And there was heard a great lamenting in Beulah: all the Regions of Beulah were moved, as the tender bowels are moved: & they said:

Why did you take Vengeance O ye Sons of the mighty Albion?直
Planting these Gaerth Groves, Erecting these Dragon Temples
Injury the Lord heals, but Vengeance cannot be healed:
As the Soas of Albion have done to Luwia, so they have in him
One to the Divine Lord & Saviour, who suffers with those that suffer;
Now not one sparrow can suffer, & the whole Universe not suffer also,
In all, its Regions, & its Father & Saviour got pity and weep.
But Vengeance is the destroyer of Grace & Repentance in the bosom of the Sinner, in which the Divine Lamb is cruelly slain.
Then said O Lamb of God & take away the imputation of Sin.
By the Creation of States & the deliverance of Individuals Evermore Amen.

Thus wept they in Beulah over the Four Regions of Albion.
But many doubted & despised & imputed Sin & Righteousness.
To Individuals & not to States, and these slept in Ulro.
And there was heard a great lamenting in Beulah; all the Regions of Beulah were moved as the tender bowels are moved; & they said:

Why did you take Vengeance O ye Sons of the mighty Albion? Planting these Oakèd Groves? Erecting these Divinè Temples! Inquiring the Lord heals but Vengeance cannot be heeded.

In the Sons of Albion have done to Luzvæl; so they have in him, Done to the Divine Lord & Saviour, who suffer with those that suffer, For not one sparrow our suffer, the whole Universe not suffer also, In all its Regions, & its Father & Saviour you pity and weep.

But Vengeance is the destroyer of Grace & Repentance in the bosom Of the Hereters in which the Divine Lamb is cruelly slain.

Descend O Lamb of God & take away the imputation of Sin By the Creation of States & the deliverance of Individuals Evermore Amen.

Thus went they in Beulah over the Four Regions of Albion. But many doubted & despised & inhuman Sin & Rightheousness To Individuals & not to States, and these Slept in Ulivo.
And there was heard a great lamenting in Beulah: all the Regions of Beulah were moved, as the tender bowels are moved: & they said:

Why did you take Vengeance O ye Sons of the mighty Albion? Having these Oaken Groves: Erecting these Pagan Temples! Now the Sons of Albion have done to Lewis: so they have in him Done to the Divine Lord & Saviour, who suffer with those that suffer: For not one sorrow can suffer & the whole Universe not suffer also: In all its Regions, & its Father & Saviour not pity and weep. But Vengeance is the destroyer of Grace & Repentance in the bosom of the Sinner, in which the Divine Lamb is cruelly slain; Descend O Lamb of God & take away the imputation of Sin By the Creation of States & the deliverance of Individuals Evermore! Then went they in Beulah over the Four Regions of Albion. But many doubted & despair'd & imputed Sin & Righteousness To Individuals & not to States, & these slept in Oreo.

1 Front cover. Plate 25 of Jerusalem, first state. Reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.


3 Inside front cover foldout. Plate 25 of Jerusalem, second state. Reproduced by
And there was heard a great lamenting in Beulah: all the Regions of Beulah were moved: as the tender bowels are moved: & they said:

Why did you take Vengeance O ye Sons of the mighty Albion? Planting these Oaked Groves; Erecting these Dragon Temples

Journey the Lord heals but Vengeance cannot be healed;

As the Sons of Albion have done in Ithaca: so they have in him

Done to the Divine Lord & Saviour, who suffer with those that suffer;

For not one sparrow can suffer & the whole Universe not suffer also.

Oh & as Regions & its Father & Saviour get duly and weep.

But Vengeance is the destroyer of Grace & Repentance in the bosom

Of the Father, in which the Divine Lamb is cruelly slain

Destroy'd O Lamb of God & take away the impudency at Sin

By the Creation of States & the deliverance of Individuals Evermore

Thus wept they in Beulah over the Four Regions of Albion

But many doubted & despair'd & imputed Sin & Righteousness

to Individuals & not to States, and these slept at Ulro.

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And there was heard a great lamenting in Beulah; all the Regions Of Beulah were moved as the tender bowels are moved; & they said:

Why did ye take Vengeance O ye Sons of the mighty Albion? Planting these Oaken Groves, Erecting these Divine Temples Injury the Lord heals but Vengeance cannot be healed; In the Sons of Albion have done to Luzwa, so they have in him Done to the Divine Lord & Saviour who suffer with those they suffer; For not one sparrow can suffer, & the whole Universe not suffer also, In all its Regions, & its Father & Saviour yet pity and weep, But Vengeance is the destroy of Grace & Repentance in the bosom Of the Kymer; in which the Divine Lamb is cruelly slain. Design O Lamb of God & take away the imputation of Sin By the Creation of States & the deliverance of Individuals Evermore Amen.

Thus wept they in Beulah over the Four Regions of Albion. But many doubted & despised & imputed Sin & Righteousness To Individuals & not to States, and these slept in Ulro.
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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 87131.

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News

CORRECTION

The following is a correction by Martin Butlin of a point made in his note on "William Blake in the Herbert P. Horne Collection," Blake Newsletter 21 (Summer 1972), p. 199.

I gave the alternative datings for Moore & Co.'s advertisement given by Keynes and David Bindman but regretfully failed to record the definitive arguments for dating the print, and hence the related drawing, to 1797-98 by David Erdman in his article "The Suppressed and Altered Passages in Blake's Jerusalem," in Studies in Bibliography, 17 (1964), 36, n. 34.

Although the figure style of this print is relatively tame in its delicacy and neo-classicism when one thinks of the dramatic impact of the large color prints of 1795, the style is perfectly acceptable in view of the commercial nature of the undertaking and considerably more accomplished than Blake's earlier work for commercial engravings such as the illustrations to Mary Wollstonecraft of 1791. There are indeed close similarities, allowing for the differences in scale and subject, to some of the Night Thoughts illustrations of 1796-97, for instance the smaller figures on the title-page to Night the First.

That the crude drawing on the reverse can still be dated c. 1779 is no objection to a later dating for the recto. Thanks to Bentley, Blake's economic re-use of paper is now well documented and there are a number of cases in which a sheet of paper has been used at widely differing dates, sometimes after being cut in half in the process (e.g., the drawing for "The Eagle" in the Rosenwald collection, on the back of which Blake drew two alternative title-page [7] designs considerably later in style).

TEMPORARY CHANGE OF ADDRESS

Morton Paley, Executive Editor of the Newsletter, will be in England from May 1973 until 15 September 1973. During that time, mail will reach him most quickly if addressed to him in care of the Chelsea Arts Club, 143 Old Church Street, London S.W. 3.

MLA BLAKE SEMINAR, DECEMBER 1972

Report by Joseph A. Wittreich, Jr., University of Wisconsin. A distinguished interpreter of Blake has observed that "Blake studies have, until recently, been hampered by a lack of scholarly interaction that leads to a progressive growth of understanding." The Blake Seminar, instituted five years ago through the efforts of David Erdman, is one of many contributions to the scholarly interaction and cooperation that have come to mark Blake studies in recent years. The Seminar has consistently provided a forum for new ideas on Blake and has attracted a wide range of students—graduates and some undergraduates, seasoned scholars and new ones, most of them writing about Blake, but some of them art historians and literary scholars whose interests extend far beyond Blake. With an audience so diverse in its interests and commitments, it has seemed desirable to change the format of the Seminar in order to achieve an even greater exchange of ideas among those attending it. This year, instead of listening and responding to a single paper, those attending the Seminar were asked to read and to come prepared to discuss four essays presented under the rubric of "Blake and Tradition" and published in the Fall 1972 issue of Blake Studies: Florence Sandler's "The Iconoclastic Enterprise: Blake's Critique of Milton's Religion"; Robert N. Essick's "Blake and the Tradition of Reproductive Engraving"; Thomas H. Helmut's "Blake and the Age of Reason: Spectres in the Night Thoughts"; and Leslie Tannenbaum's "Blake's Art of Cryptesis: The Book of Urizen and Genesis."

