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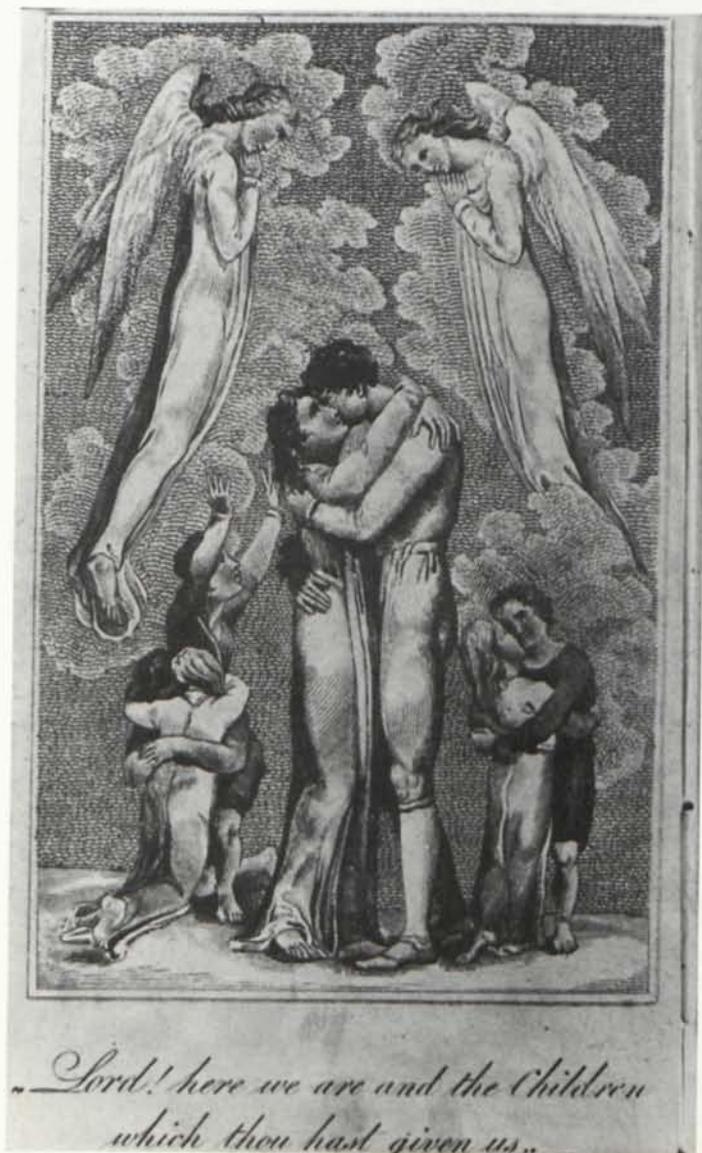
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NOTES

ON SOME ITEMS IN THE BLAKE COLLECTION AT MCGILL WITH A FEW SPECULATIONS AROUND WILLIAM ROBERTSON

CHRISTOPHER HEPPNER



1 Engraving based on "The meeting of a Family in Heaven" for Blair's *The Grave*.

Blake Newsletter readers may not know that there is an interesting Blake collection in the Rare Book Room of the McLennan Library at McGill University. It is a good collection, except for the lack of any original copies of Blake's own poems or paintings. But it has a few original drawings, sets of the Job and Dante engravings, one of the four or five known impressions of the engraving of Edmund Pitts,¹ the Linnell portrait of Wilson Lowry that served as the original design for Blake's engraving,² many of the books illustrated by Blake, and a good collection of facsimiles, critical works, and related items. The core of the collection was donated in 1953 by Mr. Lawrence Lande, and the Rare Book Room librarians and I have tried to fill gaps and keep the collection up to date, aided by further donations from Mr. Lande. In the course of working with the collection, I have come across several interesting items that I would like to describe, by way of both sharing and requesting information.

The first two are apparently plagiarisms. One is a much reduced--in all senses--and unsigned version of Blake's "The meeting of a Family in Heaven" design for Blair's *The Grave*, with a new text which is not from that poem (illus. 1). The dimensions of the frame line are 142 x 90 mm., and the plate has been bound in as frontispiece to a copy of Hayley's *The Triumphs of Temper*, the twelfth edition with Blake's engravings. The volume also contains two other prints glued onto the inside of the covers, one being Plate IX (one of Blake's plates) for Vol. VIII of *The Novelist's Magazine*, containing *Don Quixote*. The book has been signed "Ann Shipman" in what looks like an approximately contemporary, and very shaky, hand.

The "appearance of libidinousness" to which Robert Hunt objected in the original³ has been removed; in this version the husband's hand remains decorously at his wife's waist rather than openly enjoying the fullness of her buttock. One version of the philistine unwilling to give the artist in form and line his due? The angels' wings have also had their free, erect Gothic curves cut down into a flaccid droop. The dynamism of the son entering from the right has been negated by placing him behind the group of children on the left. The three pairs of figures on the ground retain their general positions, but

GILL SCOE

each pair has been reversed. Perhaps the changes were enough to protect the publisher; they were certainly enough to emasculate the design. Does any reader know anything of the book which this presumably once illustrated?

The second apparent plagiarism is a two volume edition of *The History of Sir Charles Grandison*. Both title-pages read "Formerly Published in Seven Volumes; the Whole now Comprised in Two. Cooke's Edition. Embellished with Fifteen Superb Engravings." The first volume then reads "London; Stereotyped and Printed for T. Kelly, 17, Paternoster-Row," and is dated 1818; the second volume reads "London; Stereotyped and Printed for C. Cooke, 17, Paternoster Row; by D. Cock, and Co. Dean Street, Soho," and is undated. At the end of both volumes is a colophon attributing the stereotyping and printing to D. Cock and Co. at 75 Dean Street, Soho. The edition is unrecorded as far as I have been able to check.⁴

The date of 1818 on the first volume presents some difficulties, and the evidence suggests that there was an interval of several years between the printing and the publishing of this edition, or alternatively between the making of the stereotypes and the actual printing. The engraved illustrations are all dated between 19 May and 21 November 1811; D. Cock appears to have moved from Dean Street in 1815,⁵ and Charles Cooke died in 1816.⁶ The title-page of the first volume thus seems anomalous, and possibly replaces a previous one, either actual or planned.

In any case, the "Fifteen Superb Engravings" are copied--or altered--from those in *The Novelist's Magazine* edition, with plates designed by Stothard, of which three were engraved by Blake. The plates are in most respects very close to the originals, though there are substantial changes in the figures, especially in the women's clothing, which has been updated to represent the high-waisted Grecian style of the Regency period.

