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News

Sir Geoffrey Keynes, S. Foster Damon Collection at Brown University, 1974 Blake Symposium at Edinburgh, Auctions, Work in Progress 60

Notes

James T. Wills, An Additional Drawing for Blake's Bunyan Series 63

G. E. Bentley, Jr., The Inscriptions on Blake's Designs to Pilgrim's Progress 68

Minute Particulars

Ruthven Todd, The Rev. Dr. John Trusler 71

Robert Gleckner, Blake and Fuseli in a Student's Letter Home 71

James King, A New Piece of Tayloriana 72

Roland A. Duerrksen, A Crucial Line in Visions of the Daughters of Albion 72

John Adlard, The Age and Virginity of Lyca 73

Martin Butlin, The Inscription on Evening Amusement 74

Reviews

Suzanne R. Hoover on Blake's Job by Andrew Wright 75

Morton D. Paley on the Tonner Collection pamphlet by Martin Butlin and the Pickering Manuscript facsimile published by the Morgan Library 78

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The illustrations across the page and on the cover: "Mary Magdalen at the Sepulchre" (pen and black ink and watercolor; 16 3/4 x 12 in., 426 x 305 mm.) was sold at auction by Christie, Manson & Woods on 5 June 1973 to Ayres for $25, 100--a record price for a single drawing by Blake at auction. According to the Christie's catalogue the provenance is as follows: painted for Thomas Butts; sold by Thomas Butts, Jr., at Sotheby's 26 March 1852 (lot 155) to F. J. Palgrave for £35 11s.; given by Palgrave to Lady Beatrix Maud Cecil (d. 1950) on her marriage to the second Earl of Selborne, 1883.

The catalogue entry reads in part as follows: "Martin Butlin dates the watercolour circa 1805. It is one of over eighty works painted by Blake for Thomas Butts. As David Bindman has pointed out, there appears to be a distinct group within the series, all of subjects connected with the Crucifixion and the Resurrection: they are of similar size, near symmetrical composition, near monochrome colouring, and all of upright format; 'Mary Magdalen at the Sepulchre' is part of this set."

At the same sale Blake's "The Mourners" (pencil, pen and gray ink, gray wash; 7 x 9 1/4 in., 176 x 235 mm.) was auctioned. The drawing is dated by David Bindman c. 1785. Both pictures are reproduced in monochrome in the catalogue, Highly Important English Drawings and Watercolours, 40 pls., al. available from Christie's, 8 King St., St. James's, London SW1Y 6QT. Our thanks to David Bindman, Thomas Hinnick, and Ruthven Todd for information and photographs. Reproduced by permission.
Sir Geoffrey Keynes

A dinner was held on Saturday, 14 July 1973, at Peterhouse, Cambridge, to mark the contribution to Blake studies of Sir Geoffrey Keynes and the publication of William Blake, Essays in Honour of Sir Geoffrey Keynes, by the Clarendon Press, Oxford, edited by Michael Phillips and Morton D. Paley. Those present included Mr. and Mrs. Stephen Keynes and their son Gregory, Mr. and Mrs. George Goyder, Mr. and Mrs. David Piper, Dr. and Mrs. A. L. N. Murnby, Dr. and Mrs. John Beer, Professor and Mrs. David V. Erdman, Professor and Mrs. G. E. Bentley, Jr., Professor Janet Warner, Professor Robert Essick, Mr. and Mrs. Suzanne Hoover, Professor Irene Taylor, Mr. and Mrs. John Nicoll, Dr. and Mrs. Michael Phillips, and Professor Morton D. Paley.


Damon Collection

Foster Damon had a fine Blake collection of some 300 items (not including manuscripts). Besides copies of most secondary works on Blake, standard and non-standard editions, and Trianon, Dent, Muir, and other facsimiles, the collection contains original editions of some of Blake's source materials and of his own works, including several early editions of Blair's The Grave, Hayley's Ballads, and works by Flaxman and Cumberland on which Blake collaborated. There are also such items as an excellent collection of sheet music for Blake's poems, a wide variety of prints, a Blake Bible, and so forth.

The collection also has value as "Damoniana," including as it does many books bearing Damon's marginalia, his notebooks, a good deal of correspondence, and some unpublished manuscripts.

Damon was associated with the John Hay Library at Brown University for some years, and at his death in 1971 the collection (in its entirety, as far as I have been able to determine) passed to the library, where it presently awaits cataloguing. The library intends to keep the collection together (a very reassuring decision), and is building it up through such acquisitions as the Trianon facsimile of the Gray illustrations. (Our thanks to John Kupersmith for this item. He is now preparing for the Newsletter an account of the history and principal contents of the Damon collection. Eds.)

1974 Blake Symposium—Edinburgh

A symposium on the writings of William Blake is to be held at the Institute For Advanced Studies at the University of Edinburgh on 1, 2, and 3 May 1974. The symposium will comprise six to eight discussion seminars for which papers are invited. The seminars will be complemented by a public lecture and a dramatic presentation—of either one of Blake's prophetic books or an aspect of his biography—given in the University Theatre, George Square. Scottish collections of Blake originals will be available on exhibition for members of the symposium.

The emphasis of the symposium will be on close analysis of individual poems and works informed by historical, literary historical, textual, or linguistic findings. Papers which conform to this approach should be submitted for consideration not later than 1 March 1974. A selection of the papers will be published in book form and manuscripts should be prepared with this end in view.

Papers should be submitted to Michael Phillips, Department of English Literature, David Hume Tower, George Square, Edinburgh, from whom further particulars are available.

Some Auctions

Christie's on 12 June 1973 auctioned George Richmond's "Samson slaying the Philistines with the jaw-bone of an ass" with figure studies on the reverse (pen and brown ink, 6 x 5 1/2 ins.), and Samuel Palmer's "Ruined castle at sunset" (watercolor heightened with white and gold, 13 1/2 x 10 1/4 ins.). Both works are reproduced in black and white in Christie's advertisement in Apollo, June 1973, p. 46.

Sotheby Parke Bernet of Los Angeles illustrated their advertisements for an auction of important silver pieces, 30 April and 1 May 1973, with a brilliant color reproduction of the “Achilles silver-gilt shield made for Frederick Augustus, Duke of York and Albany, by Philip Rundell of London and designed by John Flaxman. Catalogues of the sale may still be available (55 postpaid, 7660 Beverly Blvd., Los Angeles, Ca., 90036). There is a full-page color plate in Antiques, April 1973, p. 612. (Our thanks to Thomas Minnig for these items. Ed.)

Work in Progress

The starred (*) items below come, by the courtesy of one of our readers, from the Inventory of Research in Progress in the Humanities: Inventaire des recherches en cours dans les humanités, published in 1972 by the Humanities Research Council of Canada. We do not list here everyone who mentioned Blake in the Inventory, however, but only those who distinguished their research as “actively in hand” as opposed to a general “research interest.” The listings in the Inventory are lean; the extra annotations below were supplied by the researchers themselves, then forwarded to us by the same kind reader who called our attention to the Inventory.

*Cecil A. Abrahams (Bishop’s University): “The Fourfold Man in William Blake.”

*Arthur H. Adamson (University of Manitoba): “Structure and Symbolism in The Mental Traveller,” an essay relating the structure of the poem to Spengler’s theory of culture, and also relating Spengler’s theory to some passages in chapter 4 of Jerusalem. “I also have a theory of the psychological interpretation of Blake’s Twenty-Seven Churches . . . my interest [in Blake] is psychological and archetypal. My studies are centered in the later works, particularly Milton and Jerusalem.”


*Brian John (McMaster University): “Studies in Romantic Vitalism” that trace “the participation of each of my figures—Blake, Carlyle, Yeats and D. H. Lawrence—in the common tradition of Romantic vitalism. By vitalism I mean the upholding of the principle of Force or Energy as the life-principle running through all things, with certain inevitable corollaries. . . . Because the ramifications are many, I have focussed primarily on the dynamic self creating ‘supreme fictions’ out of the chaos of existence. In the case of each author, I begin by establishing general principles as expressed in his work as a whole and bring them to bear upon a detailed critical reading of a major work. In the case of Blake, the work is Milton. . . . the Blake chapter constitutes roughly one quarter of the work. . . .”