The scheduled time for the Seminar was less than ideal: the last hour of the last day of the convention. Even so, attendance was impressive—fifty-five people, according to the official MLA representative assigned to the meeting. Discussion was not as lively as one may have wished, partly because of the hour and partly because of the topic which, however engaging, prevented sharply focused discussion. It may be, too, that at least two of the papers required an awareness of the Bible and its traditions that Blake assuredly had but that few of us possess.

Next year's seminar, following essentially this same format, will focus on a more restricted topic, "Perspectives on Blake's Milton." The discussion leader will be Professor Karl Kroeber, Department of English, Columbia University; and the papers chosen by him to provide a point of departure for next year's discussion will, once again, appear in the Fall issue of Blake Studies. Its editors, Professors Kay and Roger Easson, merit special notice for their cooperation and for their generosity which have made it possible to continue this year's "experiment," an experiment that provides for maximum participation of those attending the Seminar and that invites the "scholarly interaction" that will further our understanding of Blake.

GRADUATE SYMPOSIUM AT UNIVERSITY OF TULSA

In April and May of 1973 the University of Tulsa will present a Blake graduate symposium under the general direction of Winston Weathers, Professor of English. The first lecture in the symposium will be given Wednesday, 11 April, by Robert Gleckner, University of California at Riverside. The next four weekly lectures will be given by Professor Weathers. Two final sessions, late in May, will be devoted to the presentation of papers by the ten graduate students participating in the symposium for credit. All sessions of the symposium will be open to the public free of charge.
This will be the third graduate offering of Blake at the University of Tulsa. The first was a seminar in 1968 concentrating upon Milton, and, according to Professor Weathers, "it was in that seminar that the idea for Blake Studies was developed by Kay Parkhurst and Roger Eason." The second offering was a seminar in 1971 with special emphasis upon student creative work--plays and poems primarily--written in response to Blake's work.

ANOTHER BLAKE WATERCOLOR CLEANED AT THE TATE GALLERY

Report by Martin Butlin, Keeper of the British Collection, Tate Gallery, London. The Tate Gallery, continuing its policy of cleaning and, where necessary, remounting and re- framing its Blakes, has just treated the large early watercolor of "Oberon, Titania and Puck with Fairies Dancing," c. 1785-90. As can be seen from the reproduction in the second, 1971, edition of the Tate Gallery Blake catalogue, it was badly discolored with, in addition, several localized stains. The main discoloration was in the paper itself and this has been successfully bleached out and practically all of the stains removed, revealing the original delicacy and translucency of Blake's watercolor washes. In particular, the reds are now much cooler and accord better with the exceptionally delicate blue of Titania's dress; Oberon's robe is now white. Also more evident is the pentimento by which Blake changed the position of Titania's head; this was originally higher on the paper, making her tower over her consort. The first pair of eyes drawn by Blake can now be seen in the middle of her forehead and the original chaplet round her hair retains its blue coloring, whereas that in the revised position was left uncolored.

BLAKE ON EXHIBITION

The John Linnell Exhibition at Colnaghi's was something of a revelation for those who had been reluctant to take him seriously as a painter. It is clear from the extensive showing of his work that he could hold his own in perhaps the greatest period of English landscape. Even more remarkable is the individuality of his talent; his best work has a freshness and directness that one might compare with Constable, but in a subtler sense the analogy is really more with the minute naturalism of his German contemporaries. One remembers his advice to Samuel Palmer to look at Dürrer, and his connection with the Aders circle, who were pioneers in the appreciation of Northern "Primitives," and who regarded Blake as a fellow spirit. Although there are in the exhibition a number of Blakes that were formerly in the Linnell collection and a fine selection of portraits of Blake by Linnell, there is little that sheds new light on Blake. There is a recently discovered Linnell portrait drawing purportedly of Blake, but I doubt if such a ponderous and respectable figure can be identified as the poet, although the features are undeniably like. Linnell's proven portraits of Blake are always more animated and usually have some hint of prophetic fire, particularly in the eyes. (Report by David Bindman, University of London)

A Blake Exhibition at the Rockefeller Library of Brown University was held in January, featuring Trianon Press and other facsimiles. John J. Kupersmith prepared a section showing Blake's illustrations of other authors, and Tom Bodkin prepared a presentation showing the evolution in design of Blake's illuminated books. The project grew out of a bibliography class taught by librarian Stuart Sherman.

FUSELIS AT AUCTION

On Tuesday, 6 March 1973, Christie's auctioned "Fine English Drawings and Watercolours." Among them were a standing male nude, two studies of female heads, and an album of letters by Fuseli, as well as works by Romney, Rowlandson, and Varley.

WORKS IN PROGRESS

Ann Dunlap: a study of "The Mental Traveller" in relation to twentieth-century literary criticism; a Ph.D. dissertation directed by Morris Eaves at the University of New Mexico.

James Ferguson: a study of the re-integrating or religious vision of Jerusalem and Biblical prophecy, with special reference to the Book of Ezekiel; and the structure of Jerusalem with regard to eighteenth-century ideas of Biblical prophecy; a Ph.D. dissertation directed by Michael Phillips at the University of Edinburgh.

Frank M. Parisi: a study of the relationship of the Book of Job to Blake's painting, engraving, and poetry by research in the visual, poetic, and theological sources from which Blake drew both for his understanding of the Book of Job as a work of literature and for the imagery in The Gates of Paradise, the Songs, some of the early prophetic books, and the engravings and watercolors of the Book of Job; a Ph.D. dissertation directed by Michael Phillips at the University of Edinburgh.

Lois Viscoli: a study of Prometheus as an archetype of creativity in the works of Blake and Shelley; a Ph.D. dissertation directed by Morris Eaves at the University of New Mexico.

FORTHCOMING PUBLICATIONS


Notes

A "MINUTE PARTICULAR" PARTICULARIZED: BLAKE'S SECOND SET OF ILLUSTRATIONS TO PARADISE LOST

Martin Butlin

In his otherwise admirable article on Blake's illustrations to Milton, published in the collection of essays on Paradise Regained and Samson Agonistes in honor of John S. Diekhoff,1 Joseph Anthony Wittreich challenges my statement in an earlier issue of the Blake Newsletter that the second set of illustrations to Paradise Lost, painted for Thomas Butts in 1800, originally consisted of twelve watercolors, thus following the earlier, smaller series done in 1807 for the Rev. Joseph Thomas and now in the Huntington Library.2 Although he now accepts that "The Judgment of Adam and Eve" in the Houghton Library can be added to the nine designs in the Boston Museum, I should perhaps spell out the main arguments for also including "Satan arousing the Rebel Angels" in the Victoria and Albert Museum and the larger version of "Satan, Sin and Death" in the Huntington Library, though most of these arguments can in fact be deduced from the available printed sources.

