Blake Newsletter XXI
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Manuscripts are welcome. They should be typed and documented according to the forms recommended in The MLA Style Sheet, 2nd ed., rev. (1970). Send two copies with a stamped, self-addressed envelope either to Morton D. Paley, Executive Editor, Blake Newsletter, Department of English, University of California, Berkeley, California 94720, or to Morris Eaves, Managing Editor, Blake Newsletter, Department of English, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico 87106.

Subscriptions are $5 for one year, four issues; special rate for individuals, $4 for one year; overseas by air, $8 (U.S. currency if possible). Make checks payable to the Blake Newsletter. Address all subscription orders and related communications to Morris Eaves, Managing Editor.

Some back issues are available. Prices: whole numbers 14, 15, and 16, $2 each; whole numbers 17-18 (combined issue containing Robert Essick's Finding List of Reproductions of Blake's Art, 160 pages), $5; whole number 20 (British Museum Blake Handlist), $3. Address Morris Eaves, Managing Editor.

The cover illustration is Blake's Young woman reclining on a couch, pen and wash, 13 1/4 x 8 3/4 inches, from the collection of David Bindman, who remarks that "this drawing, in common with a number of others, derives from the collection of Richard Johnson, a late nineteenth century Blake collector. Most of his Blake drawings seem to have been bought at the Joseph Hogarth sale in 1854, and no doubt Young Woman reclining was initially one of the enormous number of drawings acquired by Frederick Tatham as Mrs. Blake's executor. It is undoubtedly early and a date of 1788-1789 can be proposed. The subject is more problematic, and so far it has not been definitely established. The couch upon which the woman reclines is similar to one in watercolours of Queen Katherine's Dream from Shakespeare's King Henry VIII, and it is possible that the young woman is Queen Katherine writing her will, leaving all her possessions to her servants just before her death. This suggestion would be compatible with the sense of melancholy she evokes, and the hint of a medieval tomb-figure in the pose. It has been connected with Blair's Grave, but it does not seem to fit with any passage in the poem. Any suggestions would be welcomed."
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News.

BLAKE DAY AT UNIVERSITY OF SUSSEX

"Blake Day" was held as part of the Graduate Colloquium for the Winter Term of 1972 at the University of Sussex. The Graduate School in Arts and Social Studies arranged four meetings for 27 October. Following a discussion of Blake with slides, led by David Bindman and Morton Paley, there were three lectures: "Blake's Early Poetry" by Michael Phillips, "Blake's Illustrations to Young's Night Thoughts" by Deirdre Toomey, and "Blake and Revolution" by Geoffrey Carnall. Bindman is a Lecturer in the History of Art at Westfield College, London; Paley an Associate Professor of English at the University of California, Berkeley; Phillips a Lecturer in English at the University of Edinburgh; Toomey a graduate student at the University of London; and Carnall a Reader in English at the University of Edinburgh.

BLAKE COURSE AT UCLA EXTENSION

The Department of Arts and Humanities of the UCLA Extension, in cooperation with KPFX Pacifica, is presenting William Blake: Poet, Painter, Visionary, a series of four lectures by Everett Frost. Frost is an Assistant Professor of English at California State University, Fresno, and Director of Literature and Drama for KPFX. The lectures will concentrate on Blake's works in illuminated printing, from the Songs to the shorter prophecies to Milton and Jerusalem, presented by means of slides and dramatic readings. The lectures will be held on four Monday evenings beginning 22 January 1973 in room 1200 of Rolfe Hall at UCLA. The series will cost $25; the course taken for credit (which will include two additional sessions), $40. If space permits, tickets for single lectures will be sold at the door. For further information call the office of UCLA Extension.

THE MAKING OF THE MELLON CENTER AT YALE

In February 1972 Yale University unveiled the architect's model and plans for construction of the new building for the Paul Mellon Center for British Art and British Studies, which will house the Mellon collections of British art and rare books that have been promised to the University.

The first story of the four-story structure designed by Louis I. Kahn will be given over mostly to commercial use. The upper three stories will include extensive public exhibition space for paintings, watercolors, and drawings; a rare book library of about 30,000 volumes; a print room housing about 20,000 drawings and prints; a research library of about 10,000 volumes with a reading room and a photographic archive; a lecture room seating 200 people; a conservation laboratory for paper; and various seminar rooms, offices, work areas, a lunchroom and a photographic studio. The Center will be located across the street from the Yale Art Gallery, also designed by Kahn and constructed twenty years ago.

Professor Jules D. Prown, art historian on the Yale faculty, was appointed the Center's director in 1968 and has been supervising the architectural designs and the plans for the educational and cultural programs. The academic program recommended for the Center by the committee that planned it seeks "to unify various disciplines now usually segmented into departments of study. . . . We would hope to bring together a group of scholars whose interest in British art, from various points of view, would lead to a cross-fertilization of minds. Such a program, for example, would have particular value for scholars trained in the fields of literature and history who wish to broaden their knowledge through a period of study in the field of British art." Consequently, the committee has called for the establishment of a professorship in British art and a new undergraduate major in British Studies. Under study is a program of fellowships and grants-in-aid for visiting scholars, including funds for one or two distinguished scholars, several young scholars working on post-doctoral projects, and a number of grants-in-aid for short-term visitors. Henry Berg, Assistant Director of the Center, says that the future program is still under discussion, and that "the main thrust of the Center will be to combine the study and enjoyment of the works of art and rare books in Mr. Mellon's collection with the pursuit of studies in related non-art-historical fields. We hope the Center will be an interdisciplinary one, weaving together literature, history, art and other fields of interest in a new way."

BLAKE ON EXHIBITION

The Age of Neo-Classicism, the fourteenth Exhibition of the Council of Europe that was held in London from 9 September to 19 November 1972, included eight pictures by Blake, as compared to twenty-two items by Flaxman besides sculpture, thirteen by Fuseli, and ten by Romney. Here was an opportunity to show some seldom-seen Blakes, such as the Arlington Court picture, but the organizers of this part of the Exhibition seem to have had trouble getting out of London. Seven of the Blakes were loaned by the British Museum, one by the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. And one of the eight, "Letho Simulis," is almost certainly not by Blake. The catalogue notes that the authorship "has been disputed" but "was accepted as Blake's work by Binyon." It would be interesting to know whether any reputable scholar would agree today, and even more interesting to learn why this undistinguished drawing of disputed origin was selected at all. The catalogue entries, numbers 506-513 (pp. 310-14), add nothing to the existing literature on these pictures, the "Mona Nude" and "The Judgment of Paris" are reproduced as plates 91 and 92. It is a pity that in an exhibition of
such great scope and magnitude Blake could not have been represented more intelligently. Paradoxically, visitors to the British Council exhibition in Paris (see Blake Newsletter 19, p. 163) saw a far more interesting selection of Blake pictures. Though there were only twelve, they were chosen from nine different collections and represented a much more characteristic range of Blake's art.

Original Printmaking in Britain, 1800-1900 was held 2 November-1 December 1972 at P. and D. Colnaghi and Co. The Blakes, with their prices, were:

No. 108 Job, pl. ix (3rd state of 3, Binyon 114), £240
No. 111 "The Fly" from Songs of Experience (Binyon 219), £1,200
No. 112 "Enoch" lithograph (Keynes 14), £5,000
No. 127 "The Canterbury Pilgrims" (posthumous impression, 4th state of 5, Keynes 17), £120

This superb exhibition and fine catalogue included, with minor exceptions, only prints designed and executed by the same artist. The prices of numbers 111 and 112 are not typographical errors!—and all had been sold by the third day of the exhibition. "The Fly" is reproduced as plate xxv, "Enoch" as plate xxvi.

The Art of Drawing is the title of this winter's exhibition in the splendid new gallery of the British Museum's Department of Prints and Drawings. The show is magnificent, featuring both Oriental and Western material—an enormous Raphael cartoon and sketches by Leonardo among other things. There are two Blakes, "Jacob's Ladder" and a Dante illustration.

3 BLAKE WATERCOLORS NOW IN PUBLIC COLLECTIONS

According to Martin Butlin of the Tate Gallery, three Blake watercolors from the Esmond Morse collection have been given to British public collections by the Morse family. The Victoria and Albert Museum has received "The Angels hovering over the body of Jesus in the Sepulchre" and "The Angel rolling the stone from the Sepulchre," two of the Biblical subjects painted for Thomas Butts circa 1800-1805. Butlin remarks that "These are two of the best and most moving examples [of the Biblical subjects painted by Blake for Butts], very sensitive in their quiet emotion and delicate symmetry, and seem to form a group within the main group together with 'The Resurrection' in the Fogg Museum, 'The Magdelene at the sepulchre' belonging to the Mount Trust, and the two watercolors at the Tate Gallery, 'The Crucifixion' and 'The Entombment.' It is perhaps a pity that the new gifts cannot be seen together with the works at the Tate Gallery, but that is typical of the illogicalities of the London art scene!" The third gift, "And the Waters prevailed upon the Earth an hundred and fifty days," has gone to the Abbot Hall Art Gallery at Kendal in Westmorland. On the back, according to Butlin, is "a drawing of a humanoid elephant dangling an infant on its foot which has sometimes been seen as a caricature of John Varley."

TATE CLEANS "THE PENANCE OF JANE SHORE"

When the Tate Gallery cleaned its version of "The Penance of Jane Shore" recently, an old question about the picture was answered, and a new fact discovered. According to Martin Butlin of the Tate, the Jane Shore picture "was hitherto known as a varnished watercolor and there has been some debate as to whether the varnish was added by Blake himself, but in fact the varnish proved to have been applied in the mid-nineteenth century and cleaned off without difficulty. Underneath there is, however, a thin application of size which may well be Blake's own, added to enrich the tones of the watercolor beneath, as was common among other artists of the period. The original freshness of color can now be seen and the appearance of the watercolor has also been improved by re-framing."

COPIES OF BLAKE LIFE MASK AVAILABLE

The American Blake Foundation is now taking orders for copies of the Deville life mask for which Blake sat in 1824. The copies are cast by hand in England. The price is $50 plus $6 shipping charges, and the delivery time is about six weeks. All orders must be accompanied by payment in full. Write the American Blake Foundation, Department of English, Illinois State University, Normal, Illinois 61761.

WORKS IN PROGRESS

Mary V. Jackson (Assistant Professor, The City College of New York, CUNY): "I will indicate how Blake created by experimental changes in the representation of character and, more especially, of time and space, myth as a poetic device which gradually gave him another language through which he could express as well as fully understand complex and interdependent psychic processes and historical phenomena for which no adequate language existed."


Carolyn Wilkinson: "You Are What You Behold: A Study of the Narrative Structure of William Blake's Jerusalem," a Ph. D. dissertation directed by Victor Paananen at Michigan State University, concerning "the relation between the perceptions and actions of Jerusalem's characters. It concludes with a study of the reader's perceptions of the entire action of Jerusalem as conditioned by the structural techniques of the narrator."

"At the Manchester Art-Treasures Exhibition of 1857, among the select thousand water-colour drawings, hung two modestly tinted designs by Blake, of few inches in size... Both are remarkable displays of imaginative power, and finished examples in the artist's peculiar manner. Both were unnoticed in the crowd, attracting few gazers, few admirers." Thus Gilchrist, near the beginning of his biography, described the insensitivity of the Victorians to the genius of Blake. Gilchrist was right, of course; but, as always in the history of Blake's reputation, there was more to the story.

Probably the two largest exhibitions of fine art in nineteenth-century England were the Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition of 1857 and that of the Fine Art Department of the International Exhibition of 1862 at London. Both of these great aggregations included works by Blake—a fact which has been noted only by "Gilchrist," and which bears retelling: for, taken together, the seven works by Blake that were displayed (two at Manchester, five at London) might have been seen by some three million people in all—a mass audience, even by today's standards. A figure such as that, while conjectural, should surely raise questions about the usual assumption that the Blake Revival, begun by Gilchrist, "introduced Blake to a mass audience for the very first time, both as an artist and as a poet." Not only was Blake's work presented at the exhibitions, but also, in some of the literature associated with them it was mentioned, even discussed. Owing to the exhibitions, then, we may now add seven new items to the scant number of references to Blake between the time of his death and the publication of Gilchrist's Life. (See the Appendix below.) These are: references to Blake in the Official Catalogue of each exhibition; in a Handbook to each exhibition; and in two periodical notices of the International Exhibition. Their value is not simply in their rarity, of course, but in the glimpse they give us of the critical response, or lack of it, to some examples of Blake's art—at the only public showings of his painting between 1812 and 1876.

The common ancestor of both the 1857 and 1862 exhibitions was the Great Exhibition of 1851, conceived in England and dedicated to the promotion of industry and the improvement of design in manufactures. As Prince Albert had been the guiding spirit behind that first and most successful of interna-

tional exhibitions his judgment was naturally sought by the Manchester Committee, whom he influenced in favor of a national, rather than international, exhibit, one whose sole purpose would be to educate the public taste in art, thereby to create a demand for better design in manufactures. It was to be a gathering of the finest works held by private collectors in England. The Queen and Prince Consort led the way with generous loans from their own collections; soon, the Committee received twice as many offerings as they were able to use. Prince Albert opened the Exhibition on May 5th in the Blakean faith that "art is the purest expression of the state of mental and religious culture, and of general civilization of any age or people." For the next five and a half months the two "modestly tinted" Blake paintings gazed at visitors from the walls of Manchester's Old Trafford.


2Gilchrist died in 1861, before completing his manuscript of the Life, and, presumably, before he knew about the Blakes at the International Exhibition. Therefore, he himself wrote only about the Blakes at Manchester, in the passage already quoted. But in William Michael Rossetti's Annotated Catalogue (which, with Dante Gabriel Rossetti's Selections from Blake's poems, comprised the second volume of the Life) all seven of the works that were exhibited bear notes to that effect. When the Life was revised for a second edition in 1880, brief sentences were added, where appropriate, to the biography proper, to indicate that the pictures discussed had been sent to the International Exhibition (Life 1, 57, 274). Blake's participation in the exhibitions has been noted, elsewhere, only in catalogues, in notes to specific pictures, as part of their history. See, for example, The Tempera Paintings of William Blake (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1951), pp. 15, 26. Nothing about Blake's part in the exhibitions is included in either of the two full-scale Blake bibliographies.