*W. J. Thomas Mitchell and Thomas Minnig (Ohio State University): a critical edition of The Book of Urizen with a color facsimile. They would appreciate any information about the present location of any complete or partial copies of the book and they would also be interested to learn of sketches for it or any other relevant materials. All help will be gratefully and publicly acknowledged. Please write to either at the Department of English, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio 43210.

Dennis Read: “William Blake and The Grave,” a Ph.D. dissertation directed by William F. Halloran at the University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee. The dissertation will be a comprehensive study of all the surviving Blake items which have their genesis in his agreement to illustrate Blair’s Grave. It will attempt to describe Blake’s interpretation of the poem and to indicate how Blake’s work on The Grave contributed to his own visionary expression of such concepts as life, the world, and the imagination.


*David Zack (Sifton, Saskatchewan): “How d’Ye Do William Blake,” a biography “illustrated with pictures of places Blake lived, visited, and drank,” begun at Cambridge and finished in Sifton. “The Cambridge image study pops up here and there in my biography, but since a basic Nut [group of ‘young fantasy artists’ to which Zack belongs] tenet involves taking criticism seriously only to make it seem more confusing as told about than it was as originally presented I think it would be better for you to think of my approach to Blake this way: As Blake spent his life back then, so should we all now and some day soon (for imagination’s power can compress a century of evolution to a second of intuition) indeed we all will. Mundane concerns with politics, with rightness and wrongness, with propriety: all vanish as we individually deny them head space: they did for Blake, his words are direct to us today and the time of his prophecies is at hand for all who care to join in.”
On 29 April 1862 Sotheby's offered for sale "a series of 28 designs [by William Blake] for the Pilgrim's Progress, nineteen of them highly finished in colours." W. M. Rossetti described these twenty-eight drawings in the list of Blake's works he prepared for Gilchrist's Life of Blake in 1863. When Geoffrey Keynes discussed the illustrations in his 1941 introduction to the Spiral Press edition of Pilgrim's Progress and later in his Blake Studies (1949, 2nd ed. 1971), he observed that Rossetti "omitted to mention No. XVII, 'Christian in the Arbour'..." Sir Geoffrey's new total of twenty-nine included, as Rossetti's had done earlier, the troublesome No. XXII, but Sir Geoffrey remarked that this drawing had probably been misplaced from the Paradise Regained series. If No. XXII is not, in fact, one of the original Bunyan drawings, then the number of actual illustrations should stand at twenty-eight as it did in the 1862 sale. I propose, however, that there are at least twenty-nine genuine designs in the series. This total may be achieved by the inclusion of an additional drawing not previously mentioned by Rossetti or Keynes. The following investigation will attempt to show that this additional drawing is a legitimate Bunyan design and at the same time try to settle some problems of sequence within the series.

The existence of an additional drawing was first brought to light in Martin Butlin's "An Extra Illustration to Pilgrim's Progress," Blake Newsletter 19 (Winter 1971-72), 213-14. At the time Mr. Butlin's note first appeared, my study of this drawing was already completed and ready for submission. The design in question [illus. 2] is currently housed in the Alverthorpe Gallery of the Rosenwald Collection and it is titled, with apparently no real authority, "A Warrior Attended by Angels." Further explorations into the physical appearance and subject of this pencil and watercolor drawing leave little doubt that "A Warrior Attended by Angels" is indeed one of Blake's original Pilgrim's Progress designs.

The physical appearance of the Rosenwald drawing is remarkably similar to that of the twenty-eight Bunyan drawings which are now in the Frick Collection. The design size of "A Warrior" measures 180 by 122 mm., while the sheet on which it is executed measures 244 by 189 mm. Although the sizes of the Frick drawings vary slightly, they are substantially the same as those of "A Warrior." The watermark of "A Warrior" runs off the page from the center of the upper half of the sheet to the left; it reads J WHAT / 182. Exactly the same watermark appears on number six and twenty-eight of the Frick series, and the entire watermark of J WHATMAN / 1824 may be constructed through evidence shown on the other drawings of the series.

The recto of the Rosenwald design [illus. 2] has no descriptive or explanatory inscriptions, and the verso is blank. The number 20 appears just above the border of the design in the right-hand corner, and at the base of the design, just below the border on the right-hand side, is what appears to be Blake's signature. One minor difficulty stems from the possibility that the zero of the number twenty was at first a one and was later rubbed out and altered to its present state.

The technique employed in the Frick Collection series is basically pencil sketching colored over with various water-color washes. In the same way, "A Warrior Attended by Angels" is a pencil sketch colored over with gray wash and heightened with other washes of blue, yellow, green and pink. Similarities of technique would in themselves be of comparatively little value in proving that the Rosenwald design belongs with the Frick series. Yet when details of technique and physical appearance are combined with the evidence provided by the subject matter of "A Warrior," inclusion in the original genuine series becomes clearly unavoidable.

As the title suggests, the Rosenwald drawing presents an armed figure surrounded by four others who seem to be ministering to him. The most sig-

James T. Wills is writing a Ph.D. dissertation on Blake's designs for Pilgrim's Progress under the direction of G. E. Bentley, Jr., at the University of Toronto.
significant aspect of the drawing, for present purposes at least, centers in the warrior's armament. The illustration clearly shows a shield buckled to his left arm and a broad sword hanging at his left side. He also appears to be wearing a helmet of some sort and possibly a type of armor on his lower legs. It is difficult to determine whether he wears any body armor, such as a breast plate, since he is partially covered by a flowing coat.

This warrior is Christian, the pilgrim of Bunyan's narrative. Such a statement is readily defensible by comparing him with the figure presented in two drawings from the Frick series, while the scene represented is readily identifiable as an illustration to Pilgrim's Progress. Indeed, "A Warrior Attended by Angels" should be placed between the Frick design called "Christian Goes Forth Armed" [illus. 1] and the one entitled "Apollyon and Christian" [illus. 3]. The pencil numbers which appear on the Frick drawings are at best of questionable value, but it may be worth noting that "Apollyon and Christian," like "A Warrior," shows the number 20.6

Blake's "Christian Goes Forth Armed" illustrates a very specific scene in Bunyan's work. According to Bunyan, once Christian has been armed by the four maidens who inhabit the Lord of the Hill's house, Discretion, Piety, Prudence and Charity, he walks from the gate of the house ac-

5 The numbering has been dealt with more completely by G. E. Bentley, Jr., in his article, "The Inscriptions on Blake's Designs to Pilgrim's Progress."
companied by the porter. As they proceed, Christian questions his guide about pilgrims who may have preceded him, and the porter replies that one named Faithful has gone before but, "he is got by this time at least below the Hill."

In "Christian Goes Forth Armed," Blake depicts Christian and the porter at the moment they leave the gate and move towards the steep descent of the Hill of Difficulty [see illus. 1]. The drawing is sketchy in part, but the figure of Christian definitely includes a shield buckled to his left arm, what appears to be a sword hilt in his left hand, and what probably represents a type of armor on his right leg. There may be a slight suggestion of a helmet, but this detail is not nearly so clear as the others noted. As in the Rosenwald design, Christian is shown wearing a flowing coat; this is probably the "Broidred Coat" he says was given him by the three shining ones.

Christian takes leave of the porter in Bunyan's narrative, and

he began to go forward; but 'Discretion', 'Piety', 'Charity', and 'Prudence' would accompany him down to the foot of the Hill. So they went on together, reiterating their former discourses, till they came to go down

---


7 Bunyan, p. 49.
the Hill. Then said 'Christian', As it was 'difficult' coming up, so (so far as I can see) it is 'dangerous' going down. . . . therefore, said they, are we come out to accompany thee down the Hill.