Wittreich's first objection is that the two last-named designs are larger than the Boston watercolors. I have examined and measured all the watercolors (that in the Houghton Library unfortunately only in its mount) and the dimensions are as follows (inches first, followed by centimeters in parentheses):

i "Satan arousing the Rebel Angels" 20 3/8 x 15 1/2 (51.8 x 39.3)
ii "Satan, Sin and Death" 19 1/2 x 15 7/8 (49.5 x 40.3)
iii "Christ offers to redeem Man" 19 1/2 x 15 1/2 (49.6 x 39.3)
iv "Satan watching the Endearments of Adam and Eve" 20 x 15 1/16 (50.7 x 38.2)
v "Adam and Eve asleep" 19 3/8 x 15 5/16 (49.2 x 38.8)
vi "Raphael warns Adam and Eve" 19 9/16 x 15 5/8 (49.7 x 39.7)
vii "The Rout of the Rebel Angels" 19 5/16 x 15 1/16 (49.1 x 38.2)
viii "The Creation of Eve" 19 11/16 x 15 3/4 (49.9 x 40)
ix "The Temptation and Fall of Eve" 19 5/8 x 15 1/4 (49.7 x 38.7)
x "The Judgment of Adam and Eve" 19 9/16 x 15 3/8 (49.6 x 39) (slight measurements only; possibly larger)

From this it will be seen that "Satan, Sin and Death" is in no way exceptional in size, while the extra height of "Satan arousing the Rebel Angels" represents no greater variation than that between other works in the series.

Wittreich's second argument is that the two designs excluded by him are conventional in subject matter. Both Blake and Thomas Butts might well have contradicted this expression of personal opinion. In fact the latter might well have been annoyed had Blake omitted two of the subjects that one might most reasonably expect to find included in a series of illustrations to Paradise Lost (he already had a color print of another famous scene from the poem, "The House of Death" now in the Tate Gallery). The long tradition of eighteenth-century representations of "Satan, Sin and Death," to say nothing of Burke's use of this subject as the ideal exemplar of the Sublime, is also an argument in favor of its inclusion in any series. Conventional though they may be, Blake did duplicate these subjects for some reason or other: the completion of Butts' set seems the most obvious.

Thirdly, Wittreich argues from the premise that "'Satan calling [up] his Legions' was, in Blake's words, 'painted at intervals' as an experiment Picture."3 This quotation from Blake's Descriptive Catalogue refers however to the last of the tempera paintings included in his exhibition of 1809, not to one of the watercolors, each of which was qualified as "A Drawing." The tempera, which belonged to Samuel Palmer, is now, like the watercolor, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, while the "more perfect Picture, afterward executed for a Lady of high rank," who was in fact Lady Egremont, is still at Petworth.

All twelve of the larger watercolors came from the Butts collection, though the nine at Boston left that collection at a different time from the other three, being sold by Thomas Butts, Jr., at Foster's on 29 June 1853, lot 139, when they were bought by J. C. Strange; like other works from Strange's collection they were with Quaritch's in the 1880's, figuring in catalogues in 1883 and 1887, and they were sold by Quaritch's to the Boston Museum in 1890. The other three watercolors were all included in List 3 ("Works of Unascertained Method") of the catalogue of Blake's works by William Rossetti included in the second volume of the first, 1863 edition of Gilchrist's Life of William Blake. All three were

3 Wittreich, p. 100. See Blake's Descriptive Catalogue 1809, p. 54 no. ix, reprinted in Keynes, Complete Writings of William Blake, 1957 and subsequent editions, p. 582.
starred as "more probably coloured" and described as being in the collection of "Mr. Fuller, from Mr. Butts." A number of Apocalyptic subjects from the series of illustrations to the Bible painted in watercolor for Thomas Butts between 1800 and 1805, similarly described as belonging to "Mr. Fuller, from Mr. Butts," are listed by Rossetti with quotations from an unspecified "Sale-catalogue" which unfortunately cannot be traced, and all, together with the three Paradise Lost watercolors, passed to H. A. J. Munro and were sold from his collection at Christie's on 24 April 1868. The full details for the three Paradise Lost designs are as follows:

i) "Satan arousing the Rebel Angels." Listed by Rossetti, no. 17, as "'Awake, arise, or be for ever fallen.'" Munro sale 1868, lot 501, under the same title, bought by Colnaghi, sold 1869 to the Victoria and Albert Museum.

ii) "Satan, Sin and Death." Listed by Rossetti, no. 18, as "'O Father, what extends thy hand, she cried, Against thy only son?"
(Satan, Sin, and Death, from 'Paradise Lost').
Munro sale 1868, lot 500, as "'O Father! what intends thy hand, etc., bought by 'Cuff': lent to the Burlington Fine Arts Club Blake exhibition of 1876 by R. P. Cuffe; sold anonymously by 'Chas. De C. Cuff' (see annotated catalogue at Christie's) at Christie's on 19 July 1907, lot 46, bought by F. T. Sabin; it was with Rosenbach's by 1911, and was sold in 1916 to Henry E. Huntington. An inscription on the back confirms that this was "drawn for Mr. Butts from whom it passed to Mr. Fuller."

x) "The Judgment of Adam and Eve." Listed by Rossetti, no. 16, as "'So judged He man.' - (Paradise Lost)."
Munro sale 1868, lot 502, as "'So judged He man, both judge and Saviour sent,' bought by Kibble; passed, with other Blakes from Kibble, to Marsden J. Perry; sold 1908 to Walter A. White; presented 1966 by John H. White and Harold T. White to the Houghton Library.

While Butts' other sets of illustrations to Milton have remained intact, it is not impossible that his son, in his dispersal of the collection, should have broken up the Paradise Lost illustrations into two groups, selling the majority in 1853 and the other three at the other, untraced sale at which they were bought by Fuller. The admittedly much larger group of illustrations to the Bible was sold off at a number of different times.

A further, though contradictory, line of inquiry is provided by the form in which the watercolors are signed and dated. All of those at Boston with the exception of no. x1, "Michael fore-telling the Crucifixion," which is unsigned, are inscribed "W Blake 1808." Nos. i, "Satan arousing the Rebel Angels," and x, "The Judgment of Adam and Eve," are inscribed in precisely the same way. The exception is no. ii, "Satan, Sin and Death," which bears Blake's standard "W.B inv." monogram and no date. It is tempting, but probably unreliable, to use the form of Blake's signature as an argument for dating his works. For instance, one set of the large color prints of 1795 was inscribed with the "WB inv." monogram, though perhaps not until they were sold to Butts in 1805. Those of the Biblical temperas and watercolors that were signed and dated between 1790 and 1805 were similarly inscribed, as was the first, Rev. Joseph Thomas' set of illustrations to Comus of c. 1801, now in the Huntington Library. Four isolated Biblical watercolors of 1806 and 1809 are, on the other hand, signed more fully. The first set of Paradise Lost designs also represent a transition, some being signed "W.B," without "inv," others "W.Blake," in either case with or without the date "1807." Later works, such as the Rev. Joseph Thomas' set of illustrations to Milton's On the Morning of Christ's Nativity of 1809 (Whitworth Institute, Manchester), those to L'allegro and II penseroso (Pierpont Morgan Library, New York) and Paradise Regained (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge), both of which are watermarked "M & J LAY 1816" (evidence for their date omitted by Wittreich in his essay), and the late temperas at the Tate Gallery of "The Ghost of a Flea,"

4 Gilchrist (1863), 11, 255, nos. 16, 17 and 18. In Rossetti's own notes to his lists, now in the Houghton Library (see Blake Newsletter 2 [1968], 39-40, and 3 [1969], 48-51), he mistakenly associates "The Judgment of Adam and Eve" with the earlier version of the subject in the 1807 set, then in the possession of Alfred Aspland, which he had not included in his 1863 lists. In the revised lists printed in the 1880 edition of Gilchrist's Life, which included the Aspland set, Rossetti omitted all three Paradise Lost watercolors from his list 3, inserting "Satan at the Gate of Hell, guarded by Sin and Death" in his list 1 (of his hands in colour) as no. 254 with the note: "May presumably have belonged at first to the set of Nine Designs from 'Paradise Lost', No. 90 [the Butts-Boston set]." He also inserted as no. 233 a "Satan calling up his Legions. This he described as a tempera, different in composition from his no. 51 (the Palmer-V. & A. version), but as he also lists the Petworth tempera as no. 52, his no. 233 was in fact probably the V. & A. watercolor; in many ways his 1863 lists, though fuller, are more confused than those of 1863.