3One million fifty-five thousand people attended the Exhibition at Manchester. I have no attendance figure for the International Exhibition, but I think it fair to assume that it would have been at least double that for Manchester, considering the difference in location, the broader nature of the London exhibition, and the fact that it lasted two weeks longer than that at Manchester.


5The Exhibition of Art Treasures at Manchester, Art Journal (June, 1857), p. 187.

"Oberon and Titania." Private Collection.

"Vision of Queen Catherine" ("Queen Catherine's Dream"). Reproduced by permission of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

2] Both paintings are included in W. M. Rossetti's Annotated Catalogue in the second volume of GILCHRIST'S Life. William Russell's collection is briefly and un informatively described by Dr. Waagen in Galleries and Cabinets of Art in Great Britain.7 Dilke is, of course, Keats's friend, an early collector of Blake's work.

In all the prose expended on the Manchester Exhibition, which is to say a very great deal, there is, to my knowledge, only one notice of Blake—in the Handbook to the Water Colours, Drawings, and Engravings in the Art Treasures Exhibition, a reprint of critical notices originally published in the Manchester Guardian. Blake is compared in this passage to Richard Dadd, a (then living) painter born in 1817, who travelled in Asia Minor and Egypt, where he had a mental breakdown; and who then returned home, murdered his father in 1843, and was imprisoned for life in Bethlehem Hospital, where he continued to produce some remarkable works of art. Blake and Dadd, says the author, "may be classed together as examples of painters in whom a disordered brain rather aided than impeded the workings of fancy."

Do not be deterred by the strangeness of Blake's work, or the sadness of Dadd's, from looking closely into both. Both were mad, but the insanity of Blake was of the kind separated by a thin partition from great wit. It was rather from preponderance of the imaginative faculty that he must be classed among lunatics, than from any ruin of mind such as hurried poor Dadd into parricide. Blake's fancies were lovely rather than terrible. He was poet and musician as well as painter. If his music was like his verse, it must have been among the sweetest ever written.

The author quotes "To the Muses" in full, with great admiration, and then offers some biographical details, including the usual account, from Cunningham, of Blake's serene and pious death. He continues, in some confusion:

The great dead came to him... All his works were records of these visions; whether they be the pictures and songs of innocence and experience, the illustrations of Job, or of the grave and Dante, his twelve inventions of man and death, his wild allegories of Urizen, and

his prophecies of England and America. His death . . . is one of the loveliest upon re-
cord. . . . One is almost tempted to envy such unreason, which seems to make a man unfit for
earth only by lifting him nearer heaven.8

The Exhibition of 1862 grew out of those of 1851 and 1857. It was really two exhibitions in
one: an international showing of industrial arts and design on the tenth anniversary of the Great Ex-
hibition (postponed a year because of the death in 1861 of the Prince Consort); and an art exhibition
designed to surpass its predecessor at Manchester. The exhibits of manufactures were not as striking as
those ten years before—with some exceptions, nota-
ably Japan's display, the first in the West, which
had a most profound effect on English taste within
the next few years. On the other hand, the fine art
exhibit was wholeheartedly approved by everyone who
saw it. It was one of the most popular parts of the
exhibition. Smaller than Manchester—for example,
six hundred and twenty-four watercolors compared to
Manchester's thousand—it nevertheless was a finer
collection, better displayed. On this occasion
Blake was represented by five pictures, four among
the watercolors and one among the oil paintings.
The listings in the Official Catalogue were: "221.
Christ in the Lap of Truth, and Between his Earthly
Parents [fig. 3] . . . R. M. Milnes, Esq.; 965.
Joseph Ordering Simeon to be bound [fig. 4] . . . J.
D. Coleridge, Esq.; 966. Joseph Making himself
Known to his brethren [fig. 5] . . . J. D. Cole-
ridge, Esq.; 967. Joseph's Brethren Bowing Before
Him [fig. 6] . . . J. D. Coleridge, Esq.; 968. Can-
terbury Pilgrimage . . . W. Stirling, Esq."5

8A Handbook to the Water Colours, Drawings,
and Engravings, in the Manchester Art Treasures Ex-
hibition (London, 1857), pp. 12-13. I have not
been able to check the Manchester Guardian for the
original article in which, presumably, Blake was
mentioned.

9International Exhibition of 1862. Official
Catalogue of the Fine Art Department [Corrected,
1862]. Milnes and Stirling are well known as early
Blake collectors. "J. D. Coleridge" refers to Sir
John Duke Coleridge (1820-1894), first Baron Cole-
ridge, who became Lord Chief Justice of England in
1880.

3 "Christ in the Lap of Truth" ("The Holy Family"), watercolor
drawing. Reproduced by permis-
sion of the Cleveland Museum of
Art, John L. Severance Fund.
first of these was listed as an oil painting, the next three were watercolors, the last a tempera listed with the watercolors. All of these paintings were entered by Rossetti in the Annotated Catalogue; all but one were discussed in the biography by Gilchrist. "Christ in the Lap of Truth," wrote Rossetti, is "the interesting and characteristic, though not salient, picture which was rather concealed than displayed at the International Exhibition." There is no mention of it in the biography.

Perhaps because more of his art was shown, more was written about Blake in 1862 than in 1857. In addition to the Catalogue listings there were four notices this time—few enough! and one of these was utterly inconsequential; but the consequential ones had at least got out of the Cunningham-anecdote rut that so much commentary on Blake had already fallen into, and was to continue in for many years to come. The two signed items are both by F. T. Palgrave, art critic, future anthologist and professor of poetry at Oxford—known to students of Blake's reputation as one of the early admirers and collectors of Blake's work.

Palgrave wrote the essay on "The British School of Water Colour Painting" for that section of the Official Catalogue. It is only three pages long, and yet nearly one page of it is given to a comparison between Blake and Stothard, two men singularly contrasted in their life and in their genius, gifted respectively with exquisite fancy and intense imagination, and to whom England is indebted for a long series of kind enough to offer the following remarks about Christ in the Lap of Truth: "I have always suspected that the version of Blake's 'Christ in the Lap of Truth' exhibited at the International Exhibition in London in 1862 ... was the oil painting that was lent from the Crewe Collection to the Arts Council 'Blake Tempters' Exhibition in 1951, but withdrawn as probably not an original. Alternatively, the untraced picture, probably a tempera, 'The Holy Family,' described by Rossetti (1862, p. 230, no. 182) may have perished in Captain Butts's sister's attic. The water-colour version of this composition is now in the Cleveland Museum of Art."

works, which, take them all in all, no other water-colourists in this style have equalled. But it is hardly as art that the strange creations of the visionary Blake appeal to us; the drawing and execution are rarely successful; it is in the force of the penetrative imagination that their value lies,—in their almost painful intensity,—in their sublime suggestions of some earlier world of patriarchal days, or the mysteries of spiritual and ecstatic existence.

Palgrave describes "the gentle-hearted Stothard," the charm and delicacy and grace of his art. Then, with a hard-heartedness that sets him apart from his contemporaries, Palgrave repudiates "Stothard's world" as lacking the "depth and impressiveness" of real existence. And he finds Blake's world to be distorted in an opposite way: he "saw all things through a morbid imagination." Had Palgrave not seen the Songs of Innocence?

Such criticism, while it misapprehends Blake, neither condescends to him, nor dismisses him as a madman, nor elevates him to sainthood: all of which makes it rather refreshing. Palgrave discussed Blake again in his Handbook to the Exhibition. The theme is the same as that in the Catalogue—it is even expressed in some of the same words; but in addition, he mentions here the other Blake paintings at the Exhibition. Again, he compares Blake with Stothard, within certain limits, two of the most inventive and original designers in English art. Neither is here represented fully, but they may be compared in their rival illustrations of the Pilgrimage to Canterbury from the Prologue to Chaucer's Tales. Blake's work has more poetic penetration,—Stothard's more poetical grace; he reaches greater completeness and balance in the whole, Blake goes to the heart of the matter where he succeeds (the Host, the Prioress), but misses much entirely. The contrast indicated runs through their whole life and genius; Stothard the man of boundless and practised fancy, Blake of restricted and intense imagination.

There follows a passage about Blake that repeats, virtually word-for-word, the one in the Catalogue, already quoted. Blake's imaginative qualities, says Palgrave, "are seen more in his strange oil-picture, Christ on the Lap of the Church [fig. 3],—Blake's conception of the favorite design of early art,—than in the little-characteristic scenes from Genesis [i.e., the Joseph paintings]." By analyzing and re-naming the "strange" picture owned by his friend Milnes, Palgrave intended to show that Blake, however original in his invention, was inspired by traditional Christian art. Prior to Yeats, any insight into Blake's relation to a tradition was a critical rarity. Palgrave describes "the gentle-hearted Stothard," the charm and delicacy and grace of his art. Then, with a hard-heartedness that sets him apart from his contemporaries, Palgrave repudiates "Stothard's world" as lacking the "depth and impressiveness" of real existence. And he finds Blake's world to be distorted in an opposite way: he "saw all things through a morbid imagination." Had Palgrave not seen the Songs of Innocence?


Francis Turner Palgrave, Handbook to the Fine Art Collections in the International Exhibition of 1862 (London, 1862), pp. 65-66. In Gwenllian F. Palgrave, p. 72, there is only a hint of the hubbub caused by the Handbook's forthright opinions of some contemporary artists. Widely read at that time, the Handbook has never before, to my knowledge, been discussed in connection with Blake.
grave's remark about the Joseph paintings suggests that he was unfamiliar with Blake's early work. (These were the first, or among the first, of Blake's paintings on Biblical subjects.)

The only one of the two periodical notices of Blake's pictures that has any substance is a short passage that damns Blake to praise Stothard. Unfortunately, this judgment appeared in a periodical that might have been expected to produce something more than perfunctory or conventional criticism of an "unknown" painter, the influential Art Journal, the most important Victorian periodical in the field of the visual arts. The passage concludes:

Neither artist took firm hold on the actual, yet, of the two, Blake shows himself the more shadowy and visionary. The painter, indeed, who maintained spiritual converse with the Virgin Mary, was scarcely likely to do justice to the 'Wife of Bath.'

Last, and least, of the exhibition notices is one incomprehensible sentence in an Athenæum article on the English watercolors. The sentence preceding it, about Dadd, is given here for whatever light it may shed on the meaning of the sentence about Blake: "Some works of exceptional interest will be found under the names [sic] of Dodd.--Moonlight in the Desert and A Rocky Valley. Blake's transcendental fancies are freely seen." Freely seen?

On that baffling note our glimpse of Blake's pictures at the exhibitions may be, appropriately, concluded. An ideal art-lover who had seen the pictures and read the commentaries, while he might have been intrigued by the first, was then surely befuddled by contradiction between critics about first principles, such as whether Blake's imagination was "lovely" (Manchester Handbook) or "morbid" (Palgrave). Nevertheless, something must have been gained from the little of Blake's work that was seen, and the little that was written about that little. For present-day students of Blake, some questions persist: in neither exhibition did Blake appear among the engravers, although he had been known primarily as an engraver during his lifetime, and the collections of engravings were supposedly exhaustive (especially at Manchester). Those pictures that were hung did not show Blake at the height of his powers--another curious circumstance, when we consider that some excellent Blakes had already been "collected" and that there were persons with influence in the "art world" who knew perfectly well what Blake could do. In sum, we discover here, as at other times throughout the nineteenth century, a highly mysterious compound: first, we find a surprising general neglect of Blake, and then, considering that neglect, we meet with some equally surprising specific attentions.


APPENDIX: NEW REFERENCES TO BLAKE

New references to Blake in connection with the Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition of 1857 and the International Exhibition of 1862. The arrangement is chronological. Palgrave's article (No. 4) is entered separately from the Catalogue itself (No. 3) in order to distinguish it from the list of Blake paintings contained in the Catalogue.


1 Henry Emlyn, A Proposition for a New Order in Architecture (1781), plate II. Courtesy of Mr. Lessing J. Rosenwald.
Very early in his professional life as an articed engraver, William Blake made one sally into the business of reproducing architectural designs in a publishable form. He engraved at least one of the designs which accompanied Henry Emlyn's A Proposition for a New Order in Architecture (London, for J. Dixwell, 1781). Plate II [fig. 1] in both the first and second (1784) editions of Emlyn's treatise is clearly signed "Blake sculp." This plate is of interest for several reasons. It is among Blake's earliest commercial jobs. It is his only known work in engraving plans or directions for architects, although, of course, he showed an interest in architecture in much of his art. And the plate is among Blake's largest engravings. It measures 537 mm. high in the platemark, and about 370 mm. wide. We give the measurement of width as approximate because most copies have been cropped, and measurement of this dimension is uncertain, sometimes impossible. The platemarks are light, and the width suffered most in binding.

Emlyn's treatise is now very rare. Of the first edition we have traced three copies in England; one is in Sir John Soane's Museum, another is in the private library of Mr. John Harris, Curator of the Drawings Collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects, and recently a third copy was offered for sale by Mr. Paul Breman of London. In the United States the only known copy is in the collection of Mr. Lessing J. Rosenwald. Of the second edition we have located two copies, one in the British Museum, shelfmark 1733.d.25, and another in Cambridge University Library, bought from King's College Library in 1923. The third edition of 1797 is the commonest; there are copies in the British Museum, the library of the Royal Institute of British Architects, the Avery Library of Columbia University, the Print Room of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and elsewhere. But for this edition the plates were reduced to a platemark of 445 mm. by 282 mm.

Henry Emlyn (c. 1729-1815) was an obscure Windsor carpenter. He tried in his treatise to establish a native English order in architecture to rival the orders of classical origin, basing his plans for the column on an analogy with the oak that flourishes in Windsor Forest. To support the column, Emlyn proposed a formal pedestal at the center of whose die stone is an heraldic trophy. This pedestal is the subject of Plate II of the first edition, the plate which bears Blake's signature. Such trophies were common devices. Similar

2 A Gatepost of the Royal Chelsea Hospital, surmounted by a trophy. Courtesy of Mr. Peter Spurrer.

In Emlyn’s order a single elliptical shaft rises to a fifth of the total height, then divides into two thin circular shafts; at the fork of the column Emlyn placed the Shield of the Order of Saint George. This shield is the focus of Plate V [fig. 3], which Emlyn describes as follows: "The Knights Shield and Armour, with the Skin of a Wolf, hanging down on each Side, and bending down the twigs of the tree; all which together Cap the Centre.