The first plate, "Miss Byron paying a visit to Emily in her Chamber," is dated 6 July 1811, and like all the plates is described as "Printed for C. Cooke, Paternoster Row." The women's costumes have been altered, and Stothard's name replaced by

"Scatchard."⁷ But many details, such as the irregular marks under the period after "sculp.," are identical with those visible on the original illustration, suggesting that the same plate was used for both, or that the later plate was made from a stereotype of the original (see illus. 2).⁸ The second plate, "Sir Charles Grandison, disarming Captain Salmonet," is dated 8 June or July (only the "Ju" is visible) 1811. Again Stothard's name becomes "Scatchard," but the changes are extensive enough to make it clear that a new plate has been used (see illus. 3). The third plate, "Charlotte and Caroline's affecting interview with their Brother Sir Charles Grandison," is dated 1 June 1811, but just after that one can barely make out the imperfectly erased original date, "Jan. 18, 1783," making it quite clear that this is printed from the original plate reworked (see illus. 4). On this plate Stothard's name remains, brought up to date with an "R.A."⁹

In the edition as a whole, Stothard's name has been changed to Scatchard on eight of the plates, remains unchanged on two, and is updated with an "R.A." on five. In no case has an engraver's name been changed, though Heath is advanced to J. Heath A.R.A.. The respect with which Stothard and Heath's names have been treated in at least some instances clashes oddly with the changes of Stothard to Scatchard, which would seem to imply conscious deception. I do not know whether Blake had a hand in the reworking of his plates or not; it seems very unlikely, though it is worth remembering that Blake felt decidedly hostile to Stothard by 1811, and he had previously done work for John Cooke, Charles's father and predecessor.¹⁰

The next group of items consists of original drawings, some of which raise questions of attribution and identification. One is almost certainly the original drawing for Thomas Butts' engraving of "Venus Anadyomene," reproduced most accessibly on Plate IX of *Blake Records* by G. E. Bentley, Jr.¹¹ The drawing, which measures 114 x 76 mm., is attributed to Blake in a pencil note on the mat reading "by William Blake / From the Collection of Thomas Butts, the artist's friend and patron." The notation is not recent, but the hand is not Tatham's, and Martin Butlin in a letter agrees that the drawing is most probably by Butts rather than Blake.



The next drawing (illus. 5), measuring 130 x 100 mm., is more puzzling. It obviously depicts the creation of Eve, and has been attributed to Blake in a pencil note on the reverse of the drawing itself, in the same hand as the previously described note, and in exactly the same words. David Erdman and Martin Butlin have both commented, on the basis of a good photograph, that the drawing is not by Blake, and that seems clearly right. But the drawing has life and charm, and I should be glad to hear from any reader who has any ideas about the identity of the artist.¹²

The collection also has two pairs of drawings which are certainly by Blake. One (illus. 6), 158 x 121 mm., is of a woman's head, and was formerly described as a portrait of Blake's wife. However, Geoffrey Keynes in a recent letter has stated that it does not resemble any of the known portraits, and may be a kind of visionary head. The drawing does show some resemblance in manner to the visionary head reproduced on the cover of *Blake Studies*, 5:1 (1972). The reverse is a very sketchy and faint drawing of a woman's torso (illus. 7).

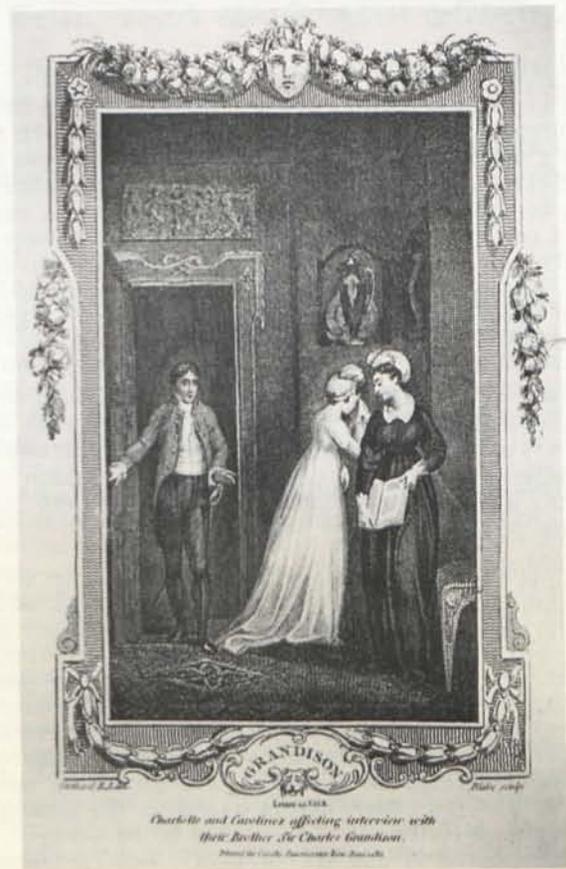
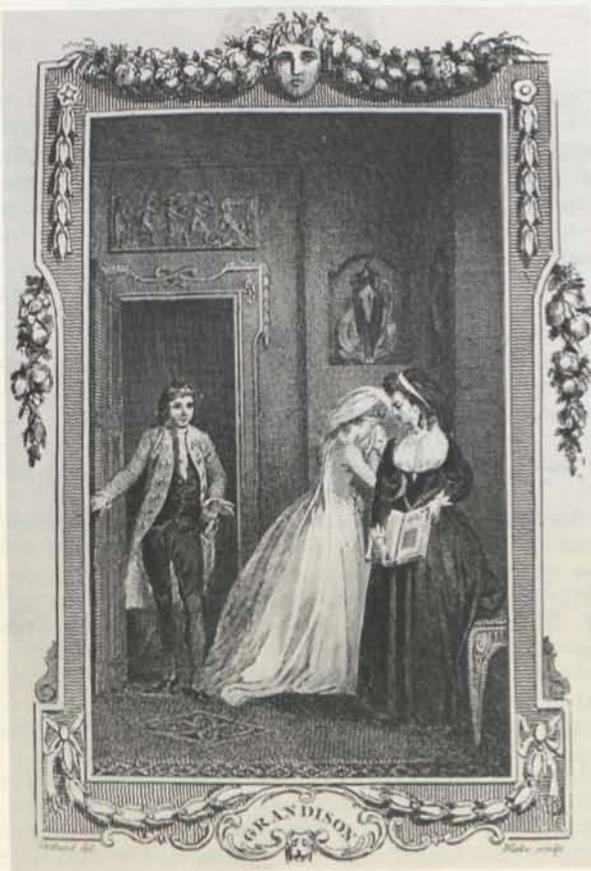
The other pair, measuring 275 x 213 mm., has as its recto (illus. 8) the drawing listed as No. 130 by W. M. Rossetti in his catalogue in the 1880 edition of Gilchrist's *Life*, and reproduced there through the intermediary of an engraving by J. Hellowell.¹³ Rossetti gives it the tentative title of "Young burying Narcissa (?)," referring to an episode in Night Three of Young's *Night Thoughts*, though adding



2 The original 1783 plate of Miss Byron visiting Emily engraved by Blake for *Sir Charles Grandison* in *The Novelist's Magazine* (a) compared with the 1811 version (b).