5 Gilchrist (1863), 11, 255, nos. 174-77.

6 No. i, "Satan watching the Enearments of Adam and Eve," is in fact so inscribed twice in the lower right-hand corner; presumably Blake's original mount obscured the lower inscription so he repeated it immediately above. The inscription can be clearly seen in the rephotography in Helen D. Willard, William Blake water-color drawings (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1957), which includes plates of all nine Boston designs for Paradise Lost.


8 Wittreich, pp. 96-97, 125 n. 15.
THE STATES OF PLATE 25 OF JERUSALEM

Deirdre Toomey

Plate 25 of Blake's Jerusalem exists in three states. The Preston Proof Plate, the British Museum copy, the Rinder copy and the Cunliffe copy are all in the first state. The Harvard and Mellon copies are in the second state. The Pierpont Morgan and all posthumous copies are in the third state.

When one compares Plate 25 in the British Museum copy [illus. 1—see the front covers for all five illustrations] with that in the Harvard copy [illus. 2], major differences are immediately obvious. In the background of the Harvard copy additional fibers are present under the central female's right arm. Small horizontal lines have been added between the right-hand female's head and hands and above the central female's left hand. Similar lines, though wavy, are present in the space above the right-hand female's lap, in the text between "bosom" and "Evermore Amen" and to the right of the central female's head. The rocks are slightly stippled and roughly cross-hatched, as is the ground in front of Albion. A line is present along the edge of the square stone block. A considerable amount of anatomical detail has been added to the figures. The right-hand female has received the most attention. A whole series of details has been added to her back, shoulder, upper arm, thighs and calf. She has also received an additional lock of hair in the small of her back and a line clarifying her jaw. Her left eye has been redefined and two tears have been added on her cheek. Albion has received four delicate lines on his upper chest and two small lines on the inside of his right thigh. From my point of view the most interesting change is that to the central figure, who receives a clearly marked pudendum reminiscent of the Rosso Fio Paroche. See Morton D. Paley and Deirdre Toomey, "Two Visual Sources for Plate 25 of Jerusalem," Blake Newsletter, 5 (Winter 1971-72), 185-90.

Deirdre Toomey is writing her doctoral thesis at the University of London. She co-authored with Morton Paley an article on the visual sources of Jerusalem 25 that was published previously in the Newsletter.

(Butlin, continued)

c. 1819, and "The Body of Abel found by Adam and Eve" and "Satan smiting Job with Sore Boils" of c. 1826, are all signed "MBlake" in full. The Dante illustrations of 1824-27, when signed, bear a simple "WB" without "inv." The great exception to this rule is the first, Butts set of illustrations to the Book of Job in the Morgan Library, three of which are signed "No inv" in Blake's standard monogram (but perhaps, as I suspect for stylistic reasons, these date from much earlier than is usually thought, though 1805-06 is even earlier than I would otherwise have placed them).

Absolute consistency cannot, however, always be hoped for and, even if only two of the three candidates match those at Boston in the form of their signatures, all three match them in style. As compared with the earlier series the figures in the Boston watercolors are marked by a much greater degree of finish and monumentality: their heads are larger in scale, their bodies less elongated and more firmly modeled. Exactly the same development is found between the three other large designs and their prototypes in the 1807 set. In particular, it is impossible, looking at the two watercolors of "Satan, Sin and Death" side by side in the Huntington Library, to imagine Blake painting the larger one before that from the 1807 set; in every way it is an improvement. In the opposition of the two main protagonists, in the weight of the figures, and in the compactness and power of the design as a whole. On the other hand it certainly cannot date from as late as the three illustrations to Paradise Lost done in 1822 for John Linnell, perhaps as the beginning of a complete set. These are typical of Blake's late style in their soft modeling and subtle, broken coloring, having a grace and sensuous quality completely different from Blake's works in the first decade of the century, whereas "Satan, Sin and Death" is typical of the firm modeling, restricted coloring, and wirey outlines of the middle of that decade.

The common-sense solution, even in the case of Blake, is sometimes the best. In 1807 Blake did twelve illustrations to Paradise Lost for the Rev. Joseph Thomas. The next year he repeated the set (with one change, replacing "Satan spying on Adam and Raphael's Descent into Paradise" by "Adam and Eve Sleeping") for his most important patron Thomas Butts, as he was also to do in the case of his illustrations to Come and On the Morning of Christ's Nativity. Of twelve designs similar in style and dimensions, all but two dated 1808, and all traceable to the Butts collection, three have by chance become separated from the other nine, but to disprove the obvious it needs more than an a priori theory about Blake dropping his illustrations to the first two books of Paradise Lost in order to begin his series "with the Son's offering of himself as Redeemer," thus reflecting the way that he "casts off his early Satanism as he apprehends the Christocentric character of Milton's diffuse epic."

9 Or conveniently juxtaposed in C. H. Collins Baker and Robert R. Wark, Catalogue of William Blake's Drawings and Paintings in the Huntington Library (1963), pls. 2 and 3; the rest of the 1807 set is repr. pls. 1 and 4-13.


11 See Parriss, my n. 2 above.

It is interesting to note that nearly all the changes of the second state are anticipated, in the British Museum copy, by light grey wash shading in the relevant areas. This anticipation is particularly exact in the areas above the central figure's left arm and in the text between "bosom" and "Evermore Amen."

The Mellon copy [illus. 3] is clearly in the same state as the Harvard. Despite the tendency of the wash to obscure etched details, the grainings on the rocks and in the foreground show through in the orange-brown printing ink, as do some of the anatomical changes. The Cunliffe copy can be safely assigned to the first state for the same reasons. In it no grainings show through on the rocks or the foreground and, more convincingly, no wavy lines can be discerned in the margin of the text, where the wash is extremely light. A few additional changes have been made in the coloring of the Mellon copy. The lock of hair that floats over the right-hand female's lap in all other copies has been covered with wash and extra fibers have been inked and painted over it. More roots have been added, in ink and wash, to the right-hand side so that the whole design becomes more symmetrical. The sickle moon on Albion's thigh has been rounded, and the sun's face has been altered. When Plate 25 in the Morgan copy [illus. 4] is examined it becomes clear that, after printing the Harvard and Mellon copies, Blake again altered his plate. The changes previously made have been carried further. The horizontal lines between the right-hand female's head and hands have been extended so that they fill the whole of that space. Similar lines appear under the central female's left hand and the lines above this hand have also been increased. The small wavy lines apparent in the second state to the right of the central female's head have been elaborated so that they can be read as part of her hair. The stippling and cross-hatching on the rocks and the foreground have been greatly increased, and several small lines appear in the left-hand corner below the rocks. Again the figure most altered is the right-hand female. Muscular details have been added to her back, shoulder, thighs, calf and arm. Some delicate lines have been added around her eyes, forehead and nose. Her hair has also been altered, small wavy lines being noticeable in two of the floating locks nearest to her head and in the hair next to her face. These last alterations are interesting because they are clearly examples of white line engraving. The lines print white on the dark mass of hair. This is one of the few simple methods of altering a relief etching. Blake has simply cut into the relief mass of the design with a graver, and the lines, being incised, print white. The drapery that appears on the right-hand female's inner thigh is, I am reasonably sure, only an ink addition. A rudimentary form of this drapery appears etched, though faintly, in all copies, and is present in wash in the British Museum copy [illus. 1]. Another set of small lines has been added to Albion's torso, this time lower down on his left side. This last change is anticipated by a wash shading in the British Museum copy. Curiously, in this state two of the Harvard changes disappear, namely the tears on the right-hand female's cheek and the central female's pudendum [see illus. 2]. I shall return to this later.