Then I saw in my dream that these good companions, when 'Christian' was gone down to the bottom of the Hill, gave him a loaf of Bread, a bottle of Wine, and a cluster of Raisins; and then he went on his way.

The drawing in the Rosenwald Collection [illus. 2] undoubtedly shows Christian at the bottom of the Hill surrounded by his four "good companions." Behind and above them the house of the Lord of the Hill is sketchily outlined. Although the presents mentioned by Bunyan are not obviously identifiable, the maiden to Christian's immediate right may be holding a bottle in her left hand. The design portrays Christian at the moment he departs from his four friends and enters the Valley of Humiliation; a more appropriate title might therefore be "Christian Takes Leave of His Companions."

The ultimate purpose of Christian's armament becomes apparent in the next sequence of events in Pilgrim's Progress, and Blake's illustration for it provides yet more evidence for including "Christian Takes Leave of His Companions" in the series. As soon as he enters the Valley of Humiliation, Christian is confronted by the horrible Apollyon:

Now the Monster was hideous to behold: he was cloathed with scales like a Fish (and they are his pride); he had Wings like a Dragon, feet like a Bear, and out of his belly came Fire and Swoak; and his mouth was the mouth of a Lion.

The battle which ensues at first goes badly for Christian:

Then 'Apollyon' espying his opportunity began to gather up close to 'Christian' and, wrestling with him, gave him a dreadful fall; and with that 'Christian's' sword flew out of his hand. . . . But as God would have it, while 'Apollyon' was fetching of his last blow, . . . 'Christian' nimbly reached out his hand for his sword and caught it, saying, 'Rejoice not against me, 0 mine Enemy! When I fall I shall arise'. . .

"Apollyon and Christian" [illus. 3] illustrates the moment just before Christian regains his sword and vanquishes the monster. Blake pictures Apollyon with great attention to detail, while at the same time spending a large amount of time on the figure of Christian. The design is in a more finished state than either of the two drawings just discussed, and it shows much more clearly that Christian is indeed wearing armor on his legs and body. Most important for present purposes, however, the drawing also shows exactly the same sword, shield and helmet seen in the Rosenwald design. These facts, as well as the striking facial resemblance between the two detailed representations of Christian, complete the overwhelming pictorial evidence for including "Christian Takes Leave of His Companions" in the original Bunyan series. In addition, the sections of Pilgrim's Progress quoted establish a firm textual basis for accepting the design and for placing it between the two Frick drawings.

The question of how the Rosenwald drawing became separated from the other twenty-eight designs remains to be solved, but after the initial separation the subsequent history of "Christian Takes Leave of His Companions" may be easily traced. The Alverthorpe Gallery accession records
reveal that Mr. Rosenwald acquired the drawing from Sotheby's on 10 December 1958, and according to the auction catalogue it was "formerly con-
tained in an album of letters from Blake, Coleridge
and Lamb formed by Mrs. Charles Aders." 17
The remainder of the album was eventually sold by
Sotheby's on 15 December of the same year and is
now in the Houghton Library, Harvard University.
The exact original position of the Blake drawing
within the album cannot now be easily ascertained,
especially since nearly fifty leaves have been
cut out. Still, there is a strong possibility
that the design originally appeared between entry
Nos. 17 and 26. 18

Containing materials which range in date from
1811 to 1874, the Aders album is arranged in a
roughly chronological manner. The ten entries in
question are significantly grouped, at least so
far as their dates can be ascertained, around 1827,
the year of Blake's death. Support for placing the
Rosenwald design between Nos. 17 and 26 arises
primarily from the angel motif of a large propor-
tion of these entries. Number 17 is an undated
pencil drawing, heightened with white and gold,
of three angels singing, by K. Schutz [illus. 4];
number 20 is a manuscript of Charles Lamb's "Angel
Help," dated 1827; and number 21 is an undated
pen drawing, heightened with gold, of angels assist-
ing a poor family, by Jacob Götzenberger [illus. 5].
Götzenberger may be remembered as the German artist
who commented favorably on Blake's Dante designs. 19
Entries 22 and 23 deal with "Angel Help"; the
former is an 1827 version of the poem by Mary
Lamb, the latter an 1827 letter from Charles Lamb
concerning the same poem. Between Nos. 17 and
26 there are eight leaves cut from the album and
one blank leaf, No. 25, from which something has
been removed.

It may well be that in 1827 Mrs. Blake, know-
ing that the Bunyan series had twenty-nine draw-
ings, sold that number to Tatham, simply confusing
the Paradise Regained design with "Christian Takes
Leave." Consequently, Mrs. Aders could have ac-
quired the latter drawing, placed it in her album
in one of the spaces mentioned above, and given
it what she considered an appropriate title.

Regardless of whether these conjectures about
placement in the album and separation from the
series prove correct, there is no doubt that
"Christian Takes Leaves of His Companions" is a
Bunyan design. Taken together, the three drawings
discussed are a fine example of Blake's method of
illustrating Pilgrim's Progress; and barring any
further additions to the new total of genuine
designs—there is a possibility that there may be
several more—the way now seems open for the
completion of a full scale study of Blake's designs
for Bunyan.

11 Sotheby & Co., Sale Catalogue of Drawings and Paintings,
Lot 72, 10 December 1958.
12 I am using here the notation of the Houghton Library. The
discussion of the album which follows is taken in part from a
description provided by Mr. Rodney G. Dennis, Curator of Manu-
scripts at the Houghton Library.
13 Henry Crabb Robinson, Diary Remembered and Correspondence,
ed. Thomas Sadler (Boston: James R. Osgood and Co., 1871), II,
74.
14 There are two Blake drawings in the British Museum each of
which represents a figure seated before a burning city. Accord-
ing to a description I received from Miss Dinah Mitchell of the
Department of Prints and Drawings, the designs are accompanied
by a note by Samuel Palmer. The note says, in part, that they
are two states of "a design perhaps from the Pilgrim's Progress.
There seems to be no substantial evidence at this time to sup-
port Palmer's conjecture. For further information on these
drawings, see Raymond Lister, "Two Blake Drawings and a Letter
There are also three designs, formerly in the possession of W. G.
Robertson but now untraced, which are related to the
Bunyan series. The Blake Collection of W. Graham Robertson,
ed. Kerrison Preston in 1952 for the Blake Trust, lists these
three designs as Nos. 104, 105, and 106. The respective titles
are "Christian and Worldly Wise Man," "The Interpreter's House,"
and "Vanity Fair." Frederick Tatham wouched for all three as
genuine Blakes, but he was firmly convinced only that No. 106
was definitely a Bunyan design.
THE INSCRIPTIONS ON BLAKE'S DESIGNS TO PILGRIM'S PROGRESS  G. E. Bentley, Jr.

William Blake's designs to John Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress have always been considerably less well-known than they deserve. Blake made the series during the last few years of his life (the paper is watermarked 1824, when he was 67), and no contemporary reference to them is known.

Blake had of course long known Bunyan before this. About 1794 he made a print of The Man Sweeping the Interpreter's Parlour from Pilgrim's Progress, and in his last years his young disciples referred to his flat as The House of the Interpreter. In a letter of 4 December 1804 Blake said, "I shall travel on in the Strength of the Lord God as Poor Pilgrim says" in Pilgrim's Progress, and he associated himself directly with Bunyan when he commented that "for two so unequal labourers" as Flaxman and himself to contribute designs for a publication of Hayley's "would be (to say the best of myself) like putting John Milton with John Bunyan." In his Notebook he compared his genteel patron Hayley to Bunyan's "Pick thank," and, in his "Vision of the Last Judgment" (1810), he said that "Pilgrim's Progress is full" of vision, but he never referred to his Bunyan designs in writings which survive.