3 The original 1783 plate of Sir C. Grandison disarming Captain Salmonet (a) compared with the 1811 version (b).

4 The original 1783 plate of Charlotte and Caroline with Sir C. Grandison (a) compared with the 1811 version (b).





that "If the subject is the one surmised from Young, the introduction of these two children seems to be Blake's own addition to the narrative." Martin Butlin in a letter agrees with me in being dubious about this; he dates both this and the verso in the earlier 1780's on stylistic grounds. The design is very closely related to the illustration of "The Garden of Love" in *Songs of Experience*, though the atmosphere of the drawing is very far from the garden setting of the poem.¹⁴

The verso drawing (illus. 9) is clearly a sick-bed scene; the drawing is sketchy, but the sick man's face is strong. The number visible on the drawing identifies it as having once belonged to Joseph Hogarth, a nineteenth-century print seller who acquired his Blakes from Tatham.¹⁵

Finally, I shall describe a few items in the collection which in one way or another are associated with William Roscoe, however indirectly. There are in the collection a number of woodblocks attributed to Blake, usually in conjunction with another name. They come from a large collection of blocks, many of which illustrated ballads, chapbooks, and children's books of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The blocks attributed to Blake have pencilled notations written on paper labels glued to the blocks; the labels would appear at a guess to be early twentieth century, and are certainly not contemporary

with the blocks themselves. The information is puzzlingly specific but, so far, untraceable; for instance, one block is said to belong to Thornton's *Virgil*, but it does not illustrate the well-known edition. Several of the others, which clearly form a series, are identified as "Trimmers Bible," "Mrs. Trimmer," or "Historical." The subjects would make it appear very possible that the blocks did illustrate editions of Sarah Trimmer's various works, but I have so far been unable to find any edition with these illustrations.¹⁶ Photographs of the blocks--made by filling them with talcum powder--have been sent to David Erdman and Robert Essick, who agree that they are not by Blake, and they certainly do not look at all like his work as either designer or engraver.

Perhaps the most interesting of these blocks are two (illus. 10) identified as illustrating a Harris edition of *The Butterfly's Ball*, the larger one attributed to "W. Blake & Flaxman" and the other to "W. Blake & Craig." The attributions seem highly unlikely; the blocks did not illustrate the 1807 or 1808 Harris editions of Roscoe's poem, nor is there anything in that poem that really fits the scene depicted on the larger of the two blocks. But the information, though in part at least certainly mistaken, is very specific, and the connection with Flaxman seems to make it certain that it was our Blake who was intended. The annotations on other blocks, though sometimes misleading and mistaken,



5 (far left) The Creation of Eve; by an unidentified artist. Pencil drawing, McGill University.

6 (above left) Blake, a woman's head. Pencil drawing, McGill University.

7 (above) Verso of illus. 6; pencil sketch of a woman's torso by Blake.

have often proved helpful in tracing those blocks to the works that they originally illustrated. To my eye there is a Blakean quality to the outlined clouds on the larger block, and these two factors make me a little hesitant to reject the attribution outright.

The blocks, however, sent me to William Roscoe's poem, and my impression now is that Roscoe knew Blake's "A Dream" from *Songs of Innocence*. The conjunction of emmet, beetle, and glow-worm as watchman seems beyond coincidence. The poem was written about 1802,¹⁷ but first published in November 1806 in *The Gentleman's Magazine*. I quote the most relevant lines from the Harris chapbook edition of 1808:

And there came the *Beetle*, so blind and so black,
Who carried the *Emmet*, his friend, on his Back.
.....
Then, as Evening gave Way to the Shadows of Night,
Their Watchman, the *Glow-worm*, came out with a *Light*.
Then Home let us hasten, while yet we can see,
For no Watchman is waiting for you and for me.
So said little Robert, and pacing along,
His merry Companions returned in a Throng.¹⁸

The last lines quoted are reminiscent of the design as well as mood of the second plate of "The Echoing Green." The poem moralizes just a little at the end, but is infinitely more playful than Watts' poem about

emmetts--in the generalizing plural, not the specific singular as in Blake and Roscoe.¹⁹ The poem was enormously popular, and gave rise to many sequels and imitations. Perhaps, in one way and another, Blake had more effect upon his contemporary world than we usually realize.

Arnold Goldman has already written an article associating Blake with the Roscoes, suggesting that W. Roscoe may very well have owned a copy of *Poetical Sketches* which influenced a poem written by his son William Stanley Roscoe.²⁰ Both subscribed to Crome's edition of *The Grave*, presumably in response to Crome's direct solicitation, since he arrived in Liverpool in 1806 armed with a letter of introduction from Fuseli.²¹ Roscoe was building a library, and is known to have owned also Hayley's *The Life, and Posthumous Writings of William Cowper*, published in 1803 with six plates engraved by Blake.²² He not only collected books, but wrote an unpublished poem on "The Origin of Engraving," in addition to quite well-known poems attacking the slave-trade and



welcoming the French Revolution.²³ He knew Johnson, Hayley, Cromek, and Fuseli--Fuseli very well. Fuseli wrote to him mentioning Blake at least twice, once in 1792 telling Roscoe about two of his Milton paintings that were "intended for Blake," and again in 1798, this time commending Blake for the excellence of his handling of drapery in the engraving of Fuseli's "Fertilization of Egypt" for Darwin's *The Botanic Garden*.²⁴ The letter clearly implies that Roscoe would recognize Blake's name. Cromek has a comment that links the two together in a letter to James Montgomery: "I am certain--and it is the opinion of M. Roscoe & M. Blake as well as myself--that your volume will *command* the applause & admiration of all good Men, & of all Lovers of the Higher kinds of Poetry."²⁵ Given Roscoe's interests, and his contacts in Blake's circle, it would be almost surprising if the two had had no contact. There is no record of his owning a copy of the *Songs*, but there is no difficulty in believing that he might have seen one, and there is good evidence for his interest in illuminated manuscripts of an earlier era.²⁶