The Fitzwilliam copy [illus. 5], despite certain differences, is, I think, in the same state as the Morgan copy [illus. 4]. The differences are not consistent with a change of state. The area of detail around the right-hand female's eyes, which appeared for the first time in the Morgan, is missing. So is much of the finer detail on her back, shoulder, thighs, calf and neck, as well as the lock of hair in the small of her back. Some of the horizontal lines in the space between her and the central female and above the latter's left hand are absent. There are three possible explanations for this anomaly. First, that there are four states and that the plate was again altered after the printing of the Morgan copy. Second, that the details not present in the Fitzwilliam were only ink additions to the Morgan copy. Third, that they were present on the plate when the Fitzwilliam was being printed, and that Tatham's notoriously bad inking is to blame for their omission. The first explanation is the most unlikely. If Blake were going to alter a relief-etched plate--a complex operation--then it would seem likely that he would make a good many changes to justify his pains. This is true of the other two sets of changes. What is more, this would be a totally negative change of state. Blake would have removed details without adding others. This is again inconsistent with his previous behavior. This explanation can, I think, be dismissed. The missing details are either only ink additions, or they have been missed in the inking of the plate. At this point a close examination of the Fitzwilliam copy proves useful. If details were present on the plate but were missed in the inking then their impression could be visible on the paper. In Plate 21 of the Fitzwilliam copy many details present in the Harvard copy are missing but their impression on the paper is clear, especially that of the ragged cloud. This tends to support the bad inking theory. When Plate 25 in the Fitzwilliam copy is examined it becomes clear that, not only is it messily and unevenly inked with a good deal of smearing, but that some parts of the design have been missed entirely. The lines above the central female's right hand are only half printed, and so are the lines in the space between the two figures. The impression is there but the ink is so badly applied that only a smeared outline is printed. In other places there is no trace whatsoever of ink, yet the impression of the metal on the paper is clear. This is true of the missing details on the body of the right-hand female, particularly those on her thighs and jaw. Some of the detail around her eyes is, I think, faintly visible as a blank imprint. The greater part of the missing detail can thus be safely ascribed to bad inking. However, one of the most cogent arguments against the Fitzwilliam printing's being an accurate representation of the final state of Blake's plate is aesthetic. The Fitzwilliam Plate 25 [illus. 5] is ugly and unpleasing. One can hardly imagine that Blake could ever have produced such an unbalanced design, in which the heavy work on the rocks is at odds with the lack of detail in the upper part.
A "NEW" BLAKE ENGRAVING IN LAVATER'S PHYSIOGNOMY

G. E. Bentley, Jr.

Increasing interest in William Blake has been accompanied by, perhaps has caused, the discovery of a number of previously unknown engravings signed "Blake". Six were found in The Seaman's Recorder (1824-27), two more in James Earle's Practical Observations on the Operation for the Stone (1793, 1796, 1803), and yet another is in Henry Emlyn's Proposition for a New Order in Architecture (1781, 1784). All these are in recently noticed and obscure books. Doubtless more such backwater-books will be found with plates by the poet in them.

Blake made engravings for some seventy-seven books, and all except those named above are well known and have repeatedly been pored over by scholar-

G. E. Bentley, Jr., recently edited and annotated A Handbook of Works by William Blake in the Department of Prints & Drawings of the British Museum for the Newsletter. He is the editor of Blake's Vara or The Four Zoas (1963) and of Blake's Titel (1887); compiler of The Blake Collection of Mrs. Landen K. Thomas (1971) and, with Martin K. Wurm, of A Blake Bibliography (1984); author of The Early Engravings of Flaxman's Classical Designs (1984) and of Blake Records (1989).

The other problem to be considered is that of the absence in the Morgan and Fitzwilliam copies of certain details present in the Harvard copy. These are the tears on the right-hand female's cheek and the extra lock of hair in the small of her back, the central female's pudendum and the extra lock of hair to the left of her head, and the line drawn across the square block of stone. Have these details been added to the plate and then removed or are they simply ink additions? This can only be decided by examining the Harvard copy itself. However, I would like to think that one detail, the pudendum, was etched rather than inked, for it shows Blake reverting to his prototype, Rosso's Piro Parole, in reworking the plate.

Blake's two sets of changes follow much the same pattern and a consistent aim emerges from them. First there is a continual attempt to render the surface of the plate more interesting, hence the grainings on the rocks and the background hatchings. There is also a tendency towards decorative elaboration, hence the increase in the fibers and the reworking and elaboration of the hair. There is also a concern with anatomical detail, evident in the additions to the right-hand female. All these changes make for a more interesting and lively plate. Some of the changes relate to the Rosso design, for example the addition of fine horizontal lines to the background, and, of course, the questionable pudendum. The changes also help to make the plate more solid and intelligible. Flesh is distinguished from stone, figures from background. Most of the changes are, as I have pointed out, formal. They do not in any way alter the iconographic content of the plate. Unfortunately, the only change that does in any way affect the content is one that disappears after the second state, namely the tears on the right-hand figure's cheek. However, even if this is only an ink addition it is worth considering. The addition of the tears gives Plate 25 richer interpretative possibilities. In the Cumilffe copy the absence of the tears and the blood-red coloration of the fibers and entral-string combine to present a scene of simply unqualified cruelty. In the Mellon copy the softer russet coloration of the fibers and the entral-string and the clearly delineated tears on the disembowler's cheek qualify the cruelty with a suggestion of mourning.

The changes in the plate are important because they show Blake's tendency towards elaboration and refinement in progressive copies of a single work, a tendency usually obvious in his illuminations, but here seen in his attitude toward the plate itself. Possibly, however, there would have been far fewer changes to the plate had all or nearly all of the copies of Jerusalem been colored. Then Blake's refining tendencies would have expressed themselves in the illumination rather than in re-etching and re-engraving. I have, in the foregoing account, ignored the considerable problem of how these changes were effect-
ed on a relief-etched plate. Apart from the one example of white line engraving, none of Blake's changes are technically comprehensible, as they appear in areas of the plate which have been etched away. The existence of the posthumous copies rules out the possibility of reversing the order of the series, so that Blake is using his plate of superfluous detail. The only other possibility that offers itself is the existence of a second plate.

1 "Byron, Shelley, Wordsworth, Blake, and The Seaman's Re-
corder", Studies in Condensation, 9 (1970), 21-36. Sir Geoffrey Keynes "defend[s] his [Blake's] reputation against ... [this] mistaken attribution" in "Blake's Engravings for Gay's Fables," Book Collector, 21 (1972), 60. I agree that the "Blake" whose name appears on the Seaman's Recorder plates often exhibited lamentable craftsmanship there. The crux of the matter appears to me to be that the poet William Blake is the only engraver known to have been signing "Blake" to plates at this time—the writing-engraver William Staden Blake (fl. 1770-1817) is not known to have worked so late (see "A Collection of Prosaic William Blakes," Notes and Queries, n. s. 12 (1965), 172-78).

2 Leslie F. Chard, "Two 'New' Blake Engravings," Blake Studies (1973). This and the next essay were generously shown me by their authors in draft.

sible to read confidently without a magnifying glass. Once it has been located, however, its presence, details, and significance are unmistakable.

