Fuseli_, 1951, p. 33, points out, "he was engaged intermittently from 1788 till 1818" in writing his _Aphorisms chiefly relative to The Fine Arts_ which were eventually printed by Knowles, vol. III, pp. 63-150.

Looking at the pen drawing (fig. 2), approximately 105 x 70 mm., on a sheet 205 x 165 mm., one is immediately surprised by the almost perfunctory character of the sketch, leaving so much to the imagination of the engraver, being offered as the frontispiece to a book written by the artist's earliest friend. A book, moreover, into which in the liberties of his translation, he had put so much of himself. The only possible conclusion is that, around 1788, Fuseli, although sixteen years older than Blake, must have felt the bond of sympathy between them to be strong enough for him to leave the fuller development of his indicated desires to the younger artist, with confidence that the final engraving would express his original vision.
man sits in Fuseli's drawing is filled with unidentifiable objects, some resembling caricatures of babies' skulls. Blake has transformed the bench into a bookshelf, before which a volume lies upon its side with an hour-glass tilted against it. It is impossible, though I would not suggest it as fact, that the upper face in the left margin of Fuseli's drawing may have suggested to Blake the face, seen from the front and slanted upward, in the engraving. Both share the "Grecian" line running in a straight diagonal from the tip of the nose to the top of the forehead.

On the verso of Fuseli's drawing [fig. 3], to the left and below the seated female figure with a child sprawled against her right foot, there is an extremely faint pencil note in what looks like John Linnell's hand: "Given by W. Blake to J. Linnell / by Fuseli."

Fuseli, who had become Professor of Painting at the Royal Academy in 1799 (he was to be elected Keeper in 1804 and, in 1810, by special dispensation, was re-elected to the Professorship and allowed to draw the salary from both posts), delivered three lectures on painting on March 16, 23 and 30, 1801. These were published as a handsome quarto in the same year. On the last page, below the final four lines of the Third Lecture, there is an engraving of Michelangelo, 133 x 79 mm., signed "Blake sc" in the lower right [fig. 4]. A proof of this, bearing Fuseli's name as well as Blake's, is in the British Museum Print Room.

The pen drawing [fig. 5], about 185 x 135 mm., on a sheet 200 x 168 mm., is rather more explicit than the sketch for the Aphorisms on Man, but it still seems to display Fuseli's implicit trust in Blake's ability to produce a fully finished engraving from a rather tentative suggestion. It is likely, from the style of the drawing, that it was done at least ten years earlier, and was not drawn especially for the Lectures on Painting in 1801; this is a matter to which I will return later.

(Sir Geoffrey Keynes, A Bibliography of William Blake, 1921, p. 248, states that "Blake's engraving is reduced and considerably altered from Fuseli's..."
original wash drawing, which was recently seen by the writer." I can only hope that my notes here will cause this drawing in wash, and not in pen and ink, to reappear.

The drawing in pen extends only as far as the crotch of the figure of Michelangelo. However, in the upper right corner, there is a tight pencil sketch, about 83 x 56 mm., of legs against an abbreviated cloak, very much as these details appear in the engraving. David Bindman and Martin Butlin think it probable that this pencil work is by Blake and not by Fuseli, and I agree with them. The line is more like that of Blake’s pencil drawings than of Fuseli’s in this period.

The difference between the Michelangelo sketched by Fuseli and the final engraving by Blake is extremely striking. Fuseli’s Michelangelo is shown with rather sparse yet unkempt hair on his head; his beard is brief and straggly and the expression on his face is not actually embittered.

In the engraving, where Michelangelo has been immeasurably ennobled, both the hair and the beard have become more abundant and well-trimmed, in masses of rather tight curls. The expression on his face is, perhaps, one of expectancy or at least of an acute awareness of the world at which he is gazing, a world behind the spectator of the print. The cloak, which in the pen drawing trails off toward the bottom of the page, has become close to that in the pencil sketch, finishing about a hand’s breadth below the knees.

As a background, some distance behind Michelangelo, Blake has added a stylized curving Roman building, and he has also defined the clouds in the sky.

In the lower left corner, the drawing bears the pencil inscription, in the hand of William Linnell [2]: "Michelangelo / by Fuseli / original Drawing had from W & Blake."

Although I do not know the history of the two drawings between their leaving the possession of the Linnell family and their present resting place in the good safe hands of my old friend Ernest Seligmann, the inscriptions upon them, undoubtedly made by members of the Linnell family, with the suggestion of the first having been a gift, do not tally with the only mention of Fuseli drawings made in G. E. Bentley, Jr.’s listing of the Linnell accounts in Blake Records, 1969, p. 596: "[Jan. 26 (1820)] to Mr’s Blake on acct for a Drawing of Heads by Mr Blake & two by Fuseli [£] 1 -- --."

Having ventured so far, on the basis of the two Fuseli drawings which I have been able to reproduce here (along with the versos since they may contain material for someone with a different visual memory from my own; figure 6 showing the verso of the Michelangelo drawing), and Blake’s engravings which derive from them, I find myself unable to bring the matter to an abrupt and completely factual close.

At present I am engaged in writing a 25,000 word introduction to a picture-book on Fuseli and, as is inevitable with me, I have been doing more research than is needed for such a lightweight undertaking. One result of this is that I feel I should not only record my findings but also indulge in some speculation which I have, perhaps perversely, persuaded myself to be pertinent.

Blake did engravings after Fuseli for nine volumes, fifteen plates in all. In addition three separate plates are known and have been described, as well as two others which, although destined for his burin, it is probable that he did not start. I will attempt to deal with these items before proceeding with my speculations and my reasons for presenting them.

Since starting work upon this study, I have received two most interesting letters, dated 28 July and 18 September 1971, from Gert Schiff and I have taken the liberty of quoting from them in the appropriate places. Gert Schiff has, after many years of work, completed his Catalogue Raisonné of the work of Fuseli, the two volumes of which, text and illustrations, are due to appear in Switzerland early in 1972. My gratitude to him for his comments upon my queries is immeasurable.

The books are, in chronological order:

(1) John Caspar Lavater, Aphorisms on Man, J. Johnson, 1788. The half-title reads “Aphorisms. Vol. I.” Apart from comparisons of the three states, the frontispiece has been dealt with above.

(2) Erasmus Darwin, The Botanic Garden, J. Johnson, 1791. This contains the plate “Fertilation of Egypt.” In the British Museum Print Room are both Fuseli’s pencil drawing of the central figure, representing the Nile, inscribed by Frederick Tatham [2] “Sketched by Fuseli for Blake

6 The verso of Fuseli’s design for Blake’s engraving of Michelangelo. Photograph courtesy of Ernest Seligmann.
to engrave from," and Blake's more complete realization of the whole subject. Here it strikes me as odd that a man who once wrote in a friend's album (Knowles, vol. 1, p. 396), "I do not wish to build a cottage, but to erect a pyramid," should have left it to his engraver to supply him with pyramids.

Both drawings are reproduced in Sir Anthony Blunt's *The Art of William Blake*, 1959, pls. 21a and 21b, with 21a showing a drawing by George Romney which closely resembles the hovering figure to be seen between the legs in Blake's drawing. The actual engraving can be seen in Kathleen Raine's *William Blake*, 1970, p. 33, pl. 18.

(3) Erasmus Darwin, *The Botanic Garden*, The Third Edition, J. Johnson, 1795, has the extra plate "Tornado" (reproduced in my own "Pictureback," *William Blake The Artist*, 1971, p. 42). There is an early proof of the engraving in the British Museum Print Room. Although the published print bears the date "Aug. 1st 1795," it was probably executed about the same time as the "Fertilization of Egypt." Gert Schiff knows of no drawing for this.

"Tornado" did not appear in the first two editions, and was not re-engraved for the Fourth (see item 6). It is possible that, although for some reason it did not appeal to Erasmus Darwin, Joseph Johnson, having paid for the engraving of the plate, insisted upon trying it out in at least one edition.


Since the plates in both books are dated "Dec. 1, 1797," it is simpler to deal with them together. Archibald G. B. Russell, *The Engravings of William Blake*, 1912, states of the second book that the plates were engraved "after designs in the manner of Fuseli," but Sir Geoffrey Keynes, in his *Bibliography*, shows no hesitation in attributing the four plates in each volume to Fuseli and now I can see no reason for disagreement.

Frederick Antal, *Fuseli Studies*, 1956, pl. 33a, reproduced "King John absolved by Cardinal Pandulph" from the first book. This shows much the same triviality of draftsmanship as, say, that in the emblematic frontispiece to Fuseli's own *Remarks on the Writings and Conduct of John James Rousseau*, 1767, reproduced by Eudo C. Mason, facing p. 305 in my copy although given as p. 136 in the list of illustrations, and described, for some unknown reason, as a "woodcut" by Grignon.


Gert Schiff has traced no drawings for these; "only a rather weak and badly overpainted painting of Wat Tyler killing the Tax-Gatherer is known (Zurich, coll. Dr. Conrad Ulrich)."

My major concern here is the date, 1797, engraved on the plates. I would suggest that they were executed, even if not quite finished, considerably earlier. In 1797 Blake was engaged with his work on Edward Young's *Night Thoughts* and was full of optimism about his future. Among other things he had been commissioned by John Flaxman to prepare a specially illustrated copy of Thomas Gray's *Poems*, eventually given to the sculptor's wife, Nancy, sometime before September 1805. He would hardly, in such rosy circumstances, have stooped to undertake such menial and trivial work unless fulfilling a promise made long before. In that year, too, Fuseli was ebullient for, having been in doubt about his plans for his Milton Gallery (see Knowles, vol. 1, p. 190), he had received a guarantee from six patrons to provide him with fifty pounds from each "until the task was completed."

(6) Erasmus Darwin, *The Botanic Garden*, The Fourth Edition, J. Johnson, 1799. This edition, reduced from quarto to octavo, contains "Fertilization of Egypt," rather coarsely re-engraved by Blake from the larger version, but, like the other plates engraved by Blake in the book, it is dated "Dec. 1st 1791." It seems highly improbable that Johnson, in 1791, should have considered issuing an inferior octavo edition at the same time as his rather elegant quarto. A more likely suggestion is that Blake did do the re-engraving in 1799 when he was suffering from the general slump in the employment of commercial engravers, and depressed by the failure of his *Night Thoughts*. The dating may be due to some personal quirk on the part of Darwin or Johnson, indicating that the book had not been revised, and the poor quality of the engraving in all Blake's plates in the volume suggests that it was probably a cut-price job, done in a hurry. Gert Schiff thanks me for a "most convincing hypothesis as to the dating of these plates!"

(7) Henry Fuseli, *Lectures on Painting*, J. Johnson, 1801. In the absence of the "wash drawing" mentioned by Sir Geoffrey Keynes, I can only go on the drawing which I know personally. As I have stated, I think that the original drawing of Michelangelo by Fuseli dates from about the same time as the frontispiece for *The Aphorisms on Man*. It is admittedly difficult to pin down the date of any one of Fuseli's drawings on purely stylistic grounds, but I would suggest that this drawing was almost certainly made sometime earlier than 1792. Possible extra evidence is also given by Paul Ganz, *The Drawings of Henry Fuseli*, 1949, p. 23, where he remarks: "After 1800, he seems to have finally given up drawing with the pen." The style of the engraving, too, has much in common with other work which is definitely known to have been done by Blake around 1790.

With no more evidence than this, and perhaps the knowledge that the last lecture, delivered on March 30, appeared in an elegant book published in
May, I would venture to suggest that the plate was actually engraved about the same time as the frontispiece for Lavater's book. Although it is somewhat larger and certainly a much more important engraving than that plate—as is vouchedsafed by Blake's going to the trouble of reversing it on the copper so that the print would appear the same way round as the drawing—the Michelangelo would just have fitted into the format of the earlier volume.

My speculation, for it can claim to be no more unless further information turns up, is that it was intended to be the frontispiece for "Aphorisms. Vol. II," Fuseli's projected but destroyed Aphorisms on Art. There can be no doubt that he wrote the "Advertisement" declaring that "It is the intention of the editor to add another volume of APHORISMS ON ART, WITH CHARACTERS AND EXAMPLES, not indeed by the same author, which the reader may expect in the course of the year."

Fuseli's discouragement in 1788 at the destruction of his carefully corrected proof-sheet (and he was a slow and careful corrector of his own written work) should be seen in the more glaring light of the earlier fire at Joseph Johnson's, on 8 January 1770, in which he lost almost all he possessed, including his manuscripts and the majority of the drawings which led Sir Joshua Reynolds to advise him to become a painter.

Anyone who has read Eudo C. Mason's The Mind of Henry Fuseli is bound to recognize that it was quite in keeping with Fuseli's character to aggrandize himself even at the expense of his oldest friend and, furthermore, although he was to fluctuate in his opinions of Michelangelo later, in the years around 1790 the Italian was his god.

If my suggestion is accepted as valid—and Gert Schiff finds it interesting, although he lacks the time to follow it up—it is more than likely that Joseph Johnson, who published all the books upon which Blake worked in collaboration with Fuseli, had also presumably paid Blake for the engraving of Michelangelo meant for the aborted second volume and when he came to publish the Lectures in considerable haste some dozen years later decided to make use of the plate.

"Silence," engraved by F. Legat after Fuseli, which appears on the title-page (and he was a slow and careful corrector of his own written work) should be seen in the more glaring light of the earlier fire at Joseph Johnson's, on 8 January 1770, in which he lost almost all he possessed, including his manuscripts and the majority of the drawings which led Sir Joshua Reynolds to advise him to become a painter.

Finally, so far as the books are concerned, there are two volumes of Alexander Chalmers's The Plays of William Shakespeare... , J. Johnson [with many others], 1805.


These two plates seem to be connected with a revival of an old friendship between the two men. Fuseli, with the support of his rich patrons was suffering from no financial hardship but was probably still depressed by the final failure of his Milton Gallery, and this may have drawn him back to his old friend when Blake returned to London from Felpham in September 1803.

Gert Schiff knows of no drawings for either plate, but there are proofs of them in the Rosenwald Collection of the Library of Congress and in the collection of Dr. Charles Ryskamp of the Morgan Library. In addition, a footnote by Sir Geoffrey Keynes, in his edition of Mona Wilson, The Life of William Blake, 1971, p. 214, notes of "Queen Katherine's Dream" that "The pencil drawing made by Blake for this engraving is now in the Rosenwald Collection, National Gallery, Washington, D.C."

The three individual prints are listed by Sir Geoffrey Keynes, The Separate Plates, 1956, quoting Russell, The Engravings, 1912, for descriptions of the first and third. I use Sir Geoffrey's numbers here, and also his recording of the number of impressions known to him at the date of publication of his book.

No. XXXIII, "Timon and Alcibiades" was acquired by the British Museum Print Room in 1863. Although apparently a unique copy, this is the only one of these three prints to carry any inscription which indicates an intention of publishing it: "Published by W. Blake, Poland St. July 28: 1790."

Gert Schiff tells me that there are two drawings for this, one reproduced by Nicholas Powell, The Drawings of Henry Fuseli, 1950, and the other in the Art Gallery, Auckland, New Zealand, and reproduced in the catalogue of the Fuseli drawings there.

No. XXXIV, c. 1790?, "Satan," also known as the "Head of a Man Tormented in Fire," has a listing of no less than six copies, to which I can add a seventh at the University of Glasgow. This rather repulsive and intimidating head, 350 x 263 mm. on the plate, derives from or is connected with, according to Gert Schiff, a head in Lavater's Essay on Physiognomy, 1792, vol. II, p. 290. It became no less terrifying but certainly more acceptable when it was adopted and reduced by Blake in plate 16 of Illustrations of the Book of Job, "Satan cast forth."