The collection has one more item related to Roscoe, a copy of *Religious Emblems, Being a series of Engravings on Wood*, published in 1809 with designs by Thurston and descriptions written by Joseph Thomas, a major patron of Blake. As Leslie Parris has pointed out, the presence of such names as Cromek, Flaxman, and Fuseli in the list of subscribers make it very probable that the "William Blake, Esq." also listed

is our poet.²⁷ The present copy has been inscribed to Roscoe by the authors, and was doubtless the immediate cause of the fulsome testimonial from Roscoe that Parris records as present in a copy of the work in his possession which had probably belonged to either Thomas or Thurston. The inscription to Roscoe reads thus: "M. Thomas and M. Thurston request M. Roscoe's acceptance of this work, in testimony, of the high sense they entertain of his distinguished talents and likewise as a mark of their ESTEEM. While [White?] Grove, Epsom Sept. 1st 1809." The volume also contains a bookplate identifying it as being *ex libris* William Malin Roscoe, Roscoe's great-grandson, dated 1897. Roscoe's library was dispersed by auction after his bankruptcy in 1816, but Roscoe specifically stated that he was withholding from the auction books given him by their authors, and this volume was doubtless among those which thus remained in the family.²⁸ The language of the inscription is rather formal, but certainly is one more piece of evidence, however minor, linking Roscoe with Blake's circle of friends and patrons.

The connections made here between Blake and William Roscoe are all indirect, but I hope that they are suggestive. The work of piecing together a fuller picture of Blake's relationship with the society of his time is a continuing process, and the kinds of information that can be found in collections such as that at McGill can help to fill in the details of that growing picture.



8 Pen and wash drawing by Blake, No. 130 in Rossetti's catalogue in the 1880 edition of Gilchrist. McGill University.

9 Verso of illus. 8; pen, pencil and wash drawing by Blake, McGill University.

¹ See Keynes, *Engravings by William Blake: The Separate Plates* (Dublin: Emery Walker, 1956), p. 78, and also his "William Blake and Bart's" in *Blake Newsletter* 25 (Summer 1973), 9-10.

² See Keynes, *Engravings by William Blake: The Separate Plates*, pp. 86-87, and pl. 45. Lowry was the inventor of a ruling machine used for engraving, which Blake apparently used in his Dante engravings; see Ruthven Todd, "Blake's Dante Plates," *TLS*, 29 August 1968, p. 928.

³ See G. E. Bentley, Jr., *Blake Records* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969), pp. 195-97.

⁴ See the bibliography in Jocelyn Harris, ed., *The History of Sir Charles Grandison* (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1972), I, xl. It is admitted that the list is "probably not complete" (I, xxxix). The British Museum Catalogue lists a "Cooke's edition. Embellished with . . . engravings. 7 vol. London, 1817. 24^o," which I have not seen, but the date, number of volumes, and format (the McGill copy is 8^o) seem clearly to mark this as a different edition. The layout of the text is not identical with that of *The Novelist's Magazine* edition.

⁵ See under D. Cock and Co. in William B. Todd, *A Directory of Printers and Others in Allied Trades: London and Vicinity 1800-1840* (London: Printing Historical Society, 1972).

⁶ *DNB*.

⁷ I have not found any trace of this name in any of the standard dictionaries of artists and engravers, and assume it to be a fiction.

⁸ The repetition of irregular marks which are not part of the engraving proper suggests that the later plate is not copied from the first by any method involving tracing. For helpful information on copying methods--and ethics--in the period, see G. E. Bentley, Jr., *The Early Engravings of Flaxman's Classical Designs: A Bibliographical Study, With a Note on the Duplicating of Engravings* by Richard J. Wolfe (New York: New York Public Library, 1964). The methods discussed by Wolfe's note both involve tracing.

⁹ Stothard became an academician in 1794, according to the *DNB*.

¹⁰ See G. E. Bentley, Jr., *Blake Records* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p. 609.

¹¹ See also Ada E. Briggs, "Mr. Butts, the Friend and Patron of Blake," *The Connoisseur*, 19 (October 1907), 90-92, and G. E. Bentley, Jr., "Thomas Butts, White Collar Maecenas," *PMLA*, 71 (1956), 1052-66.

¹² To my eye there is some analogy with the floating Eve and relaxed Adam of Fuseli's painting of "The Creation of Eve," though the drawing is clearly not by Fuseli.

¹³ See Alexander Gilchrist, *Life of William Blake*, 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan, 1880), I, 132 and II, 268.

¹⁴ The design suggests to me the following lines from Blair's *The Grave*:

The sickly Taper
By glimmering thro' thy low-brow'd misty Vaults,
(Furr'd round with mouldy Damps, and ropy Slime,
Lets fall a supernumerary Horror,
And only serves to make thy Night more irksome

(*The Grave* [London, 1743], p. 4, ll. 16-20), though the drawing is much earlier than Blake's designs for Cromek's edition of 1808.

¹⁵ See Martin Butlin, "Five Blakes from a Nineteenth-Century Scottish Collection," *Blake Newsletter* 25 (Summer 1973), p. 8.

¹⁶ It is possible that the attributions are in part simply optimistic reflections of entry No. 132 in A. G. B. Russell, *The Engravings of William Blake* (London: Grant Richards, 1912), though the information on the labels is quite specific.

¹⁷ The MS of the poem is dated January 1802; see George Chandler, *William Roscoe of Liverpool* (London: Batsford, 1953), p. 114.

¹⁸ The lines are quoted from *The Butterfly's Ball and the Grasshopper's Feast*, A Facsimile Reproduction of the Edition of 1808, ed. Charles Welsh (London: Griffith and Farran, 1883); see pp. iii-v, 5, and 7. Some later versions with the same title have a different text. "A Dream" from *Songs of Innocence* is not one of the poems published by Malkin in 1806, which is in any case too late; see *Blake Records*, pp. 421-31.

¹⁹ See V. de Sola Pinto, "William Blake, Isaac Watts, and Mrs. Barbauld," in V. de Sola Pinto, ed., *The Divine Vision* (1957; rpt. New York: Haskell House, 1968), pp. 76-78.

²⁰ Arnold Goldman, "Blake and the Roscoes," *N&Q*, 210 [N.S. 12] (1965), 178-82.

²¹ See Bentley, *Blake Records*, p. 179.

²² Goldman, "Blake and the Roscoes," pp. 179-80.

²³ For the poem on engraving, see Henry Roscoe, *The Life of William Roscoe* (London: Cadell, and Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1833), I, 67; for Roscoe on the slave-trade and the French Revolution, see Chandler, *William Roscoe*, pp. 60-70. Roscoe's "The Song for the Anniversary of the French Revolution, Liverpool, 14th July, 1791" was a great success, and though the *Song* was published anonymously, Priestley knew of Roscoe's authorship (Chandler, p. 70). Chandler also cites evidence (p. 83) that Roscoe sent Fuseli a copy of his unsigned ballad attacking Burke. Roscoe's poems clearly circulated among Blake's friends and acquaintances.