There can, I think, be no doubt that this "Blake" plate was engraved by the poet, for not only did he sign other plates in the same volume (Vol. I, pp. 159, 206, 225) which have never been challenged, but the design itself seems to me to be characteristically Blakean. It is a small tail-piece (platemark: 8.8 x 6.1 cm.) of a decorative rather than a demonstrative nature, representing two old men with flowing white beards and long gowns apparently planting a grove of some fourteen young trees; the man on the left seems to be putting a tree in the ground, the man on the right, who is bald, is watering another tree with a large watering can, and in the foreground are a rake and a shovel on the ground. Behind the little grove of trees is an open space which may be water, and in the distance among low hills and trees are buildings, one of which may have a crenellated tower.

In Lavater's Physiognomy there are two kinds of plates, generally, one exemplifying Lavater's principles of physiognomy, often copied from famous painters such as Rubens and Raphael, and the other not directly related to the text, ordinarily anonymous as to designer, and decorative. Blake's plate is in the second category, and I think it may have been designed as well as engraved by him. The patriarchal old men are perfectly familiar from other Blake designs such as those for All Religions are One title page (1788), Tiriel (1789), "The Voice of the Ancient Bard" from Songs of Innocence (1789), For Children (1793) pl. "11," "13," "15," "The Little Vagabond," London," and "To Tirzah" from Songs of Experience (1794), and "Joseph of Arimathea Preaching" (1794). Even the young trees are not unlike those in the background of Blake's Tiriel designs and elsewhere. If the form is not all Blake's, he may yet have adapted a design by another artist into one virtually his own, as Sir Geoffrey Keynes has shown. 6 He did with that for "The Shepherd and the Philosopher" in Gay's Fables (1793).

Lavater's Physiognomy was originally issued in forty-one folio parts at irregular intervals. The "new" plate appeared in Part V, issued in July 1788, and was described on its cover as "Aged Figures, Gardening". The whole work was issued in three-volumes-bound-in-five, and the "new" Blake plate is in Volume I (1789), page 127. The three-volumes-in-five were published again in 1810.

Whether or not the plate was designed by Blake, it is one of the earliest examples known of the patriarchal figure who presides over his work. The design is either one of the first examples of, or a stimulus for, what seems now a characteristically Blakean type.

4 It was in a list of the Blake holdings of the Osler Library, McGill University, generously sent to me by Miss Ellen B. Wells, Acting Osler Librarian.

5 It may be related somehow to the text on the same page, in which Lavater says his Work "contains not a complete Treatise, but merely Fragments of Physiognomy," which perhaps need to be watered and nurtured.

6 "Blake's Engravings for Gay's Fables."

1 The "new" Blake engraving from Lavater's Physiognomy, signed, near the right-hand man's foot, "Blake So". This is an enlarged reproduction; the true dimensions are 8.5 x 6.1 cm. Reproduced by the permission of the University of California, Berkeley.
Substituting Ariston's name for Neptune's was, however, Blake's way of connecting Atlantean sensualism (via Orc and the hidden allusion to Neptune) with the springs of endless political struggle (via the allusion to Ariston), for in Herodotus' history Ariston's stolen bride gave birth to a son, Demaratus, and the latter was denied his kingdom by Cleomenes, his rival, because he was mistakenly thought to be the son of the stolen bride's former husband, Agetus. Such machinations led to all the evils Blake detected, most of all to the corruption of religion by politics, since Cleomenes bribed a prophetess of the Delphic Oracle to declare that Demaratus was not Ariston's son. Orc's sexual aggression in America resembles Ariston's desire to possess Agetus' wife, the most beautiful woman in Sparta, that she might bear him a son because his other wives failed to do so. The king's passion was destructive, for, in gratifying it in order to keep Sparta's rule, as the story implies, in his own household, he discharged his latest wife, alienated his friend, Agetus, and began a series of conflicts and intrigues that upset Sparta for many months. Hidden in the beautiful Atlantean symbolism of America is Blake's fear of revolution's potential for violence and instability. The poet's doubts are subtly reflected in Orc's questionable heritage and in the imagery and allusions of the poem's millennial passage.


3 Raine, I, 424, n. 19; Frye, p. 126.

4 Raine, I, 424, n. 19. Frye, p. 440, n. 27, simply says that Blake's allusions to Herodotus and Plato suggest a reversed form of the Memelaus story, expressing "Blake's belief in the derivative nature of Greek culture."

5 The History of Herodotus, trans. A. D. Godley (1922; rpt. London: Heinemann, 1950), III, Bk. VI, pp. 207-35. The History is quite clear about the reason for Cleomenes' eventual insanity and death: "... it was for what he did to Demaratus that he was punished thus" (p. 235).

6 Blake alluded to Ariston only two other times in his career, once in The Song of Los, where the king "shuddered at the prophet's work" (3:4), and another time in a fragment (141:763) of The Four Zoas, where man's fallen condition is described, according to John Beer (Blake's Visionary Universe [New York: Barnes and Noble, 1969]), p. 101). Ariston's fallen passion seems to be suggested by Beer (p. 102) when he equates Ariston to the "genitalia" of the Eternal Man, whose faculties separated with the loss of vision.
BLAKE AND DEFOE

Rodney M. Baine

Seeing the tombstone of William Blake alongside the monument to Daniel Defoe in Bunhill Fields, one realizes with a start that England's most creative and imaginative dissenter of the late eighteenth century apparently left no reference to his predecessor of the early century. In Blake biographies and studies Defoe has at best rated a rare and casual mention. Yet occasionally one comes upon a passage in Defoe which seems to anticipate Blake. In The History of the Devil, for example, some of the verses on the origin of sin seem to adumbrate the creation of the Tyger:

Tell us, sly penetrating crime,
How came'st thou there, thou fault sublime?
How did'st thou pass the adamantine gate,
And into spirit thyself insinuate?
From what dark state? from what deep place?
From what strange uncreated race?
Where was thy ancient habitation found,
Before void chaos heard the forming sound?

And how at first didst thou come there?
Sure there was once a time when thou wert hot;
By whom wast thou created? and for what?2

But even if "The Tyger" reflects no early memories of The History of the Devil, Blake, we now know, read and illustrated Robinson Crusoe. The evidence has been singularly disordered: one piece has dropped out of sight; another has been confused with the first; the third has never before been correctly identified. The first was listed in 1863 by William Michael Rossetti among Blake's colored works in his "Descriptive Catalogue." Rossetti identified it as "Robinson Crusoe. A visionary effect of colour, like a transparancy. Fine."2 Nothing more seems to be known about this portrait of Crusoe, which eludes my identification.