In London, early in 1971, I was shown a drawing which might either have been a copy of Fuseli's original or of Blake's engraving. David Bindman, to whom it belongs, suggested that it might possibly be the work of the octogenarian Fuseli's prodigy protégé, Theodore Matthias von Holst. Gert Schiff, however, writes, "I know of an oil on paper copy of this head which was once with a young London dealer..., but this certainly had nothing to do with Von Holst."

No. XXXV, c. 1790?, "FALSA AD COELUM MITTUNT INSOMNIA MANES," is described by Russell, from the copy which the British Museum Print Room obtained in 1882. Sir Geoffrey mentions having heard of another about which, however, he seems to have been unable to obtain any details. Despite his wide
knowledge of Swiss collections, Gert Schiff has failed to trace other impressions of this or the "Timon." He writes, however, "Palae ad coelum: in my opinion not etched by Blake but by Fuseli himself (lefthandedness) Iconographically one of the most involved, and charming, allegories Fuseli ever invented." As the plate is a line-engraving, it is possible that Fuseli may have etched the outlines and some sections of the plate before Blake's burin took over. The use of etching for laying-out a plate before it was engraved was common usage. I wrote to Gert Schiff suggesting this, and in his later letter he says, "Your proposal of a collaboration of Fuseli and Blake in the plate seems fascinating, however, I have no reproduction at hand and thus cannot really form an opinion. What induced me to give the whole of its execution to Fuseli is the clear lefthandedness."

I know too little about Fuseli's accomplishment as an etcher or engraver to be dogmatic, but judging from the impatience of his temperament alone, I have never been convinced by the plate, in what seems to be a mixture of mezzotint and engraving, credited to Fuseli himself by Antal, pl. 33b, "Religious Fanaticism attended by Folly trampling upon Truth."

The two phantasmagoric plates can be dealt with briefly. Eudo C. Mason reproduces (facing p. 208 of my copy although listed as facing p. 304) a "finished sketch" which he credits to Fuseli. This he considers may be "Satan taking his flight from Chaos," intended as an illustration for Cowper's proposed edition of Milton's poems, which had to be abandoned when the editor became insane. Knowles, vol. I, p. 172, declares this to have been "ready for the gravure of Blake" before August 1790, but no proof of any print has been traced, nor has any copy emerged of the other proposed engraving mentioned by Knowles in the same sentence in connection with Blake, "Adam and Eve observed by Satan."

In connection with these two works Gert Schiff comments: "Satan taking his flight, as published by Mason, or The Night Hag, as published by Ganz: definitely not by Fuseli, but possibly by Prince Hoare, and perhaps related to the lost painting no. VIII of Fuseli's Milton Gallery, The Night Hag and the Lapland Witches. Adam and Eve first observed by Satan; a fragment of the painting, the figures of Adam and Eve, half-length, embracing, is with Kurt Meissner, Zürich, an unfinished sketch by Fuseli in the Kunsthans [Zürich]."

My point in listing and commenting, however incompletely, upon all Blake's known engravings after Fuseli, as well as a couple which he may not have started, has been to suggest that, despite the conflicting given dates of publication, for a short period, roughly from late 1787 to early 1792, the two men were in closer contact and enjoyed more absolute sympathy with each other than at any other time during their friendship. While this continued (allowing my surmises about the Michelangelo plate to be correct) Fuseli had an overwhelming confidence in Blake's ability to realize his wishes in a finished engraving.

That Fuseli developed a mistrust of Blake's ever-widening expanse of vision (although Joseph Farington reports a conversation of 12 January 1797 in which Thomas Stothard claimed that Blake "had been misled to extravagance in his art" by Fuseli himself), while his own ambitions developed in other directions, particularly erotically, is clear to anyone who has studied the lives and works of both.

Still, although they saw less and less of each other as the years went by and the intense intimacy of these five years was gradually smoothed away, the friendship never perished completely. I have suggested a slight rebirth of intimacy in the early 1800's, and further evidence of this is shown by Fuseli's advertisement for Blake's illustrations to Robert Blair's The Grave, written in 1805, and in Blake's letter of June 1806 published in the Monthly Magazine, defending Fuseli's "Ugolino," shown in the Royal Academy of that year, against a particularly spiteful attack in Bell's Weekly Messenger. It seems likely that Blake's quatrain

The only Man that e'er I knew
Who did not make me almost spew
Was Fuseli he was both Turk & Jew
And so dear Christian Friends how do you do

belongs to the years between 1803 and 1806.

I have recently been investigating the matter of the Truchssesian Gallery which, as his letter of 23 October 1804 to William Hayley shows, had an overwhelming effect upon Blake. A discussion of the Gallery does not belong here, but there are points which can be raised in support of my belief in a renewal of friendship during these years.

Owing to the differences in sizes and typography of the printed documents relating to the collection, I decided to make a typescript of all I could obtain as they came to hand.

Typing out what seems to have been the second of Count Joseph Truchess's Proposals for the Establishment of a Public Gallery of Pictures in London . . . [31 July 1802], from a Xerox copy generously given me by Paul Grinke (another copy being in the Bodleian Library, Oxford), I was struck by something which had made little impact during my earlier reading. The Count's chief bankers were Thomas Coutts and Co. Fuseli became intimate with Thomas Coutts on his first visit to England in 1763 and the banker was to remain his friend and steadfast patron until his death in 1822, when his place was taken by his daughter, the Countess of Guildford, in whose house at Putney Fuseli was to die in 1825.

Proceeding to the Plan of Subscription . . . for the Purchase of the Truchssesian Picture-Gallery . . . [15 January 1804], known to me only from the Xerox most kindly given me by Paul Grinke, I found more which seemed pertinent. Among other information I gathered that admittance to the Gallery cost half-a-crown, a large sum of money in those days, when entry to Fuseli's Milton Gallery had been one shilling, with sixpence for the catalogue. Most of the pamphlet is concerned with a
have given Blake the full use of the Gallery.

Having also acquired Xerox copies of the Catalogue of the Truchsessian Picture Gallery, now exhibiting in the New Road, opposite Portland Place ... [1803], and the Sale Catalogue of March, April, May, 1806 (both from the Bodleian Library), I have become more aware of the problems which can be aroused by the contents of the collection. But this, as I have remarked, is not the place for me to approach these.

In the Catalogue of the Exhibition, I found even stronger indications of a connection between Count Truchsess and Fuseli. The entry reads: "BRUN. (Bartholomeaues). There are several german engravers of this name, who lived at the beginning of the sixteenth century. But the name of this master, written upon the picture, with the year 1532, has escaped the researches of the grand dictionary, published by Füsseli." As Füsseli's first revision of Matthew Pilkington's Dictionary of Painters was not published until 1805, this is evidence that the Count, in 1803, must have had access to the corrected sheets as they came from number of "rules" under the heading "Terms of Subscription."

The first rule reads: "Every person who shall subscribe ['Five pounds' inserted in ink above line] previous to the first of May, 1804, on the payment of this subscription, shall receive a printed ticket, acknowledging the sum paid; and this ticket will give that person, for the term of ten years, the right of free admission to the Truchsessian Gallery, at whatever state of augmentation and improvement it may arrive, after having become a national property."

After the rules applying to the subscribers of larger sums and other matters, I arrived at rule seven. "Institution of a Gallery of painting being particularly intended for the use of the artists, every member of the Royal Academy, and also every Painter, Sculptor, or Engraver properly introduced, shall acquire the right of a Subscriber in either of the aforesaid classes, by paying half the subscription-money attached to them; and all such artists, as well as any amateur known to exercise any one of the fine arts, being subscribers, will be admitted to the Gallery during the summer half-year an hour before the ordinary time of opening, and have, all the time it stands open, the right to make studies and drawings in their portfolios from whatever subject they please; but no picture can be removed from it's [sic] place, nor can tables and easels be granted, until a larger building afford sufficient room. It is likewise understood that no formal copy or engraving after any picture is to be made, without the assent of the Trustees and Directors of the Gallery being first obtained."

It seems more than possible that the Count's banker, Thomas Coutts, might well have supplied his old intimate (I believe that Füsseli's erotic drawings are closely connected with this friendship) with at least the minimum "Subscription." Füsseli in turn may have performed the "proper introduction" and paid the two pounds ten shillings which would have been long-
A New Rossetti Letter

I recently had the good fortune to buy an unpublished holograph letter by Dante Gabriel Rossetti. As it concerns Blake and Mrs. Anne Gilchrist, it may be of interest to the readers of the Blake Newsletter. On a folded sheet of mourning note-paper Rossetti wrote:

59 Lincoln's Inn Fields
Wednesday

My dear W. Ireland

I am very sorry I cannot manage to be with you so early as 7, either today or tomorrow, so must decline your kind invitation to dinner, but shall be very glad to come a little later tomorrow evening, and will take the liberty of bringing my brother if he can come—say at half past 8. He, as well as I, wrote the other day to Mrs. Gilchrist, but the letters, being directed to Earl's Colne, have not perhaps yet reached her. We shall both be very glad to see her again & go over Blake business by word of mouth. I am very sorry to have delayed answering but was not sure till now which evening I could come. With kind remembrances to Mrs. Gilchrist

I am yours very truly

D G Rossetti

The paper is watermarked "1860"; the envelope is lost.

Although the note is undated, the address implies that it was written between the end of April, 1862, and 24 October of the same year, the only time when Rossetti lived at 59 Lincoln's Inn Fields. He had moved there when, after Lizzie's death in February, Chatham Place became unbearable and when a few weeks' stay on Newman Street proved unsatisfactory. These several months in 1862 were filled with projects and excursions which helped to distract Rossetti from his grief. The completion of Alexander Gilchrist's Life of Blake (1863) was one such project and is certainly the "Blake business" to which the letter alludes.

After Alexander's death from scarlet fever, Mrs. Gilchrist moved her children to Earl's Colne, sometimes called "the garden of Essex," her mother's home, her own home for most of her early and middle life, and the home of her ancestors since the Norman Conquest. But like Rossetti the recent widow had her periods of depression, and they also made her restless; in late August, for example, she wrote to her sister-in-law, "... Colne is intolerably painful to me, and I quite pine to get back to my quiet cottage among the dear Surrey hills . . . ."

Apparently Rossetti had written to Earl's Colne, then learned, probably through a dinner invitation from Mr. Ireland who lived in Chelsea, that Mrs. Gilchrist had moved for a while. I suspect she was visiting the Irelands who had been her neighbors on Great Cheyne Row. (She and Alexander lived at no. 6; Thomas Carlyle and his wife lived at no. 5, next door; and later in 1862 Rossetti himself moved to nearby 16 Cheyne Walk.) Mrs. Isabella Ireland had offered help tending the children who were also sick with "Scarlatina" when their father died. "Mr. Ireland" appears in several of Rossetti's letters from this period, usually as a source of materials for Rossetti's projected memoir of Alexander Gilchrist. But Rossetti names him "W. Ireland" while Herbert H. Gilchrist, writing his mother's memoir, calls him "Edwin." Perhaps he had a familiar name ("Winny")? Perhaps Rossetti's pen or memory slipped. Or perhaps Herbert Gilchrist, the only source for "Edwin," misremembered: he was five years old and seriously ill when his family left Chelsea.

A final word. This note is one of several written to arrange a meeting between Anne Gilchrist, Dante Rossetti and, occasionally, William Michael Rossetti. There are almost as many letters post-poring meetings or apologizing for missed ones. In fact, the direct evidence that the Rossettis saw much of Mrs. Gilchrist in the process of bringing the Life of Blake to publication is slight. What William Rossetti wrote of Alexander Gilchrist characterizes the relationship, in 1862, between Dante and Anne: "... I cannot remember that I saw him more than once or twice again. We were both busy men, and one casualty or another kept us apart."
In May 1970 The Marriage of Heaven and Hell was presented in a stage version at the University of Chicago. The production was the work of Cain's Company, a group formed a few years before at the university with the first complete stage presentation of another great Romantic text, Lord Byron's Cain. But whereas Cain, though a closet drama, retains at least the formal qualities of a stage play, Blake's poem had to be converted wholesale into theatrical forms.

Yet the poem's drastic insistence upon extending the boundaries of perception seemed to recommend an attempt at stage dramatization. The work of adaptation took about four months, during which time it quickly became apparent that the greatest obstacle to a successful stage version was, paradoxically perhaps, the vigor of Blake's own language and visual perceptions. One had constantly to resist the inclination simply to transfer the various "scenes" in the poem to the stage. Blake's poem has a powerful visual quality, but that quality is so involved with the nature of his language as such that the conception of a theatrical representation was constantly being thwarted by the words of the poem.

In the end, the language of the poem was reduced to a schematic minimum so that the entire work of elaborating the poem's basic ideas and attitudes would be rescued from language and transferred to theatre. On the other hand, the skeletal form of the poem was preserved almost exactly in the play: the only major change was the precise repetition of an early scene (plates 5-6) at a later point in the play. The stage version thus preserved Blake's pattern of a series of scenes in which awareness is expanded in a variety of ways until an apotheosis becomes both the possible and even inevitable result.

The play differed from the poem in two other noticeable ways. In the first place, Blake himself was made the central character, and all the scenes occurred in direct or oblique relation to him. The decision to make Blake a visible character did not seem a distortion of The Marriage, but a theatrical representation of the intensely personal character of the poem itself.

In the second place, while the text of the play was basically a reduced text of the poem, it incorporated as well some passages from Blake's other prose and poetry. The adaptation included nothing which does not appear in Blake's own collected works, and of course all the interpolated passages (e.g., excerpts from "The Lamb" and "The Tyger") were only chosen if they would clarify aspects of the Marriage.

In adapting the poem, much time was spent inventing new, specifically theatrical representations for the ideas and conflicts in the poem. Yet no attempt was made to cast these translations into any terms which were not highly "poetical," ritualized, and dreamlike. The recent London adaptation of a Blake world, Tyger, seems to me to have failed precisely because Blake's powerfully concrete abstractions were poured into stylized realistic forms, on the apparent (and incorrect) assumption that any current appeal of Blake's strange visions requires a sort of Pop Art or Camp style. The principle which held throughout the Chicago production of The Marriage of Heaven and Hell, on the contrary, was much more literal-minded.
No attempt was made to compromise the bizarre qualities of the poem (for example, the Printing House in Hell scene). Blake's uniquely weird perception of such an (essentially) familiar place demands a corresponding imaginative effort from his reader. The method of the poem dictated the method of the play, which attacked the audience with a wide variety of sensational stimuli organized not according to patterns of plot but phases of pure effect. At every point the essential aim of the play was to induce new experiences of wonderment. For this reason the Chicago stage version resembled a ballet almost as much as it did a drama, just as its text was at least as much scenario as play. The blocking of the production was constantly turning into choreography.

The Chicago Marriage was presented in the Chancel of Rockefeller Chapel, a large Neo-Gothic church on the campus of the university. The audience was seated in the nave. The production itself was based upon a severe design of multi-media effects. This design, an incorporation of dance, song, mime, and various forms of ritual drama, was set in a context of aggressive visual and audial stimuli. In this way the style of the production attempted to translate Blake's firm grasp upon the marvellous into effective theatrical terms, and even to reproduce a stage analogue for the farrago of literary styles which Blake's great poem illustrates.

ROBERT N. ESSICK: SAN FERNANDO VALLEY [CALIFORNIA] STATE COLLEGE

"What is the price of Experience do men buy it for a Song": Blake at Auction 1971

Last year was an exceptionally busy one for Blake collectors. In spite of the number of items that came up for auction, the market held up well, with no perceptible decline in prices.