This plate was first noticed by William A. Gibson in the British Museum in 1966, while doing work supported, in part, by the Ohio State University Development Fund through its Faculty Summer Fellowship program, and by a grant from the Penrose Fund of the American Philosophical Society.

It is certainly among the first five or six pieces which he did on his own after leaving Basire. Indeed, since it was not uncommon for the engravings which would accompany a book to be completed long before publication of a volume, the Emlyn plate may antedate all the rest of Blake's early commercial work except perhaps his single plate for J. Oliver's Fencing Familiarized (1780).


Expressions of Blake's interest in architecture range from the homely sketch of his Felpham cottage in Milton, plate 36, to his engravings for Stuart and Revett's Antiquities of Athens. But the engraving he did for Emlyn's treatise is unique of its kind in the body of Blake's work.

The treatise was offered for sale by Mr. Paul Breman of Paul Breman Ltd., 7 Wedderburn Road, London NW3. The Emlyn volume is item 12 in his catalogue 14, "English Architecture 1598-1838," priced at £345.

ter of the trunk on both Sides."6 Plate V is not signed, but since it bears some striking similarities to the engraving signed by Blake we believe that Mr. Breman is correct in attributing this plate also to him. The similarities are not merely stylistic, for these could admittedly reflect Emlyn's original designs as much as Blake's practice as an engraver. We can enumerate here only a few correspondences between the two plates. First, the fine dimension lines running from the figures in both plates to the scales at the left are executed in the same manner—very closely spaced dots made by minute pricks of an engraving tool. Second, the scales themselves are alike in the spacing and relative heaviness of the vertical lines, and in the length of the short arrows and the shape of their heads. Third, the numerals on the scales appear to be the work of the same hand. This is especially noticeable in the 2's, 5's, and 8's; all of these numerals have unusually large loops and therefore a proportional scaling down of their horizontal and vertical lines. In the 3's the loop thins very discernibly across the bottom of the numerals. The short vertical lines of the 8's tilt to the right about 15°, necessitating a considerable shortening of the top horizontal, and making the numerals appear to roll to the right.

The architectural elements and their ornaments do not provide such precise points of comparison as the numerals and dimension lines, for the trophy on the signed plate [fig. 1] is less intricate in its detail and more sharply outlined than the coat of arms on the unsigned one [fig. 3]. Yet even here a close examination reveals some similarities in line and execution. The modelling of the breast of the armored trophy is created by the same curved lines as those that compose the lion's facial features in the coat of arms. The volute at the lower right-hand corner of the oval shield in the coat of arms has the same configuration as the volutes on the hilt of the two swords in the trophy; and it is also the same as the volute that adorns the forehead line of the helmet seen in profile at the hips of the trophy's torso. While it must be admitted that the eyes of the volute at the ends of the bow in figure 1 are tighter than those on the bow in figure 3, the curves of both bows have similar sweeping rhythms. The open-eyed volutes of figure 3 do repeat those of the ornaments to the bottom shield in figure 1; they also resemble the volutes with which Blake has adorned the "B" of his own name. And again, the pointed fletching of the arrows in the sheath of figure 1 is outlined and textured by the same short, wedge-shaped lines as those that form the fletching in the fluting of figure 3. A close examination of such features as the plumes, leaves, acorns, fleurs-de-lis, and animal motifs would be instructive but appropriate only in a fuller study of Blake and Emlyn. We might note, however, that Plates I, III, VI to X, and XVIII are also unsigned and could be by Blake. Several plates (XI to XVII and XIX to XXI) are signed "Sparrow sculp."; Plate IX of the unsigned plates resembles Sparrow's work.

The plate originally signed by Blake (Plate II, 1781—fig. 1) has almost certainly been reworked, rather than re-engraved entirely, for the scaled-down version in the third edition (Plate IV, 1797—fig. 4). The numerals along the left vertical scale appear to be identical in both versions, as well as the horizontal dimension lines and the heavy and light lines of the vertical scale itself. A few vertical dimension lines have been eliminated from the left side of the plate, but new scales and dimension lines have been added to the right side to replace them. The fleur-de-lis and leaf designs on the cyma reversa and cyma recta mouldings respectively remain intact. The trophy itself appears to be most extensively altered, but the changes are in fact nothing but additions carefully fitted into the open spaces within the oval framing line. The points of the newly added anchor, for example, just touch the edges of the original upper shields and swords. The new anchor cable runs through open spaces between the original em-

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blems, with its free end apparently hidden some­where behind the lower helmet or its plume (the cable happily tightens the composition of the entire trophy, for it helps to link the spear and upper helmet to the torso). The compass and chain are similarly integrated with the original emblems so as to change virtually none of their outlines. Cropping the plate to the new dimensions provided no special problems for the engraver. To shorten the plate the dimension lines at the top have been eliminated, the top plinth thinned slightly, and the tall bottom plinth reduced to a sliver. To narrow the plate the margins have simply been cropped, necessitating only the elimination of a semi-circular dimension line at the left. If our argument is correct, this plate in the third edi­tion remains largely Blake’s work.

Since Plate V could not be so easily cropped, it was entirely re-engraved, with some loss of the original grace, for the third edition (Plate V, 1797—fig. 5). The scale—now on the right side of the plate—is more difficult to interpret than the original one, and the numerals far more convention­al in their configurations. The individual oak leaves in the border framing the shield have lost their original undulating curves; the paws hanging below are now thick-ankled and club-like. The lines intended to model the lion’s face only make the lion appear old, tired and wrinkled. We can only speculate whether the same engraver is responsible for both this plate and the alterations of Blake’s plate. The most obvious similarities between the new plate and the alterations are the reliance upon short, light dashes for dimension lines and the hard outlining of such emblems as weapons, animal motifs, chain, cable, and anchor.

Mr. Breman’s remark about the “obvious parallel between Emlyn’s work and that of the French architect Ribart Chamoust, whose ‘L’ordre français trouvé dans la nature’ appeared two years later,” fails to suggest the significance of either work. Both re­present the rather desperate attempts of late eighteenth-century architectural theorists to estab­lish new aesthetic premises on which to base archi­tectural criticism and design. As Rudolf Wittkower has demonstrated, the theological-philosophical bases of Renaissance architectural theory were be­ing undermined by the development of new habits of thinking. By the middle of the eighteenth century, the old systems of mathematical and harmonic propor­tion were increasingly being ignored, misunderstood, or half-consciously avoided.

Emlyn’s attempt is not, however, an entirely new departure. Vitruvius traces the evolution of the orders from primitive man’s looking to trees as his first models for supporting columns in building (De Architectura, I, 1.4). Even Isaac Ware, whose encyclopedic Complete Body of Architecture (1756) ignores entirely the theological-philosophical bases of Renaissance theory, begins his affirmation of

7Breman, item 12.

Palladian principles and proportions with the seemingly irrefutable proposition that columns imitate tree trunks. Second, the assumption that an order has an emblematic significance, which determines the uses to which that order may be put, is entirely consistent with Vitruvius's rule of decor, as Emlyn himself was well aware. Third, even Emlyn's rather arbitrary proportions are not so radically different from those of the classical orders as they may first appear. Emlyn explains, "The whole Height of the Noble Order's columns imitate the elliptical base, but rather from the diameter of the circular shafts. Thus, since there are two of these shafts, the design yields an overall proportion of 12.5:1 rather than 25:1. This is reasonably close to the proportions of the Corinthian order which in practice vary from about 9:1 to 11:1.

One might profitably speculate about the extent to which Blake appreciated the emblematic significance of the details he engraved for Emlyn's treatise. Although Emlyn himself generally stresses the political and moral rather than the religious meanings of his motifs, many of the same motifs occur in the eighteenth-century treatises that attempt to establish Great Britain as an early haven for the undefiled religion of the Old Testament patriarchs, and to establish the Druids as the priests of Abraham's faith. For example, William Stukeley summarizes the new legend thus in his treatise on Stonehenge:

The patriarchal history, particularly of Abraham, is largely purer; and the dedication of the Phoenicians into the Island of Britain, about or soon after his time; whereas the origins of the Druids, of their Religion and writing; they brought the patriarchal Religion along with them, and some knowledge of symbols or hieroglyphics, like those of the ancient Egyptians; they had the notion and expectation of the Messiah, and of the time of year when he was to be born, of his office and death.

The major link between Stukeley and Emlyn is the oak tree of Windsor Forest, the primary model for Emlyn's order (following the example of Callimachus's design for the Corinthian order). According to Stukeley's account, Abraham, whom he seems to identify as the first Druid, planted an oak grove in which the Deity lived. Besides endowing the oak with unique sanctity, this act also gives architecture a special place among the arts: "From these groves arose the first ideas of architecture. first [sic] was it employ'd for sacred purposes." Another motif that arouses some curiosity is what appears to be a ram's horn on the helmet crowning the trophy (fig. 1). Stukeley associates the ram's horn with Jupiter Ammon, and thence back to a religious and political ritual of the ancient Israelites. This preoccupation with religious emblems, with the early history of an uncorrupted faith, with Druid lore, and with the establishment of religion and learning in prehistoric Britain is one that Blake shared with such men as John Toland, William Stukeley, John Wood of Bath, and Henry Emlyn.

Blake surely knew Stukeley's companion volume to Stonehenge, Abury, and he knew it perhaps as early as 1773 when Basire copied part of one of the plates from Abury for an illustration to Jacob Bryant's A New System, or an Analysis of Ancient Mythology (3 vols., 1774-76) for which Blake engraved at least one plate. John Beer has recently suggested that Blake's early engraving after Michelangelo, later titled "JOSEPH of Arimathea among the Rocks of Albion," resembles an engraving in Sammes's Britannia Antiqua Illustrata and another in Stukeley's Stonehenge. But of course Blake was also familiar with other studies of Druid lore, widely popular in the antiquarian researches of the 1770's and 1780's. To this varied body of works Emlyn added a treatise which might well have been congenial to Blake as encouraging the kind of native "republican art" Blake envisioned would reinvigorate his England.

As far as is known, Emlyn's designs were attempted in stone only once, at Beaumont Lodge in Berkshire. A house had stood at Berkshire since at least the seventeenth century, but Henry Griffiths, who purchased the estate in 1789, had it embellished with the British Order. Work was completed about 1790. Perhaps unfortunately, in this only

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9 Ware, new ed. (1768), pp. 135-37.
11 Emlyn, p. 17.
13 Vitruvius, IV. i. 10-11.
15 Stukeley, Palaeographica Saara, pp. 59-60.
instance, the trophy which Blake engraved was not used, and Griffiths chose the seal of the Order of the Garter instead of the Shield of the Order of St. George to mark the column's fork. As Miss Sandra Blutman writes, "Poor Emlyn's order was doomed to failure. It was never copied or adapted to modern requirements and Beaumont Lodge, an otherwise rather ordinary Georgian house, stands empty today—the only surviving example of this curious idea."18

Beaumont Lodge was, interestingly enough, beside the home of Blake's friend of later years, George Cumberland, who bought his estate in Windsor Great Park in 1792.19 Did Blake ever see the British Order executed in stone? Perhaps, for he might have visited Cumberland at Bishopsgate, as Cumberland visited Lambeth. Cumberland, at least, probably did know Beaumont Lodge, for he had a dispute with Griffiths about a destitute family which had squatted, with Cumberland's permission, on some waste land between the two houses.20 The altercation found its way into print in Cumberland's A Letter to Henry Griffiths, esq., of Beaumont Lodge (1797), to which came the due response, Mr. Griffiths' Remarks, upon the Letter Signed George Cumberland (1797).

As a final note we might remark that the third edition of Emlyn's treatise (1797) was printed by one "J. Smeeton, St. Martin's Lane, Charing Cross." This is the same house, reestablished after a fire, as "G. Smeeton, Printer, 17, St. Martin's Lane, London," that set the second prospectus of Blake's "Canterbury Pilgrims."21 This connection provides, however, no reason to suppose that Blake was involved in the re-engraving for the third edition. He was by then engaged with other work.

18Blutman, p. 184.
20Keynes, p. 60.

In preparing this announcement the authors have benefited from the generous help of several individuals and institutions. We are grateful to Professor G. E. Bentley, Jr., Mr. Paul Breman, Mr. James Carter, Mr. Paul Grinke, Mr. John Harris, Sir Geoffrey Keynes, Miss Michèle Roberts, Mr. Lessing J. Rosenwald, Mr. Peter Spurrer, and Sir John Summerson; and to the Avery Memorial Library of Columbia University, the British Museum, the Print Room of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and Sir John Soane's Museum. Our special thanks go to Mrs. Ruthven Todd who throughout this project has given of his time and wide knowledge of Blake, and who has willingly opened for us doors of whose existence we were too often ignorant.

The suggestions put forward by Kerrison Preston concerning the pronunciation of Blake's invented names (Blake Newsletter, 3 [May 1970], 106) are useful for spurring discussion of this vexing subject, but are in some cases difficult to assess. There probably is no way to test the pronunciation of "Los," "Luvah," and "Yala," and a number of other names, because the question is one of vowel quality, not placement of accent. Where stressing is the issue, as in "Urizen" and "Ololon," the name can be checked against the metrical contexts in which it occurs (see below). But since no such technique exists for testing vowels, we may eternally muddle along with hunches based on word-echoes, philosophical associations, and phonological probability. There surely is substance for debate on these grounds, but nothing like the hard evidence provided by metrics in the matter of accent.

The great bone of accentual contention, more often stubbornly mouthed at both ends than fought for with intellectual spears, is the name "Urizen." At either end are YUR / I / ZEN and YU / REV / ZEN (or, alternatively, UR / AYR / ZEN). Doubtless there are other variants, but these seem to be the main ones. The question may be put: is "Urizen" correctly pronounced with the primary stress on the first or the second syllable? The aim of the following is to settle this question by means of a method which will, I hope, also be helpful with regard to other names. The conclusion—that Blake pronounced "Urizen" with a primary stress on the first syllable—is not intended to inflict One Law, but only to demonstrate Blake's practice.