²⁴ For Roscoe's friendship with Fuseli, see Hugh Macandrew, "Henry Fuseli and William Roscoe," *Walker Art Gallery Bulletin*, 8 (1959-1960), 5-32. For Fuseli's letters to Roscoe about Blake, see Bentley, *Blake Records*, pp. 46-47, and Hugh Macandrew, "Selected Letters from the Correspondence of Henry Fuseli and William Roscoe of Liverpool," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 62 (July-December 1963), 218. Bentley appears to have missed this second letter, which constitutes another contemporary reference to Blake.

²⁵ The letter is quoted by G. E. Bentley, Jr., "Blake and Cromek: The Wheat and the Tares," *MP*, 71 (1974), 373.

²⁶ See Chandler, *William Roscoe*, pp. 16, 107.

²⁷ Leslie Parris, "William Blake's Mr. Thomas," *TLS*, 5 December 1968, p. 1390. See also *Blake Records*, 165-66.

²⁸ Henry Roscoe, *Life of William Roscoe*, p. 118.

The preparation of this essay was aided by a grant from the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research at McGill. Diane Maynor brought the *Grandison* edition to my attention.



10 Photographs (reversed) of two woodblocks described as illustrating a Harris edition of *The Butterfly's Ball*, the larger (61 x 57 mm.) attributed to "W. Blake & Flaxman," the smaller (76 x 21 mm.) attributed to "W. Blake and Craig."



BLAKE AND THE MILLS OF INDUCTION

HARRY WHITE

It has been said that what characterized the eighteenth century as the "Age of Newton" was not so much "its physics or metaphysics, as . . . its conception of the aims and methods of science." It "was Newton's inductivism and experimentalism . . . rather than his optics or his mechanics that motivated the leaders . . . of eighteenth-century English intellectual history."¹ When doubts arose during the century concerning the new science, they were certainly not about its results, nor necessarily about its metaphysical implications, the impact of which was not fully felt until the nineteenth century, but its methodology. The empirical philosophy which came to prominence with the successes of experimentalism had rejected traditional logic because its arguments were shown to be inevitably circular, but it soon appeared as if circular patterns of thought were also inherent in the scientific method. Blake's case against experimentalism tends to deal more exhaustively with its metaphysical implications as his vision develops; but in his earliest writings he employs circular imagery to describe those logical difficulties confronting the method itself, the implications of which were far-reaching for the Enlightenment's hope for continued progress promoted by the advancement of science. Blake's larger purpose in attacking the logic of experimentalism was therefore to re-affirm the idea of scientific progress in light of explanations which implied that science could succeed only within an essentially fixed and stable world order.

The works of Bacon, Newton, and Locke had demonstrated the need for a new logic to replace that of the schoolmen. Bacon may be considered for our purposes the first to significantly criticize Aristotelean logic and syllogistic deduction in particular, contending that these methods of reasoning were without "issue," incapable of advancing scientific inquiry because they did nothing more than lead men through mazes of circular argumentation: "[A]ll hitherto done with regard to the *Sciences*," he complained, "is vertiginous, or in the way of perpetual rotation."² Writers coming after Bacon would repeatedly use images of circles to expose the limitations of traditional logic. Of special interest is the image of the mill which, when serving as a negative emblem, is central to Blake's depictions of rational processes. Locke himself used it to caution against circumscribing the quest for knowledge--typically comparing the new approach to learning with geographical exploration:

I do not say, to be a good geographer, that a man should visit every mountain, river, promontory, and creek upon the face of the earth . . . ; but yet everyone must allow that he shall know a country better that makes often sallies into it and traverses up and down, than he that like a mill-horse goes still round in the same track. . . .³

The mill image makes a similar appearance in a 1774 article by Thomas Reid entitled, "A Brief Account of Aristotle's Logic." By then this kind of accounting had become rather common. Reid points to the "slow progress of useful knowledge, during the many ages in which the syllogistic art was most highly cultivated as the only guide to science, and its quick progress since that art was disused. . . ." The ancients, he adds, seem to have had too high a notion of "the reasoning power in Man":

Mere reasoning can carry us but a very little way in most subjects. By observation, and experiments properly conducted, the stock of human knowledge may be enlarged without end; but the power of reasoning alone, applied with vigor through a long life, would only carry a man round like a horse in a mill, who labours hard but makes no progress.⁴

Blake appears to have adopted the very concerns and some of the same metaphors of empirical philosophy in his criticism of it. Urizen, described as "Self-closed," "self-contemplating," and "unprolific" (*The Book of Urizen*, E 69),⁵ calls to mind Bacon's description of the sciences as rotating back upon themselves and without issue. Blake repeatedly portrays Urizen's observations as "explorations"; and also warns, as do Locke, Reid, and others, that "none by travelling over known lands can find out the unknown" ("All Religions are One"). But most significantly, he employs images like the mill to indicate that the fruitless process of reason's "dull round" may describe aspects of experimentalism ("There is No Natural Religion") and to suggest furthermore the degenerative effects of all such mental drudgery, whether old or new. For at another point from a mill is brought forth "the skeleton of a body, which in the mill was Aristotle's Analytics" (*The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, E 41). By encompassing the logic of experimentalism as well as that of Aristotle, the mill serves to deny the very distinctions it served to

of rationalization. Yet, attempts to explain the scientific method did not seem concerned with emphasizing that, on the contrary, science demanded independence of thought capable, when necessary, of creatively challenging conventional reasoning. Instead, writers of the eighteenth century were suggesting that the new inductive procedures, no longer regarded as so radically new nor even entirely rational, were still viable because mankind, either for example as a result of "common sense" (Reid) or "custom and habit" (Hume), was disposed to comprehend experience as essentially stable and predictable: "All inferences from experience . . .," Hume believed, "are the effects of custom. . . ."11 Blake probably had explanations such as these in mind when he wrote that what one had "to do to Prove that All Truth is Prejudice" was to conceive all knowledge in terms of "Demonstrative Science such as is Weighed or Measured" (Annotations to Reynolds, E 648). Somehow liberal and progressive ideas no longer seemed relevant to discussions of scientific methodology; and even liberals like Joseph Priestly were proposing that we have "always found it to be so [that the future will be like the past]; and, therefore, how can we suspect the contrary?"12 Yet, "Without Contraries is no progression" (*Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, E 34); and contrary to commonly held views, Blake was suggesting that science required a willingness to accept the possibility of a future radically different from the past.