Copy C of The Book of Urizen is one of only two copies containing plate 4 with the complete text. Its auction at the Britwell Court Library sale, Sotheby's, 29 March, was thus an event of considerable importance. Details from the sale catalogue and a discussion of the book's fate can be found in the Blake Newsletter, 4 (Winter 1971), 69-70 and 4 (Spring 1971), [112]-113. Although there were fears that Urizen would be dismembered immediately and sold as individual plates, it is still intact and for sale by a London dealer.

Another item (no. 34) in the Britwell Court sale, a copy of Poetical Sketches, received previous notice in the Newsletter; see Michael Phillips, "Blake's Corrections in Poetical Sketches: A Forthcoming Supplement" Blake Newsletter, 4 (Spring 1971), 148-49. This copy is not recorded by Keynes in his census in Blake Studies (2nd ed., Oxford, 1971), pp. 41-45, unless copy H, which Keynes describes as "bound in green morocco, gilt, by F. Bedford, untrimmed" and locates "in 1936 in the Carl H. Pforzheimer Library, New York" somehow found its way to Britwell Court and during the voyage faded into the copy described in the sale catalogue ("olive straight-grained morocco gilt, t.e.g., uncut, by Francis Bedford"). The title-page is reproduced in the catalogue.

Copy A of The Book of Thel was sold at Parke-Bernet in New York, 19 October, lot 343, for $21,000. This copy had been on deposit in the Harvard College Library since 1941, and it was something of a surprise to see it up for sale. The very lightly colored title-page is reproduced on the cover of the sale catalogue.

The auction that attracted the most attention during 1971 took place on 15 June at Christie's, where the Blake-Varley Sketchbook was sold leaf by leaf. A note by Michael Phillips on the sale and various reactions to it appeared in the Spring 1971 issue of the Newsletter, pp. [112]-113. Listed below are the major drawings, all reproduced in the catalogue along with thirteen lesser sketches, and the prices they fetched.

Lot 141, "The Ghost of the Flea." $5,040 to a London dealer for resale. I believe that this sketch is still for sale at considerably more than the auction price.

Lot 143, "A Standing Archer." $3,044 to Zeitlin & Ver Brugge of Los Angeles, California. The sketch was offered for sale and reproduced in their catalogue 228 for $4,550.

Lot 144, "Head of the Dying King Harold,"
Illustrations to the Bible, belongs to "C. young Blake would change styles, even in the midst of developing a single design, as he began to amalgamate them all into his own unique visual idiom. Curiously, the drawing shows the influence of Flaxman, while the finished design in the Fitzwilliam Museum just as clearly shows the influence of James Barry. When taken together, these works demonstrate how the young Blake would change styles, even in the midst of developing a single design, as he began to amalgamate them all into his own unique visual idiom.

The last Blake auction of 1971 took place at Christie's on 9 November when nine paintings and drawings, as listed below, were sold from the collection of Lady Melchett. All but the last are reproduced in the sale catalogue.

Lot 71, "Saint Matthew and the Angel," tempera on canvas, c. 1799, sold for $12,336. Blake painted a series of four temperas of the Evangelists for Thomas Butts, of which this work is one of two surviving. "St. Mark" and "St. John" were in the Butts sale, 29 June 1853 (lot 141), but have not been heard of since to my knowledge. "St. Luke" was in the Graham Robertson collection and now, according to Geoffrey Keynes, William Blake's Illustrations to the Bible, belongs to "C. Kearley, Esq."

Lot 72, "Tiriel Supporting Myratana," wash drawing illustrating Tiriel. The price is very likely a world's record for a drawing by Blake--$15,420. According to Geraldine Norman, writing in The Times [London] (10 November 1971), it sold for only $625 at auction in 1958. The fact that this monochrome drawing brought more than the previous lot caused Miss Norman to headline her article "Reversal in values of works by Blake." Both Tiriel designs in the sale fetched such high prices, not because of some rash vagary in the market, but rather because they illustrate one of Blake's own poems composed at a crucial point in his career when he was beginning to develop illuminated printing and prophetic narrative. In this case the collector responded to the scholar, paying more for a work in a "lesser" medium than for a tempera of lesser importance.

Lot 73, "Tiriel Leaving Har and Heva," wash drawing illustrating Tiriel, sold for $9,766. The sale catalogue entitles the work "The Blind Tiriel Departing from Har and Hela," but the introduction of Hela into the group is surely an error.

Lot 74, "Prone on the Lowly Grave--She Drops," watercolor intended to illustrate Blair's Grave but never engraved. This Stothard-like design sold for $5,140. Another rejected Grave preliminary appears on the cover of the Spring 1972 issue of Blake Studies.

Lot 75, "Saint Augustine Converting King Ethelbert of Kent," a watercolor which sold for $2,570. A note in the sale catalogue states that "Mr. David Bindman has pointed out that this is one of an incomplete series of designs for a History of England, one of which, 'The Death of Earl Goodwin' [sic], Blake exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1780, no. 315. "The Landing of Julius Caesar," reproduced in Charles Ryskamp, William Blake, Engraver (Princeton, 1969), is another work in this series.

Lot 76, "The Sacrifice of Manoah," a small and probably early watercolor, with the same design in pencil and grey wash on the verso, which sold for $1,157. The sale catalogue does not make clear whether it is the recto or verso in the reproduction.

Lot 77, "Adam and Eve," a slight sketch of three figures that also sold for $1,157.

Lot 78, "Lucifer and the Gods," an energetic wash drawing in Blake's Flaxmanesque style which brought $2,827.

Lot 79, "The Deluge," a pencil sketch, attributed to Blake in an inscription by Tatham, brought only $437.}

Our thanks to David Bindman for several items of information on Blake sales in 1971, all incorporated above. (Eds.)
Two Pictorial Sources for Jerusalem 25

1 Jerusalem 25. From the collection of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon. We are grateful to Mr. and Mrs. Mellon for permission to reproduce these pictures and to Mr. Willis Van Devanter for his assistance in obtaining them.
"The difference between a bad Artist & a Good One Is: the Bad Artist Seems to Copy a Great deal. The Good one Really Does Copy a Great deal." As Sir Anthony Blunt has shown, Blake really did copy a great deal, though when he borrowed for one of his own works, the borrowing was seldom without some kind of transformation. Such is the case with the design on plate 25 of Jerusalem [fig. 1].

The central figure in this picture is Albion, as we know from the presence of the sun, moon, and stars in his limbs. (Two plates later we are told "But now the Starry Heavens are fled from the mighty limbs of Albion."—K 649). He is bound in a position strongly reminiscent of that of the central figure of The Blasphemers in the Tate Gallery, but here the figure at the right is drawing something out of his body. This action has been variously interpreted as "winding a 'clue' of vegetation from his navel," "drawing out the umbilical cord from his navel" and "disembowelment." Actually, it is all three, for to Blake the bowels and the umbilical cord are equally manifestations of those fibres of vegetation which play so large a thematic role in Blake's later works. In this particular picture the same fibres that the figure on the right winds out of Albion's body and into a ball stream down the plate on either side from the fingers of the central female figure. The identity of substance is more apparent in the Mellon copy than in the black-and-white copies, for Blake uses the same russet coloration for fibres of vegetation throughout (compare for example plate 57 [fig. 3], where the russet fibres stream from the fingers of the two female figures above and seem to entrap the one below). This winding of Albion's bowels of compassion (56:34) into a ball is a demonic parody of the activity Blake urges on the reader in plate 77 [fig. 4] with its accompanying picture. Winding and unwinding, weaving and unweaving are indeed among the central motifs of Jerusalem [cf. fig. 5].

The meaning, then, is thoroughly Blakean. But the depiction of a figure whose bowels are being unwound is a rather unusual subject, and the existence of just such a figure in a painting by an artist whom Blake admired suggests that Blake was following his own advice in J 25. The painting is The Martyrdom of St. Erasmus by Nicolas Poussin. Blake praises Poussin several times in the Annotations to Reynolds (K 469, 477), and according to Raymond Lister Blake made a copy of Poussin's The Giant Polyphemus which was engraved by George Byfield c. 1820. Saint Erasmus was martyred by having his entrails drawn out and wound on a winch, and although Blake cannot have seen Poussin's powerful rendering of this scene in Rome—or in Paris, to which it was removed during the Napoleonic period—he could easily have been familiar with the version by Joseph Marie Mitelli [fig. 6], an engraving listed as one of Mitelli's "principal works" by Michael Bryan in 1816 (A Biographical and Critical Dictionary of Painters and Engravers [London], II, 76). Blake has of course shifted Poussin's supine suffering figure to a more Michelangelesque pose, yet the drawing out and winding of the entrails remain the central conception of both pictures.8

NOTES
5Also known by the W. M. Rossetti title, The Stoning of Achan, but see Martin Butlin, William Blake / A Complete Catalogue of the Works in the Tate Gallery (London, 1971), p. 45. A similar Michelangelesque posture may be seen in J 91 [fig. 2].
7C. H. Collins Baker suggests that the figure may derive from Flaxman; see "The Sources of Blake's Pictorial Expression," Huntington Library Quarterly, 4 (1940-41), 365.
8Miss Deirdre Tomney points out that The Martyrdom of St. Erasmus was seen and remarked on by Henry Fuseli when he visited the Louvre in 1802. John Knowles summarizes Fuseli's view of the painting as follows:

The actual martyrdom of St. Erasmus is one of those subjects which ought not to be told to the eye—because it is equally loathsome
3 Jerusalem 57. From the collection of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon

4 Jerusalem 77, top. From the collection of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon.

5 Jerusalem 59, center. From the collection of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon.
and horrible; we can neither pity nor shudder; we are seized by qualms, and detest. Poussin and Pietro Testa are here more or less objects of aversion, and in proportion to the greater or less energy they exerted. This is the only picture of Poussin in which he has attempted to rival his Italian competitors on a scale of equal magnitude in figures of the size of life; and here he was no longer in his sphere; his drawing has no longer its usual precision of form, it is loose and Cortonesque; his colour on this scale has neither the breadth of fresco, nor the glow, finish, or impasto of oil.


II Deirdre Toomey: Le Tre Parohe

The anonymous engraving after II Rosso Fiorentino known as Le Tre Parohe [fig. 7] is usually attributed to Rene Boyvin, a sixteenth century French engraver and designer. Boyvin was born in Angers in 1530, worked in Paris and died in Rome in 1598. About 226 prints can be attributed to him, mainly engraved after II Rosso and Primaticcio. Boyvin engraved two versions of this subject; in the other, also after II Rosso, the Fates are clothed. According to Robert-Dumesnil a bad copy of the engraving was acquired by the British Museum in 1850 from theseli, who possessed an interesting collection of Mannerist prints. Two copies of this rare print were acquired by the British Museum in 1850 from the collection of a Mr. Bowerfield. Blake's debt to the Rosso design is immediately evident. It can be seen in his use of the unusual pyramidal composition of three female nudes; in the torso and outstretched arms of the central figure and the bundles of cord-like substance that she holds; in the relationship of her arms to the heads of the other two figures; and in the head, features, tear-stained face and hunched pose of the right-hand figure. Indeed the very theme of plate 25 can be seen to be derived from the Parohe.

Blake alters the proportion from rectangle to square to accommodate the extra figure. He discards the left-hand Fate for a more compositionally symmetrical adaptation of Michaelangelo's Night. The central Fate is considerably foreshortened, her sprawling legs are removed and her arms are straightened. The right-hand Fate suffers a slight rearrangement of her legs and arms; her hunched pose remains remarkably unmodified. Blake enlarges the picture depth, at the same time concentrating the movement within the design. In the Rosso there is a characteristic tendency towards diffuseness: the strong triangle formed by the three bodies is broken by the outward thrust and gaze of all the figures. Blake's modifications all tend towards making the design more concentrated, dramatic and energetic. The self-consciousness of the Fates disappears and their potential energy is harnessed by the introduction of the fourth figure and hence an action. In typical Mannerist fashion the diagonals in the Rosso bisect on the pudendum of the central Fate, which is thus the focal point of the design. In plate 25 this central figure is foreshortened and the focal point becomes Albion's agonized chest. Blake also ignores the merely ornamental parts of the design; the "Testa Divina" head-dresses disappear and blocks of stone are substituted for the draperies, pedestal and basket of flowers.

Blake takes the spinning motif of Le Tre Parohe a stage further both formally and iconographically. Instead of the symbolic thread, the females really wind "the thin-spun life," Albion's "tender bowels." This winding of entrails can be seen to be taken from Poussin's St. Eustachius [fig. 6]: two sources are thus admirably conflated in plate 25. The bundles of flax held by the central Fate also undergo a curious transformation, being enlarged into long willow-like roots. It is important to note that, in taking over and elaborating the Rosso spinning motif, Blake disrupts the process: in the former, the bundles of flax are being spun into thread, in the latter there is no visually logical connection between the "roots" and the entrails. Blake's interest in spinning and weaving can be seen elsewhere in Jerusalem, viz., plates 59 [fig. 5] and 91 [fig. 2]. The bands worn by two of the Fates and used as distaff-holders are rather surprisingly ignored by Blake: similar bands are to be seen more than once on Blake's male figures, viz., Vala p. 60, and, more debatably, on female figures in Jerusalem. The most plausible of these is seen in plate 59, a spinning scene; the bands in plates 5, 8 and 24 are nearer to harnesses of some sort. The female band was a classical device, often used in the Renaissance and available to Blake in countless engravings. Blake's source for the male band is probably Fuseli.

The sun, moon and stars seen on Albion's body in this plate can be read as symbolic references to his microcosmic nature:

You have a tradition that Man anciently contain'd in his mighty limbs all things in Heaven & Earth: this you received from the Druids.

"But now the Starry Heavens are fled from the mighty limbs of Albion." (J 27)

They can also be read, more simply, as primitive decorations, very similar to those seen on the bodies of the Ancient Britons in Speed's Historie [fig. 8]. Here the ancient Britons are seen as "naked Heroes," dwelling in "naked simplicity," though Speed's Britons are not Blake's original Britons, "learned, studious, abstruse in thought and contemplation" but, as we see from the heads that they car
6 Mitelli's engraving of Poussin's *The Martyrdom of St. Erasmus*. Reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

7 Rene Boyvin's [?] engraving of *Le Tre Parche*, after Il Rosso Fiorentino. Reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.
ry and trample upon, belong rather to the corrupt age "which began to turn allegoric and mental signification into corporeal command, whereby human sacrifice would have depopulated the earth." Suns, moons and stars form part of their body-decoration, as do birds and beasts: "... Man contain'd in his Limbs all Animals . . ." (J 27).

Deirdre Toomey will discuss the two states of J 26 in Blake Newsletter 21 (Summer 1972). (Eds.)

NOTES

1 The Rosso original is lost.

2 However Yves Metman argues that much of the work hitherto attributed to Boyvin must be assigned to another Fontainbleu engraver, Pierre Millan: this version of the Parohe is among those reattributed. See Metman, "Pierre Millan; un Graveur inconnu de l'Ecole de Fontainbleu", Bibliothèque D'Humanisme et Renaissance (1941), pp. 202-21A [including a supplement of documents].

3 They come to resemble those of the floating female in the Victoria and Albert Allegorical Design with a River God.

4 However if we turn to the text connections can be made: the roots can be seen as Vala's veil being thrown over Albion's "deep wound of sin" by the leaning central figure.

gallery of pictorial imagery can no longer be dis­regarded because an earlier generation of scholars saw fit to denigrate those great designs as works of art. After having made all the necessary checks, however, the true scholar must still decide whether what he has to say represents a substantial addi­tion to what is known or, at least, a significant correction or clarification of the issues. It is not a sufficient justification that one say some­thing new. It is not even sufficient that one say something true.