Fortunately for our purpose, Blake adhered to a rather strict iambic heptameter scheme in Visions of the Daughters of Albion, America, and Europe. These poems not only provide a common, and firm, metrical context (as The Book of Urizen does not), they also contain the first ten appearances of "Urizen," fresh as it were from Blake's forehead:

1. O Urizen! Creator of men! mistaken Demon of
   heaven
   (VDA 5:3)
2. The Fiery joy, that Urizen perverted to ten
   commands
   (A 8:3)

Francis Wood Metcalf is writing a Ph.D. dissertation at New York University on rhetoric and style in the Prophetic Books and has contributed previously to the Newsletter.
3. The Heavens melted from north to south; and

\[ A\text{ 16:2} \]

4. in that dread night when Urizen call'd the stars round his feet

\[ A\text{ canc. b:5} \]

5. And Urizen unloos'd from chains

\[ E\text{ 3:11} \]

6. Till all the sons of Urizen look out and envy

\[ E\text{ 4:2} \]

7. He saw Urizen on the Atlantic

\[ E\text{ 11:2} \]

8. For Urizen unclasped his Book; feeding his soul with pity

\[ E\text{ 12:4} \]

9. Between the clouds of Urizen the flames of Orc roll heavy

\[ E\text{ 12:32} \]

10. Waking the stars of Urizen with their immortal songs

\[ E\text{ 14:33} \]

Notice that in every context except the seventh, "Urizen" begins on an even-numbered, stressed syllable unless preceded by an anapest (as in two and three), in which case the syllable is stressed and odd-numbered. The apparent exception of context seven is equivocal since it occurs in a group of short and metrically irregular lines. Context five is also short, but sturdily iambic. To remove the primary stress from the first syllable of "Urizen" and the secondary stress from the last, and to accent arbitrarily the name's middle syllable, would be to commit unjustifiable violence on each line. We then would have an unbroken series of pyrrhic feet followed by medial inversions, or else no heptameters at all. Later on in Blake's poetry, when the metrical scheme is less clearly defined, the mid-stress could in isolated cases perhaps be reasonably suggested; but these very rhythmic lines allow no alternative to a front-stressed "Urizen."

A contrast with "Urthona" is instructive. In each of its first ten occurrences, "Urthona"--to the contrary of "Urizen"--begins on an odd-numbered, unstressed syllable unless preceded by an anapest.

This positioning would prevail in the case of "Urizen" were it mid-stressed like "Urthona," but since it is not, it begins on the contrary syllable.

Further evidence for a front-stressed "Urizen" may also be seen in contrast to an "Urthona" paradigm. In its ninety-four occurrences in Blake's poetry (counting possessives), "Urthona" begins nine times in a line's first syllable but only once in its second: "Of Urthona. Los embraced" (FZ VII: 85:29). Blake deliberately avoided the latter placement because it gives the effect of anacrusis--an extra unstressed syllable before the proper beginning of an iambic line. But "Urizen" begins in a line's second syllable about sixty times--almost characteristically. The initial syllable is usually a conjunction--cf. "And ..." and "For Urizen," above--which forms, with front-stressed "Urizen," a normal iambic opening. That "Urizen" should also by itself begin many lines is not surprising in view of the Miltonic and even Augustan precedents for initial inversion. In such cases, the name's third syllable becomes the unstressed first half of the succeeding iamb: "Urizen knew them not" (FZ VI:67:7).

Whether Blake usually spoke "Urizen" as a pure dactyl or with a secondary final stress--as "Benjamin" or as "Benjamite"--is not finally deductible from the metrics, and raises the forbidding problem of vowel-quality. On this subject our only assurance is that the middle vowel is neither EE or AYE, but a swallowed short "i" or a schwa. One is tempted to speculate that the doubly-emphasized "-zen!"-"men!" pairing of the first appearance of "Urizen," quoted above, is an internal rhyme designed to aid pronunciation, and that the attachment of an off-glided "y" to the first vowel is probable since it eliminates hiatus, but Blake's practice remains obscure--excepting, of course, the initial stress. In this connection, it would seem that despite Mr. Preston's suggestion that "Ololon" be accented on the second syllable, Blake stressed it on the first. It begins in a line's second syllable proportionately even more often than "Urizen" does. All students of Blake will be pleased to know, however, that on the basis of the method outlined above, "Bromion" and "Enion" have been pronounced by them correctly all along.

Mona Wilson, in Keynes's new edition of The Life of William Blake (Oxford, 1971), p. 106, states in a footnote about "Urizen" that "... the i scans short." Her judgment agrees with mine, but its bearing upon the stressing of the whole name is not entirely clear. Does she advocate YU / I / ZEN or YU / RIZE / EN?
A FRAGMENTARY COPY OF SONGS OF INNOCENCE AND OF EXPERIENCE

Raymond Lister

Five years ago my wife and I were fortunate enough to acquire a fragmentary copy of Songs of Innocence and of Experience. I know nothing of its previous history, but a brief description of its present state will perhaps be of some interest.

It consists of the following plates, printed back to back.

Leaf 1 recto End of "The Little Girl Lost" and beginning of "The Little Girl Found" [35]
verso Plate II of "The Little Girl Found" [36]

Leaf 2 recto "The Divine Image" [18]
verso "Infant Joy" [25]

Leaf 3 recto Plate I of "A Cradle Song" [16]
verso Plate II of "A Cradle Song" [17]

Leaf 4 recto "The Little Boy lost" [13]
verso "The Little Boy found" [14]

Leaf 5 recto "Nurse's Song" [24]
verso "On Anothers Sorrow" [27]

Leaf 6 recto "Holy Thursday" [19]
verso "The Voice of the Ancient Bard" [54]

Leaf 7 recto Plate II of "Spring" [23]
verso "The School-Boy" [53]

The leaves are all stabbed for sewing, and this applies to no other similar copies in the Keynes and Wolf Census. No copy seems to lack these particular plates. It therefore would appear that this is from an unrecorded copy. In no other copies are plates [18, 25] [24, 27] or [19, 54] printed back to back.

The size of the leaves varies somewhat, but averages 7 7/16 by 5 3/16 inches. This is not repeated exactly in other copies, but many are of near size. The watermark E & P appears faintly on leaf 4 near the inner top corner. This appears in seven other copies of the book.3

The plates are printed in green, and the coloring is in light washes. One peculiarity is that the flower on plate [25] is painted blue. It is usually red, but is blue in seven other copies.4

3Copies F, I, J, M of Innocence and C, D, F of Experience in the Census.

4Copies A, G of Innocence and D, E, F, I, X of Experience in the Census.

WILLIAM BLAKE IN THE HERBERT P. HORNE COLLECTION

Martin Butlin

Among the collection of drawings bequeathed to the Comune of Florence in 1916 and now in the care of the Gabinetto dei Disegni in the Uffizi are two sheets by William Blake, probably retained by Horne when he sold a large part of his collection to Edward Marsh on leaving England for Italy in 1904. (Among the drawings sold was the greatest of the Tint" illustrations, "Har and Heva Bathing," now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.)

One side of the first drawing (Horne inventory no. 5977) has been shown by David Bindman to be a study for Moore & Co's advertisement engraved by Blake, according to Bindman, circa 1780-1785 but dated by Keynes circa 1790 (see J. N. Sunderland, review of L. Ragghianti Collobi, Disegni Inglezi dalla Fondazione Home in Firenze [1966], in Burlington Magazine, 110 [1968], 706, and Geoffrey Keynes, Blake's Engravings: The Separate Plates [1956], pp. 15-16, repr. pl. 10). The other side [fig. 1], catalogued by Collobi (p. 46) as the Hypocrates from Dante, is, as Bindman points out, an early drawing possibly related to Blake's series of illustrations to British history of circa 1779; in its stiffness and crudity it could possibly be by Robert Blake. The paper size of this drawing is 11 15/16 x 9 5/8 inches (30.4 x 24.5 cm.); the Moore & Co's advertisement sketch measures approximately 8 1/4 x 9 inches (21 x 23 cm.) while the drawing on the other side, which is drawn with the paper turned to give an oblong rather than an upright format, measures about 7 1/4 x 9 1/2 inches (18.5 x 24 cm.).

Martin Butlin is Keeper of the British Collection at the Tate Gallery, London, and a specialist on the work of Blake and J. M. W. Turner. He is the author of William Blake: A Complete Catalogue of the Works in the Tate Gallery, and he is compiling a complete catalogue of Blake's paintings, watercolors, and drawings.
1 An early drawing. Uffizi Gallery, Florence.


3 Sketch for one of Blake's illustrations to Dante. Uffizi Gallery, Florence.
Both sides of the other sheet (Horne inventory no. 5976) are devoted to sketches for Blake's illustrations to Dante of 1824-1827. The recto [fig. 2] is a sketch for no. 51, "The Six-Footed Serpent attacking Agnolo Brunelleschi." This would seem to have been drawn before the sketch in the Huntington Library (repr. Geoffrey Keynes, Blake's Pencil Drawings, Second Series [1956], pl. 54). Although more or less the same size, 9 1/2 x 13 inches (24.1 x 33 cm.) as opposed to 9 9/16 x 12 3/4 inches (24.3 x 32.4 cm.), it does not include the serpents on the right side of the composition, nor does it extend so far on the left or below. It is slightly freer in draftsmanship and less detailed. Heavily incised lines on the central and right figures, and to a lesser extent on those to the left, were presumably aids in transferring the composition to the Huntington drawing.

The reverse of this drawing [fig. 3] shows two figures apparently clambering up over a small hill in the foreground with, behind them, further hills with flames rising on each side. The scene is similar in general terms to the view through Hell-Gate in no. 4 of the Dante Illustrations and to the backgrounds of a number of illustrations of the Pit of Thieves such as the Agnolo Brunelleschi drawing mentioned above. It was however, probably drawn in connection with the Pit of Disease as it appears to have been done over slighter sketches including two figures seated back to back and scratching themselves as in Dante illustration no. 58. Flames and rounded hills are prominent in the backgrounds of the three previous drawings but there is no direct relationship.

The Horne collection also includes one other drawing tentatively attributed to Blake as an "Allegorical Subject with Satan, from The Marriage of Heaven and Hell," but this bears no resemblance to Blake's genuine works. The nearest one can get is perhaps William Blake Richmond, the son of Blake's young friend!

All these drawings have been reproduced in the catalogue by Licia Ragghianti Collobi mentioned above, pls. 28-32, where they are also inadequately catalogued on pages 45-47. The recto of the second drawing was also included, but not illustrated in the catalogue, in the 1970 exhibition, Firenze e L'Inghilterra, at the Palazzo Pitti. This note and the accompanying illustrations should, however, make the drawings more accessible to Blake scholars.
Discussion.

ON MARY ELLEN REISNER'S "LOCATIONS OF COPY U OF SONGS OF INNOCENCE AND COPY D OF SONGS OF INNOCENCE AND OF EXPERIENCE" FROM BLAKE NEWSLETTER 19

John E. Grant

It seems odd that Mary Ellen Reisner should have had so much difficulty as she reported in locating Songs of Innocence and of Experience Copy U or that she should have thought it could be found at Harvard. As was reported in Blake Newsletter 3 (15 December 1967), pp. 6-7, Songs Copy U was acquired by the Princeton University Library. Further particulars are to be found in Charles Ryskamp, William Blake: Engraver: A Descriptive Catalogue, (Princeton, 1969), p. 38, and there is also a reproduction of the remarkable general title page in this volume. Reisner's additional note that posthumous Copy d is not at Yale, as was reported in the Census, is of more interest.

Some further considerations: Reisner speaks of the "new Bibliography by Bentley and Nurmi" as being helpful in finding the locations of illuminated books; but the 1964 Bibliography is not "new" and does not attempt to duplicate the work of the Census. One gathers, however, that the real "new" Bentley Bibliography, which has been in the press for some time, will, when published, at last make up-to-date information as to locations generally available. It is certainly unfortunate that when the Census was reissued no effort was made to give current locations.

The problem of how information about locations should be used, however, is frequently mentioned in private but ought also to be frankly considered at least in the semi-public columns of Blake Newsletter. The question is, who wants to see a Blake work and why does he wish to do so? At present accessibility varies greatly in the several major public and private collections. There seems to be little relationship between the present condition of the works and their accessibility. Some copies of the illuminated books that are in poor condition and in which the pages have not been properly mounted are nevertheless quite easily available. In other cases one could argue that the security regulations are unreasonably restrictive.

But everyone who gets an urge to see a Blake book ought to ask himself why he needs to do it. Certainly no teacher should be party to the kind of make-work assignment that is too common of requiring his class in Introduction to Graduate Study to go, one by one, to look at a genuine Blake book. A Blake seminar is, of course, another matter. But even in this case one should expect that interested students will first carefully study Blake Trust facsimiles (or better, get to know photographic reproductions, such as will soon be available in the Erdman edited Doubleday edition) before seeking out the originals. It might seem as though such a stricture is of the Urianic sort designed to postpone the day when at least a few more of the Lord's people become prophets. But it is not so. Until one has trained his eye up to seeing a Blake Trust facsimile he isn't going to be able to get very much from an original. Indeed, as I have pointed out elsewhere, he may never get as much from some putative "original," since by no means all of them are as good works of art as the Blake Trust facsimiles. The great Princeton copy of Songs, of course, is much finer than the Blake Trust facsimile of the beautiful Songs Copy Z. But it is to be hoped that having Copy U now more clearly located will not much lengthen the times at the Princeton Rare Book Room. The best Blake works are worth waiting for. Meanwhile everyone should take advantage of the abundance of materials that are generally available.

BRIEF RIPOSTES

John Beer and Irene Chayes

Mrs. Chayes and I have now each had a chance to defend our respective views of Blake's art, and Mrs. Chayes in fact states the difference between us with some precision when she declares roundly that while a work of art may be created through memory and imagination acting upon each other with equal force, an imagination which was interpreting the images presented to it "could not have created a single drawing, painting or etched design." What is for me the essence of "prophetic" art, as practiced by Blake, is for her a simple impossibility, and perhaps we ought to leave it at that.