Contrary progression was Blake's solution to the problem of circularity and his answer to those "conservative" justifications of scientific methodology; but before turning to it, we should first note that if the key element in his conception of a progressive science was something other than reason, then those doubts as to the supposed rationality of experimentalism pointed the way to something like a poetic, rather than a logical genius initiating advances in science. Stephen Hales, for instance, found it reasonable, when travelling from "the utmost Boundaries of those Things which we clearly know" to "the adjoining Borders of *Terra incognita*, . . . to indulge in Conjecture . . . ; otherwise we should make but very slow Advances in future Discoveries, either by Experiments or Reasoning. . . ."13 And having demonstrated that no form of logic, including scientific induction, could reasonably proceed beyond its own premises, Hume proposed that the laws of the empirical sciences were based instead upon imaginative associations. There was simply no other conclusion to draw from the realization that 1) even the supposedly new logical procedures could not reasonably advance beyond the known and that 2) nevertheless, great and startling new discoveries had in fact occurred in the sciences: "As none by travelling over known lands can find out the unknown. So from already acquired knowledge Man could not acquire more. therefore an universal Poetic Genius exists" ("All Religions"). Blake's proof of the existence of a poetic genius is thus predicated upon his belief in the actual existence of a progressive science. For he did not doubt the capacity of modern science to advance human knowledge. He only argued that its progress could not be accounted for by resorting to notions like ampliative induction. Imaginative perception was the truly novel feature of the modern, empirical sciences which distinguished them from all

that had been previously done in matters of science and philosophy. It was the element without which even modern science would go round in circles:

If it were not for the Poetic or Prophetic character the Philosophic & Experimental would soon be at the ratio of all things, & stand still unable to do other than repeat the same dull round over again[.] ("Natural Religion")

With such statements Blake points to an irreconcilability between the logical and empirical elements of modern science. The Urizenic solution to these differences was, as we have seen, to impose a logical order upon observable reality, and his efforts were reflected in the persistent attempts of empirical philosophers to locate an essential continuity and consistency within human experience by speaking of habitual inferences and resemblances between past and future. The advantage of so defining progress as linear was that movement would then proceed entirely within a stable framework of reasonable expectations--a kind of Burkean growth process quite different from the radical notion of contrary progression. For Blake realized that movement that fulfills expectations must be going in circles; and believing that contraries ought never to be reconciled since they make for progress, he regarded this irreconcilability within the method not as a problem requiring resolution, but as the very source of scientific progress. Progress depended neither upon the certainty nor the permanence of the demonstrations of experimentalism. For the essence of modern science lay, to the contrary, in its tendency to challenge continuously all rational demonstrations, while replacing them with "scientific truths" which were in themselves recognized to be "mutable . . . [,] true at one time and not at another. . . ."14 Thus while the scientific method arrived at some genuinely new discoveries, seen by Blake as shifts in imaginative perception of reality, such discoveries had to be viewed as part of a dialectical process in which discovery functioned at one and the same time as a means of refutation: "What is now proved was once, only imagin'd" (*Marriage*, E 36); and for certain, what is now proved will inevitably be disproved: "Reason or A Ratio of All We have Known is not the Same as it shall be when we know More" (Annotations to Reynolds, E 649. Reynolds had just remarked that "reason is something invariable," for Blake an ancient and medieval belief that was no longer tenable within a scientific and progressive civilization.)

Karl Popper has noted in our century that it "is through the falsification of our suppositions that we actually get in touch with 'reality.'" Scientific "theories must be falsifiable: it is through their falsification that science progresses."15 Similarly for Blake, the choice, upon which the ultimate regeneration of mankind depended, was between a science which afforded the security of certain knowledge, the "same dull round . . . , a mill with complicated wheels" ("Natural Religion"), or that which provided progressive enlightenment: "Science cannot exist . . . in generalizing Demonstrations of the Rationalizing Power. . . . Establishment of Truth depends on the destruction of Falsehood continually" (*Jerusalem*, E 203).

- ¹ L. L. Laudan, "Thomas Reid and the Newtonian Turn of British Methodological Thought," *The Methodological Heritage of Newton*, eds. Butts & Davis (University of Toronto Press, 1970), p. 104.
- ² "De Augmentis Scientiarum," *The Philosophical Works of Francis Bacon*, trans. Peter Shaw, vol. I (London, 1733), p. 4.
- ³ "Of the Conduct of the Understanding," *The Works of John Locke*, vol. I (Freeport, N.Y., 1969), p. 33.
- ⁴ *Thomas Reid: Philosophical Works*, vol. II (Hildesheim, 1967), p. 701.
- ⁵ All Blake quotations are taken from *The Poetry and Prose of William Blake*, ed. David V. Erdman (Garden City, 1970).
- ⁶ "Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind," *The Collected Works of Dugald Stewart*, ed. Sir William Hamilton, vol. III (Edinburgh, 1854), p. 258.
- ⁷ John Wallis, *Institutio Logica* (1715) as quoted in *Collected Works*, p. 257. Frye's statement that "the ratio of all we have already known" refers to "deductive reasoning" (*Fearful Symmetry* [Princeton University Press, 1958], p. 22) is not quite precise enough to reveal the point Blake is making about the failure of the "method of knowledge [which] is experiment" ("All Religions") to truly distinguish itself

from syllogistic reasoning.

- ⁸ *Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy*, trans. Andrew Motte, vol. II (London, 1729), p. 392.
- ⁹ "An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding," *The English Philosophers from Bacon to Mill*, ed. Edwin A. Burt (New York, 1939), pp. 605, 606.
- ¹⁰ Hume's name appears in several of Blake's writings, and Blake was apparently aware of Hume's proposal that there was no rational basis for our belief that the sun will rise in the morning: "He [referring to Joshua Reynolds] may as well say that if man does not lay down settled Principles. The Sun will not rise in a Morning" ("Annotations to Reynolds," E 649).
- ¹¹ "Enquiry," p. 610.
- ¹² "Remarks on Dr. Reid's Inquiry," *The Theological and Miscellaneous Works of Joseph Priestly*, vol. III (n.p., n.d.), p. 58.
- ¹³ *Statistical Essays*, vol. II (London, 1733), pp. xiii-xiv.
- ¹⁴ Thomas Reid, "Essays on the Intellectual Powers of Man," *Thomas Reid*, vol. I, p. 442.
- ¹⁵ *Objective Knowledge* (Oxford, 1972), pp. 360, 361.