The additions of Songs of Experience to Songs of Innocence, together with the other alterations made in forming the consolidated anthology, stand as examples of how Blake continued to draw on the stock of verbal and visual images established in his earlier work. This aspect of his art is partic­ularly interesting for our purposes since Damon has proposed that Blake derived his idea for an amalgam­ated Songs from Milton's example in the twin-poem L'Allegro-il Penseroso. But in returning to an im­age, Blake does not re-employ it himself exactly. Usually an image is re-employed only with noteworthy varia­tions which may, in turn, alter the valuation rad­i­cally, as from positive to negative or vice versa, or at least qualify it appreciably. Recent criti­cism has tended to employ the term "irony" to de­scribe this strategy of variation. But once the suspi­tion of irony has been raised, everything, es­pecially everything ostensively positive, seems called into doubt, and what Swift referred to as "the converting imagination" is liable to take com­mand of critical vision. Few of those familiar with the literature have not felt that Blake has on occasion been made to appear oblique where he him­self strove successfully to be direct. The possi­bility of irony must somehow be tested to determine its presence though I have no infallible test to propose. All I would urge is that the expositor ask not whether he is able to construe the image in question ironically, but whether Blake gives him sufficient authorization for attempting to do so.

What I do want to insist, however, is that Blake's capacity for irony seems to have been a gift more than a development. The record hardly al­lows us to imagine a time before which Blake was in­capable of irony and one of the few indubitable things Blake must have found valid in Platonism is Socratic irony. Socrates, as a critic himself might have sometimes been linked with the school of irony, I can hardly suppose irony to be a wholly unprofitable interpretive concern. Nevertheless, we can still profit from a modest denial Northrop Frye made dur­ing the bicentennial year, well before there had been much talk about Blake's irony: Frye went so far as to declare that Blake's writing lacks irony (Fables of Identity, p. 139). Had more consider­ation been given to this dictum, I believe that scholarship would have been spared much ingenious but unprofitable commentary.

It remains true, however, that one essential aspect of Blake's art necessarily involves something very like irony. Even more than other great art­ists Blake was attracted to such strategies as coun­terparts, sequels, contraries, and alternative ver­sions; moreover, his deployment of several media si-multaneously seems to have generated juxtapositions that can only be understood as ironical in some sense. The most notorious case is that of "The Ty­ger," where the sublime terror of the poem is set against a picture of the beast that is—usually—un­heroic, if not contemptible. I have written at length about this problem elsewhere and do not wish to reiterate here. But I continue to maintain that the incommensurability of the picture and the poem is too patent to have been accidental and that only prejudice has led viewers to suppose that a picture which accompanies a poem must illustrate it, in the sense, that is, of attempting to imitate its mood and angle of vision. Beneath this prejudice seems to lurk the superstition about appearance and real­ity that the truest image of a tiger is a blood­thirsty ferocious beast, such as was sighted for a time in the drafts of the poem. If, on the contra­ry, one looks at actual tigers in a zoo, or even at Stubbs's pictures of tigers, he will be led to re­flect how much the savage abstraction is a projec­tion of his own fears and fantasies, as well as those of his culture. Like the Ghost of a Flea, an image of a terrifying tiger is a phantom in the theatre of selfhood.

I remain convinced, therefore, that Blake wanted us to understand all this as an implication of the indubitable non-correspondence between his picture and text in the same plate. It does not of course, follow that all or most of his other pic­tures stand in such an antithetical or "ironic" re­lation to a text. Indeed, such discrepancies seem to be quite rare, and to have been aimed chiefly at rousing the spectator's faculties to act in a more imaginative or inquiring manner than they do when he is content to look at pictures as illustrations merely. Whether the technique of non-correrespondence is best referred to as "illumination," as Hag­strum seems to have proposed, is another matter. Whatever we should call it, we cannot doubt that, as a multi-media artist, Blake always has a palpable design on the viewer; Blake is trying to elic­it or provoke a determinate response from his audience, rather than incoherent evidence that they have been moved. Still, I suppose he would have been grati­fied to know that anybody had bothered to memorize one of his poems, much less pour over his pictures, or even make a glad noise to accompany meditations stimulated by one or the other. No doubt I'm referr­ing to Ginsberg and Orlovsky here.

The first task for an interpreter is to see a poem or picture as it is. I tried to give an ade­quate descriptive account of the initial design for L'Allegro in the first part of this discussion (Blake Newsletter 16, 4 [Spring 1971], 117-34). Now I wish to begin an interpretation by propounding the captious question: "What is the matter with Mirth?"

I will quickly add that this would be a bad question for a class of beginning students since it might encourage them not to get to the first base in Blake studies, which is the ability to distin­guish between Innocence and Experience. Confusion at this level is both natural and lamentable. The first premise for a balanced presentation should be "Mirth is a good thing, and don't you forget it!"
But as a question for experts, "What is the matter with Mirth?" should stimulate a closer look at all the twenty-four or more figures in this complex allegorical design. Blake himself said that "all" of Milton's dozen personifications are brought together in this design: I have learned to think that Blake meant what he said on all occasions.

Of course, being mostly readers, we tend to place more faith in words than in pictures and are likely to be put in a more receptive mood by some more words. Here are a few relevant things Blake said when he was laying it on the line:

Early (Ann. Lavater, E 574/E 67): "I hate scarce smiles I love laughing."

Later (to Trusler, 23 August 1799, E 676/E 793): "Fun I love, but too much Fun is of all things the most loathsome. Mirth is better than Fun & Happiness is better than Mirth--I feel that a Man may be happy in This World. And I know that This World Is a World of Imagination & Vision."

I most want to call attention to the display of Blake's mental powers of discrimination in this passage, his insistence on qualification, even when he was out of all patience in dealing with a fool. The placing of "Mirth" in a middle position with respect to value is also a point to reflect upon, though, in itself, it is not a more decisive consideration than that nice little pencil drawing of "Mirth" that Keynes reproduces as plate 19 in his 1956 selection of drawings. If this be irony, let us make the most of it.

What are all those golden builders up to anyway? Are there destroyers among them?

There is probably a conventional element in Blake's designs for L'Allegro and Il Penseroso that would have been apparent to his contemporaries who were familiar with the stage and pictorial traditions representing these subjects. More closely connected with Blake's designs in some respects than any of the helpful pictures reproduced in Marcia Pointon's Milton and English Art are two designs by George Romney, "Mrs. Jordan as L'Allegro" and "Mrs. Yates as Melancholy," which I have seen only briefly in large engravings by R. Dunkerton dated 1 October 1771. My notes indicate that
Blake's first design more closely resembles the former, in which L'Allegro appears playing a tambourine in company with four girls, three of whom are musicians who play a triangle, a lyre, and a guitar, than his seventh design resembles the latter. The equivocal symbolism of musical instruments in, for example, Milton 15 should be sufficient caution against the Blakist's assuming that the presence of music is an indubitable sign of vision and liberation, though the joy expressed with musical instruments at the end of Job, as well as the conclusive reordering attended by horns in the Last Judgments are, of course, basic standards of orientation for determining Blake's meaning.

There is only one musical instrument depicted in the watercolor version of Mirth and her Companions, the long trumpet being blown by the little twisting figure who takes off in slightly differing ways, described in Part I, from the left hand of Mirth in Blake's two earlier versions of the design. I should say that I have considered the possibility that the relation of the trumpeter to Mirth's hand may be coincidental, as is perhaps the case with the relation of Quiet to the hand of Melancholy in design 7, but this seems to me a dubious hypothesis; Blake deliberately placed the hands in various positions and all must be accounted for. To think at all about this problem, of course, we must consider why Blake relocated the left forearm of Mirth in the second state of the engraving [figs. 1 and 2] and this positioning, I suspect, leads us back to the general question of meaning, the problem of what, if anything, is wrong with Mirth. But I am not ready to consider the overall meaning of the picture just yet.

First, it is noteworthy that there are three balls or bubbles to the right of the trumpet which nobody would doubt have been blown from the horn. I can think of no other example in Blake's work of bubbles being blown from a horn, though any Blakist would suspect that such symbolism implies an unfavorable comment. It is true that bubbles may well be portentous, as the transparent spheres certainly are in the painting "The Fall of Man" [fig. 3], which I mentioned in Part I in connection with design 6, but their conventional associations with trivial or unworthy goals are also utilized; thus Blake represents them in Night Thoughts no. 39 (II, 5), but they may be soporific or distracting, as with Fame's Trumpet, Night Thoughts no. 352 (VIII,
3 "The Fall of Man." Reproduced by courtesy of the Victoria & Albert Museum.
Blake must have thought this trumpet was celestial, for the central figure is Mirth, whatever else one might feel compelled to call her. The "Mountain Nymph Sweet Liberty" is likewise unmistakable. Perhaps Blake's image of her was further particularized in response to lines 70-72 in Collins's "The Passions: An Ode for Music": "When Cheeryfulness, a Nymph of healthiest hue, Doth pass by, and bow a-cross her Shoul'der slung, / Her Buskins gem'd with Morning Dew. . . ." It seems reasonable to agree with Keynes that the boy who attends Mirth is Jest while the girl beside her is Youthful Jollity. This leaves the girl at the right in the front five unidentified and the various other subordinate figures to be connected with the six abstractions mentioned in lines 27 and 28 of the poem. Morton Paley suggested that there may be implications now lost to us in some of the archaic words, but the annotations in standard students' editions of Milton do not indicate anything decisive. Because neither Blake's nor Milton's words seem to imply a different order of correspondence, it seems best to read down the picture for personifications in line 27. Thus, the trumpeter and the two or more people beneath his bubbles are Quips; the flyer and his companions--there are definitely three in the engraved versions--are Cranks (i.e., witticisms); and the girl at the front right, the bat-winged female above her and the ass-eared creature above her are Kanton Wiles. Rather, the girl "Kitty" is famous because of her cat whiskers in the engraved version--a detail brought to my attention some years ago by Irene Taylor--the woman above her consequently being "Batty" and the male creature above her "Assy." This makes Nods the two women to the left of Sport, Becks the two women to her right (the second of these with outspread arms, trimmed in the watercolor, in the position of a presiding or sponsoring spirit), and Wreathed Smiles being the four or more spirits in the halo of Mirth. The fact that Smiles spirits definitely become musicians, with two horns and two tambourines, in the engraved versions is a distinct indication to me that, in the end, Blake arrived at a less negative attitude towards the whole group, though I cautioned earlier against being too sanguine about Blakean music.

Pictures that Blake made later in his career are often most clearly understood as transformations of pictures he made earlier, with important elements having been added or subtracted; such systematic counterpointing produces works that tend to exist in an Innocence-Experience relationship. I have already in effect cautioned against trying to see the relationship between designs 1 and 7 as a simple contrast between Innocence and Experience. The visions in the two designs can be more precisely described as, first, a quasi-(not pseudo-) Innocence and, second, a qualified (incompletely organized) Experience. It is not to be expected that either state will be found pure in this world. In certain respects "Mirth and her Companions" stands in a more distinctly contrary relationship to Blake's frontispiece for J. T. Stanley's version of G. A. Bürger's Lenore (fig. 4), which was designed twenty years earlier and may be understood as a negative prototype to the L'Allegro design. The symbolic continuities are remarkable; for example, the front five of Mirth are quite similar, at times even in posture, to the five dancers in the middle distance between the moon and gibbet in the background and the grave in the foreground (which is closely related to the titlepage of Vala) in the Leonora frontispiece. There is also a trumpeter in the Bürger design, though he has a more serpentine instrument and is differently positioned than the one in Mirth. The common pall of Death at the top of the Bürger design, which Blake used again in Night Thoughts no. 81 (III, 6) [fig. 5] is related to that of Night in Il Penseroso 7 and elsewhere, but it is the Fiery Cherub Contemplation who dominates the Milton design and assures that Melancholy and her Companions have the capacity to see as far as Job and his companions in Job 14. The second Beck, who tries to exercise comparable control, is a rather shadowy figure in the watercolor version of Mirth, but she comes through more clearly as a Mirth-dispenser in the engravings. Is she not the airly sister of lady Ololon who spreads her blessings over the human harvest on the last plate of Milton?

But the smiling face shown by Death in the Leonora frontispiece continues to haunt us. It bears a close resemblance to the beefy face of Laughter, especially as he is represented in the engraved versions. Though it is appreciably heavier, the face of Death is also similar to the sober face of Satan in his Original Glory (no. 33 in Butlin's revised Tate Gallery catalogue). And both faces also have a distinct resemblance to that of Jest who dances at the right side of Mirth—not as he is represented in the watercolor, but in both engraved versions; even noteworthy is the fact that the hair-crown complex of Satan comes to a point, quite like the hair of Jest. I do not believe that Blake meant us to infer from this that Jest is lethal, but perhaps he would have his fans recall the simple-seeming "Blind-man's Buff" and the affinity between "The laughing jest, the love-sick tale" (K 413/K 16).

Perhaps the moral of these family resemblances in L'Allegro is that the particular likeness of Laughter to Death is reason enough to suspect laughing, and the proximity of Laughter to Assy is another good reason to be dubious about its consequences. Laughter may be lovable, but it must not be allowed to dominate, as Hobbes and others have supposed it inclined by nature to do. Laughter is doubtless most jolly when holding himself to his own place. In the case of Jest, however, his resemblance is closer to the pre-lapsarian Satan than to the post-lapsarian Death; if the interpreter were to argue that Jest's high-stepping is to be understood merely
"O how I dreamt of things impossible,
Of Death affecting Formless like himself,
I've seen, or dreamt. I saw the Tyrant drop,
By his Horrors and put on his Smiles.

4 Blake's frontispiece for J. T. Stanley's version of G. A. Bürger's Lenore
(London, 1796). Reproduced by permission of the Huntington Library, San
Marino, California.

Troubleous became an unexpected Guest,
Nay, though invited by the loudest Calls
Of blind Impudence, unexpected still;
And then, he drops his Mask.

-Mirad from Young.
as the leap before the fall, this would be sourly to refuse delight in the dance of life. Such suspicions are worthy only of Wrinkled Care. Blake would not wish his ideal spectators to share them.

The two chief figures in the *Leonora* frontispiece, the hero and heroine boldly setting out above the moon on a fiery horse, did not survive this seeming-brave beginning as the ballad makes clear, and if they are to return at all in the company of Mirth they will have to get over some unfortunate habits, an accomplishment not impossible, as suggested by the resurrection of the Youth and the Virgin in "Ah! Sun-Flower." Unquestionably they have a weakness for reckless driving and a too-familiar relationship with Death. Like the male rider in the background of the colorprint "Pity" (no. 19 in Butlin's revised Tate Gallery catalogue) the hero does not show his face, but if he did, the poem suggests, he might himself look like Death on a Pale Horse, in that other equestrian picture now in the Fitzwilliam collection (in Bindman's catalogue).

Faces thus deliberately turned away from the viewer, it must be said, are particularly challenging for the interpreter. I believe that the figure at eleven o'clock in the *Leonora* design, who manages to cling to the pall of Death and tries also to hold onto his head, is the hero just escaped to this next ambush of Death; he is much like the similarly depicted man at two o'clock in *Europe 2*. The real face of such figures may be either what we suppose that of the scribe to be in "God Writing on the Tables of the Covenant" (Figgis, pl. 55) or Jesus in "The Ascension" (Graham-Robertson, pl. 33—now Fitzwilliam, no. 23), but the wind that blows the hair of Bürger's hero associates him with the former. The possibility of a redeeming face ought never to be foreclosed, however; in Blake's symbolism the problematic figure of "furious desires" in *Urizen* 3 (no. 13 in Butlin's revised Tate Gallery catalogue) becomes the Holy Spirit that dominates the Genesis titlepage (see Damon, *Dictionary*, pl. II) or the central figure of the Redeemer in "The River of Life" (no. 19 in Butlin's revised Tate Gallery catalogue). When something of his face is revealed, he appears as Milton about to descend to Eternal Death in the titlepage of *Milton* or as one of the many faces of Jesus.