Indeed, nothing was publicly known of the designs until they appeared at an anonymous sale at Sotheby's on 29 April 1862, as lot 187:

A SERIES OF TWENTY-EIGHT DESIGNS FOR THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS, nineteen of them highly finished in colours when they were sold for £13.10s to [R. M.] Milnes. They were described by W. M. Rossetti in the catalogue of Blake's art which he prepared for Alexander Gilchrist's Life of William Blake (1863), II, 235, but they were then forgotten by Blake scholars until Sir Geoffrey Keynes saw them about 1928 and later reproduced them in his Pilgrim's Progress (reprinted in his Blake Studies [1949, 1971]) and reviews of the Keynes edition and of the exhibitions, there has scarcely been a serious account of these important designs.

Sir Geoffrey remarked casually that "A few of the drawings have a word or two scribbled in the margin by Blake. None has any full inscription... All have been numbered and inscribed with a title by a later unknown hand..." However, these pencil inscriptions have never been recorded; indeed, they had scarcely been visible until the drawings were quite recently dismounted and the margins and versos could once more be examined. The inscriptions, written below the designs except when the margin is too narrow, are as follows:

1 John Bunyan dreams a dream
Pilgrim's Progress

2 I saw a man clothed in rags with his face from his own house / a Book in his hand, & a great burden on his back
Christian begins his pilgrimage

G. E. Bentley, Jr., recently edited and annotated A Handlist of Works by William Blake in the Department of Prints & Drawings of the British Museum for the Newsletter. He is editor of Blake's Vala or The Four Zoas (1963) and of Blake's Tiriel (1967); compiler of The Blake Collection of Mrs. Landon K. Thorne (1971) and, with Martin K. Nurni, of A Blake Bibliography (1984); author of The Early Engravings of Flaxman's Classical Designs (1964) and of Blake Records (1969).

1 The Complete Writings of William Blake, ed. G. Keynes (1957), 549, 604.
2 The relationship between Rossetti's alphabetical order, the pencil numbers, and the Frick reference numbers is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ROSSETTI ORDER</th>
<th>PENCIL NO.</th>
<th>FRICK REF. NO.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>A19a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>A20a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>A21a</td>
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<td>A22a</td>
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<td>d</td>
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<td>A23a</td>
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<td>A24a</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>A25a</td>
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<td>g</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>A27a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>A29a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>A42a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Early Engravings of Flaxman's Classical Designs (1964) and of Blake Records (1969).
[2 altered to] 3 Evangelist gives Christian the roll.
[3 altered to] 4 Obstinate and Pliable follow him.
[3 altered to] 5 Pliable leaves X tian in the Slough of Despond.
[7 altered to] 6 Help lifts Christian out of the Slough of Despond.

Number del: 7 --M' Worldly Wiseman directs X tian to the house of Legality, in the village of Morality.
8 Christian fears the flashes of fire from Mt Sinai.

[2] X tian falls at the feet of Evangelist fearing the fire from Mt Sinai.

10 X tian knocks at the wicket gate
[The gate in the design is labeled by Blake:] KNOCK AND IT SHALL BE OPENED.
11 Good will opens the wicket gate to X tian Christian returning home.
12 In the Interpreter's House.
13 In the Interpreter's House -- the rose[?]
14 M' Interpreter shows him the man who had the dream of the Day of Judgement.
15 Christian's burden falls off at / Sight of the Cross.

Page 23 The Shining Ones appear to Christian.
17 Christian climbs the Hill Difficulty.
18 Page 26 / 18.
19 / Page 28 / Christian passes the lions.

[Page 36(?) del] 20 [B . . . written over by] Christian beaten down by / Apollyon
[Above the design is:] Apollyon

21 / Faithful relate[!] how Moses / met[?] with him.
[Above the design is:] Faithful's Narrative.
22 / Christ delivers Faithful from Moses.
23 / Christian & Faithful in / Vanity Fair
[Above the design is:] Vanity Fair.

Page 50(? del) 24 They escape from Giant Despair.
25 Christian and Hopeful / in Doubting Castle.

26 They escape from Giant Despair.
27 The Shepherds of the Delectable Mountains
[on the top margin]
27 [sic] [C(hristian?)] del] Hopeful supports Christian over the river.

Page 50(? del) 29 Christian & Hopeful enter / the gate of Heaven.

The removal of the mounts has also made possible the decipherment of the watermarks, as follows:

| b | A429a |
| x | A437a |
| l | A430a |
| m | A431a |
| p | A432a |
| q | A433a |
| r | A434a |
| t | A435a |
| u | A436a |
| s | A437a |
| v | A438a |
| w | A439a |
| x | A440a |
| y | A441a |
| z | A442a |

The Keynes order (Blake Studies [1971], 167-73) is that of the Frick, except that he omits No. 22. Rossetti omits the un-isscribed No. 18.

The numbers and inscriptions appear to be mostly in the same hand, but which is not Blake's. He rarely spells "Judgement" with two "e"s, as in No. 14, and he never uses the disagreeable spelling "Xtian" which appears in Nos. 5-7, 9-11. The "F", "g", "h", "H", "W", and "M" are significantly unlike his, and the uncertainty of numbering would be difficult to reconcile with his authority. Most telling of all, the inscription on the mount of No. 22, which is in the same hand as that on the other drawings, is on paper watermarked "1828", the year after Blake's death.

Who, then, made the inscriptions? The most obvious candidate is, I believe, the correct one. At Blake's death in 1827, all his property evidently went to his widow Catherine. For a time, Catherine lived with Blake's devoted disciple Frederick Tatham, and, according to Tatham's manuscript "Life of Blake," at her death in 1831 she "bequeathed . . . to him . . . all of his Works that remained unsold at his Death being writings, paintings, and a very great number of Copper Plates." Much later Anne Gilchrist wrote: "Tatham came into possession of so large a stock of Designs and engraved Books, that he has, by his own confession, been selling them for thirty years and at 'good prices.' Indeed, it is generally assumed that Tatham was the anonymous vendor at the 1862 sale in which the Bunyan drawings first appeared publicly and it is difficult to imagine who else at that time is likely to have had the enormous number of 182 miscellaneous Blake drawings to sell, not to mention works in Illuminated Printing. And if, as seems very likely, Tatham acquired the Bunyan drawings from Mrs. Blake and sold them in 1862, it seems equally likely that he numbered the drawings (with some difficulty) and identified them, between 1828 and 1863, when Rossetti quoted No. 11.

I have compared photographs of the Bunyan inscriptions with a photocopy of Tatham's "Life of Blake" (now in the possession of Mr. Paul Mellon) and conclude that the hands are very similar. In particular, the "A", "B", "C", "D", "E", "F", "G", "L", "M", and "T" are strikingly like Tatham's and unlike Blake's, and some numbers ("7" and "24") and words ("Faith", "hopeful", "heavenly", "burden") seem to me unmistakably similar. The handwriting, then, seems to confirm Tatham's ownership of the Bunyan drawings.

Tatham's authority as to Blake's intentions may, of course, be good, but it is certainly not infallible. He changed his mind about the order of Nos. 3-7, 14, 26, and he made a few mistakes in order which he never corrected: No. 9 has no number at all, two designs are numbered "27", and none is numbered "28". Further, one of the drawings he numbered with the Bunyan series (No. 22) is generally thought to belong instead with Blake's Paradise Regained drawings, the rest of which belonged to John Linnell from October 1825 until his posthumous sale in March 1918. We may take Tatham's inscriptions, then, as a useful but errant guide to Blake's intentions in the Pilgrim's Progress drawings.

A number of perplexing problems remain. There were "TWENTY-EIGHT DESIGNS" in the series when Tatham sold it in 1862, but the series now has twenty-nine drawings, the last evidently numbered "29" by Tatham; when did the twenty-ninth drawing join the others, which one is it, and where did it come from? If No. 22 is part of the Paradise Regained or another series, when and how did it join the Bunyan drawings? What is the correct order of the drawings? What are the mysterious "Page" references Tatham gives on No. 13, 16, 18-20, 24, 29, none of them higher than "50"? Can they refer to the particular edition of Pilgrim's Progress which Blake was using? If so, why are only early pages cited? Are there other Bunyan drawings, finished or unfinished, which belong with the series and which might help to account for Tatham's uncertainties? How reliably do Tatham's inscriptions identify Blake's drawings, and was he using more than the internal evidence available to us? Such questions should, I think, exercise anyone who embarks on the serious study of Blake's illustrations to Pilgrim's Progress which is now overdue.