THE VICISSITUDES OF VISION

THE FIRST ACCOUNT OF WILLIAM BLAKE IN RUSSIAN

G. E. BENTLEY, JR.

William Blake is essentially an English phenomenon, strange and bewildering to his contemporaries, barely of interest beyond the English-speaking world until more than a century after his birth in 1757. Even today, no contemporary copy of Blake's writings is known to be outside the Anglophone world of Britain, the United States, New Zealand, Australia, and Canada, and, though there are hundreds of articles and books on Blake in other languages, chiefly Japanese, they are mostly derivative and introductory. The poet called himself "English Blake,"¹ and so he is.

Interest in and information about Blake spread beyond the English Channel only very slowly. Aside from incidental references in bibliographies and directories,² the first account of Blake in German was in 1811, the first in the United States in 1830, the first in French in 1833, and even these were essentially English. Anon., "William Blake, Künstler, Dichter, und religiöser Schwärmer" in *Vaterländisches Museum*, 1 (January 1811), 107-31, was written by an Englishman, Henry Crabb Robinson,³ and Anon., "Hôpital des fous à Londres" in *Revue Britannique*, 3^e Série, 4 (July 1833), 179-87, is manifestly based

on, and confused from, Anon., "Bits of Biography. No. I. Blake, the Vision Seer, and Martin the York Minster Incendiary," *Monthly Magazine*, 15 (March 1833), 244-49.⁴ The early accounts of Blake in the United States are all simply extracts from or reprints of Allan Cunningham's life of Blake (1830).⁵ And there are apparently no accounts of Blake at all, not even incidental references to him, in Italy, Spain, or Holland or in other Romance or Germanic languages until well after 1863, when Alexander Gilchrist's *Life of William Blake*, "Pictor Ignotis" made him sensationally well known.

In these circumstances, it is astonishing to find an article on Blake in Russian as early as 1834, an article, moreover, which does not appear in any Blake bibliography and which is quite unknown to Blake scholars. What it says and how it got there are mysteries well worth pursuing.

When I was in Leningrad in 1973, I visited the great Saltykov-Shchedrin Library where Lenin had worked, to discover what they have on Blake, and found in due time that their surprisingly extensive Blake holdings included an article on the poet in *Teleskop* for 1834.⁶ When I first saw the *Teleskop* entry in the Saltykov-Shchedrin Blake list, I assumed that it must be misdated; indeed, I was

* The translation of the Russian account itself will appear in the journal of The University of Poona [India].

moderately confident that this must be the case until many months later, when I saw a microfilm copy of the journal itself. Then, persuaded of the importance of the article, I of course had to secure a translation, for I have no Russian at all. I was fortunate in securing the assistance of Mrs. Christine Moisan, a graduate student in Russian at The University of Toronto, who made a careful translation of the article and gave me information about *Teleskop* itself.

The anonymous article is entitled "Artist-Poet-Sumassheshii: zhizn Vil'yama Bleka [Artist-Poet-Madman: Life of William Blake]," *Teleskop* [*Telescope*: A Journal of Contemporary Enlightenment], Vol. 22 (Moscow: Printed by P. Stepanov, Published by Nicolai Nadezhdin, 1834), 69-97. *Teleskop* was evidently an energetic though short-lived attempt to give Russian intellectuals a window on the European cultural world, and it regularly printed articles on the literature of France and England. The Russian writer of the 1834 essay had not known Blake but was depending on second-hand information. The substance of the *Teleskop* Blake essay is an adaptation of Cunningham's life of Blake which appeared in his *The Lives of the Most Eminent British Painters, Sculptors, and Architects* (1830), Vol. II, pp. 143-88, in a series published by John Murray called The Family Library. Indeed, references in the essay make it clear that it was the second edition of Cunningham (also of 1830) which was used, for the letter from Charles Lamb and "Holy Thursday" from *Songs of Innocence* given in *Teleskop* were first printed in Cunningham's second edition.

The adaptor gives no indication that he has sources of biographical information beyond Cunningham's account. The reference to "Biographers," plural, in Paragraph 11, seems to refer to Cunningham and to J. T. Smith's account of Blake in *Nollekens and his Times* (1828) which is explicitly quoted by Cunningham. He says that he has seen "a few" of Blake's *Job* prints (Para. 47), and he may be naming those he has seen in his abbreviated list of them, but such knowledge is not improbable, since we know that the *Job* designs were circulating in France and Germany in the early 1830s.⁷ When the adaptor says that he "could present them [the readers] with a full catalogue" of Blake's literary "works" (Para. 49), we may be confident that he could have done no better than make a further digest of Cunningham's information; certainly he gives no facts about Blake which are not also in Cunningham's life of Blake.

Though the adaptor has derived all his Blake information from Cunningham, he does not go through Cunningham's account systematically at all. This is just as well, as a matter of fact, for Cunningham's story is highly anecdotal and chronologically ricketty. For example, Cunningham discusses "The Chimney Sweeper" and "Holy Thursday" from *Songs of Innocence* in his Paragraphs 13 and 53,⁸ while the adaptation much more satisfactorily discusses the two poems sequentially, in Paragraphs 20-27.

Of course, the adaptor has added a great deal to Cunningham's account, both in new material (usually opinions and comparisons) and in new emphases and interpretations. While Paragraphs 2-9, 11-12, 20-25,

27, 29-30, 35-36, 38, 41-43, 44 (mostly), and 46 are little more than translations of Cunningham, the Russian Paragraphs 1, 10, 15, 31, 33 (the first half), 47 (the first three sentences), 48 (the first two sentences), 49, and 52 (the last sentence), for example, are entirely new. In general, where Cunningham was usually faithful to Blake in his fashion, the adaptor is merely often faithful to Cunningham. Normally, the adaptor takes Cunningham's materials and goes beyond them, as when he says that "The Chimney Sweeper" "can give some idea of Blake's lack of sophistication, and perhaps even of his too child-like spiritualism" (Paragraph 19), when Cunningham had only said that it is "rude enough, truly, but yet not without pathos" (Paragraph 13). Even the biographical "facts" are altered at the whim of the adaptor, particularly with dialogue. A good deal of the dialogue is simply invented by the adaptor, turning into dramatic form what Cunningham had left as mere expository narrative. For instance, the dialogue in Paragraphs 2, 3, 16 (most of it), 37 (the last quotation), and 44 (at the end) does not appear in Cunningham at all. There is, however, some poetic justice in this dramatization of Cunningham's prose, for Cunningham had been similarly high-handed with his source, J. T. Smith, in making dialogue out of mere narration.

Occasionally, the changes the adaptor makes are so remarkable that one wonders at his grasp of English (or of his own language). For example, where Blake and Cunningham wrote of "books and pictures of old, which I wrote in ages of eternity, before my mortal life" (Paragraph 22), the adaptor gives "books and pictures of old, which I will revive in eternity when I have finished my mortal life" (Paragraph 36). (A yet more striking example is in Paragraph 16.) Either the adaptor's English was pretty poor, or his belief that Blake was deranged made him feel it to be unnecessary to give Blake's words with even approximate accuracy. The differences of past, present, and future, confused here by the adaptor, are substantial.