Often confused with this lost Crusoe is a second Crusoe illustration. A pen and dilute India-ink wash over pencil, it was acquired in 1888 by the Birmingham City Museum and Art Gallery.3 On the verso, apparently, occurs a Hamlet

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1 The Novels and Miscellaneous Works of Daniel De Foe (Oxford: Tegg, 1840-41), X, 60.
3 It measures 12 5/8 x 17 3/8 inches, or approximately 31 x
design so far overlooked by Blake cataloguers. The recto [illus. 1] unmistakably shows Crusoe discovering the mysterious, frightening footprint in the sand at the edge of the ocean: "I was exceedingly surpriz'd," Crusoe remarks, "with the print of a man's naked foot on the shore, which was very plain to be seen in the sand. I stood like one thunder-struck, or as if I had seen an apparition..." In the sketch Crusoe is searching vainly for a trace of the agent. He is accurately attired, wearing the clothes which he has fashioned to replace his worn-out European garments:

I had a great high shapeless cap, made of a goat's skin, with a flap hanging down behind... I had a short jacket of goat-skin, the skirts coming down to about the middle of my thighs; and a pair of open-knee'd breeches of the same, the breeches were made of the skin of an old he-goat, whose hair hung down such a length on either side, that like pantaloons it reach'd to the middle of my legs; stockings and shoes I had none, but had made me a pair of some-things... like buskins to flap over my legs. (p. 121)

By this time Crusoe has cut his beard "pretty short, except what grew," he adds, "on my upper lip, which I had trimm'd into a large pair of Mahometan whiskers" (p. 122). These can easily be seen in the sketch. Blake clothed his Crusoe far more accurately than did his contemporary illustrators, for the garb which many of them gave Crusoe would have kept him warm in an Antarctic climate. But Crusoe specifically states that he made his clothes "loose, for they were [he explains] rather wanting to keep me cool than to keep me warm" (p. 110). Blake altered only one, significant detail. Defoe laid the scene at noon (p. 125). To heighten Crusoe's isolation and terror Blake chose a setting sun. For that night the fearful Crusoe slept not at all, imagining that the single footprint must have been the work of the Devil. Yet he is eventually persuaded that it is a sign and promise of Providence.

The third piece of evidence is a design, now in the British Museum, in India-ink wash with pen outlines [illus. 2]. It has never been correctly identified. According to Laurence Binyon's misleading description, it represents "A SORT OF GARDEN, over the vast wall of which great cedars thrust their branches: in the center, a walled well, surrounded by young trees, and with a ladder leaning on it; and [right], the figure of a man." Knowing that Blake hardly ever drew a landscape, Binyon even questioned the attribution to Blake. Had he recognized the design as a

43 cm., on laid, undated whatman paper. It had been in the collections of Admiral Popham (d. 1800) and of Samuel Timmins. It was reproduced (considerably reduced) and correctly identified in Thomas Wright's Life of William Blake (Olney: privately printed, 1929), 11, 46 (plate 64). Wright, however, merely labeled it "striking" and dated it about 1812. All my information concerning this sketch comes in a letter of 18 May 1972 from John Murdock, Assistant Keeper, Department of Art, Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, by whose generous permission the sketch is included here. I am grateful for the help of David Bindman of the University of London, who brought the Birmingham sketch to my attention.

4 "Upper left, inverted, Hamlet in different hand, apparently referring to our drawing." It is not mentioned, for example, in W. Moehnyn Merchant's "Blake's Shakespeare," Apollo, 79 (1964), 318-24.


6 This design, which measures approximately 17 x 22 cm., is among the Blake drawings presented to the British Museum by J. Deffett Francis in 1873 and 1874. By the kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum it is here reproduced for the first time.

TWO BLAKE DRAWINGS
AND A LETTER FROM SAMUEL PALMER

Raymond Listner

In the Department of Prints and Drawings at the
British Museum are two sketches by Blake, one on
either side of the same piece of paper, of "Isaiah
foretelling the Crucifixion" [Illus. 1 and 2].
They are thought to have been made about 1821
measure 4 3/4 by 3 inches, and came from the col-
clection of Samuel Palmer. The two sketches are

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dent of the Private Libraries Association, and
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bidge. He is the author of Edward Calvert (1962), William
Blake, An Introduction (1968), Samuel Palmer and
His Etchings (1989), British Romantic Art (1973),
and many other books. He is currently editing
Samuel Palmer's letters for Clarendon Press, Oxford,
and writing Palmer's biography for Faber and Faber.

(Baine, continued)

The trees in the semicircle are actually thus the
sprouted stakes, as Cruose later explains: "Those
piles grew all like trees, and were by this time
grown so big, and spread so very much, that there
was not the least appearance to any one's view of
any habitation behind them" (p. 123). "The en-
trance into this place I made to be not by a door," Cruose adds, "but by a short ladder to go over the
top . . . " (p. 50). In Blake's drawing the main
entrance to Cruose's cave is largely concealed.
The door at the viewer's right, Cruose constructs
later: "I work'd side-ways to the right hand into
the rock, and then turning to the right again,
work'd quite out and made me a door to come out,
on the outside of my pale or fortification" (p. 57).
In Blake's unfinished drawing it is difficult
to make out what Cruose is doing, for his figure
and immediate surroundings are quite indistinct.
A glance at the novel, however, shows that he is
discovering, or cultivating, the barley and rice
which have miraculously appeared on one side of
the fortification. Needing a bag which had once
contained grain but now seemed to be reduced by
rodents to "husks and dust," Cruose "shook the
husks of corn out of it on one side of my forti-
ification under the rock" (p. 65). Some time later,
he continues, "I saw some few stalks of something
green shooting out of the ground." Not long there-
after, "I saw about ten or twelve ears come out,
which were perfect green barley. . . . " "I saw
near it still," Cruose adds, "all along by the
side of the rock, some other straggling stalks,
which prov'd to be stalks of rice . . . " (pp. 65-
66).

Blake's drawings show that he followed the
novel accurately and pictured it correctly. His
selection of this last incident, moreover, one
neglected by other illustrators of Robinson Crusoe,
shows that he understood Defoe's central thesis--
God's providential care of Cruose: ". . . thought
these the pure productions of Providence for my
support . . . " (p. 66), Cruose says of the grain.

Perhaps other sketches by Blake of Robinson
Cruose have survived and can now be identified.
Blake may have planned to contribute to one of
the numerous illustrated editions of Robinson
Cruose which began to multiply from about 1791.
If he expected to help Thomas Stothard with the
plates for the edition published that year for
The Novelist's Magazine, he was disappointed:
his name does not appear there, even though by
this time Stothard and his publisher, Harrison,
were constantly employing his art. But perhaps
the identification of these sketches will lead to
the discovery of Blake plates in some long-forgot
edition of Robinson Crusoe. At least they dem-
strate Blake's interest in the imaginative dis-
senter beside whom he now rests.

1 Geoffrey Keynes, Blake's Pencil Drawings, 2nd series.

2 Drawings of William Blake in Pencil Studies (New York:
nature, I would roughly assign it to about 1849; and from the allusion to the spring in the last paragraph, it would appear to have been written during the autumn, or perhaps during the winter.

Allow me to contribute to your Album 2 small and faint—but undoubtedly genuine Blakes.

By attaching a thin piece of paper at one side, they can both be visible on turning over—The fainter is a design perhaps from the Pilgrim's Progress—_the first inventive lines—from which he was always most careful not to depart. But finding that it was the right hand which ought to have been elevated he has traced the lines through at the window and gone on a little, intending then to transfer the second to another paper for completion which he probably did. The state in which Blakes drawings and those of other inventors are most interesting to myself are either the finished state or that in which the first thought is just breathed upon the paper—of the latter—the faint side of the enclosed is a fair specimen. Would that I had one, only one specimen of his finished work—but I cannot send you such, as I never possessed it.

How long it is since we have met! You must take Time by the forelock if we live till the spring, and come and see what care has been taken of those excellently contrived anti-dust-hangings which you made for my study shelves. They remind daily of your kindness.

Yrs ever truly

S. Palmer—

One of the most interesting aspects of the letter is the light it throws on Blake's method of work—his inability or unwillingness to depart from "the first inventive lines." This no doubt explains much of the vitality and immediacy of his work. In the work of many painters, the difference between the original conception and the finished composition is vast. That is why, for example, Constable's sketches and drawings are so often more moving than his canvases. And it is one reason why Blake is as powerful in his finished works as in his initial inspirations.

3 Palmer is wrong here. Blake's Pilgrim's Progress designs were made about 1824. There were twenty-nine of them and they are reproduced in color in The Pilgrim's Progress, introduction by Geoffrey Keynes (New York: Spiral Press, 1941).