12 Drawing No. 22 is pasted down, and the watermark is therefore not visible.
13 "Pilgrim's Progress" on No. 1, "Christian returning home" on No. 11, and perhaps "Apollyon" at the top of No. 20 appear to me to be by Blake.
19 Since this was written, Martin Butlin, "An Extra Illustration to Pilgrim's Progress," Blake Newsletter, 5 (1972), 213-14, has identified a Blake drawing in the Rosenwald Collection as belonging with the Pilgrim's Progress series.
20 Mr. James Willis is now undertaking such a study.
THE REV. DR. JOHN TRUSLER (1735-1820) Ruthven Todd

In his Preface to The Letters of William Blake, 2nd ed., 1968, p. 16, Sir Geoffrey Keynes mentions that Trusler "established a business as a bookseller with the object of abolishing publishers." A printer friend, Bernard Roberts, has recently sent me a booklet which he wrote and printed, Writers and Printers in Clerkenwell, Printed for their friends by The John Roberts Press 14 Clerkenwell Green London E.C. 1 [n.d.]. This contains further information about Trusler, "a clergyman turned printer and publisher, [who] was in a fair way of business in Red Lion Street during the 1780's, being also the author of The Honours of the Table and The Principles of Politeness.... Dr. Trusler also wrote, printed and published collections of sermons. He had the curious idea of printing these in a script type, so that a preacher would sound (so Trusler imagined) as though he was reading from his own manuscript rather than from a printed book." Sir Geoffrey says that his "mind was wholly antipathetic to Blake's, and they could never have come to terms." It does strike me, however, that, if the business about the drawing "Malevolence" had not interfered, Blake and the Rev. Dr. might have spent a pleasant hour or two discussing the abolition of publishers, and also the unsuspected advantages of script as a type from which to read.

Ruthven Todd of Mallorca is well known as the editor of the Everyman Life of Blake by Gilchrist, and as the author of numerous books and articles on Blake and related subjects. The most recent is Blake the Artist (Studio Vista, 1971).

BLAKE AND FUSELI IN A STUDENT'S LETTER HOME Robert F. Gleckner

In a chapter entitled "English Painters" in the anonymous Letters from an Irish Student in England to His Father in Ireland (London: Cradock and Joy, 1809), two volumes bound in one, is the following passage:

As you have heard so much of Mr. Fuzeli, I fear you would suspect that I have negligently passed over his works, were I to omit mentioning him here. If such an apprehension did not operate, I should certainly scarcely think he merited posterity. I sincerely hope he will afford them more gratification than he does his contemporaries. He has a great admirer and defender, I believe the only one, in a Mr. W. Blake, a miserable engraver, and one of the most eccentric men of the age. This man has hailed him as the modern Michael Angelo. For my part, I have never seen a painting of Fuzeli, his Night-Mare excepted, which has certainly merit, which did not appear to be the crude efforts of a man writhing under an agonizing dream of indigestion.--Every figure appears to be a grave and mysterious caricature. The faces of his men are generally very livid, with their eyeballs starting from their sockets; and his ladies have as usually a greenish complexion. Their attitudes are always forced into painful distortion, and the feet of both sexes never fail to terminate in a tapering point, almost as sharp as the steel spur of a game cock.

In most of his works chaos seems to "have come again;" indeed, with such incomprehensible sublimity are his subjects sometimes handled, that the men employed at the academy by the hanging committee to hang up the paintings according to their directions, previous to the annual exhibition, actually, by a most ludicrous mistake, suspended one of his pictures with the bottom upwards, from conceiving that the top was the bottom.

Fuzeli is a man of learning, and, in his academical lectures, some of which I have perused, much genius, ability, and depth of thought and reading, are displayed. It is to be lamented that he does not wholly substitute the pen for the pencil. This is the man who threw Cowper, the poet, into a relapse of melancholy madness, by saying that he was an incorrigible dog, for not immediately adopting some correction which Fuzeli made in his MS. prose translation of Homer. Indeed, I am told there is a moroseness and haughtiness in the spirit and manners of this man both forbidding and disgusting. I do not, however, think his mind is as frightful as his pictures; though his pride sometimes gets the better of his reason.

The only indication we have of the author is in the Preface, which describes him as "an Irish gentleman, who lately prosecuted his legal studies in this country to qualify him for the Irish bar...."

Robert F. Gleckner is Professor of English and Dean of the College of Humanities at the University of California, Riverside. He is the author of The Piper and the Bard: A Study of William Blake and Byron and the Ruins of Paradise, and editor of Romanticism: Points of View.
A NEW PIECE OF TAYLORIANA James King

A manuscript notebook closely related to Thomas Taylor has been acquired by the Division of Archives and Special Collections, Mills Memorial Library, McMaster University. The notebook, "The only fragments which remain of the Writings of the Philosopher Celsus," seems to be the working notes for the Celsus portion of Taylor's 1830 Arguments of Celsus, Porphyry, and the Emperor Julian, Against the Christians . . . (the cover title reads Fragments of Porphyry, Julian, &c. against the Christians). The notebook (3 3/4 x 5 3/4 inches, 104 pages, undated with no watermarks) contains a translation of all of Celsus's anti-Christian writings, as preserved by Origen; the Celsus section of Taylor's book contains only a portion of Celsus's attack against Christianity, frequently interrupted by Taylor's commentary.

Although the notebook is not in Taylor's hand, it might well be a translation prepared on his behalf or Taylor's working notes as transcribed by an amanuensis. Two circumstances make the latter case the more likely. First, aside from Taylor, there is no significant interest in Celsus's religious writings in the 1820's and 30's. Second, the manuscript was found in the stockroom of the late Donald Berry of Eltham. In the same location was recently discovered the 1929-30 commonplace book of W. G. Meredith (1804-31), which contains the first positive evidence that Blake knew Taylor (see my "The Meredith Family, Thomas Taylor, and William Blake," Studies in Romanticism, 11 [1972], 153-57). Although one must exercise caution in determining the extent of the dependency of Arguments of Celsus on "The only fragments . . .," the notebook is a piece of evidence of real interest to students of Taylor.

James King, Assistant Professor of English at McMaster University, is the co-editor of the forthcoming edition of Cooper's correspondence to be published by the Clarendon Press, Oxford.

A CRUCIAL LINE IN VISIONS OF THE DAUGHTERS OF ALBION Roland A. Duerksen

Perhaps the most elusive while also the most significant line in Visions of the Daughters of Albion is plate 2, line 5: "Bound back to back in Bromion's caves, terror and meekness dwell." Blake's full-plate illustration for this and the succeeding two lines depicts two human figures chained back to back in a cave. They are a rugged male with fear-distorted face and an utterly dejected female. Nearby, at the cave's entrance, another male figure (clearly identified in the text as Theotormon) abjectly sits, hiding his face in his folded arms. The generally-accepted interpretation is that the bound figures are Bromion and Oothoon. Neither the characterizations of these two nor the narrative progression of the poem, however, seems to support this reading.

An alternate and, in my opinion, more plausible interpretation is that the two bound figures are, indeed, terror and meekness. Thus juxtaposed, masculinity terrified and femininity meekly submissive constitute the very principle upon which Bromion maintains his position as slave-holder. Throughout the poem Bromion is tyrannical and blatantly assertive. Quite the contrary of a prisoner subdued and shackled in his own habitat, he has exercised his power to bind terror and meekness together, thus subjecting them totally to his will and purposes.