While it might be tedious and repetitious to go over the same ground again, however, I would like to discuss briefly one or two of the new points that she makes. She is kind enough to re-

John E. Grant (University of Iowa) co-edited Blake's Visionary Forms Dramatic. By means of a grant from the American Philosophical Society he was recently able to visit the Princeton University Library and six other Eastern Blake collections in the spring of 1978.
nerg that I did not defend the organization of my illustrations and special commentary as a private miniature prophetic book of my own; but she does not explain why she thinks I should want to defend a conception which is entirely of her own devising. And she still starts with the sign of relief that my main discussions of particular designs are usually in the text of the book itself and not in the more summarizing and thematic commentary. Thus, in discussing *Jerusalem* 75, she states that the intertwining creatures are "less serpents proper than the 'dragon forms' referred to in [Blake's] text"—as if I had been maintaining that they were serpents. I can only refer her despairingly to page 192 of my book, and to the statement, "Benevolent dragons of energy are depicted . . . ."

It is worth continuing the discussion of this plate for the sake of the light that may be thrown on a very crucial question—that of the relationship between text and illustration in Blake's prophetic books. This question, which is topical in view of the welcome news of David Erdman's forthcoming *Doubleday* edition, would seem to lie near the center of the controversy. If one could take it for granted that Blake is always concerned to illustrate, directly and in detail, a line or more of the text on his plate, there would be a firm basis for interpretation. But although it is a good point of scholarly discipline to look hard for such possibilities, the search often breaks down. Sometimes, for example, the relationship is better described as one of counterpoint, as in *America* 7, where the peaceful pastoral images can hardly be making anything but a satirical comment on the speech of Albion's Angel. And this diversification of practice is not surprising when we recall that Blake called his designs not "illustrations" but "illuminations."

So with *Jerusalem* 75. Certainly, the vegetative eye sees a possible connection between the women and dragons of the design and those in the lines above, ending

Thus Rahab is revealed—
Mystery, Babylon the Great, the Abomination of Desolation,
Religion hid in war, a dragon red & hidden harlot . . . .

The eye of direct emotional response, on the other hand, if it is anything like mine, sees an immediacy of beauty in the design which is distinctly at variance with the sinister tone of the lines about Rahab and the Churches. When the connections made by the vegetative eye and the response of the human being behind that eye conflict so sharply it seems natural to call on the eye of interpreting imagination and to try to resolve the difficulty by arguing that Blake is here not illustrating but illuminating—penetrating further into the conflict described on the plate to suggest a state in which what is, in the text, a destructive interaction between fallen vision and tyrannical energy might yet become a productive alliance between vision and energy, once restored to their proper functions. If so, this is another of Blake's counterpointing designs. While the early part of the text contin-

ues the conflicts recorded in the poem, the illumination, catching a moment of reconciliation—though still a reconciliation held in tension—looks forward to the restored alliance of vision and energy that will be more firmly prophesied in the last chapter of *Jerusalem*. While the motifs are taken from the harlot and dragon forms, in other words, the interpretation is dominated (or the illumination illuminated) by the next lines of the plate:

But Jesus, breaking through the central zones of death & hell
Opens Eternity in time & space, triumphant in mercy.

(These points may be found, amplified, on pages 190-91 of my book.)

It may be that modes of interpretation such as this offend the "public critic," but the public critic will always have some difficulty in dealing with writers who, like Blake, regard the public language of their time (whether in art or poetry) as inadequate to express the vision by which they are possessed. In such circumstances it seems more profitable to look for the modes of interpretation which make the best total sense of what is there on the plates (both individually and as a sequence) and then leave theoretical criticism to account for any successes which are achieved. In Blake's case (to put it another way) the purposes of scholarship would seem to be best served by the commentators who are willing to go along with him and look "through" as well as "with" the vegetable eye. It might be easier to apply more traditional methods if the two modes of seeing could be separated, but in many instances, I would maintain, such a separation makes nonsense of what he is attempting. So we return to the basic disagreement which I mentioned at the beginning. I believe that the imagination of an artist like Blake is capable of working towards the expression of new significances as well as of new forms, whereas Mrs. Chayes does not. No doubt the issue will continue to divide Blake scholars.

MRS. CHAYES WRITES:

I am sorry that by misrepresenting my position Mr. Beer makes it necessary for me to reply again, I hope for the last time.

"Impossible" was neither my word nor my meaning for the suggestion—with which I generally agree, as I pointed out—that Blake was likely to interpret in his own way the art themes and motifs he borrowed. What I did mean and believed I was saying clearly enough was that the allegorizing represented by Mr. Beer's captions and descriptions is inadequate to account for the complexity of the designs in question and inappropriate to a non-verbal art medium. I do not separate "significances" new or old from "forms" (again, we are talking about pictures), and I would not exempt Blake's own intentions and predispositions from the process of mutual modification out of which, as I see it, the new significances stressed by Mr. Beer
To me, the design on Jerusalem 75 is the product of such a process, involving the Laocoön motifs and resulting in a new significance which is bound up with the revelation of Rahab, the dragon-harlot. There is a great deal more that could be said about this plate, both text and design, and about Mr. Beer's new comments, in which he will not allow Rahab to be both sinister and beautiful or error to wear an appearance of reconciliation. Much could be said, too, about Mr. Beer's theory of "visionary" criticism, which disappointingly turns out to be affective criticism, long familiar. In the hope of putting an end to this debate, which actually began between Mr. Beer and John Grant, I will say only that it has been a reminder that by no means do Blakeists nearly always agree with each other, or differ only on matters that can be resolved in dialogue. A consideration of critical methodology as such has been too long neglected in Blake studies; perhaps space can be found in the Blake Newsletter someday for an exploratory discussion.

I had stupidly forgotten to date the note, but an application to John Yeoman, who with his wife had accompanied Sir Arthur and his wife Greta on this and previous visits to Galilee, has supplied the information that it was in June 1966. I met Sir Arthur again, for the last time, at lunch in the Chelsea Arts Club at the end of August in 1967. George Richmond was born in 1809 and lived until 1896. Sir Arthur was born in 1879 and died in November 1968, three months short of his 90th birthday. This was the only occasion of our meetings upon which I remember having managed to bring up the subject of Blake. I think that, in explanation of his saying that George's memories of his youth were sharper as an old man than when trying to help Gilchrist, Sir Arthur made the point that, in the 1850s, George was extremely busy making a living and so had more things upon his mind. When Sir Arthur mentioned the detail of George Richmond's having closed Blake's eyes, I did not at once remember having seen it mentioned before, but then recollected that it was mentioned by H. H. Gilchrist, Anne Gilchrist: Her Life and Writings, 1887, pp. 258-59, and quoted by Mona Wilson in a note. The remark, "to keep the vision in," however, has not been previously recorded. There is no reason to doubt that it is a genuine recollection by a very old man trying to recapture the feelings of the teen-ager who was present at the deathbed, and who wrote the heartfelt and agitated note to Samuel Palmer, for his own young grandson. As such I feel that it deserves this explanation of how I came to be the recipient of the added detail from the only person I have known, so far as I can recall, who was able to give me anything new which he had actually received from the person who was present. The stretch from August 1827 to August 1967, 140 years, is long enough in all truth, but the fact that David Bindman's present now hangs in a cottage in the same village where I heard the remark helps strengthen the cord which pulls me back to examine the nearly seventy years preceding the first of these dates.

Minute Particulars.

A RECOLLECTION OF GEORGE RICHMOND
BY HIS GRANDSON

Ruthven Todd

At Christmas 1971, David Bindman sent me the most generous gift of a page, c. 1850, from a sketchbook by George Richmond, of some semi-aquatic plants and a tiny woodland scene in the lower left corner. This sent me hunting through some unsorted papers in search of a note which I remembered making, although, as I had not then moved into the cottage which I now occupy, I feared that it might have been lost with so many other unfiled items. However, I was fortunate and it turned up. This reads:

Sir Arthur Richmond told me that he remembered his grandfather, George, very clearly and that, toward the end of his life, his memories of his early youth became particularly bright. It was a pity that Arthur was up here for such a short time as I wanted to know so much. He suggested that probably these recollections of extreme old age were more vivid than anything he had produced for Alexander Gilchrist in the 1850s. (I had introduced the name of Gilchrist.) One thing he told me was that, when Blake died, George closed his eyes: "to keep the vision in," George explained. Galilee.

Ruthven Todd's most recent published work on Blake is William Blake, the Artist. He is an authority on Blake's biography, among many other things. He lives on Mallorca.
Reviews.


Reviewed by Morris Eaves

Blake and Manchild is thirty-six minutes of meandering, and the meandering begins with a title that has nothing to do with the matter recorded on the tape. After an apology to the audience for his cold, and a related anecdote about his visit to the office of President Johnson, where DeMott's cultivated sensibility was thrown off balance by the old warrior's secret tic, a ferocious snort before speaking, DeMott announces the ostensible subject of his talk: "the Higher Innocence," which he promises to get to by a road through "The Lamb" and "The Chimney Sweeper" from Songs of Innocence.

But to recall the terrain before setting out, we listen to pleasant recitations of the poems. Then not "The Lamb" and "The Chimney Sweeper" as expected, but a fifteen-minute detour through the eighteenth century, looking for its "characteristic gesture," which when we find it turns out to be "comprehension" and "mastery at a remove." In the poetry of the century, we "hear" this gesture in the voice of the "preceptor"--the voice that says such things as "Whatever IS, is RIGHT" and "Let Observation, with extensive view, / Survey mankind, from China to Peru." Side 1 of the tape is over.

Side 2 sets out in search of the characteristic gesture of "The Lamb," which we learn is "cuddling"--taking life to oneself, as the child takes the lamb into his arms, and acting tenderly towards it, even if still a little bit preceptorially. It is not clear whether DeMott means that the narrator actually takes the lamb into his arms or not. Nothing in the words of the poem tells him that, and the lower part of the plate shows the child standing at arm's length from the lamb, which is about the closest DeMott can afford to get to "The Lamb" and still find his "characteristic gesture."

He then brings in "The Tyger" in order to conclude that Romantic man's characteristic gesture is a motion back and forth between the pole of the "act" of "The Lamb"--cuddling--to the pole of "The Tyger"--cosmic "nagging." Thus Blake represents those Romantics who want "Innocence beyond Innocence," as "The Lamb" and "The Tyger" combine into a "vision of the Higher Innocence," the chief pleasure of which is--memory! And the tape runs past its last electromagnetic squiggles to tell us that the great pleasure, the first Romantic pleasure, is, then--in Blake, in my imagination of him--is the pleasure of memory.

On the one hand DeMott knows enough about Blake's critics to have picked up a thesis about Higher Innocence, while on the other he knows too little about Blake or his critics to know that, if other Romantic poets were gesturing Memory, Blake was standing in the window of Higher Innocence gesturing Imagination back at them. Even when stopped up with a cold, DeMott is as pleasant to listen to as most lecturers, and his words on the "preceptorial gesture" of the eighteenth century are probably worth the time it takes to hear them, but on Blake he'd have done better to leave off at a summary of other people's opinions.

The lecture never gets to "The Chimney Sweeper" as promised. DeMott may have quit, the tape recorder may have broken, or McGraw-Hill may have economized. No one will care which, because one more meander would have added only another layer of diffuseness to this uninstructive thirty-six minute gyp.

But DeMott is not the only culprit in this media game, and questions about his understanding of Blake are not the only questions his lecture raises. McGraw-Hill has shown little good sense and less good will in publishing its Sound Seminars. The prices are outrageously high and the pricing policy is irrational. Tapes that run fifteen minutes and those that run seventy minutes are all $11 apiece. No matter how short the tape, $11. No matter how long? Well, no: the price jumps to $12.50 for tapes over about 70 minutes.

If $11 for DeMott's thirty-six-minute tape is in line with the prices on McGraw-Hill's books--that is, if the retailer's profit is about 40%--then tapes are simply too expensive to produce for the mass market. But why the recording companies can produce tapes of, say, forty-five minutes of music for less than $6, and yet McGraw-Hill cannot seem to produce fifteen minutes of voice for less than $11 is beyond me. Musical recording requires enormous expenditures on studios, musicians, composers, and technical assistance. The kind of recordings McGraw-Hill is producing could be done at home by anyone with semi-professional equipment.

I would estimate that a transcription of DeMott's recording would take up fewer than ten pages of type. The question, then, is what special use justifies the publication of Blake and Manchild as an extraordinarily expensive tape recording rather than as an essay in one of DeMott's books? First, DeMott probably wouldn't want the matter recorded on the tape to appear in the slightly classier company of his essays. Second, I frankly can't imagine any special use that the tape allows. Teaching? Who would spend the better part of an hour having students listen to something that could be summarized without loss in five minutes? Students themselves would not stand for the tape unless they

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were being relieved of something alive and worse. Home? I would have DeMott to dinner, but only to write a review would I trap myself in a room with his taped voice.

In short, what could be deadlier than a taped lecture, except a required live one? What is designed to bring more certain calamity to the classroom and the home? Only reviewers, teachers without consciences, and practical jokers would mess with this stuff. Readings by poets with stirring voices at reasonable prices, yes. The hypnotic spells of jumbo-mumbling lecturers spun on reels of brown tape, nevermore.

Available in the same series with Blake and Manchild: Benjamin DeMott, _Hardy and Manchild_, fifty minutes, $11. Could that be a better buy?


Reviewed by Robert N. Essick

Although _The Blake Collection of Mrs. London K. Thorne_ was issued in conjunction with the exhibition of Mrs. Thorne's collection held at the Pierpont Morgan Library from 19 November 1971 to 22 January 1972, it is not an exhibition catalogue. Rather, Bentley's work is the definitive catalogue of one of the last three great Blake collections in private hands. As such, this handsomely produced volume goes far beyond the commemorative function of the usual exhibition handbook both in the amount of detailed information it provides and in its lasting importance to Blake scholarship.