The missing link in this symbolism of regeneration is the great design of a "Spirit with Fiery Pegasus" [fig. 6], no. VI in the *Descriptive Catalogue* (E 536/R 581). There we see that, of its own accord, this Eternal Horse (magnified from *MHH* 27) is leaping from the barren cliffs over the very sun as it is about to be bridled by a rider who shows his face and knows how much spirit great Pegasus possesses without dependency on external wings. The girl on the cloud, who is both a sister to regenerate Earth as depicted in *L'Allegro* 2 and a
Thoughts, also leads us to a pair of Blake designs that accompany the actual lines of Young's poem. These are, first, a pretty girl with wonderful red hair who sits on an odd leafy stump while clutching a bow and arrow, Night Thoughts no. 203 (V, 48; cf. Vala p. 124) [fig. 7]. The sequel, no. 204 (V, 49) [fig. 8] shows the other side of hypocrite Death (with a long cue of hair) being observed by the adventuring traveller from behind, as he leans on a mound while still holding his bow and flaunting his pretty girl mask. The next design, no. 205 (V, 50) [fig. 9] shows Death as a huge reveller with a crown of roses reaching down and holding hands with two humans who are dancing thoughtlessly to the tune of two human musicians and being inspired by the spirits of the punch bowl. I am sorry to be prompted by such closely connected pictures to further suspicions concerning the ethical status of Mirth and her Companions. I too love laughing and, like everyone else, would be happier if we could dispense with irony.

When it comes back to Mirth and Melancholy, which is better? Which is Good? Or should we perhaps try to get beyond Good and Evil altogether? Let us get inside good and evil, rather. Jerusalem has as one of its themes a concern I have never seen adequately discussed in print—except, of course, by Blake. Briefly, it is how to distinguish what is valid in Jerusalem and what is valid in Vala. The problem is attractively enough presented in J 32 (46)—not in the spirit urging a girl to rise and compare the plight of Kitty—but the sequel sometimes is J 47, where the two women are shown to have turned Albion's head and confounded him. This difficulty is unresolved as it is reenacted by Cambel and Gwendolyn in J 96 and J 99. In "The Judgment of Paris" the problem is a triplicated dilemma. As I see the Arlington Court Picture, the Sea Goddess, the Unveiled Lady, and the Water Carrier are all about redemptive tasks, intending to set right the disrupted cycle of love and vision. (See Blake Newsletter, 3 [May 1970] and 4 [August 1970], and Studies in Romanticism, 12 [1971].) In Night Thoughts no. 465 (IX, 47) Nature is shown to be undertaking this whole task by herself, but since it is still night time the best one can expect her to do is set a salutary precedent for eternal day.

The evidence indicates that despite their prepossessing characteristics Mirth and her Companions are all in jeopardy, though some more clearly than others. I have suggested that the "Mountain Nymph Sweet Liberty," in spite of her name, may not be as...
good as she looks; however, it is important to recognize that the bow and arrow are not always unacceptable equipment. The interpreter must be alert not to conflate the golden bow of the Jerusalem concept with Satan's black bow. For example, Blake certainly represents a redemptive bow in the hands of the stately Diana figure in Night Thoughts no. 500 (IX, 82). And if the viewer cannot be quite easy even with this vision, he must accept Christ the Bowman in Night Thoughts no. 325 (VII, 53) or Hyperion in the sixth design for Gray's "Progress of Poesy." Qualifications such as these are essential to an accurate vision of all these "personifications" to see what Blake did, we must see as Blake did.

One naturally tends to admire a high-stepper like Jest, the only male figure in the front line with Mirth; it is true that, in the watercolor version, the glance he casts toward Youthful Jollity passes behind the back of Mirth and thus can seem dubiously surreptitious, but, in itself, this is hardly to be reprobated. In addition to his afore-mentioned resemblances to the images of Death and Satan, Jest also has a considerable resemblance to some of the deathly dancers in the frontispiece to Leonora, and he closely resembles the first reckless youth of the dream of the fanciful writer in Night Thoughts no. 14 (1, 9—reproduced in Blake's Visionary Forms Dramatic, pl. 82), particularly in the engraved version, which is reversed. The fact that in this sequence the youth is directly entrapped and done in by a woman may lead us to prophesy that Jest has a similar fortune in store. But it is noteworthy that in both engraved versions Jest is depicted looking straight ahead, which indicates that he may not fall for some unworthy creature after all.

The primary analogues to the figure of Youthful Jollity are more unequivocally favorable. Her face as it is represented in both engraved states, particularly the first, is very like that of the imposing woman at the viewer's left in the front row of "The Spiritual Condition of Man" (no. 33, Fitzwilliam catalogue). Preston in his commentary on the picture (Bentley and Nurmi no. 1783) identifies her as Faith and refers to her peculiar topknot of hair as a Hindu jatta; in posture, however, Youthful Jollity is much closer to the indubitable figure of Hope represented at the right in the front row of this picture. From this perspective, when we compare the dancers who accompany Mirth with the clownish dancers of Death in the Leonora frontispiece, we understand that, whatever the resemblances, it is the contrasting ethical status of the two sets of figures that is of most importance.

Still, it is not possible to exculpate Kitty and her adventure, though this escapade is probably intended to be risible rather than tragic.

Of the companions of Mirth Kitty is obviously
in most potential danger. Ever since the aforementioned "Blind-man's Buff" in Poetical Sketches, a poem which echoes *L'Allegro* and contains a "Kitty," Blake fans had been warned that too much fun may be harmful, and anyone can see that the latter Kitty has picked up sinister companions. One may recall several other women who are similarly threatened.

There is Oothoon, who flees from Bromion on the title page of *VDA* no. 11. Then there is Sense, who dances on tiptoe on the edge of the grave in *Night Thoughts* no. 81 (III, 6) [fig. 5], since she appears quite unaware of the danger (see the article by Helmstadter for further discussion of this picture). Very like her is poor Vanity, who dances on tiptoe in *II Penseroso* 9 by a wingy-finned female who deploys her toils from a clam shell. To strengthen this connection I showed four slides of Blake's designs for Gray's "Ode on the Death of a Favourite Cat," which were kindly loaned by Irene Tayler; design 1 shows the fish with bat-wing-type fins, design 3 features a curve in Selima's tail like that in the cue of Kitty, and design 5 shows the nymph falling in a position very like that of the fallen woman in *II Penseroso* 9. I also showed Cat-Ode design 6 to indicate how, in the resurrection of Selima, Blake imagined a future for her beyond Gray's powers of projection; the implicit thought is that, though Kitty may be swept off her feet, it is possible that she may also get her feet on the ground again and then assay a more worthy transcendence.

Kitty's other betrayer appears in a pair of *Night Thoughts* designs, nos. 389 and 390 (VIII, 43 and 44) [figs. 11 and 12]. Here Assy is shown first beating a drum, accompanied on the pipe by another sly creature, in a military recruiting team that is appealing to a sweet young man to get a piece of the action. Then, in the second design, the recruiters seem to have hooked him, since the young man is moving to follow them; Assy is shown here high-stepping in triumph, like Jest, while one of his now two cohorts is a sly Kitty. The fond young man is about to be hit by three arrows from bows operated from above by three putti.

What is in store for Kitty if she becomes disengaged from Mirth is doubtless comparable to what will happen to the young man as a redcoat. The undeveloped area of Cranks in the watercolor version makes prediction dubious, but it would be realistic to expect the young man to become a murderer and Kitty a good-natured whore; the considerable resemblance of her (engraved) hat to that of the Wf of Bath in the *Canterbury Pilgrims* (Separate Plates, pl. 27) makes this seem more probable. The area by Laughter's left knee, rising from Assy's hand, has been taken
up in the engravings by a small woman who rises while looking at herself in an oval mirror. Blake employs mirrors frequently in the Night Thoughts designs and elsewhere, perhaps not always in their traditional signification, but it would appear that here a trivial Vanity of Vanities is clearly depicted. Similarly the more developed figures in the engraving of the pitcher-pourer and the goblet-receiver do not require analogies from Night Thoughts to make us suspicious; however, a particularly close relation is in no. 455 (IX, 37) [fig. 13], in which an old planetary spirit pours from a pitcher to serve a young planetary spirit who holds out a flat basin. This way of getting high is not propitious, not, at any rate, as depicted in the first state of the engraving.

Similarly the more developed figures in the engraving of the pitcher-pourer and the goblet-receiver do not require analogies from Night Thoughts to make us suspicious; however, a particularly close relation is in no. 455 (IX, 37) [fig. 13], in which an old planetary spirit pours from a pitcher to serve a young planetary spirit who holds out a flat basin. This way of getting high is not propitious, not, at any rate, as depicted in the first state of the engraving.

Finally one must observe the connection between the family group of three at one o'clock and the drastically relocated arm and hand of Mirth in the second state of the plate. There Mirth is shown fostering the transfer of the babe from the mother to the father. As I see it, the resemblance to the aforementioned colorprint "Pity" is not discrediting. The colorprint is ambiguous insofar as it invites us to consider that Pity is promising in its inception but may be maleficient in its nurture. Evidently the more strenuous training envisioned by the haloed father in the second state of Mirth will be a better education. But the assistance per se given to the newborn-babe in the earlier colorprint was not mistaken. Also relevant are the struggles of the Good and Evil Angels for Possession of a Child in MHH 4 and the corresponding colorprint (no. 23 in Butlin's revised Tate Gallery catalogue). The genders in the various versions of this design are problematic, but the more maternal figure always protects the child from the awesome male. In the presence of Mirth a properly cooperative egalitarian relationship is established, a relationship, indeed, of Innocence, in which there is sharing rather than sulking.

Irene Tayler suggested at the MLA meeting that the design of Mirth and her Companions is profoundly concerned with sexual problems and that the analysis of Mirth becomes increasingly less favorable in the engraved states than it was in the watered or. At this time I am still unable to imagine how the second part of this interpretation can be sustained. Certainly the darkening of the picture is no mark against its regenerative implications. Blake's own design for the regenerate man in Death's Door [Separate Plates, pl. 25] was much darker than Schia­vonetti's comparatively bright and cheerful version. Perhaps I should add parenthetically a point I made in an earlier article, that the decapitated man in the upper panel of the parody version of regenerate man [Separate Plates, pls. 23, 24] has a cat head as one of his available masks. I suppose this to be one of the masks of Cromek, the headless man, though it may also have had particular associations with Skofield. But the judgment against Kitty in L'Alegro cannot be as severe; when in company with Mirth she is less deceiving than deceived. With her arm relocated, Mirth is enabled both to foster the family and, perhaps, to guide Liberty into the paths of sweetness, rather than into those of self-righteousness. If Kitty appears under the dispensation of Mirth and yet is seduced to aspire no higher than foolish lower Cranks, there can be no help for her. After all, the comic mode has its true prophets, exemplified by the higher flyer with the scroll, who may be taken to signify the great artists since Aristophanes who have also labored for our freedom from Care. In the end the music of Mirth's wreathed Smiles is not delusive, as are the scrannel pipes of the Jovial Muses to Spare Fast in Il Penseroso or the wrangles of Platonic airy nothings for benighted Milton himself in Il Penseroso.

What then of the inscription scribbled on the plate to accompany the unfinished second state? It may be explanatory, but there are several different ways to read it. Possibly Blake felt frustrated because he couldn't get the right foot of Mirth to come out satisfactorily after having done so much work on the plate. He might also have decided that, since the activities of most of the figures can be reduced to vanity by the technique of ironic regard, he himself had accomplished in the picture nothing better than a comprehensive anatomy or epitome of Vanity, and that nothing "can be foolisher than that." But I believe that the activities of the family and the (now-haloed) flyer on either side of Mirth's redrawn left arm are both above reproach, and that we must also consider the halos added to the figures of Laughter and even the wine-pourer ("First were created wine & happiness," # 626) in
the second state of the engraving. In the last analysis the irony in the inscription redounds on Solomon's head: in the end the Vanities of Cynicism is the greatest Vanity of all. Consider, for instance, the example of "our friend Diogenes the Grecian" mentioned in MHH 13 and epitomized in his famous encounter with Alexander the Great and Aristotle in front of his barrel; this is depicted in Night Thoughts no. 469 (IX, 51). Diogenes was supposed to have been a Cynic but Blake knew him to be a prophet, one who did not have to read a book to understand that Solomon's kind of wisdom must have been uttered by a sage who had grown weary of life. Nevertheless, Blake was careful to show us that, though Diogenes had abjured almost everything else, he had not given up books.

If one will lift up his eyes to the good book of the heavens, though it be opened by the sober wise figure of Night, who resembles Melancholy, he will see a goal for regeneration—as in Night Thoughts no. 501 (IX, 83) [fig. 14]. This is what Milton does in the end in II Penatenwo 12, as he looks up and sees the starry heavens humanized while a center opens beneath the pathetic, futile vanities that are unable to rise above the surface because they want to fly before they have learned how to benefit from the companionship of Melancholy.

The publication of the Catalogue of the Blake collection of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, is an important event for Blake students. The range and quantity of the museum's holdings of Blake's works and of Blake material is well known, and this publication adds one more to the first class catalogues now available of the major British Blake collections. David Bindman has done an excellent job of editing the Fitzwilliam catalogue. It contains sixty-four items of which the first forty-four are Blake's own works. Of the remainder, numbers 45-56 are portraits, though this includes the life mask by J. S. Deville, and at number 56 that curiously personal relic, Blake's spectacles. Numbers 1-55 are fully illustrated. The remaining items, numbers 57-64, are a small collection of commercial engraved work by Blake. The first forty-four items are arranged chronologically. They cover the whole of Blake's productive life, from the early Joseph designs to the visiting card for George Cumberland which was one of the last things that Blake produced. Although a chronological arrangement always presents difficulties, as used here it makes good sense. The illuminated books, for example, are placed by their dates of conception, not by their much more problematic dates of execution.

For greater intelligibility the chronology is subdivided into the five main periods of Blake's life: (1) the Early Works to 1789; (2) the Illuminated Books and Prints, 1789 to 1797; (3) Thomas Butts and Felpham, 1799 to 1808; (4) the Years of Obscurity, 1809 to 1818; (5) the Last Years and the patronage of John Linnell, 1818 to 1827. Each of the subdivisions is preceded by a brief explanatory outline of the significant events of the years that it includes. The two other sections of the catalogue are also similarly prefaced. The individual entries are clear and full throughout. David Bind-
The publication of the catalogue was marked by an exhibition of the Fitzwilliam's own collections of Blake and of Blake material, together with a number of additional items from various sources. These included, as well as a portrait of Mrs. Blake, six portraits of the artist himself to add to those already in the Museum's collection. Brought together these likenesses made a striking and memorable experience. Through the various renderings of his face and person the image of the man came across very strongly to confirm his essential humanity, so strongly expressed in Gilchrist's "Life." It was a delicate gesture on the part of the organizers of the exhibition to remind us in this way of Blake himself, and it is salutary to be so reminded at a time when the humble individual is in danger of disappearing under a mountain of scholarship, some of whose referees, and even meaning, might be hard put to understand.

William Rossetti wrote in preface to his list of Blake's works as it was published in Gilchrist, that his descriptive catalogue was a humble tribute to the soaring genius of the author of A Descriptive Catalogue of the William Blake Shakespearian collection and exhibition, inevitably recall Blake's own Catalogue and exhibition of 1809. A comparison between the two events reflects a distortion that has crept into our understanding of the artist's work. Perhaps it is not serious or fundamental, but it is nevertheless worth making a small attempt to correct.