As indicated by plate 2, line 22, and the illuminated portion of plate 4 (where the chain about her ankle appears loosened), Oothoon is free to hover over the hopeless, weeping, deafened Theotormon at the entrance to the cave, presenting the case for liberation as persuasively as she can. In the light of this liberated activity on her part, the explanation that Oothoon is bound meekly back to back with Bromion appears incongruous with regard to both characterization and narrative continuity. The binding of terror and meekness in Bromion's caves becomes, then, symbolically the oppression of mind and spirit from which Oothoon seeks to liberate the enslaved daughters of Albion--and from which Blake seeks to liberate us.

Roland A. Duerksen, Professor of English at Miami University (Oxford, Ohio), has published articles on British and American Romantic writers—including several on Blake. His books include Shelleyan Ideas in Victorian Literature (Mouton, 1966) and editions of various works by Shelley.

In Blake's "The Little Girl Lost" Lyca is a virgin seven years old and Kathleen Raine finds the choice of age "inexplicable" (Blake and Tradition, I, 145). But the Commentary of Hierocles on the Golden Verses of Pythagoras tells us that the number seven itself is a virgin, a surprising statement explained in a single sentence from a translation Blake could well have read:

Now, the powers and properties of the unit, and of the septenary, are very great and excellent: for the unit, as the principle of all the numbers, contains in itself the powers of them all; and the seven being a virgin, and without any mother [Lyca had lost both father and mother], holds, in the second place, the virtue and the perfection of the unit, because it is not ingendered by any number within the interval of ten, as four is produced by twice two, six by twice three, and eight by twice four, nine by three times three and ten by twice five: neither does it produce any number within that interval, as the number two produces four, the three nine, and the five ten.

It may be significant that a cloud tells another virgin, Thel, that he passes away "to tenfold life, to love, to peace and raptures holy" (The Book of Thel 3:11), since virginity in Hierocles is represented by an inability to "produce any number within that interval."

THE INSCRIPTION ON EVENING AMUSEMENT

Martin Butlin

Geoffrey Keynes, in his book on Engravings by William Blake: The Separate Plates (Dublin, 1956), (p. 64), reconstructs the last line on Blake's engraving after Watteau's Evening Amusement on the basis of that on the companion print of Morning Amusement. However, the discovery of a third, untraced impression in red shows that in fact the wording is slightly different. As Keynes' transcription is not entirely accurate even in the first line, I give the full inscription:

Watteau pinx. W. Blake fecit / EVENING AMUSEMENT / From an Original Picture in the Collection of M.J. A. Maskin. / Pub. as the Act directs August 21, 1782 by T. Macklin. N.Y. 39 Fleet Street.

The punctuation after certain initials and in abbreviations such as "M.J.", which is represented here by two full-stops, is in fact more in the form of two little dashes. It is also found in the inscription under Morning Amusement as can be seen from Keynes' reproduction though not from his transcription (Separate Plates, p. 63). In this connection it should be pointed out that the "s" of "sculp" is lower case, not a capital. In addition, at least on the copy of the print belonging to me, there is no full-stop at the end of the last line but there are two little dashes above the stop following "Tho" suggesting a slightly fuller form of the abbreviation for Thomas, though they do not appear to take the form of an "s":"Tho::"

It should be noted that the inscription on Evening Amusement gives the name of the owner of the original painting as "Maskin" without a concluding "s". This is in fact correct. However, even allowing for the fact that the oval format of the engravings does not necessarily represent the shape of the original paintings, it appears that Maskin's paintings are not those now in the Wallace Collection. The provenances of Les Champs Elysées and Le Rendevou de Chasse (as the paintings related to Blake's Evening Amusement and Morning Amusement are now known) seem to exclude Maskin's ownership, neither having left France till 1787 at the earliest (see Wallace Collection Catalogues: Pictures and Drawings, 1968 edition, pp. 360, 364-65).

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, watercolours, and drawings.

XX

Job and his Daughters

In another day: "Job and his daughters; the story of his life..." The fleeting scenes seem to show the destruction of his children directly behind him from the whitewash. The identity of features, God's and Job's, is patent. These three words represent the matter of Illustrations III and XII, as to speak, within art, and the spectator's desire in the tower panels to represent two of the friends, the third being concealed from view by the bench on which Job and his daughters sit. Thus the story of Job has been made into art: is a cardinal and important view in Blake's own treated view of the primary of art as a theological fact. "Art," he writes in "The Lesson," "is the Tree of Life." And, in the same place, "Christianity is Art!" Figures grow up on both vertical borders and move and learn and much fruit mature themselves within all the borders. A pair of angels embrace on the upper left margin, and another pair seems ready to embrace in the upper right margin.

The theme of this Illustration is gracefully and accurately carried out in the circulary of the wall panels, the curve of the trees, and the design of the floor. The circle of Blake's Job narrative is now complete, and the representation has taken place. There remains only the necessity of depicting the principle itself. This is to be the matter of the subsequent and ultimate Illustration."

Reviewed by Suzanne R. Hoover

Because Blake concentrated so much of himself during the later years of his life into the *Illustrations of the Book of Job,* it remains an inexhaustible mine of his mature thought and style. (Sometime before 1825 he made three watercolor versions of the designs, one pencil version, and the set of engravings that alone took him three years to complete, the fruit of a lifetime of interest in the Bible story.) And yet, curiously, the *Job* has been comparatively little studied in detail. Beyond Joseph H. Wicksteed's pathfinding work in 1910 (revised in 1924), the best discussions--actually, the only even moderately extended ones--of the series have been those of S. Foster Damon, presented first in his book on Blake in 1924 and revised in a separate edition of the *Illustrations* in 1966, and of Laurence Binyon and Geoffrey Keynes in 1935. This last is a critical catalogue, with fine reproductions, of all Blake's drawings and prints on the subject of *Job*; its brief interpretive passages follow Wicksteed. The Damon edition is still in print in hardcover and available in paperback as well.

The latest edition of Blake's *Job,* with commentary by Andrew Wright, is a handsome book, in spite of its inferior reproductions. In format and editorial arrangement it resembles the Damon edition: an introduction of nearly seven pages precedes the plates, each accompanied by a short commentary. Wright includes, as Damon does not, selective footnote references to earlier interpretations which may agree with, or differ from, his own. The present edition, like Damon's, contains an appendix which gives the full context of the biblical passages used by Blake in the plates and his alterations of, and omissions from, those passages. (Wright supplies rather more of the context than Damon does.) A second appendix in Wright's edition comments briefly on some of the earlier studies of the illustrations.

A word about the reproductions. A recent close comparison of the British Museum Reading Room "proof" set with the new book and with Damon and Binyon-Keynes demonstrated how difficult it is to reproduce the details and nuances--and hence the full force--of good impressions from the original plates. The Clarendon Press reproductions are inferior to those in Damon's book (Brown University Press) in both linear detail and delicacy of gradation. This is especially apparent in the dark areas of the individual plates; the overall impression is that there is too much "contrast" in Wright. The photogravures (by Emery Walker) in the Binyon-Keynes limited edition are much closer to the originals than either of the two later books. The paperback was unavailable for comparison. It should be added that it has been customary to reproduce sets marked "proof." Damon used the Harvard College "proof" set, but Wright for unexplained reasons reproduces what we must assume to be an ordinary set (unless the word "Proof" has been removed from the plates) identified as that of Mr. P. G. Summers.

*Blake's Job* will be useful for the student who wants a serviceable set of the plates accompanied by some notion of what is going on. And as there was no such work in print in England, it has a raison d'être, of sorts, as an English alternative to Damon (the two volumes, perhaps unfortunately, even carry the same title). But it is difficult to ignore the simple fact that a more useful book at this point in Blake scholarship would have been a thorough study of the *Job* in all its aspects--art-historical, technical, biographical, bibliographical, aesthetic. We have come to the time when we would certainly benefit from a full and systematic account of earlier commentary, and we now require a discussion of the larger sense of the work itself: what Blake was doing and how he did it. Most important, an extended, richer reading of the individual plates is long overdue.