Bentley's description of Mrs. Thorne's ten illuminated books, five of which are color printed, and her copy of _For the Sexes: The Gates of Paradise_ form the heart of the catalogue. The format is more convenient than that used in the Keynes and Wolf _Census_ because the information is arranged under marginal headings ("Paper Sizes," "Numbering," "Binding," etc.) rather than lumped together in paragraph-length notes. The bibliographic details provided for each book frequently add to the information in the _Census_. For example, Keynes and Wolf state only the number of pages with watermark, whereas Bentley lists each page where it occurs. Further, Bentley has paid more attention to offsetting, stab holes, and other keys to binding history. This may appear to some as only so much useless trivia, but it can be crucially important to someone investigating the original sequence of plates and whether or not the present arrangement corresponds to Blake's intended ordering of his work. I have not been able to check Bentley's entries against Mrs. Thorne's copies themselves, but I suspect that the enrichment of details has brought with it an increase in accuracy. Only the following comments seem called for.

Page 19 _There Is No Natural Religion_, title-page. Bentley's statement that "in no copy is the author, printer, place, or date supplied" is potentially misleading. This is true of the title-page, under which heading this sentence appears, but it is of course not true of the whole book. As the first reproduction in the catalogue reveals, Blake inscribed in reverse "The Author & Printer W Blake" on the frontispiece to the first series of _There Is No Natural Religion_. Bentley considers the reverse lettering an error, stating that Blake "forgot to etch it reversed to make it print straight" (p. 20) while experimenting with his new technique of relief etching. It seems unlikely that Blake would have made this kind of mistake. Although his new mode of printing no doubt offered some unique difficulties, Blake had been long familiar with intaglio etching and engraving where writing in reverse on the plate, or employing some process for transferring writing from paper to plate in a way that reverses its direction, is no less necessary than in relief work. One should at least consider the possibility that Blake had a purpose for reverse lettering on his first frontispiece, just as he did years later in _Jerusalem_. However, the fact that the inscription is very faintly printed, and in some copies partly colored over, suggests that Bentley may be right, and further that Blake tried to minimize the consequences of his error.

Page 21 watermark. Bentley states that "no copy of _Thel_ is watermarked," but the _Census_ records three different watermarks in the Morgan proofs (copy a), in copy F, and in copies N and O. In her facsimile edition of _Thel_, Nancy Bogen confirms the _Census_ readings.

Page 21 variants. "In pl. 3, the men at the right..." should read "In pl. 3, the men at the left..."

Page 22 _The Marriage of Heaven and Hell_, title-page. In his transcriptions of titles, Bentley consistently makes no distinction between vertical and slanted letters, except in this case, where the decorative letters of _Marriage_ are transcribed as italics. It is practically impossible to represent accurately an etched title with type, but it seems possible to indicate slanted letters in Blake's titles without getting into too many difficulties. For example, _THE I BOOK I of I THEL_ is a little closer to the original than Bentley's _THE I BOOK I of I THEL_. _Marriage_ presents special problems, and only a reproduction can give a sense of the original.
variants. Bentley writes that "ordinarily" the top of the frontispiece to *Visions of the Daughters of Albion* is "open sky" and not "colored like the mouth of a cave" as it is in the Thorne copy. In all copies I have examined (A, C, E, G, L, P-6 of the 16 recorded in the *Census*) the top of the cave, and the vegetation hanging from it, appear to have been printed from the copper-plate itself. Although in some cases the top of the cave is not emphasized with strong coloring, in no copy examined is it painted over to indicate sky.

Page 28 Songs of Innocence and of Experience, title-page. Bentley records a period after the "W" of "W Blake" on the title-pages to *Innocence* and to *Experience* in the Thorne copy. These periods are not found in any of the eight copies of *Innocence & Experience* I have examined (three originals, the rest through reproductions). It seems unlikely that these periods ever appeared on the copper-plate, but Bentley does not record them as a variant unique to the Thorne copy. Like Blake's etched letters, his punctuation in the illuminated books presents special problems for the descriptive bibliographer since it is often difficult to tell the difference between a punctuation mark and an element of the coloring or design. I suspect that any attempt to weed out all the commas from the vegetation and record every variant splash of color that might be punctuation would be a frightfully complicated task, and the sheer number and randomness of variants discovered would militate against their significance. These are good reasons for not recording punctuation variants, but if they are part of the rationale for Bentley's bibliographic procedures they should be pointed out as such. Otherwise, users of the work might waste time fussing over matters with which the catalogue is not concerned.

Page 35 For the Sexes: The Gates of Paradise, title-page. Bentley's statement that "no copy gives author, printer, publisher, place, or date" may mislead some readers. As with the similar statement about *No Natural Religion* (noted above), this is true of the title-page only, for in *The Gates of Paradise* at least some of this information appears on sixteen other plates in the book.

The remainder of the catalogue is devoted to descriptions of manuscript materials (including the "Pickering Manuscript," the only long fair copy of Blake's poems extant), Mrs. Thorne's three Blake watercolors, and fourteen printed or engraved works ranging from *A Descriptive Catalogue of 1809* to an impression of "The Man Sweeping the Interpreter's Parlor." I have not been able to check Bentley's transcriptions of printed title-pages against Mrs. Thorne's own copies, but a comparison with other copies has turned up a number of discrepancies. These may indicate that Mrs. Thorne owns an astonishing number of variant issues, but none of her copies are indicated as such in the catalogue. Many of these possible errors listed below are of course the most minute of particulars, but Bentley's catalogue commands the kind of authority to make their recording here worthwhile.

Page 37 A Descriptive Catalogue. There is a comma after "Soho" in the Huntington Library copy and in the reproduction of the title-page in *Keynes' Bibliography* (1921), verso of p. 85.

Page 41 Tragedies of Aeschylus. There is a period after "TRANSLATED" in the Huntington copy.

Page 66 Gay's Fables. In four copies examined, the "F" of "FABLES," the "y" of "John," and the "o" of "GAY" are a few millimeters larger than the other letters in these words. The "ol" of "Vol." is in small capitals. There is no period after "1793" in either volume and none after "Piccadilly" in the second volume. There is a period after "Blake Mr" in the subscription list.

Page 57 Young's Night Thoughts. In nineteen copies examined, the Latin inscription is printed in italics.

Page 58 Hayley's Ballad (1805). In ten copies examined, the "E" of "Esq." is an italic capital and the "sq" is in small italic capitals. I was not able to check the transcription of Flaxman's Letter . . . for Raising the Naval Pillar also on this page of the catalogue.

Page 60 Blair's Grave. In five copies examined, "William Blake" is in italics (capitalization as recorded by Bentley).

Page 61 Chaucer's Prologue. In the three copies examined and in the reproduction in *Keynes' Bibliography* (1921), p. 210, all but the "C" of "Colnaghis" is in small capitals. A period appears after the "M" in the date rather than after the "D."

Page 62 Dante illustrations. In the Huntington copy and the reproduction in *Keynes' Bibliography* (1921), p. 182, there is no period after "2." There is a period after the Roman numeral in "Canto xxii. line 70," not a comma as Bentley records for the Thorne copy.

Other sections of the volume contain Mr. Ryskamp's introduction, a brief essay on "The Great Collections of Blake's Books" followed by a list of important collectors past and present, and a concluding selection from Blake's writings. This last part is clearly directed at the general reader, but even the informed Blakean should find much to value in the list of collectors where Bentley records the copies of the illuminated books, with their *Census* designations, owned by the collectors. Many of the copies now owned by Mr. Paul Mellon were acquired after the publication of the *Census*, and thus their recording here can help in updating the work of Keynes and Wolf. The thirty high-quality monochrome plates were chosen with care in order to illustrate aspects of Blake's art unique to the Thorne collection and some of the variants listed in the catalogue. After seeing the *Job* engravings reproduced over and over again, one is pleased to come upon plates which open up some new vistas. Of particular interest are the two sets of the same page from different copies of an illuminated book,
one color printed and the other water colored. Some of the differences between the two coloring methods are revealed by these comparisons, although monochrome reproductions, and even most color reproductions, never do justice to the richness of color printing. Unfortunately, these important illustrations were published too late to be included in my Finding List of Blake reproductions, Blake Newsletter, 5 (Summer and Fall, 1971).

Bentley has written an excellent catalogue, setting a high standard for future bibliographies of important collections. This book is a paperback, but the value of its contents and the quality of the sewn binding, paper, and illustrations justify the price. A good deal of space in this review has been devoted to pointing out probable errors, but to my mind these do not seriously hamper the great usefulness of Bentley's work. It has already become an essential part of any Blake library.

More importantly, in the revision we get no perfunctory updating but a thorough rechecking, more rigorous and accurate attributions and new speculations by the leading scholar in this branch of the field, a foretaste of his promised catalogue raisonnable of Blake's graphic work.

The new format, with its low, wide pages of varying color and texture, is very attractive, though there are disadvantages. It is highly convenient to have the designs reproduced on the same page as the commentary, but this is sometimes at the expense of quality of reproduction, notably of the pencil drawings and some vertical designs. The old edition is in this respect still valuable for reference use, in studying the details of designs such as the Hervey "Epitome" or the composition sketch "The Fall of the Rebel Angels." It is noteworthy that some of the old color reproductions have been strikingly improved, particularly the old lurid frontispiece design, "The Simionac Pope."

That Anthony Blunt's prefatory essay on "The Art of William Blake" could be left unchanged from the 1957 edition, "save for minor revisions of detail," says much for its lasting quality. It is good to see that the old "serpent, symbol of materialism" found in "Elohim Creating Adam" has been quietly replaced by the "worm, symbol of mortality" that is actually present in the design. I am sorry to see that Anthony Blunt's myth that "static horizontal designs" are always used by Blake "to symbolize sorrow and man's imperfect state" is retained, with reference to the titlepage of Songs of Experience (p. 13), as this view is still influential. Stiffness may be vertical as well as horizontal, as we find in this particular design. What we should look for is the condition where mere stasis becomes petrific.

A case in point is "God Judging Adam," now described by Blunt in accordance with Butlin's reading (p. 15) as showing Blake's "stern oppressive God of the Old Testament ... in the likeness of Urizen" imposing "his law on the aged Adam," while around "the figures blaze the sterile fires of eternal fury," and ... a massive half-circle enforces the theme of the imposition of the material will." Both God and Adam are petrific forms or, more accurately, are in the process of becoming petrific, since there is still some color in their flesh (alternatively, both are becoming leprous or frozen). This is a companion design to "Elohim Creating Adam" because there stone is being turned to flesh, but here flesh is being turned to stone. One might go further and say that whereas one design shows God creating man, the other shows man creating God (as a punisher: the design shows man becoming what he beholds while God becomes what He does). However, it is difficult to locate the scene of "God Judging Adam" in Blake's mythology, whereas "Elohim Creating Adam" is clearly described in the last three stanzas of The Book of Los, where Los humanizes Urizen, ending,

Till his Brain in a rock, & his Heart
In a fleshy slough formed four rivers
Obscuring the immense Orb of fire
Flowing down into night: till a Form


Reviewed by Michael J. Tolley

The first edition of Martin Butlin's Tate Gallery catalogue has proved very serviceable and the new one is most welcome, being superior to the old, excellent as that was, in nearly every respect. Fittingly, a brilliant color reproduction of "God Judging Adam" spreads across the dust cover: that this design should be presented afresh and with the correct title (not "Elijah in the Fiery Chariot," as we thought until 1965 when Martin Butlin published the new identification) was itself an outstanding cause of revision. However, in supplying us with some beautiful new reproductions and with at least a monochrome reproduction of every Blake work (excluding engravings) in the collection, the Gallery has gone beyond the needs of mere revision.

Michael J. Tolley, Senior Lecturer in English at The University of Adelaide, has published several articles on Blake in this and other journals. For over ten years he has been engaged on a comprehensive study of Blake's use of the Bible. He is a co-editor, with John E. Grant and Edward J. Rose, of the forthcoming Oxford edition of Blake's Night Thoughts illustrations.
Was completed, a Human Illusion  
In darkness and deep clouds involved.

Martin Butlin relates "God Judging Adam" to the description of Urizen in the second and third chapters of The Book of Urizen, which is partly but not wholly relevant, as it considers Urizen in isolation. Suggestive is a passage in The Four Zoas I, except that it is complicated by the presence of Los and Enitharmon:

Eternity ground & was troubled at the Image of Eternal Death
The Wandering Man bow'd his faint head and Urizen descended

Gloomy sounding, Now I am God from Eternity to Eternity
Lo I am God the terrible destroyer & not the Saviour

The Spectre is the Man the rest is only delusion & fancy

So spoke the Prince of Light & sat beside the Seat of Los
Upon the sandy shore rested his chariot of fire

(p. 12, lines 4-5, 8, 26, 29-31)

Urizen's chariot of fire is probably to be seen as a parody of Elijah's or the "Fiery Chariot of Contemplative Thought" mentioned in "A Vision of the Last Judgment." Urizen's books include "The secrets of dark contemplation" (Urizen 4:26), while he himself is a "contemplative terror" (FZ IV, p. 52, l. 27). The fires of his chariot are imprisoned within a circular horizon, as is Urizen himself (cf. the Europa frontispiece). I make these remarks to carry Martin Butlin's reading further rather than to exhaust the design's significance. It must now seem to have deeper meaning than we formerly suspected.

One of the additions to the catalogue is "An Allegory of the Bible," formerly known as "The Pilgrimage of Christiana," William Rossetti's title. Martin Butlin rightly rejects the suggestion of a Bunyan reference and his more general title will have to stand until someone can discover the real subject, which seems to be an idealized vision of education. Another addition to the catalogue is "Los and Orc," showing Los raising his hands in horror as he contemplates Orc chained to the earth. The design's chief point of interest, compared with its analogues (which Butlin conveniently discusses) is the absence of Enitharmon, suggesting (like the text of the America Preludium, though not its accompanying design) that Blake originally motivated the chaining of Orc in different terms from those set out so fully in The Four Zoas V.

One of the new illustrations is the verso drawing on the page formerly listed as no. 70, now no. 7. In the first edition, Butlin considered that both the recto and the verso designs were "probably" connected with "Tiriel supporting the swooning Myratana and addressing his Sons." He has now changed his "probably" to "almost certainly," but the parallels are unconvincing, and it may be more helpful to consider them as two different designs, perhaps part of a series distinct from Tiriel. The arm and profile of the main figure on the left in the recto design are similar to those of a flying figure in a drawing, probably contemporary, in the British Museum (recently reproduced as plate 2 in Blake Studies, 3 [Spring 1971]). However, the details of both Tate Gallery designs are obscure in the reproductions and we could do with careful descriptions from the originals.