The most important painting in the Fitzwilliam collection and the one to which the Catalogue gives most space, both of text and illustration, is the picture known as "An Allegory of the Spiritual Condition of Man." This seems to date from the years immediately after the exhibition of 1809; and without entering into the problem of its meaning, the picture's size, and the evident complexity of its subject, link it to the kind of paintings that Blake produced for his exhibition. Nevertheless, hung with so many smaller works of a somewhat different character the importance that this kind of picture had for Blake himself is lost. His dominant ambition was after all to be an artist in the way that his contemporaries understood the term. His early association with the circles that included Flaxman, Fuseli, and Barry was not merely casual but shaped some of his most basic ideas. That these others regarded him as a conventional visual artist like themselves is demonstrated by the suggestion recorded in a letter of Flaxman's that a subscription should be raised to send Blake to Rome, the goal of all aspiring artists in the later eighteenth century.

It is clear that in 1809 Blake's decision to hold an exhibition was not merely a gesture of despair, but the result of fairly long meditation on his position as an artist. The seriousness and fulness of A Descriptive Catalogue should be evidence enough of this. From his letters while he was at Felpham we can see that at least part of Blake's difficulty with Hayley was that he wanted Blake to take the conventional road to artistic success, but that Blake could not or would not make the compromise necessary to follow Hayley's prompting. Nevertheless A Descriptive Catalogue and the exhibition show that Blake agreed with Hayley's main point, and even if Hayley's advice were superfluous, both agreed that Blake could and should succeed as a painter. The argument was over their ideas of what a painter was, and the kind of painter that Blake should become. What his ambitions were as an artist is set out in A Descriptive Catalogue, although as so often the combative language and the hyperbole obscure the comparative straightforwardness of much that he is saying. One thing that is clear to any careful reader is that the traditional explanation of both the exhibition and Catalogue as prompted by his quarrel with Cromek and Stothard is simply inadequate. Blake was far too intelligent to waste his energy in such a way. The entry in the Catalogue for the Canterbury Pilgrims is the longest of the entries, but only one third of it has anything at all to do with either Stothard or Cromek.

Blake's status as an engraver-painter was not unique in his period. The greatest of all his predecessors, Hogarth, was after all nothing else. He was trained as an engraver, and lived by publication of his works, usually engraved by himself. James Barry too, although a painter, lived for his later years largely on the sale of his engravings. From the paintings in the Society of Arts. James Ward was a slightly younger contemporary originally trained as an engraver. Thus as an engraver trying to establish himself as a painter Blake was not a forlorn outsider, but doing something that nobody would have regarded as exceptional. Nor in the pictures that he painted and the ambitions that he set himself in his Catalogue was he so far out of his generation as is sometimes thought. His views on outline, for example, were shared by Cumberland and Flaxman, and were not very remote from the ideas of Ingres, or, as far as we can see, that somewhat nebulous contemporary group in France, the Primitifs. What he has to say about oil-paint reflects the great controversy of the 1790's over the "Venetian secret," the idea that there was a particular kind of paint or varnish that the Venetians used and on which their effects depended. This and similar thinking had led to disastrous experiments in technique in which Reynolds in his later work had been particularly prominent. Blake's picture, "The Goats, an experiment Picture," "laboured to a superabundant blackness" and therefore especially "worthy the attention of the Artist and Connoisseur" is a hilarious comment on this kind of attitude to the old masters. Barry too had been vigorous and outspoken in resisting contemporary fashions for impure techniques. Although some of Blake's own experiments have not fared too well, when one sees what has happened to much of the painting of his contemporaries his absolute mistrust of oil-paint seems quite reasonable.

One of the most important facts about Blake's exhibition, although it is often mentioned, in its true significance is also often ignored. Of the two most important paintings in the exhibition, one, "The Ancient Britons," must have been enormous.
To accommodate three life-size ancient Britons the canvas must have been at least eight feet high and proportionately wide. Seymour Kirkup writing in 1870 reckoned the picture was about 10 by 14 feet. This is not the only large picture that we know Blake painted. The lost "Last Judgment" was also evidently very big. His ambition to paint on a large scale is quite clearly set out in the Descriptive Catalogue and should be taken at its face value. Blake's proposal to paint Westminster Hall, even if only half-serious, is only one of a series of projects for big pictures in public places that began in the 1770's with the project for the decoration of St. Paul's in which Barry was involved and which eventually led to his paintings for the Society of Arts. The ambition to paint monumental public pictures was inherited by B. R. Haydon, who almost certainly knew Blake, and it was largely through his agitation that the redecoration of Westminster Hall and the new Houses of Parliament, in fresco, just as Blake had proposed, became a national preoccupation in the 1840's.

In scale and subject "The Ancient Britons" belonged in a long line of similar paintings that began in the 1760's with Gavin Hamilton's monumental pictures from the Iliad. These enormous canvases, of which the engravings circulated very widely, were profoundly influential on painters of the group to which Blake belonged. The idea of a greater heroic past preceding historical antiquity was widespread and was used in a variety of ways by painters from Gavin Hamilton onwards. The idea is apparent in their constant use of Homer and Ossian, and it is also seen in Barry's assertion, of Lear's Britishness in his painting of "The Death of Cordelia," now in the Tate Gallery. It has in the background a kind of Stonehenge, just as Blake's picture had, and is clearly an ancient British subject. It provides a direct precedent for the centerpiece of Blake's exhibition.

The kind of antiquarian nationalism which is implicit in Barry's interpretation of Lear, and which appears in so many ways in Blake, was not new in Barry's picture. It appeared with a Scottish slant in Alexander Runciman's decorations of Penicuik House in 1772 with scenes from Ossian and the life of St. Margaret of Scotland. Barry and Runciman were friends in Rome in about 1769 and the idea seems to have been a fairly common one among painters of their circle. The more up-to-date kind of patriotism that Blake expresses in his pictures of Pitt and of Nelson and in the suggestion that they should be the subject of a national commission to be executed "on a scale that is suitable to the grandeur of the nation ... the parent of the heroes," also has several antecedents. In Barry's Society of Arts pictures "The Triumph of the Thames" takes a very important part. Flaxman had proposed various gigantic national monuments, one of which, the Nelson Pillar, was engraved by Blake. Benjamin West's "Death of Wolfe" had been the most popular and successful history painting of the later eighteenth century, and Barry had painted the same subject. In 1806 West had had another success with a similar subject very differently treated. This was the monumental "Apotheosis of Nelson" [fig. 1], a highly allegorical painting of the death of the great hero of the day, which apparently attracted large crowds when West exhibited it at his house in the summer of 1806. These crowds must have included Blake, for his own painting of "The Spiritual Form of Nelson," which he exhibited in 1809, seems to reflect West's composition. In an Advertisement for his exhibition Blake actually describes his Pitt and Nelson as "Apotheoses," thus using West's title, although he changes this in the Catalogue.

Though the Nelson and the Pitt are usually regarded as a pair, the Nelson is a much flatter and simpler composition. Nelson supported on Leviathan is surrounded by a simple circle of figures. The whole group seems to be supported on a cloud. There are no subsidiary scenes and no views into depth as there are in the Pitt. West's composition is also, for a classical artist, surprisingly flat, and, as in Blake's picture, the central figure is surrounded by a circle of secondary figures. Blake's composition is much tauter and denser than West's, and he makes a feature of its flatness in a way of which West is incapable, but the basic similarity is sufficient to be striking. The most important point in common, however, is that in West's picture beneath the cloud on which Nelson is borne appears Leviathan in the traditional form of a whale. Blake's composition would therefore appear to be something of a critique upon West's. He still owes something to West, however, in that by eliminating the faults in West's picture Blake has himself arrived at a much more satisfactory composition than his own earlier essay in the same genre, the Pitt of 1806. It is clear that patriotic allegories of this kind were highly fashionable just at the time that Blake was painting. A few years later in 1815 a similar allegory on the subject of Wellington was commissioned from James Ward after a public competition. It was to be hung in the Chelsea Hospital. When it was completed Ward's picture measured 21 by 36 feet. In his written explanation of the allegory the artist enumerates 52 different figures. Although Ward grossly exceeded the terms of his commission, even as originally given it was quite as large and elaborate as anything to which Blake aspired in his Catalogue.

The elaborate symbolism and complexity of meaning of Ward's Wellington picture was not peculiar to him, or shared only with Blake. West's Nelson has already been cited, but the most abstruse and elaborate of all were Barry's paintings for the Society of Arts. These illustrate the civilizing influence of the arts on the progress of mankind, but in order to give his purpose in detail Barry published a small volume of explanatory text. In spite of their complexity his pictures were generally well received. Barry's last major picture, "Pandora, the Heathen Eve," now in Manchester, is an enormous canvas packed both with figures and with esoteric meaning. It was intended as part of a series illustrating the history of religion. Barry's obscurity and the over-burdening of his pictures was part of a widespread attempt to assert the moral and intellectual seriousness of art. Blake differed from Barry in his far greater power of creating effective symbols, but not in the nature of his ambitions. He too was sometimes led
public understanding. He was working in an intellectual and allegorical genre practised by other painters of his generation, in which obscurity was no obstacle, and a written key was a perfectly acceptable part of the picture.

The other major picture in Blake's exhibition, and the one to which he gives most attention in his Catalogue is "The Canterbury Pilgrims" now in Glasgow. In the absence of "The Ancient Britons" this is the most important of all Blake's paintings. It is represented in the Fitzwilliam collection by Blake's engraving. It is a different kind of painting from those discussed so far, but there is one important point about it that has bearing on this discussion of Blake's position as a painter. Both in general conception and in some of its details it is inspired by the sculptures of the Parthenon. The idea of the procession of horses seen both in line and in depth clearly derives from the splendid clattering procession of cavalry in the Panathenaic procession in the frieze. The Knight in his upper half is the figure from the
east pediment that used to be known, and was known to Blake, as Theseus.\(^9\) The Wife of Bath is the figure of Demeter from the same pediment, and the Host seems to derive his gesture from Persephone, though the rest of his figure is from one of the horsemen in the west frieze reversed. The odd stiff front legs of his horse appeared on a riderless horse at the extreme western end of the north frieze. The standing figures at the back of Blake's procession bear a general relationship to four standing figures who appear right at the back of the equestrian procession in the north frieze. One of the figures stands round the corner to link the north and west friezes. As a group these figures play the same compositional role that the standing figures do in Blake's picture. Several other details link it to the sculptures. The main point here, however, is not art-historical source hunting, but that by this connection we can see Blake being amongst the very first to react to the major artistic event of the first years of the nineteenth century, the arrival in London of the Elgin marbles. These were not unpacked until 1807, so Blake's reaction was direct. By 1809 perhaps only Haydon, Flaxman, and Fuseli could have shown themselves as familiar with the sculptures as Blake does in his picture. The only person to beat him to a public comment on the sculptures in this way was Stothard. If Stothard took this idea from Blake, Blake's anger with him is even more understandable than if Stothard simply stole Blake's subject. Ignoring the quarrel with Stothard, however, Blake's use of the Parthenon sculptures shows him being absolutely up to date in the most important painting to survive from his exhibition of 1809. His identification of the Canterbury Pilgrims with the Parthenon in this way also illuminates what he says about Chaucer and about his painting, for it creates a link with what he knew was one of the great archetypes of European art.

In his exhibition, in his Catalogue, and in the pictures that he painted around 1809, Blake was therefore up to date, even topical. He had every reason to expect that his attempt to establish himself as a painter would be well received, and that at least the more discerning public would recognise that his aims as an artist were straightforward. Though Blake was highly original, he was nevertheless within the main stream of contemporary art. That people did not recognise this did not weaken the justice of his case, but it has meant that since then our judgement of his art has always been lopsided. Because he failed to be recognised as a painter, we forget that this is what he was by vocation. Our collections, through no fault of their own, do not represent him as he sought to represent himself when he appealed to the public in his exhibition and Descriptive Catalogue. For this reason it is appropriate to remember Blake's own undertaking in considering this new catalogue and exhibition. It is to the author of A Descriptive Catalogue that David Bindman and the Fitzwilliam have now, like Rossetti, paid a fitting tribute.

NOTES

\(^1\)The Catalogue of the Graham Robertson collection was published in 1952. Sir Geoffrey Keynes' catalogue, Bibliotheca Bibliographica, was published in 1964. Martin Butlin's new edition of the Tate Gallery Blake Catalogue has appeared this year, and the Handlist of the British Museum Department of Prints and Drawings Blake Collection is to be published in a forthcoming number of the Blake Newsletter.

\(^2\)The project of sending Blake to Rome to complete his artistic education is mentioned in a letter of Flaxman to Hayley, 26 April 1784. It is published by G. E. Bentley, Jr., in Blake Records (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1969), p. 27.

\(^3\)Blake's picture, though it makes a slightly different point, recalls Hogarth's "Time smoking a picture," a print in which he lampooned contemporary taste for old masters. Hogarth also produced a burlesque of his own "Paul before Felix," "designed and scratched in the true Dutch manner." The prints were soaked in coffee to give them a good antique finish.

\(^4\)Blake's understanding of fresco was probably no more eccentric than that of any of his contemporaries. The technique was virtually forgotten in Britain until the 1840's, when it was re-introduced for the decoration of the new Houses of Parliament. Even then some pretty disastrous things were done in the name of fresco.

\(^5\)Letter of Kirkup to Lord Houghton, 25 March 1870, quoted in Bentley, Blake Records, p. 222.

\(^6\)The evidence given below that Blake knew the sculptures of the Parthenon very soon after they were first visible in London suggests that he and Haydon must have come into contact. By his own account Haydon was in practically constant study of the marble before his ambition had helped to inspire the decoration of the new Houses of Parliament, in fresco, with scenes from the lives of British heroes, including in an enormous painting "The Death of Nelson" by Maclise, though neither Blake nor poor Haydon lived to see it done.

\(^7\)Ancient British subjects of one kind or another had been fairly common from the 1770's. The indefatigable Angelica Kauffman produced pictures of this kind. Flaxman's drawing of Hengist and Horsa might be thought comparable to Blake's "Ancient Britons." This kind of subject was matched by the current fashion for Druidry and the appearance of dolmens and menhirs in various contemporary parks. Alnwick Park in Northumberland, for example, has menhirs for milestones.

\(^8\)Farington's Diary for 2 July 1806.

\(^9\)Miss Jane Mackenzie first suggested this analogy to me, but it is also considered in Morton D. Paley's Energy and the Imagination (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1970), esp. Chap. 7.
W. J. T. Mitchell remarks in one of the essays in this collection, "the basic groundwork for understanding Blake's pictorial symbolism remains to be done. Critics still tend either to content themselves with identification of subject matter or to search for a fixed set of pictorial conventions" (p. 73). Or, one might add, they merely call attention to elements in the designs by describing the designs in terms of shapes and lines or make comparisons between one design and another. And attempts to put the designs together with the text usually take the form of talking about the text with appended notes on the designs. We simply don't have an aesthetic or criticism of composite art that amounts to very much. We should have one not only for Blake but for others, in an age in which many poets, however insular they may be-some of their poems, and either draw pictures of their own, or collaborate with artists in covering their pages with designs.

Blake criticism until very recently has been almost exclusively concerned with the text and has made great progress. It has built up a body of critical concepts about it as poetry with enough general acceptance so that each new critic no longer has to feel he has to start from scratch. Critical study of Blake's text alone is quite demanding for most people, but the fact remains that reading him in a printed version is not the way he wanted to be read. And the experience of reading even a sparsely illuminated work like The Marriage of Heaven and Hell from an engraved page is simply different from reading it in print. For some curious things begin to happen. Even if one concentrates very hard on what is being said on a plate like 16 of The Marriage, which expounds theoretical doctrine, the picture at the top remains very much present in peripheral vision, and the little squiggles of figures following the lines of writing move the eye along in a way that imparts a rhythm to the whole thing, rhythm taking the place of punctuation. Though the analogy is too easy because it involves only one art rather than two, reading Blake's text alone is a little like singing the tunes of Schumann's songs without the accompaniment, where most of the music really is a good deal of the time, or playing Couperin without ornaments.