From the time of its publication one year before Blake's death and for nearly four decades thereafter, his *Illustrations of the Book of Job* had a rather dormant existence in some three


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3 A Northrop Frye's excellent essay, "Blake's Reading of the Book of Job" (in Alvin H. Rosenfeld, ed., *William Blake: Essays for S. Foster Damon* [Providence, R.I., 1969]), is mentioned here, but it appeared too late for Wright to make full use of it in his study.
hundred copies owned by Blake's younger friend, John Linnell, whose continuing efforts to sell this work that he himself had commissioned met with so little success that we find ourselves surprised by a sudden glow of interest in the series when it was reproduced for the first time (considerably reduced in size), in 1863, by photo-lithography, in Gilchrist's celebrated biography of Blake. Of course, it was known to an interested few prior to 1863. John Sartain, an American student in London during the 20s, later recalled a visit to John Varley's studio where he saw the Job prints, individually framed, "hanging side by side in one continuous line on the north wall of the room. They were suspended level with the eye..."

--in other words, they had the place of honor. In Mrs. Anna Brownell Jameson's popular survey, Sacred and Legendary Art, which appeared in 1848, some enthusiastic remarks on Blake's angels were illustrated with figures (reversed) selected from plates 5, 15, and 16 of the Job, but the work was not mentioned by name. Ruskin did name it in his "Notes on Things to be Studied" in The Elements of Drawing, in 1857:

The Book of Job, engraved by [Blake], is of the highest rank in certain characters of imagination and expression; in the mode of obtaining certain effects of light it will also be a very useful example to you. In expressing conditions of glaring and flickering light, Blake is greater than Rembrandt.

Two young admirers of Blake were deeply impressed by the Illustrations to the Book of Job: F. T. Palgrave, who was introduced to Blake via the Job by Jowett at Oxford in 1845, and Gilchrist, who was--probably--shown it by Carlyle at Cheyne Walk in 1855.

For fifty years after the appearance of Gilchrist's Life, it was assumed that Blake had merely "illustrated" the Bible story of the mystery of human suffering and the indecipherability of God's ways. Allan Cunningham had set the tone in his biographical essay on Blake in 1830: Blake was "too devout to attempt [in the Job engravings] aught beyond a literal embodying of the majestic scene"; the plates are "very rare, very beautiful, and very peculiar" as engravings. Similar general remarks by William Howitt (presumably), in 1847, and William Allingham in 1849, foreshadowed the enthusiastic but brief and literal-minded plate-by-plate commentary written for Gilchrist's biography by D. G. Rossetti. In 1875 Charles Eliot Norton brought out an American edition in which a photographic reproduction of the series was accompanied by a commentary that merely elaborated on Rossetti's excited, but unexciting, remarks. In 1880, the second edition of Gilchrist, which was widely reviewed and probably widely read, again included the Job series in its second volume. These reproductions, better than the first (although still reduced in size), were photogravures on India paper.

Little new was said about Blake's Job for the next thirty years. Then, in 1910, Wicksteed wrote Blake's Vision of the Book of Job, a monograph which interpreted the series according to a system, the clues to which were to be found in the designs themselves. Using such simple keys as left and right, above and below, Wicksteed was able to show that Blake had used the materials of the Book of Job to create his own story of spiritual pilgrimage and enlightenment. It is a story of unconscious betrayal of self, of fearful confrontation of self, forgiveness of self, and fulfillment of self in others. It is monumental in its deeply-considered rejection of a tragic view of human life—a rejection, here and elsewhere, which places Blake's late work in eternal dialogue with Keat's "late" work: the secure witness of faith versus a sure knowledge of fate. (As the son of Philip Henry Wicksteed, the late-Victorian translator of Dante, Joseph Wicksteed was perhaps peculiarly well fitted to understand Blake's symbolic method, and his dramatic presentation of spiritual pilgrimage.)

Wright's reading of Job is based on the theory, set forth in his Introduction, that Blake here abandoned the system that he had developed in the late prophecies. In Wilton and Jerusalem Blake "was working towards a statement that eventually he found himself unable to formulate within the framework of the 'system' that he invented." Wright implies that Blake's rest from poetry in his old age may indicate an acknowledgment of failure on his part: "In his last years Blake no longer attempted to tell his story in his own words. He turned to Job (and also to Dante), and it is my argument that the Job Illustrations say lucidly

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4 The original edition of exactly 315 copies comprised 100 sets on drawing paper, 65 sets on French paper, and 150 "proof" sets on India paper. By 1863 the sets on drawing paper had been sold (or given away), but there remained an undetermined number of the other two kinds of sets. By 1874, probably as a consequence of new interest in Blake following the appearance of Gilchrist's book, all of the sets had been sold; 100 new sets were made at this time. See G. E. Bentley, Jr. and Martin K. Neum, 'A Blake Bibliography' (Minneapolis, Minn., 1964), p. 95.


10 No account of the history of Blake's Job can omit mention of that most striking event—the creation of a ballet based on the series in 1931, by Ninette de Valois, to music by Vaughan-Williams. Sir Geoffrey Keynes, who conceived the idea and urged it to fruition, has told the fascinating story in his Blake Studies, 2nd ed., pp. 182-94. The ballet has been revived a number of times, most recently in the autumn of 1972.
what Blake had been trying to say all along." What
had Blake been "trying" to say? Wright's statement
of the message for which Blake changed his medium
stops somewhat short of the heart of the matter.
For example, Job is guilty because "he has allowed
his mind to separate itself from the indispensable
considerations of inwardsness that are the conditions
of grace." Further, Job labors under the
misconception "that materiality can give accurate
information about his spiritual condition." To
make matters worse, Job has "allowed reason to
triumph over imagination." Surely Blake is more
interesting than this.

On the important question of "system" in
interpreting the Job designs, Wright in fact
equivocates. He finds that "while it is both
useful and necessary to consider Blake's Job in
the light of his earlier achievements [something,
incidentally, which this book does not do], it is
a mistake to read into the Illustrations the
symbols of the prophetic books, at least in their
earlier valuations" (italics mine). (This, claims
Wright, represents a "different emphasis [in Blake
studies] rather than a new departure." It does,
certainly, differ from Damon's rather structured
reading of the Job (Damon himself silently dropped
his supplementary, Tarots-card interpretation of
1924 in the 1966 edition); but, as to "different
emphasis," compare Wright's approach with this
clearer statement by Wicksteed: "If we are not
actually concerned with the great Blake myth of
the prophetic books we are clearly in the system
which the myth embodies [Wicksteed's main point
here is that Blake was not "Illustrating" the
Book of Job]. . . . it has become a better
expression of his fundamental thought than any
other work from his hand. . . . At a time when he
had finally abandoned all effort to reach his
public through literary expression he created almost
accidentally a great Blakean dramatic poem built of
pictures that can be made to speak." (Perhaps
prodded by Damon's work, Wicksteed did, in 1924,
put forward the presumably Blakean notion of a
four-fold structure for the series. But he saw
quite clearly that there were difficulties, and
apparently in his heart remained agnostic on the
question: "I confess that every fresh attempt that
I have made against the Job fortress has yielded
a new structural scheme.") Does Wright's thesis,
with its curious loophole ("at least in their
earlier valuations"), represent more than a slight
shift in emphasis from that expressed by Wicksteed
fifty years ago?

In the discussions of individual plates, there
are many questions that might be raised about
Wright's interpretations and the way in which he
deals with past scholarship. For example, of
Illustration XIV, "When the Morning Stars Sang
Together," Wright says: "This design and its
borders depict the creation. [One wonders] why
Blake puts the beginning so late, exactly two-thirds
of the way through his narrative. Two considera-
tions are involved: first, by refusing to begin
ab ovo Blake intends to indicate the cyclical
aspect of his story; second, he will depict the
creation within the creation: the world and man
come into existence only as Job acknowledges the
divinity within." Here I think Wright may be
missing the forest for the trees. The plate under
discussion follows that of "The Lord Answering
Job out of the Whirlwind," and its meaning clearly
follows from it. In Damon's words, it is a "vision
of the universe," which includes the creation, as
it includes regeneration. In any case, after
stating that the plate depicts "the creation"
Wright gives this skimpy footnote: "In the view of
Wicksteed and also of Damon the composition of this
design suggests the fourfold man and thus a vision
of wholeness." As long as he was bringing in
another reading, would it not have been more
helpful of Wright to have given a fuller and more
accurate account of earlier, divergent views on an
issue as central as this one, the subject matter of
one of Blake's greatest and best-known designs?