A small point on page 46 may be cleared up here. Discussing "David Delivered out of Many Waters," a design based on Psalm 18, the editor notes that "The ropes by which David is bound are not in the King James translation of the Bible but, as shown by Taylor, suggest that Blake had access to a version or translation of the original Hebrew which reads 'The cords of death' instead of the Authorized Version's 'sorrows' in verse 4." This shows a common misapprehension. Many editions of the King James or Authorized Version do not include the translators' original marginal references, which are nevertheless a standard feature of this translation not to be confused with the marginal cross-references, which vary with different editors. Blake shows knowledge of what may conveniently be called the A. V. margin on several occasions, including (presumably) this one, where "cords" is listed by the translators as an alternative reading to "sorrows" in Psalm 18.4. Martin Butlin's description of this design is too compressed. He tries to acknowledge John E. Grant's reading in Blake Studies, 1 (Spring 1969), 200-201 (a counterblast to Taylor's reading in 1 [Fall 1968], 78-83) but actually misrepresents him. According to Butlin, "Blake shows cherubim of four distinct ages, that in the middle showing, as Grant has pointed out, David as a young man." According to Grant, the picture could be analyzed into "three overlapping triangles each [of] which join the three figures of comparable age and depict groups of beautiful men, ugly men, and strong men. If we know Blake's 'Goliath Cursing David' in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, we recognize that the youthful cherub in the middle, and two at the top of the columns right and left, have the same face as that of David when young." However, Grant's analysis seems unsatisfactory. While it is quite likely that six of the cherubim form pairs of strong, ugly and beautiful types, the central cherub is slightly different from the two upper ones, while the figure of Christ is a distinct type, not to be assimilated to the "strong" type by triangulation, and the aged David is not very similar to the aged "ugly" cherubim. It seems likely that the cherubim are the Seven Eyes or Spirits of God, who represent the ideal force of redemption when acting in concert with Christ, who controls them. (This symbolism is, however, not easily reconcilable with that in The Four Zoas VIII, p. 115, in which the seven spirits are all given young faces in "The Four and Twenty Elders," no. 40 of the Catalogue.) The ideal "7 + 1" symbolism in this design forms a nice contrast with the "six plus smote" symbolism of punishment in
Blake's text, "God out of Christ is a Consuming Fire," is characteristic of his theology: "Christ the Mediator" may be recalled as another illustration of the text.

In that part of the Catalogue dealing with the Dante illustrations it is good to see that the inscriptions on the backs of many of the watercolors are now published. Eventually, these will all be collated and may appear to have a logical order. Interpretation of these designs is still heavily dependent on the work of Albert S. Roe and needs thorough reconsideration.

There are a few misprints, which I need not list here. Overall this is a first-rate product and tool of scholarship and I wish there were more space in my review for commendations instead of the minor criticisms I make, which are intended to extend the value of this work, not to devalue it. Martin Butlin's purpose has not been to say all, but to act as unobtrusive intermediary between the works in his charge and the students of Blake, giving essential information and stimulus to appreciation. His is one of the most valuable works in my Blake collection.

Turning to no. 45, the "Epitome of James Hervey's 'Meditations Among the Tombs,'" I notice that the figure of God at the top of the design is enclosed in a disk of fire much in the way that God or Urizen is enclosed in "God Judging Adam," Blake's text, "God out of Christ is a Consuming Fire," is appropriate. Martin Butlin remarks that the text is "quoted by Calvinists to prove the existence of Hell but not from the Bible." There does seem, however, to be a biblical basis for the text in Hebrews 12.29: "For our God is a consuming fire." Blake's qualification (if it is Blake's), "out of Christ," is characteristic of

Students will buy Kathleen Raine's new book for the illustrations, some of which in color are very beautiful. A book of this kind has long been needed. In this case, unfortunately, the publishers made an inappropriate choice of author for their text. Kathleen Raine has vast learning, but it is not in the field of art history and she has simply taken what she wanted to say about Blake's learning as a graphic artist from such scholars as Sir Anthony Blunt and Professor Giorgio Melchiori. She does, however, seize the opportunity of trotting out her well known prejudices about Blake's literary influences; these are better set out in Blake and Tradition. Her value judgments are frequently perverse, she is not attentive to pictorial detail and she contradicts herself. At times even her style is bad and I found her text painful reading, being inclined to apply to her book her injudicious remark about Europe where, she says, the "lines of verse" are "much inferior to the accompanying designs." (Her summary of Europe's theme is that it "describes the fiery activities of 'Red Orc' cram­ping the grapes of wrath in the 'vineyards' of France." i.e., she seems to have read, badly, only the last page of the poem.)

Her most perverse judgment is probably that on the Night Thoughts illustrations: "In fact, the book is one of Blake's least pleasing works" (p. 95). Consequently, she shows only one of these illus­trations, the engraved title-page for Night the First. One must wonder whether she has seen the original water-colors. Here she shows herself as Philistine as Blake's colleagues who, she says, "now began to speak of his 'extravagances,'" and his 'eccentric designs.'" She ends her brief remarks on the Young designs with the absurd statement that Blake "was the last artist to capture the frisson
and the melancholy of the 'gothic' taste for mortality" (which reduces Blake at the same time that it shows her ignorance of many nineteenth and twentieth-century illustrators), and the patronizing question: "And what, one wonders, would the author of Night Thoughts have made of Blake's 'Dream of Nine Nights'?

Her inattention to pictorial detail is revealed, for instance, in her description of the title-page for Visions of the Daughters of Albion. According to her (p. 69), this shows "Urizen advancing with outspread arms and vast beard," though actually we see a short-bearded man with arms folded who is probably Bromion not Urizen. But Miss Raine wishes to relate the design to "a Roman sculpture of Jupiter Pluvius"; ironically, she is probably quite right to do so, but the connection is more distant than she assumes. Similar carelessness is shown in the reference to "man-headed horses" in Jerusalem 29 (Wicksteed said correctly in his commentary that they are "clearly lions"). Further, after referring to Urizen's "venerable features of aged ignorance" on p. 78, the writer refers us to Jerusalem 99 (which is not, as we are told, "the last plate of Jerusalem") for Urizen's opposite type, "the true world-ruler" Jesus and his "mystical marriage with the soul." However, "Jesus" there has "venerable," i.e. aged, features, which must baffle the reader for whom this study is an introduction to Blake. Miss Raine should know that the goodness or badness of "venerable" men in Blake depends on the context.

She contradicts herself in making the sweeping statement on p. 113 that "Blake by no means shared the British love of landscape-painting" and then quoting his approving remarks on Claude and Constable, landscape painters both, on p. 140. Throughout the study, Miss Raine's propensity to generalize on inadequate premises is very irritating. A similar fault appears in her exaggeration of Blake's interest in the Roman Catholic church, which she repeats (pp. 26, 198).

A sample of bad style is in the retelling, on p. 142, of Blake's expulsion of Schofield, the soldier, from his garden at Felpham. We are told that Blake "threw him out by main force," which presents a ludicrous image at odds with Blake's own account. What comes next is very confused:

Ill-advised words followed, reported as "Damn the King, and damn all his soldiers, they are all slaves"; and some remarks about Napoleon more fitted to the mouth of a French than of an English poet. On this occasion Hayley came to Blake's defence in fine style, and he was acquitted. No doubt he was innocent. Yet the words imputed to him were such as he might well have spoken in anger.

Miss Raine doubts and does not doubt.

Sometimes, indeed, what Miss Raine is saying is obviously invalid, as when she remarks that Blake's "learning was none the less exact and extensive for being that of a draughtsman rather than a man of books" (p. 22) or when she writes: "His trees—or Tree, for it is always the one Tree that he depicts, stylized according to its good or its evil aspect—are depicted with minutely observed natural detail, like the bole of the elm in 'The Little Girl Found'" (p. 139). Blake's trees are various and not all naturalistic (like the eae eels intertwining in "The Little Girl Found"): reducing them to One will get us nowhere.

Miss Raine refers us to Blake's illustrations to Milton. Sometimes one might reasonably complain at the absence of an illustration mentioned in the text, such as the "Riposo" which, we are told on p. 142, "Blake considered his best picture in many respects." Sometimes there seems to be no relation between text and illustration at all, as when on p. 196 we are not cued in to pi. 123 and the description of the design concerned is wide astray: "His depiction of Hell Gate makes it clear that Blake understood Dante's Hell to be this world, where Satan-Urizen is censured by a worshipping iron-Adam." In context this has to be a reference to plate 123, a good color reproduction of the Dante design, "The inscription over the Gate of Hell," but Miss Raine's account is baffling.

I have not come to the end of the strictures I could make. Perhaps the surprising thing is that I have not been completely blinded by them into missing the times when Kathleen Raine says things well. I like her warm response to Jerusalem 76, which shows Albion standing before Christ crucified and of which she says it "is the most moving depiction of the relationship between the moral and the divine humanity known to me" (p. 163). I like her insistence on Blake's hatred of war; I like her admiration of some of the Butts biblical designs; I like her appreciation of Blake's living form, though I think she concedes too much to Roger Fry in admitting (pp. 109 ff.) that Blake's line "does not evoke volume at all"—the massive chest of Albion on p. 108 (pl. 80) contradicts that slight in itself.
W. H. Stevenson's annotated edition of David Erdman's text of Blake's poems has much to commend it, particularly to students reading Blake for the first time. For the general reader, it combines what are perhaps the most satisfying features of both the Keynes (Oxford Standard Authors) text and the Erdman (Doubleday) text. Stevenson follows Keynes in placing Blake's poems in chronological order, following (with only one exception) the most recently accepted datings of the poems. The exception is *Tiriel*, which Stevenson (following G. E. Bentley, Jr.) dates 1789 and places before the *Book of Thel*, despite the persuasive stylistic, substantive, and bibliographical evidence offered by Erdman for dating *Tiriel* 1790, midway between *Thel*, plates 1-5 (1789) and *Thel*, 6 and Motto (1791 on). Stevenson helpfully inserts "To Tirzah" (c. 1804-5 or after 1809) after the "Pickering Manuscript," and offers convincing historical and bibliographical considerations for dating the "Pickering Manuscript" itself c. 1805, rather than 1803.

Stevenson also follows Keynes in modernizing Blake's spelling and punctuation. Scholars may here prefer to consult Erdman's own text which preserves Blake's eccentric spelling and punctuation, but the average reader will be helped by Stevenson's judicious punctuation, especially in such poems as "The Everlasting Gospel" where different voices speak. In choosing the Erdman text over the Keynes text, Stevenson has correctly selected the most authoritative text we have. Unfortunately for the scholar, however, Stevenson's edition is limited solely to Blake's poetry, thus omitting the prose and letters upon which most of us depend for teaching and research purposes. Even more annoying is the omission of the *Gates of Paradise* emblems, especially since Stevenson provides such insightful comments on the emblems, captions and the relationship of the 1793 and 1818 versions.

In arranging Erdman's text, Stevenson makes three important editorial decisions, all of which he convincingly justifies. He accepts W. F. Halloran's reordering of lines 1-121 of *The French Revolution*. Secondly, he reorders Nights VIIa and VIIb of *Vala*, printing Night VIIIa before VIIb and arguing that Night VIIb was intended to follow directly upon VIIa. Readers of the *Blake Newsletter* ([March 1968], 6-8) will already be familiar with Stevenson's persuasive arguments based on internal as well as bibliographical evidence for this ordering. Finally, Stevenson relegates plates 3, 4, 5, 10, 18 and 32 of *Million* (which appear only in the later copies C and D) to the end of the poem as an Appendix. He argues plausibly that these plates are "largely digressive" and added for the purpose of increasing the total number of plates in the poem to 50 (p. 464).

The great achievement of this volume lies in its annotations, and here we must be extremely grateful to Stevenson for providing us with such detailed, extensive and insightful notes. I found particularly useful his commentaries on the polyphonic, the Druids, the Holy Thursday services at St. Paul's, the Ovidian echoes in "Ah! Sunflower," and the numerous Biblical allusions (supplied in great part, we are told, by Michael Tolley). Stevenson also provides brief descriptions of the designs for the illuminated poems (although he unaccountably omits the design for the titlepage of *Songs of Innocence* and of *Experience* [p. 209]) and occasionally gives a reference to a reproduction. In future editions, he will be able to bring such references up to date by including the numerous reproductions listed in Robert Essick's *Finding List* published in the *Blake Newsletter*, 5 (Summer-Fall 1971).

I have only one large quarrel and a few small bones to pick with this annotated edition. In his Preface, Stevenson writes, "I have tried in this edition not to interpret or explain any 'system' in [Blake's] works, but to give whatever information is necessary for the exposition of each poem or passage . . ." (p. xi). Stevenson's intention is laudable, but again and again we find him offering interpretations as though they were facts, without acknowledging that some critics disagree with him. For example, it is surely an interpretation—and to my mind a dubious one—to identify the "Holy Word" in the "Introduction" of *Songs of Experience* as the production of "Blake's oppressive tyrant-father-god," a production designed "to bully mankind" (p. 209). Many readers may question Stevenson's assertions that we should not "doubt the sincerity of the *Songs of Innocence*" (p. 53); that the questions of the Voice of Sorrow on Plate 6 of *Thel* are merely "rhetorical" (p. 100); and that the angel in "I heard an angel singing" from the Notebook "is one of the deluded creatures referred to in *Marriage*" (p. 147). And why is this angel "deluded" while the "Good" referred to in the unused Motto for *Songs of Innocence* and *Songs of Experience* is definitely called "a term of approval—not the satiric 'good' of *Marriage*" (p. 166)? Moreover, Stevenson's apparent assumption that Blake was a Platonist (see pp. 106, 112, 861) comes perilously close to expounding a "system" in Blake's works. I am not arguing, of course, that Stevenson should not put forth interpretations, or even that his interpretations are necessarily in error, but only that he should not have presented them as wholly objective "information."