This book represents a cooperative attempt through a kind of super-seminar deriving from an essay contest at the 1968 English Institute to form some beginnings for the kind of criticism that we need to develop if Blake scholarship, having reached some degree of consolidation in dealing with the text, is to move toward meeting Blake more fully on his own terms. Its editors are John E. Grant, who has been in the forefront of those insisting—and demonstrating—that the text alone is half the story, and that super-organizer of cooperative Blake scholarship, David V. Erdman. The editors have not merely put together a collection of essays from the contest with several other papers; but in numerous notes, some really essays, they comment like seminar directors on what is being said, adding information, correcting, criticizing, sometimes even disagreeing with each other.

Composite art is conceived in this volume comprehensively as including "all the arts of discourse" (p. 93), and the book contains essays on: (1) the theatre (a very illuminating piece by Martha England on "The Island in the Moon" as being possibly connected with Samuel Foote's dramatic satires at the Haymarket); (2) the theory of composite art (W. J. T. Mitchell argues against considering Blake's work in terms of \textit{ut pictura poesis} because this implies a dualism which he was trying to defeat, and Jean Hagstrum, who would prefer retaining \textit{ut pictura poesis} and the idea of the "sister arts" in a richer and more comprehensive version); (3) Blake's illustrations of the texts of others (Irene Chayes's study of the illustrations of Gray's ode on the death of his cat, from a welcome study now published; Grant's fine description and thematic analysis of the early drawings for Young's \textit{Night Thoughts}, also part of a large forthcoming study; and Ben F. Nelms's discussion of the Job engravings, which complements Frye's essay on the same subject in the Rosenfeld collection for S. Foster Damon); (4) individual works by engraved plates (Erdman's essay on \textit{Amorica}, to which he brings his enormous knowledge and enthusiasm to show it to be practically a total experience; Michael Tolley's useful reading of the plates of \textit{Europe} in relation to the patterns of biblical history and Milton's Nativity Ode; Robert E. Simmons' ingenious and complex analysis of the symmetry of structure and designs in \textit{The Book of Urizen}); (5) the structure and form of certain works (William F. Halloran's essay arguing that the French Revolution, when considered with its model in Revelation, emerges as deserving a higher place in the canon than it has had; Brian Wilkie's essay on Milton as a Romantic epic; T. McNeil's account of \textit{The Four Zoas} as an "epic of situations" which are cosmic confrontations; Henry Lesnick's study of the structure of \textit{Jerusalem} which suggests that the opening and closing plates of the chapters show the structure; (6) iconographic elements (Janet Warner's study of gesture to which is appended a suggestive catalog of ten frequent forms of gesture in the designs; Eben Bass's study of the \textit{Songs} displaying design elements such as curves, diagonals, curved vegetal designs, and so on; (7) the characters of Urizen and Orc (John Sutherland's account of Urizen as an allegory of a mental activity; George Quasha's intense examination of Orc psychologically and esthetically as "a fiery paradigm" of torsion and energy; (8) a mythical source study (Irene Chayes's study of the Cupid and Psyche myth); and finally, (9) important recurrent imagery (Kenneth R. Johnston's study of urban imagery; Edward J. Rose's account of imagery of the harvest).
The subjects treated, though generally on the topic of "visionary forms dramatic," range quite widely. Even so, any discussions of visionary forms to be found in music, except for Erdman's discussion of sound imagery in 

The Four Zoas, are almost completely lacking, a rather curious omission since Blake was said to have sung his songs and his epics are full of songs and choruses, with instrumentation specified (one group in Night V of The Four Zoas, for instance, includes "the soft pipe the flute the viol organ harp & cymbal / And the sweet sound of silver voices" that calm Enitharmon on her couch). Indeed, the whole of The Four Zoas, with its arias, choruses, and set pieces, really resembles an opera more than it does an epic. And in Jerusalem 74 (§ 227) Blake seems to me to show a remarkable degree of sophistication in music theory in the passage beginning on line 23: "The Sons of Albion are Twelve: the Sons of Jerusalem Sixteen / I tell how Albions Sons by Harmonies of Concods and Discords / Opposed to Melody, and by Lights & Shades, opposed to Outline / And by Abstraction opposed to the Visions of Imagination / By cruel Laws divided Sixteen into Twelve Divisions." The details are too complicated for inclusion here, but I believe that Blake is taking a visionary position on the side of the melodic Pythagorean division of the octave, as opposed to the harmonic tempered division still being vigorously debated in 1806 which would divide the octave into 12 equal or nearly equal but abstract (as opposed to natural) intervals by mathematical manipulations of "harmonies of concords and discords," and that this concept was quite important to him.

This book doesn't quite give us the theory that we need to deal critically with Blake's composite art, but to ask for that is perhaps asking too much. It does give us a vigorous attempt at such a theory, with a great deal of useful matter, and, perhaps most important, it dramatizes the need for a conscious re-direction of Blake scholarship. Its fresh hammer-and-tongs approach to some of the problems as well as the enthusiasm of the enterprise should stir up further activity. Because of all these things, it should be a required book for any serious study of Blake from now on.


Reviewed by Raymond Lister, Honorary Senior Member of University College, Cambridge

For a long time most Blake facsimiles and reproductions were available only in expensive limited editions, far beyond the means of the average student. Such cheaper reproductions as were published were inadequate. Recently there has been a welcome tendency to issue adequate reproductions in modestly-priced editions, often in paperback: the Oxford Paperbacks edition of Songs of Innocence and of Experience, edited by Sir Geoffrey Keynes, and issued in 1970, is an example.

The two collections of reproductions of Blake's drawings available up to 1970 were those published by the Nonesuch Press in 1927 and 1956, under the editorship of Geoffrey Keynes. They were expensively produced books and, if printed now, would cost several times as much as they did originally. It is a sobering thought that the 1927 collection was published at $1.75. It is doubtful if it could be published today at less than fifteen times that amount. Now Dover Publications has issued a welcome and cheap paperback edition of Blake's drawings, also edited by Sir Geoffrey. It says much for the editor's vitality that forty years separate the first of the Nonesuch collection from this one.

The Nonesuch collections contained a total of one-hundred and thirty-eight drawings; the Dover edition contains ninety-two, so it is far from complete. In any case, Sir Geoffrey informs us that "there are perhaps more than two hundred drawings now extant." It is therefore to be hoped that the book meets with such success that another collection may be issued to bring the selection nearer completion. But the Dover book is not merely a reprint or rehash of drawings previously published, for a few are here reproduced which did not appear in the earlier selections. Among these are two early drawings, made for Basire, from monuments in Westminster Abbey (plates 1 and 2); and the powerful "Charon, from an Antique" (plate 82).

As in every medium in which he worked, Blake's range in his drawings is enormous, from the poetic, yet homely qualities of "The Virgin Mary hushing the young Baptist" (plate 34), to the almost abstract "Time's triple bow" (plate 53), which, in its tight network of curves might almost be mistaken for a schematic study by the Bauhaus artist, Oskar Schlemmer. This selection also illustrates how Blake could produce excellent "academic" drawings, like "Laocoon: the Antique Group" (plate 58), as well as being able to indicate with a few rough lines the energy and power that would later be translated into a finished design, as in "The Soul exploring the recesses of the grave" (plate 41). On the other hand, when drawing an ungenial or uninteresting subject, he could be incredibly weak,
as in the poor "Landscape with trees" on plate 36. Indeed, as Sir Geoffrey says, without Frederick Tatham's inscription on it, "it could not be identified as his."

The drawings are adequately reproduced, but the typography has a number of ugly features, especially the plate numbers, which are not only far too heavy for the rest of the type, but tend to distract attention from the drawings themselves. Nevertheless, the book is a bargain and is, moreover, likely to become a standard work.


Reviewed by Michael Billington and Morton D. Paley. Mr. Billington's review originally appeared in The Times, London, 22 July 1971, under the title "Blake Revitalized" and is reproduced from The Times by permission. Mr. Paley's review appears here for the first time.

Michael Billington "A celebration of William Blake" is how the programme describes this exuberant and freewheeling extravaganza written by Adrian Mitchell with music by Mike Westbrook and, although this overlooks the show's undertow of astringency, it accurately sums up its content. It may not win any prizes as the most cohesive entertainment of the year but it has enough theatrical vitality and sheer Dionysiac gaiety to make one leap off the pages of the literary magazines; and, in a characteristic Mitchell phrase, a eunuch bureaucrat dismisses the troublesome artist by remarking that "he does tend to bite the hand that has no intention of feeding him."

As long as Mitchell uses Blake as a symbol of the vilified and beleaguered artist, then the show is pungent and alive; and the poet's hatred of all forms of brutality and slavery is movingly evoked in a scene in which Blake leads a group of the permanently oppressed down to the blazing footlights as Mike Westbrook's music reaches a roof-shaking crescendo. Doubts creep in, however, with the attempt to render Blake's vision of a new Jerusalem in concrete theatrical terms. At the end Blake is dispatched to the moon in a baroque space capsule that is dismantled by the whole cast and then re-assembled in the form of a chimneypiece country house. Blake may have believed in human brotherhood but the building of a Mary Poppins residence seems a weak and inadequate symbol for his vision of a resplendent golden age.

Despite its inability to embody Blake's mysticism and the impression it initially gives that Blake's poetry (as the old lady said of Hamlet) is full of quotations, the show still represents an heroic attempt to marry different elements of the English theatrical tradition: musical, panto, satire and cod burlesque. And in one hilarious sequence that is pure Footlights revue the greats of English poetry troop on in grotesque disguises: thus Chaucer becomes an open-air hearty with khaki shorts and a rucksack, Shakespeare a gun-toting cowpuncher and Milton a track-suited disciplinarian advocating a hundred lines before breakfast.

The National Theatre production by Michael Blakemore and John Dexter has the ruthless mechanical efficiency one associates with Broadway musicals and manages the transitions in place and time with astonishing ease; and in a vast company there are suitably broad-scale contributions from Gerald James as the squat, eponymous hero, John Moffat as an insidious cultural middleman and Bill Fraser as a lunatic English sadist. DoubtlessMessrs. Mitchell and Westbrook will be said to have gone too far; but, as Blake himself told us, it's the road of excess that leads to the palace of wisdom.

Morton D. Paley (University of California, Berkeley) In Blake's house are many mansions, but does Adrian Mitchell's Blake inhabit any of them? The closest contact the show makes to the poet and artist of that name is in the extraordinary physical resemblance of Gerald James to Linnell's portrait of 1825—that and Isabelle Lucas's moving singing of verses from "London" and Jerusalem. Otherwise what we get is an occasionally funny, frequently boring piece of anti-Establishment nose-thumbing in the guise of "a celebration of William Blake." If Tyger succeeded in an imaginative transformation of its material, one wouldn't care much about its literal truth or falsehood, any more than, say, one cares about the historicity of Brecht's Galileo. But for the most part the spirit of Blake is...
scented here as much as the letter: Mitchell’s giving the Blakes a child for his own purposes is one thing, but the spectacle of Blake building Jerusalem on the moon instead of in England’s green and pleasant land gives one pause.

As the stance of the show is deliberately “anti-intellectual”—that is to say, anti what Adrian Mitchell mistakes for being intellectual—it should be emphasized that Tyger’s weakness is not its contemporaneity. In “a celebration” one is prepared to enjoy a Kloïstock own cultural master-of-ceremonies, especially as gleefully pranced by David Ryall. The scene in which Sir Joshua Rat lectures on Civilisation on the pub tv while Mr. Blake mutters annotations (though admittedly precious few of them) is genuinely funny; even Scofield’s appearance as the bouncer is mildly funny; but when Blake holds Scofield off with the coal scuttle, one gets the feeling that something has been lost. Again, there is an amusing scene before the Arts Council, three Negations who give 10,000 pounds to Evelyn Graze, transvestite mod editor, but who are put to sleep by Mr. Blake’s reading from Jerusalem. Best of all, perhaps, is the episode in which Scofield tempts Blake to pity by abusing an ingenious mechanical dodo in a super-market shopping cart. This is Mitchell at his best, but there is much more of Mitchell at his worst. When our hero advertizes for lovers, he gets three kinky dames in black leather who seem more an answer to Leopold Bloom’s prayers than W. B.’s; and the Blakes’ marital crisis is solved by a hunt through an anatomical dictionary, culminating in the discovery of—the clitoris! This, in addition to portraying Blake as a sexual nincompoop, manages to evade what Blake himself tells us about his marital problem and its solution—but to talk about Sacrifice of Self in the West End in the year 1971 would cost a man his life, or at least his reputation for trendiness.

In Act II most pretense to any relation between Tyger and Blake is abandoned. Eight of the twelve songs are by Mitchell, but this is merely an indication. A large part of the Act is a variety show in which figures named after poets appear: a nondescript Chaucer, Shakespeare with six-guns, Milton wearing a “Paradise Now” sweat-shirt, to be joined by a bunch of swingers named Wordsworth, Coleridge, Byron, Shelley, and Keats. Then come “the late Victorians” wearing white shirt, to be joined by a bunch of swingers named ducks, striped jackets, and straw hats—one of these five is “Walt Whitman”: Allen Ginsberg alone appears at home. The silliness of all this is relieved for a short time by a conversation between Sir Joshua and Mad King George the Fiftieth. Mad King George, as it turns out, loves nothing so much as to see, cause, ruminate on, and enjoy the prospect of children being beaten. The trouble is that as the conversation goes on, one becomes more and more aware of the prototype of Mad King George—not Nobodaddy but Jarry’s Peŗe Ubu, a derivation that Bill Fraser’s brilliant performance seems to recognize and build on, cocking the head and strutting while delivering sadistic sententiae. Perhaps Tyger may be followed by a celebration called Merde, but meanwhile one can’t help reflecting on how much more daring and more talented Jarry was than Mitchell.

In the last part of Act II, we actually get back to Blake, and here alone (with perhaps the exception of slides occasionally shown) a Blakean prop is used—the winged ark of Jerusalem 39. Mad King George having decided to get rid of Blake by sending him to the moon (“A British rocket will never come back”), Blake agrees provided he can substitute his own landing vehicle and name his own flight controllers. The latter are Henry Fuseli (portrayed for some reason as a generation younger than Blake) and Samuel Palmer; the landing vehicle is the moon ark. For a few moments, as the ark is opened and Jerusalem starts a-building, aided by (ostensibly) Lunarians while Isabelle Lucas beautifully sings, one feels close to Blake—but as with everything else in this production, the moments become minutes, many, many minutes, and then even after the curtain calls, the scene goes on and on to Mike Westbrook’s unutterably banal music.

The theatre program should be added to the list of Blakean ephemera. It includes a page of selective Blake chronology, two pages of anecdotes and quotations, a reproduction of the 1821 Linnell portrait, a page of “Quotes by Blake,” full-page reproductions of the first and twenty-first Job engravings, three photographs of one of the life masks, and a page and a half of quotations headed “Blake and Slavery.”


Reviewed by David Bindman, Lecturer in the History of Art, Westfield College, University of London

Ruthven Todd has been something of a legend to students of Blake, and this book is his most lengthy contribution to Blake studies for many years. Most people who have been lucky enough to get hold of his long out-of-print Tracks in the Snow treasure it as one of the few classics on the subject of English Romantic painting, particularly on the painters of the Sublime, of whose company Blake was proud to regard himself a member.