In general, the registering by Wright of earlier
comments is quite unsystematic. Much useful
specific comment by Wicksteed and Damon is omitted.
The most unhappy of such omissions occurs in the
discussion of Illustration XIX, "Job Accepting
Charity" (Job and his wife sit humbly, yet serene-
ly, as a younger couple and their children [?] approach
with gifts). Even Damon, who elsewhere in his
commentary avoids reference to earlier observations,
here breaks his rule to tell the reader of
Wicksteed's insight into this illustration as a
"tender and passionate acknowledgment" of the
Linneus's generosity to Blake. Unquestionably,
this reading adds to the illustration much grace
and radiance. Were the objections to the
biographical fallacy to be put forward against
Wicksteed's reading, two points might be made.
First, Blake frequently introduced himself into his
works--he believed in doing so. Second, Wright
elsewhere does give interpretations he disagrees
with, when he judges them to be of interest.

Considered collectively, the omissions from
this book are difficult to understand. Wright
notes, for instance (as others have done before
him) that "Blake's preoccupation with the subject-
matter" of Illustration XI ("Job's Evil Dreams")
is "reflected in the similarities" between that
plate and the color print of Elohim Creating Adam
(1795) in the Tate Gallery. Yet he does not note
that the bearded, bent old man of Illustration V
("Satan Going Forth From the Presence of the Lord"),
to whom Job is giving charity, is similar to the
figure of the old man in plate 11, "Death's Door," from The Grave; and to the bent old man of no. 17,
"Death's Door," from The Gates of Paradise; and to
the bent old man of "London" in Songs of Experience;
and to the bent old man of plate 12 of America;
and to the bent old man of plate 84 of Jerusalem.
Nor does he note that the cruciform figure of Job in
Illustration XVIII, "Job's Sacrifice," has
similarities to the figure of Albion with hands
outstretched, looking up at Christ, on plate 76 of
Jerusalem, to the figure of Milton going to
self-destruction and eternal death" on plate 13
of Milton, and even to the figure, poised in
mid-dance, of "Albion rose," in which with
outstretched arms he is "giving himself for the
nations." There are many other similarities
between the Job illustrations and other works by
Blake; surely, it would have been interesting to
Ezra Hooper and Neil Brand have made some interpretations, especially that of Wright, less tenable. The lozenge on Job's right clearly shows a group of young people pursued, and in at least two cases struck, by two old men with stakes or pikestaffs in their hands. Over this scene of horror and alarm broods a floating figure, male, somewhat indistinct, with long hair and outstretched arms. Needless to say, this assault by old men bears no resemblance to the destruction of Job's children as depicted by Blake in Illustration XIII. The subject of the second lozenge is less clear. In the foreground a man holds a plow, his head thrown back violently. In the background farm buildings go up in flames, while over it all floats a figure with outstretched arms, from which seem to have been generated the lightnings that started the fires.11 This figure has a pleasant face and long hair. Although it is clearly masculine, like the other it does not resemble Satan. In Hagstrum's reading of the Flaxmanesque inscription. Mr. Butlin's commentary is both cogent and informative, so that it is not so much necessary to review this publication as to call attention to its contents.


The entire July-September issue of the Philadelphia Museum's Bulletin for 1972 is devoted to an illustrated essay by Martin Butlin: The Blake Collection of Mrs. William T. Tonner. This publication marks an event of the first importance to those interested in Blake, the gift of eleven works from Mrs. Tonner's estate, which as Mr. Butlin says "promotes the Museum at one bound into the ranks of leading American Blake collections." All the pictures are reproduced—one (the beautiful Nativity painted for Butts) in color, the rest in halftone along with six other pictures and one inscription. Mr. Butlin's commentary is both cogent and informative, so that it is not so much necessary to review this publication as to call attention to its contents.

Four other Butts pictures are included in the Tonner gift: Christ Baptizing, Mary Magdalene Washing Christ's Feet, Samson Subdued, and Jephthah Met by his Daughter, all watercolors. The Samson is informatively reproduced with its companion picture, Samson Breaking His Bonds from the collection of Mrs. Landon K. Thorne. There is also the watercolor Malevolence, which gave rise to Blake's imbroglio with Dr. Trusler and hence to one of Blake's most spirited defenses of his art. Perhaps the most important single picture in the collection is the color print God Judging Adam, which Butlin considers "the most dramatic copy" of the three known examples. The four remaining designs are the sketch for The Sacrifices of Isaac, the Flaxmanesque rendering of the Flaming Angels, the drawing of The Death of Ezekiel's Wife, and A Destroying Deity. The last named is perhaps the most interesting of

11 The outstretched arms occur, not twice, but four times, in this design: once in each of the lozenges just mentioned, once in the lozenge immediately behind Job in which God speaks from the whirlwind, and in the foreground figure of Job himself, who sits with his arms outstretched over his three daughters. There is a question as to whether Job is to be thought of as pointing to the two scenes on either hand; at least one hand gives that impression.
the four. Butlin dates it very late (c. 1825-26), comparing the figure's webbed wings with those in the tempera Satan Smiting Job with Tornado Balls. There is also something in the sculpture-like massiveness of the figure which recalls some of the illustrations to the Inferno.

Butlin's valuable pamphlet is a kind of hore d'oeuvre which makes us all the more anticipate the feast of his forthcoming complete catalogue of Blake's paintings, watercolors, and drawings. Conversely, The Pickering Manuscript is a welcome dessert, following what the Newsletter's reviewer called "the definitive catalogue of one of the last three great Blake collections in private hands": The Blake Collection of Mrs. Landon K. Thorne by G. E. Bentley, Jr. That catalogue was published by the Morgan Library in conjunction with its exhibition of the Thorne collection; now we are informed in Charles Ryskamp's brief Introduction to The Pickering Manuscript, that Mrs. Thorne gave the Manuscript itself to the Morgan Library at the end of 1971, thus adding even further to the Library's magnificent Blake collection. The fact

In my view the least implausible explanation that has yet been given is Wicksteed's, that "the panel on Job's right tells of the dire deeds of man against man [old men assaulting youths], that on his left of the disasters Nature inflicts [the buildings struck by lightning—perhaps the plowman, too], both inspired by Satan [the hovering figures in the two pictures]." The commentary in Binyon and Keynes follows this reading. But even this hypothesis leaves questions unanswered: why the echo from Milton in the figure of the plowman? If the hovering figures are Satanic, why don't they resemble Satan? Etc. Had Wright given closer attention to the details of the illustration, and included more of the earlier commentary, the reader would have a better notion of just what the difficulties are. As it is, we are presented with the patently implausible and left to shift for ourselves. (Although in several other places Wright refers to the earlier watercolor versions of the Job designs, he here omits mention of the interesting and suggestive fact that Blake left the lozenges indistinctly drawn in all sets of the watercolors. Only the last, "New Zealand" set has some adumbration of the scenes as we know them in the engraving, but without the engraving to guide

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1 Butlin points out that for the Tate copy of this work Blake received one guinea from Thomas Butts, giving the U. S. equivalent as about $2.50. It is only fair to Butts, however, to remember that both the guinea and the dollar are not, alas, what they once were. In 1919, for example, Blake advertised America at 10s 6d; and in 1806, the year of the receipt for God Judging Adam, Blake sold John Flaxman a "singularly grand drawing of the Last Judgment" for one guinea (Bentley, Blake Records, p. 575).