Reviews


Reviewed by Andy P. Antippas

Miltonists, Romanticists, and historians of criticism must be grateful for the material plentifully garnered by Mr. Wittreich. He has harvested the references and allusions to Milton from the essays, journals, diaries, notebooks, marginalia, letters, reported conversations, and poems of the major writers of the Romantic period, and he has thus provided us with a vade mecum into the hearts and minds of those most perspicacious readers, and not surprisingly, with a considerable amount of excellent reading.

Wittreich does not pretend to offer complete bibliographical apparatus, but, nonetheless, the cross-referenced notes at the end of every chapter contain everything of importance concerning the influence of Milton on the Romantics. The slighter remarks of Lamb, Landor, Hazlitt, Hunt, and DeQuincey and a brief description of Coleridge's lectures are listed in two appendices. The Coleridge section will no doubt be expanded when a new edition of this volume is called for and new material is made generally available. An additional appendix will serve to list any overlooks such as the Milton references in The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth, ed. de Selincourt, 1, 35; DeQuincey, Collected Writings, ed. Masson, V, 211; and The Letters of John Keats, ed. Rollins, 1, 397.

Wittreich intelligently surmounts the dangers of Barthetizing and avoids the atomism and gnomic isolation of remarks by constantly quoting a sufficient amount of material to preserve the coherence and the context of each observation. This generous sampling itself assists in making the case Wittreich presents in his valuable introductory essay: namely, that the Romantics "are the unacknowledged architects of Milton criticism as we know it today" (p. ix), and that somehow, the pro-Miltonists and con were a party to either ignoring the issues raised by the Romantic critics or imperfectly labeling Romantic commentary as too narrowly concerned with verse techniques or too radically Satanizing.

Additionally, the collection makes it clearer that Milton, more than Shakespeare, was the fulcrum and the emphalos of the critical theorizing of the period and especially of resolving the problem of the role and function of the poet. The Romantics decidedly exercised Wellek's "perspectivism" which "tries to see the object from all possible sides and is convinced that there is an object." As if in rejoinder to Johnson's Life, the Romantics numbered the streaks on the tulip and considered Milton as polemicist, Puritan, prophet, mythopoeticist, and poet; always before them, however, was the object of their deliberations, Milton the Man. It is more than chronologically appropriate, therefore, that the Blake selections begin the anthology.

In his literal-imaginativist way, Blake does apotheosize Milton the Man, and it is a testimony to the strength of character of Case Western Reserve Press that they printed the whole of Milton from the Keynes edition. In its new setting, jostled by similar if more parochially-formed expressions, Milton gains new significance and becomes at once more singular yet more conventional. Blake's other mode of criticism, his ninety-odd illustrations of Milton's poems, is an acknowledged omission (note 72, p. 21; note 22, p. 101). The cost would no doubt have been prohibitive and we can get by, at least for the time being, with Marcia R. Pointon's numerous reproductions and interesting commentary in Milton and English Art. All in all, Wittreich has demonstrated that the Romantics were Milton's fittest audience and that Blake was front row center.


Reviewed by Simone Pignard

The publication of Pierre Boutang's William Blake by the Editions de l'Herne in 1970 indicated a renewed interest in Blake on the part of French critics and readers. Since Pierre Berger's monumental thesis (William Blake, Mythologies et Poésie, 1907), this is the first book in the French language which promised to be a substantial critical appraisal of Blake's works. Thus, it is not surprising that the book was received with such an outburst of passion (see the translations of some articles from Le Monde in the Winter 1971 issue of the Blake Newsletter). Following Pierre Leyris (the author of one of the articles), my main purpose here is to warn the reader against the numerous aberrations in Boutang's book. This work would perhaps have been tolerable in England or in the United States; but given the state of infancy of Blake criticism in France, this book might deprive a prospective Blake reader of the enthusiasm that the reading of Blake should arouse.

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1 & 2 Two sketches, recto and verso, of "Isaiah foretelling the Crucifixion," by Blake, c. 1821. 4 3/4 x 3 inches. Reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.
Boutang's tone and attitude are truly appalling throughout his book. He repeatedly launches vehement attacks against previous translators (including André Gide and Madeleine Cazamian, without naming the latter). He presents himself as Blake's rightful Messiah who has come to deliver French readers of Blake from the evil of the aforementioned translators. He thus proceeds to re-translate a certain number of poems (the shorter ones), providing us with tedious justifications for his choice of one word over another. This leads to a considerable reduction of the purely critical portion of the book. If I were to adopt Boutang's polemical attitude, I could say that this reduction is all the better since, in the critical section, his complete misreading of Blake becomes unbearable.

We have, first, to put up with irritating phrases such as "the secret of this poem..." One of the most blatant misreadings of Blake appears in Boutang's comments on the beginning of Milton: "It is strange that Blake, hyperbolic in his affirmation of human unity in the divine, so ambivalent (and restive!) toward the mystery of the singular election of the Jews, has built his demented and unbearable myth of the election of Albion, his defamation of the English people as the original, genuine Jews" (p. 57). This, of course, refers to the opening lines of Milton:

I will not cease from Mental Fight,
Nor shall my Sword sleep in my Hand
Till we have built Jerusalem
In England's green and pleasant Land.

Boutang defines Blake's position as some sort of "spiritual nationalism." Pierre Leyris has already pointed out this unforgivable error, but I wish to stress it as a devastating example of literal reading. Even a beginning Blake student knows that the above lines do not, by any means, contain a strain of vulgar jingoism. One has to be aware of Blake's particular use of tradition. The equation of Jerusalem and England stems from the sole fact that Blake happens to be English by birth. On the superficial level, it is as simple as that. Further, Blake states again and again that Jerusalem has to be built where one stands, or to use popular terminology, here and now. But if, like Boutang, one insists that

Blake's Jerusalem is a native land, let me say that it is the native land of Imagination, not any specific geographical location. Likewise, the Bible for Blake does not relate the story of a precise people back there in the past; its world is present to us as we read it.

As for "the defamation of the English people," Blake's treatment of Orc and revolution should sufficiently convey Blake's distrust of anything happening on a national level. The word "defamation" itself is very inappropriate, as it implies a static beatification, whereas for Blake, the struggle to release the divinity in man, i.e. Imagination, never ceases. Likewise, every word in Boutang's assertion could be easily refuted. I insist on this passage because it clearly reveals the basic weakness of Boutang's criticism.

It would be pointless to go on with the list of Boutang's misreadings; I shall only focus for a moment on his treatment of Songs of Innocence and of Experience. The translations themselves are far too abstract. Then, Boutang commits the dreadful error of identifying the first person used in these poems with Blake himself. This shows an ignorance of Blake's subtle use of perspective (or point of view) in these poems, an element which is essential to their meaning. Besides, Boutang considers them as an independent unit, whereas they should be related to the total frame of Blake's works for a full understanding of them. For example, the consideration of "To Tirzah" leads Boutang to accuse Blake of "puritanism." This overlooks the role of the senses in what Blake calls "the Intellectual Battle," to say the least.

But somehow, Boutang manages to end his book with this rather astonishing assertion: "And I began to love Blake, not only his poetry, and to constitute my own vision of him—a vision that is both personal and true; how do I know that it is true? By the fact that it has transformed me along the way: the false does not transform you." (p. 264).

He succeeds indeed in building up his own "vision" of Blake, but whether or not it is still Blake's vision is another matter.

French students of Blake have an urgent need for competent and sensitive studies of Blake. Francis Léaud has started the drive, but his book, although a good one, constitutes but an introduction to Blake's universe.