The present book is an excellent if unconventional introduction to Blake, for it concentrates not on the interpretation of the Prophetic Books, but on Blake as a craftsman working within the limitations of his situation as a penurious engraver. The book follows the career of Blake year by year, and a picture of the man emerges, not just as a visionary, but as a proud and even defiant craftsman, prepared to take on any engraving work to give himself time to work on his visions. Even in his last illness nothing persuaded him to put down the large folio in which he was making the
DISCUSSION “With intellectual spears, & long winged arrows of thought”

IRENE H. CHAYES: SILVER SPRING, MARYLAND

A Rejoinder to John Beer

I share the dismay of both editors and readers at the prospect of a serial controversy, but John Beer’s reply to my review of Blake’s Visionary Universe (Blake Newsletter, 4 [Winter 1971], 87-90; reply in 4 [Spring 1971], 144-47) calls for a rejoinder. The aesthetic theory Mr. Beer begins to disclose in the last half of his last paragraph (where even Blake’s concept of “states” is unrecognizable) seems to leave no common ground for discussion of “the larger points at issue” about either Blake or Coleridge. Therefore I too will limit myself to what can reasonably be debated.

I thought it was clear from the review itself why, writing for a specialized audience and with little space to spare, I decided to consider the section of the book other reviewers would probably pass by. (I am rather sorry Mr. Beer did not choose to defend his selection of illustrations and the special commentary as a miniature prophetic book, for organizing it would have been one kind of response, concrete as well as “visionary,” to Blake’s example.) I did indicate, too, that I found things to praise in the detailed commentary on the poems in the main text, and on specific points Mr. Beer and I are in accord more often than he grants. We both have noted the relation of “The Little Girl Lost” to Spenser’s episode of Una and the lion, he in Blake’s Humanism and again in Blake’s Visionary Universe and I in an essay published earlier. (See my “Little Girls Lost: Problems of a Romantic Archetype,” BMFTP, 67 [1963], 581-82; reprinted in Blake: A Collection of Critical Essays, ed. Northrop Frye [Spectrum Books, 1966], where the observation occurs on pp. 67-68.) More recently, we evidently have been coming on some of the same art sources for Blake, and the mutual corroboration is encouraging. But Mr. Beer is far off the mark in his charge that I think Blake was “more likely to know original paintings than engravings after originals.” For one answer to his question about Blake’s use of prints, I refer him to the essay cited in the review, my contribution to the new Erdman-Grant collection, Blake’s Visionary Forms Dramatic. There will be more on the subject of Blake’s art sources and how he may have known them in the book I am now working on, which, as it happens, will give my own view of what occurred when Blake’s “interpreting imagination” intervened between his sources and his designs.

That an intervention did take place, I agree with Mr. Beer. I differ with him on how it took place, what was involved, and what the result was, and the preliminary explorations in the essay just mentioned will show how profound these differences can be. More immediately, Mr. Beer’s recent exploratory remarks only widen the distance between us in the simple matter of looking at Blake’s pictures. In a Blake design, even when the total composition is baffling, most of us see a great deal more, and more that is provocative, than a “slant of the eye” or “thrust of the forehead” which under certain conditions may be equated with one or another of Mr. Beer’s key terms. When we are reminded of an earlier work by another artist, it is likely to be something far more definite than a generalized “visual likeness” or a similarity of “tone and atmosphere” that arrests the attention, and no points of resemblance can be too obvious for comment. Mr. Beer gives a subordinate place to what he calls “immediate visual memory,” and he sets up as Blake’s “interpreting imagination” a kind of administrative, allegorizing faculty, which might well have produced the polemical annotations, or some parts of “A Vision of the Last Judgment,” but as it is described could not have created a single drawing, painting, or etched design. In comparative groupings such as Mr. Beer reproduces, the evidence is that, on the contrary, memory and imagination acted upon each other with equal force, and “interpretation” did not necessarily move in the direction

Dante watercolors, and in certain years, in particular the year 1795, the amount of constructive and experimental activity was breathtaking. The author is at pains to show what was actually involved in the making of Blake’s Prophetic Books and color prints, and he puts into perspective Blake’s innovations in relief printing.

The most useful parts of the book for Blake scholars will be the regrettably brief accounts of Blake’s stereotype and color-printing processes. Mr. Todd has carried out his own experiments, and Blake’s stereotype and color-printing processes.
Mr. Beer assumes—that is, from another artist's images to Blake's (or Mr. Beer's) "symbolic patterns." At this moment in time, certainly, no one's method of reading Blake's designs can be called wholly adequate to the complexities that are presented, but Mr. Beer's is limited, and limited unnecessarily, by what his own words suggest is a confusion of private, "visionary" aims with the public task of the critic.

On specific designs, Mr. Beer in effect answers, "Read my argument." Since it is not his argument as such that was in dispute, I'll try to clarify my criticism, with apologies for the repetition.

_Book of Urizen_, _Jerusalem_ 75: My original objection concerned the presence of women in the first design (since conceded by Mr. Beer in his reply to John Grant) and the difference between the two kinds of entwining creatures: those in _Urizen_ 25 are winged and wormlike, manifestly not serpents; those in _Jerusalem_ 75 bear scales, but their horns make them less serpents proper than the "dragon forms" referred to in the text. The contrast Mr. Beer sees is supported only by the apparently different reactions of the two groups of figures to their respective entanglements, which he expresses by his past participles: "Men gripped by spectrous energies" versus "Energies and vision reconciled." If these were two separate and untitled watercolor drawings, say, associated with no literary texts and otherwise unexplained, Mr. Beer might be justified in his interpretations. But both are intimately related to Blake's own texts, and the passages he probably worked from are not hard to find. The design on plate 25 bridges two metamorphoses in _The Book of Urizen:_ the generation of Urizen's daughters "From monsters, & worms of the pit," in the text of plate 23, and the shrinking of Urizen's later descendants into "reptile forms" in the text of plate 25 itself. It is true, of course, that the "reptile forms" here are images of the shrunken human perceptions ("their eyes / Grew small like the eyes of a man"), which Mr. Beer might very well say would be included in what he calls "the distortion of energies at the Fall." But in its own context the other design does not (as it should in Mr. Beer's pairing) represent the liberation of the perceptions, or even any kind of "reconciliation" that would be approved in Blake's system of values. The figures fondling the dragon's heads are not "the daughters of Jerusalem, who know nothing of the Law," as Mr. Beer identifies them in his commentary (p. 372), but the members of the third group of Rahab's churches listed in the text of _Jerusalem_ 75: "the Male Females: the Dragon Forms / The Female hid within a Male." In this design, too, there is a suggestion of metamorphosis as the "hidden" females emerge from the dragon folds, their thighs covered with scales at the point of juncture. They are emerging because they are being revealed, and through them is revealed Rahab, who is "Mystery Babylon on the Great: ... Religion hid in War: a Dragon red, & hidden Harlot."

The two designs thus are not in contrast with each other at all, for they belong to no common frame of reference that would make a contrast meaningful; the narrative situations they pertain to are merely different. What they do have in common is Blake's modification of the Laocoon composition, which also contributed to the scene in the Ghisi engraving Mr. Beer uses as a comparative plate. He himself mentions Laocoon, and the "lineaments" of "energy" he is responding to may actually be those of the venerable classical composition; the opposition expressed in his captions has in fact a counterpart in the disparity between attitude and expression which was noted in the marble group long ago by Winckelmann. To this extent, at least, Mr. Beer's critical practice would be consistent with his aesthetic theory. But if the Laocoon provides what he is looking for, what need has he of Blake?

_The Death of Adam:_ Mr. Beer misunderstands my criticism here. Har and Heva in _Ezekiel_ are obvious figures of Adam and Eve (although not only that), with or without Mr. Beer's special interpretation. Since there is an Expulsion from Paradise on the title page of _Songs of Innocence_ and _Experience_, it would be reasonable enough for the title page of _Songs of Experience_ to refer in some way to the death of Adam (Genesis 5.5). But why must the white-haired corpses of the _Experience_ design be identified as Har and Heva—an Adam and Eve who have not left Paradise and hence have not been doomed to die? In this instance I think it is legitimate to see a contrast in situation, an intended one, as well as a distinction rather than an identity between the two pairs of aged figures actually depicted.

_Europe_ 4: Since Orc is exhorted to "arise" in the text (on the same plate, not the preceding) and since in response he does rise (line 15), it is hardly perverse to see in the design an act of waking by uncovering. The lines Mr. Beer quotes, "Forbid all joy, etc. (not from the same plate, but from plate 6) are about a very different kind of activity: neither covering nor uncovering directly, but spreading in order to snare; in "every secret path," not among clouds or cloud images; by "the little female," not by a full-grown female rather too old for the youth who by this interpretation would be her prey. And "nets" (an image usually precisely rendered in Blake's designs; see the last plate of _The Book of Urizen_) are what is spread, not the cloak or mantle beneath which we see the second figure, who in any event cannot be snared because he is not moving along a path but is lying face downward, in the attitude of one asleep; in other words, a fit subject to be waked by uncovering. In the essay I hope will become available to Mr. Beer some day, I have proposed a source for both the general situation (woman waking sleeping youth) and the specific pose and gesture of Blake's woman, who in terms of the text would be Enitharmion, as the youth is Orc. For the image of the cloak, there are two famous paintings Blake may have been recalling (yes, via engravings), and in both the crucial act is not of covering but of uncovering and revealing. In _"Madonna of the Veil,"_ the Child is being unveiled also, as Mr. Beer acknowledges in his caption. I will concede that under
other circumstances, writing or thinking about it directly, Blake might possibly have interpreted Raphael's scene as Mr. Beer does, perhaps even, for ideological purposes, made Mr. Beer's shift from unveiling to veiling. But I still would re­late "Madonna of the Veil" to Europe 4 only through the ironic Orc-Jesus analogy, and through the pictorial image of the veil itself.)

Both external and internal evidence (to use those old-fashioned scholarly terms) confirm a reading of this particular design which does not really conflict with anyone else's reading of Europe: A Prophecy as a whole. Mr. Beer's own inter­pretation may be "perfectly self-consistent," as he asserts, but aside from the inapplicable lines of text, he offers no objective evidence to per­sua­se us to accept it, and even no subjective evidence but his feeling about the outstretched arm. When "vision" is silent about so much, it may be time to return to the humber, vegetative eye.

Irene Chayes's reply has been shown to John Beer, and he has written a brief riposte on some of the issues involved. Since Blake Newsletter 20 will be devoted to the British Museum Blake Handlist, how­ever, the riposte will not appear until Newsletter 21. (Eds.)

The Source of "Bring out number, weight & measure in a year of dearth"

Edward W. Taylor  Louis Middleman asserts (Blake Newsletter, 4 [Spring 1971], 147) that Blake's use of the Bible, though "copiously documented," in­cludes an unnoticed allusion to mene, mene, tekel, upharsin. But the infernal Proverb in question, "Bring out number, weight & measure in a year of dearth," unquestionably relies on the apocryphal book of the Wisdom of Solomon 11.21: covia in mensura et numero et pondere disposuisti ("thou hast disposed all in measure and number and weight"). This verse is quoted, varied from, and alluded to frequently in medieval and renaissance literature. Blake, doubtless, knew the original; but he could also have encountered it in any num­ber of neo-platonic treatises, not to mention John Donne and Ben Jonson. In any case Blake would have had to go no farther than his edition of John Milton which would include the commendatory lines of Andrew Marvell:

Thy verse created like thy Theme sublime, In Number, weight, and measure needs not rime.

There is no need, then, to confuse Blake's Proverb with Daniel's "numbered, numbered, weighed, divided."

Everett C. Frost  Louis Middleman argues that the fourteenth Proverb of Hell ("Bring out number, weight & measure in a year of dearth") "is built on a close translation of the Aramaic writing on the wall (Daniel 5.25-28), 'mene, mene, tekel, upharsin,' or 'numbered, numbered, weighed, divided.'"

But first, Middleman's translation of this perplexing phrase is hardly "close" (literal), though it is viable enough working backwards from a knowledge of Blake's Proverb; and, while the apoc­alyptic concerns of The Marriage invite an astute reader to find a parallel in the Daniel passage (and in many other Biblical passages as well), they do not, of themselves, justify a derivation.

Second, a much less elliptical possibility lies closer to hand. Much more likely that Blake's Devil is having corrosive fun with one of Milton's angelic interpreters, Andrew Marvell, whose poem, "On Paradise Lost," typically prefaces Milton's poem and concludes with the lines:

Thy verse, created like thy Theme sublime, In Number, weight, and measure needs not rime.

Blake's Devil may be thought of as mocking Marvell for being cowed by Milton's resonances into ac­cept­ing Milton's Deistical Trinity of Destiny, ratio of the five senses, and vacuum. He agrees with Marvell that "number, weight, and measure" is a fit description of Milton's poem--though not of the verse only.

MINUTE PARTICULARS

Martin Butlin  Keeper of the British Collection, the Tate Gallery, London

An Extra Illustration to Pilgrim's Progress

I am sure that the picture referred to as "A Warrior or with Angels" in Robert Essick's Finding List, Blake Newsletter, 5 (Summer-Fall 1971), 141, figure 9, is an extra watercolour from the series of illus­trations to Bunyan in the Frick museum. The dimen­sions and watermark tally, as does the style if one disallows Mrs. Blake's work on the Frick watercol­ours. The subject of the Rosenwald design, which retains all its original Blake freshness, is "Chris­tian descends the hill from the Pilgrim's House" (Sir Geoffrey Keynes has suggested the title "Chris­tian with the Shield of Faith"). An additional sup­port for this identification is the number "20" in­scribed in the upper right-hand corner of the sheet; this corresponds with similar numbers on the Frick drawings and places the subject of the design in its correct sequence. Incidentally, the inscriptions on the Frick drawings raise additional complications in that they do not seem to be by Blake and are not
always accurate, for instance that inscribed "12 In the Interpreter's House," but this is another problem. The Rosenwald watercolour comes from an album formed by Mrs. Charles Aders in the 1820s and presumably became separated from the main series before they entered the Butts collection some time after Blake's death.

Copy N of the Songs

According to William Blake's Illuminated Books: A Census by Geoffrey Keynes and Edwin Wolf 2nd (New York: Grolier Club, 1953), copy N of the Songs of Innocence and of Experience (in the Huntington Library) "lacks plates 28 and 34." Actually, it lacks plates 26 and 54, the frontispiece of Experience and "The Voice of the Ancient Bard." It does not lack plate 34, which is the first plate of "The Little Girl Lost."

Blake's Indenture and "The Little Vagabond"

I read in Blake Records (p. 10) the terms of the indenture that must have been signed when Blake was apprenticed--

He shall not haunt Taverns. . . .
. . . finding unto his said Apprentice,
Meat, Drink, Apparel. . . .

--and immediately thought of "The Little Vagabond":
Would have no more quarrel with the Devil or the Barrel
But kiss him and give him both drink and apparel.


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BBC Symphony conducted by Colin Davis. Philips 6502-001. [Edward Elgar's arrangement, with the Proms audience as chorus]

Vaughan Williams, Ralph. Job, A Masque for Dancing [1930]. London Symphony Orchestra conducted by Sir Adrian Boult. Angel-EMI S-36773. [based on Blake's Job illustrations; a new recording; the old was conducted by Boult with the London Philharmonic, Everest 3019]

V-I's Blake songs, sung by Ian Partridge. EMI HMS-1236. [A recording that includes V-I's "Ten Blake Songs"] with Lotts Winter, soprano, John Langstaff, baritone, and Ronald Rosman, oboe.


tHEATER


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Goosen, E. Two songs. 1922.


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