In several cases I take issue with Stevenson's descriptions of the designs. Too often his descriptions seem inaccurate, inadequate or overly subjective. Since Blake's illuminated designs vary significantly from copy to copy, Stevenson may simply have described copies other than the Trianon...
Press facsimiles and Micro Methods microfilms I have checked; but he has not identified the copies he used and, in any case, one could argue that he should have used these more generally available copies. In copies D and I of The Marriage, plate 11 depicts both a personified sun with flaming hair and a crowned figure within a wave, tree or plant, as opposed to the single "tritonlike male figure" (p. 111) Stevenson records. Again, the design for "The Argument" in both these copies probably depicts a woman in the tree rather than the "gowned youth" Stevenson sees there (p. 103). Stevenson's description of Oothon and Bromion, "bound and shackled back to back," in the tailpiece (or frontispiece) of Views of the Daughters of Albion omits mention of a very important detail, that Oothon is not visibly chained (p. 186). Stevenson also ignores the large bird in the upper left corner of the design for "The Shepherd"—a bird which might possibly be the Holy Dove and therefore potentially significant enough to deserve mention (p. 55). Nor is it a "fact" that the "shepherd" (Piper?) in the frontispiece for Songs of Experience is "holding the child's arms so that he cannot fly away" (p. 209) -- he might be simply balancing the child so that he doesn't fall off.

A few annotations are disappointing: Tharmas, in The Four Zoas, seems more complex a figure than Stevenson's identification of him as "Compassion" (p. 288) suggests; his discussion of "Havilah" solely in terms of its Biblical usage (p. 665) ignores Blake's own associations with it in his letter to Hayley, 12 March 1804; and his de-emphasis of the word "system" in "I must create a system" (J 10:20, p. 644) underestimates the importance of an organized system to Blake's late art and poetry. I would also argue against Stevenson's annotation of "dominion of Edom" in The Marriage, plate 3, as "dominion over Edom" (p. 105). It seems at least possible that Blake was following Biblical usage here: dominion of in the sense of dominion by. Compare II Chronicles 21:8: "In his [Jehoram's] days the Edomites revolted from under the dominion of Judah, and made themselves a King."

These are niggling details, however, and Stevenson more than compensates for such minor flaws by giving us so much useful material. In addition to the excellent annotations already mentioned, Stevenson provides illuminating comparisons with the early drafts of "Infant Sorrow" and "The Tyger" and with Isaac Watts' "Cradle Hymn"; helpful maps of Biblical Palestine, of the environs of London mentioned in Blake's poems, and of the city of London in c. 1810; and interesting bibliographical notes telling which poems were paired in seven of the eight earliest copies of Songs of Innocence. All of Blake's readers will want to have ready access to the wealth of background and bibliographical information gathered together in this book. Stevenson's volume is the second step toward the ideal edition of Blake: his complete poems, letters and prose writings edited by David Erdman, together with colored photographic reproductions of his illuminated pages, and annotations by W. H. Stevenson.


Reviewed by Morton D. Paley

1971-72 were vintage years for the study of Blake's illustrations to the poems of Gray. Previous to that, very little had been seen of this major series of designs and still less written about them.2 In 1971, however, appeared Irene Tayler's fine study; the illustrations themselves were published in a magnificent facsimile by the Trianon Press for the William Blake Trust; and an exhibition of originals and facsimiles opened at the Tate Gallery. The following spring this exhibition, for which the publication at hand is the catalogue, was mounted at the Yale University Art Gallery in collaboration with the Paul Mellon Center for British Art and British Studies. Although modestly described by its author as "an introductory handbook," this catalogue is in itself a major contribution to the interpretation of its subject.

What inevitably strikes one first is the wealth of illustrations in the catalogue. Sixteen designs (eighteen, counting the front and back covers) are reproduced full-page in color and one in monochrome, and at the back of the book all 116 are given, four to a page, in reduced monochrome. Also reproduced full-page are Flaxman's pencil drawing of Blake and the titlepage of the 1790 edition of Gray which Blake used. There is a useful "Concordance of Blake's handwritten titles" which correlates Blake's titles, the lines from Gray illustrated (as Blake transcribed them), Blake's manuscript numbers, the page numbers of the 1790 edition, and the design numbers. (As Blake numbered his designs for each poem as a separate sequence, his manuscript numbers necessarily differ from the design numbers for the entire series.) This is a very welcome tool for anyone who wishes to study the series at length.

2For reproductions prior to 1971, see Robert Essick, A Finding List of Reproductions of Blake's Art, Blake Newsletter, 5 (1971), 69-72. For a detailed history of the illustrations and the literature about them, see Irene Tayler, Blake's Illustrations to the Poems of Gray, pp. 3-25.

2Reviewed by Thomas H. Helmstadter, Blake Newsletter, 4 (1971), 140-42; see also my review in Criticism, 14 (1972), 93-96.

In addition to providing a succinct introduction, Sir Geoffrey Keynes has written a commentary, some thirty pages in length, which is at the same time inobtrusive and rich with insight. When viewed as a whole, the designs have one aspect which bulks surprisingly large: their social satire. One expects to find this element in illustrations for "The Bard" and the "Elegy," but it is interesting to find it, for example, in "A Long Story." The pictures that accompany this frothy poem end, as Sir Geoffrey points out, "with a satirical picture of how polite society receives the serious artist" (p. 51); and the designs for "The Progress of Poesy" undermine Gray's celebration of the flight of the Muse to Albion's shore in order, as Keynes says, "to express Blake's view of the effect of political tyranny on the state of poetry in England" (p. 55). This dimension of social commentary may also be seen in Blake's renditions of the "Ode on a Distant Prospect of Eton College" and the "Ode for Music." In some of these pictures Blake, who believed that education, at least in its institutional sense, was "the great wrong," seems to suggest that all is not well at Eton and Cambridge. The public school boys engage in picayune activities that do everything but prepare them for the rigors of Experience; even the poet-figure of "Ode for Music" (design 97) is shown walking away from the Gothic spire and waning Beulah-moon of the background, to pass under the barren limbs of two desolate trees, hardly the "brown o'er-arching groves" of Gray's line.

The Keynes commentary is also valuable in making use of Gray's own published notes to the poems and in pointing out instances where Blake has changed Gray's wording, used non-consecutive lines, or even illustrated a sequence of pages different from that of Gray's text. Also, some interesting remarks are made about parallels between the figures in these designs and in some of Blake's other works, as, for example, in the commentary on design 77 (The Serpent who girds the Earth). This catalogue, rich in both word and image, deserves a place in the library of every student of Blake.


Reviewed by Andy P. Antippas

Mr. Vogler's study examines in detail Blake's Four Zoas and Milton, Wordsworth's Prelude, Keats' Fall of Hyperion, and Crane's Bridge. Crane is by no means a stranger to the "visionary company" (the phrase is from Crane's "The Broken Tower"); however, I would have also liked included a discussion of Tennyson or Browning or Meredith to avoid reopening the abyss now sealed over by Bloom, Langbaum, Kermode, and Miller. Vogler chooses his poems on the basis of a "set of intuitive criteria" (p. 12)--the same decision, he reminds us, Aristotle made when he selected certain dramas to define tragedy. Vogler's analogy is apt: just as Aristotle entered his subject with certain philosophic prepossessions and set forth a poetic that satisfies one play, Oedipus Rex, so Vogler comes to Blake, Wordsworth, and Keats with certain critical predispositions gathered over the years from his work on Crane's Bridge. Whether these criteria illuminate the Zoas and Milton and contribute something new to our understanding of Blake is questionable.

The introductory section, "In Search of the Epic," presents the less-than-novel view that the epic genre died after Milton. More interestingly, Vogler observes that poets had "not given up the ['desire,' (p. 2), or the] attempt to write epic poetry" (p. 4). His comments, however, concerning the difficulty in writing an epic in the absence of a common ideology, and concerning the epic poet's obligation "to give to his race or age a completion and embodiment of the meaning of life that he finds in the accepted but not necessarily conscious metaphysic of the time" (p. 8), go back at least as far as Arnold's "Function of Criticism," A. C. Bradley's "The Long Poem in Wordsworth's Age," and echo uncomfortably Lascelles Abercrombie's classic essays on the epic: "We see him [the epic poet] accepting, and with his genius transfiguring, the general circumstances of his time; we see him symbolizing, in some appropriate form, whatever sense of the significance of life he feels acting as the accepted unconscious metaphysic of his age." 1

Since Vogler has undertaken to discuss, in Wellek and Warren's terms, the "inner form" of the epic ("attitude, tone, purpose"), one might expect some difficulty in pinning down a working definition or description of the material. We must be satisfied with: a long narrative poem whose sub-


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ject is the poet's heroic exploratory attempt "to find a personal visionary perspective" (p. 14) and records "the poet in the process of ordering his experience of reality into the poetic fabric" (p. 11)—a definition, in short, roughly similar to those of Elizabeth Sewell and Karl Kroeber. Vogler, as Abercrombie and others do, enlarges the meaning of the internal *gaze* from the heuristic and potentially egoistic to the social level whereby the epic awakens "man as well as the poet" (p. 13).

Each of the poems discussed, Vogler contends, is a "prelude to vision"; it records the failed effort of the poet to achieve an ordered and adequate envisagement of the world from which still point he could have then proceeded to give fuller scope to his creativity in a long, philosophical poem in the manner outlined by Wordsworth. The critic should at least be wary of reading a body of poetry with an eye to seeing one poem as an anticipation of, or a prelude to, the poem it precedes, especially when there are problems of chronological sequence. This approach, at the outset, deprives a "prelude" poem of any aesthetic unity, since it must await fulfillment elsewhere; when this approach is carried out too literally, it becomes a taxonomical suggestion that the "prelude" poem is less significant than its successor. Further, (and this is implied by Frye's reluctance to consider one particular literary period as merely a precursor to another), this approach commits us to imposing a "false teleology on everything we study." In Blake's case, a "false eschatology would be the result.

Peter F. Fisher was the first, I think, to use Blake's own term "Preludium" to explain the relationships between the *Poetical Sketches* and the *Songs of Innocence* and *Songs of Experience*, and *Jerusalem*; he is careful to suggest, however, that a "Preludium" means "Correction, definition and presentation of subject-matter... the author 'finding' his theme, and at the same time, presenting it." In other words, although one poem may well presage another, it has its own purpose and its own end. In his second chapter, "The Holy Vessel," Vogler argues that only the "elements of the change [in Los] are present... in a way that gives us little more than the fact stated, as if in anticipation of the central problem of *Milton*. The question we have been trying to answer unsuccessfully from Night 7a will be answered in full in *Milton*... " (p. 37). If one looks for an answer in a poem that does not pose the question, one will certainly find the poem incomplete. Vogler does further disservice to the Zoas by discounting the problems raised by 7b (which Bloom calls a "rival" vision of 7a, not merely another version), and by omitting all consideration of Nights 8 and 9. Even accepting the limitations imposed on the text, I cannot agree that 7a ends with a "shift in focus, barely discernible in the confusion..." (p. 32). Where formerly irresponsible chaos ruled, now Urthona's Spectre and Los are fused in artistic labor, raising the pillars and domes of Golgoonooza; and when Enithramon merges with Los, they together illuminate the heavens with "Immortal lines." Where for six unholy Nights darkness and ignorance prevailed, Los' fires now burn: "look my fires enume a-fresh..." (F. 356). Because art and love permeate the cosmos, even Orc and Tharmas are comforted. Most importantly, redemption is both imminent and imminent: "but look! behold! take comfort! / Turn inwardly thine Eyes & there behold the Lamb of God / Clothed in Luvahs robes of blood descending to redeem" (E 355). None of this, I submit, is either "barely discernible" or confused and should be seen as a hopeful and major turn of events—whether considered as a conclusion to the Zoas or as a link to Night 8, wherein these new relationships immediately stir Albion from his sleep of death.

Chapter Three, "Blake: Mental Fight," follows much too closely Bloom's "Prelude to Apocalypse: Milton."

There is nothing to comment upon in Vogler's summary of the narrative or his contention, already convincingly argued by Bloom, that "Although the poem is in part a purification and recreation of the poet Milton, it is more basically an expression of the self-creation of the poet, embodied in Blake..." (p. 39). The instructive difference between Bloom's and Vogler's treatments of the "prelude" theme in *Milton* brings us back to the difficulties discussed above in connection with the handling of the Zoas. Bloom concludes by celebrating the achievement in *Milton* for "the moving passion with which Blake believed in the truth of the awakened imagination..." And that, after all, is what the poem set out to do: awaken Milton-Blake's imagination with the assistance of Los and prepare the slumberous mass of Albion for Christ's entry into his bosom. Because Vogler is intent on reading *Milton* as merely a presentiment of *Jerusalem*, he can only observe that the poem ends without the "vision of the apocalypse itself" and, he concludes, since *Jerusalem*, finally, does not fulfill the apocalypse prophesied at the end of *Milton*, the latter poem is consigned to "a somewhat strange position in the canon of Blake's writing" (pp. 58-59).
Vogler seems to have forgotten what Bloom clearly remembers, and what Frye cites at the beginning and the end of his study—namely, Blake's own injunction: "Every poem must necessarily be a perfect Unity. . . . When a work has unity, it is as much in a part as in the whole. . . ." (E 267). The Prophetic Books certainly develop and expand into each other: Blake's comment on Jerusalem, that it is a "more consolidated & extended Work . . ." (E 143), could be prefixed to each of the long poems in turn. They requite and reprise each other, and together reach out toward a supreme fiction, in Erich Kahler's phrase, for that "all embracement of discontinuity" which is the essence of the modern long poem—Aiken's Preludes, for example. Each of the Prophetic Books is in itself a unified, concordant gesture against Error and an epic probe into Albion's sleeping brain. That they may be said to end in medie rubia, inside history and before the Fullness of Time, is not to deny them an authentic eschatology. Blake fills and ends his Prophetic Books with spiritual and mental crises because he knew Albion and his creative reader both, striking down selfishness, ignorance, and apathy, could at any moment awaken to glory. Blake would have agreed with Bultman: "In every moment slumbers the possibility of being the eschatological moment. You must awaken it."2

Because Blake would not approve the Newtonian subdivision here in isolating a few chapters for review ("Sacrifice the Parts, What becomes of the Whole" [E 639]), I will say simply that Vogler's consideration of Wordsworth, Keats, and Crane is judicious and insightful.

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