One effect of the adaptation is to put Blake in a much wider cultural and literary context than Cunningham provides. The adaptor compares Blake with Wordsworth and the Lake School (Paragraph 19), wishes Blake had illustrated Bunyan (Paragraph 33), and discusses him in connection with the great young French Romantic Victor Hugo (1802-85), Alexandre Guiraud (1788-1847), and Lamartine (1790-1869) (Paragraphs 26, 31). Another change is the emphasis upon Blake's madness. Cunningham usually speaks of Blake as "wild . . . overflowing with . . . oddities and dreams" (Paragraph 30), and where he does call him in some respects "utterly wild and mad" he says he "was at the same time perfectly sensible" in other respects (Paragraph 32); he sees Blake as a kind of schizophrenic, a sane artisan by day and a mad visionary by night. His adaptor, however, will scarcely allow the daytime sanity and stresses insistently Blake's "derangement," often with evidence that is virtually invented (e.g., Paragraphs 14-16).

In fact, there can be no doubt that the adaptor was unscrupulously making journalistic capital out of the sensational aspects of Blake's life, and the whole performance is somewhat disreputable. Blake

really did have visions, and the anonymous adaptor seems to have felt that this eccentricity absolved his critics of responsibility to precise truth. It is unfortunate that it was through articles such as this one that Blake's reputation, or notoriety, was spread on the Continent.

It is striking that there are no references to Russian authors in the *Teleskop* article, while the comparisons with Blake added to Cunningham's account are chiefly either French or English. As a matter of fact, the author of the *Teleskop* article is identifiable, and he is not Russian but French. The same article was originally published anonymously as "Artiste, Poete et Fou. (La Vie de Blake)" in *Revue de Paris*, 56 (November 1833), 164-82, and *Teleskop* apparently merely translated it entire, and without acknowledgement. (Indeed, the reference at the end of the *Teleskop* version to "LIVES OF BRITISH ARTISTS" is disingenuous, for the Russian translator apparently never saw Cunningham's *Lives*.) The French adaptor of Cunningham was Amédée Pichot, who reprinted his 1833 article in "Le Visionnaire Blake" in *Revue Britannique*, 5 (1862), 25-47, where he acknowledged that Cunningham's life "m'avait presque seul fourni les documents anecdotique."⁹

The *Teleskop* essay is, then, a translation into Russian (1834) of a rough adaptation into French (1833) of Cunningham's biography in English (1830) which was in turn largely derived from J. T. Smith's biography of Blake (1828). It is a process which makes for lively reading and a degeneration of truth.

¹ *Notebook* p. 5.

² e.g., F. A. Ebert, *Allgemeines Bibliographisches Lexikon*, Vol. I (1821), Vol. II (1830), and P. F. & A. L. Basan, *Dictionnaire des Graveurs Anciens et Modernes* (1809), I, 70--see *Blake Records* (1969), 270, 375-76, 623.

³ See *Blake Records* (1969), 432-55. Robinson's essay was translated into German by Dr. N. K. Julius. The account of Blake in *Zeitgenossen*, 3 (1830), 170-78, is a translation from Cunningham's biography of Blake--see *Blake Records*, 377, n. 2.

⁴ The *Revue Britannique* piece was also the basis for the account of Blake in Brierre de Boismont, *Des Hallucinations* (1845 ff).

⁵ Anon., "Visions of Blake the Artist," *The Casket*, 5 ([Philadelphia] May 1830), 231-32 (reprinting Cunningham Paragraphs 36-39, 41), partly reprinted in *The New-England Weekly Review* [Hartford], 3 May 1830, p. 1; Anon., "Model of a Painter's Wife," *Literary Port Folio*, 1 ([Philadelphia] 13 May 1830), 150 (reprinting the London *Athenaeum* review of Cunningham, 6 February 1830, pp. 66-68); *American Monthly Magazine*, 3 (June 1831), 164-71 (a review of Cunningham consisting largely of extracts)--see *Blake Records*, 377-78, 398, 400, 410. The first edition of Cunningham (but not the second, 1830) was reprinted in the U. S. in 1831, 1837, 1842, 1844, and 1846.

⁶ See "Blake Among the Slavs: A Checklist," *Blake Newsletter* (1977).

⁷ See *Blake Records* (1969), 602, n. 3, and *William Blake: The Critical Heritage* (1975), 229-30.

⁸ All information about Cunningham here derives from *Blake Records* (1969), 476-507, where his life is reprinted and annotated.

⁹ C. H. Moore, "Amédée Pichot's Discovery of Blake," *Etudes Anglaises*, 16 (1963), 54-58, cites L. A. Bisson, *Amédée Pichot: A Romantic Prometheus* (n.d.), who described Pichot as the chief liaison officer between French and English literature.

ANOTHER LOOK AT THE STRUCTURE OF *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*

EDWARD TERRY JONES

Recently Gary J. Taylor has suggested that the mosaic format typical of the primer and early children's books is probably a specific influence on the form of *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*.¹ He finds in the primer a patchwork texture and generic diversity of parts ("illustrations, short poems . . . , dialogues, hymns, proverbs, catechism, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments") similar to Blake's; calls special attention to some pictorial resemblances; and concludes that "Blake very well could have been parodying one of the most widely known of formats, as well as one of the most insidious shapers of men's minds." His case on the whole is a good one,² made still stronger by the fact, unmentioned in his argument, that the most likely specific model for the contemporaneous *Songs of Innocence and of Experience*--Isaac Watts's *Divine Songs*--is also a form of pious children's literature. As Blake for his own corrective purposes made ironic use of the popular children's hymns, so he may have treated the primer.

It is the Bible itself, however, with something like the literary form of a scrapbook, which is the ultimate progenitor of the mosaic format of both the primer and *The Marriage*. Taylor's summary characterization of *The Marriage* as primer just as accurately describes *The Marriage* as bible: "a rich mosaic of parables, emblems, un-commandments, history, and credo."³ Pointing this out hardly vitiates his argument, inasmuch as the primer--given the size of its sections, its woodcut illustrations, and its insistent didacticism--is manifestly the more proximate formal influence. But I want to invoke the presence of the Bible's form behind the primer and *The Marriage* in order to suggest a supplementary Biblical influence on the structure of Blake's work, one linear like a plot rather than planar or textural like a mosaic.

The Bible, notwithstanding the piecemeal appearance of its surface, has been received in cultural history as a unified mythos, an essentially single progression of significant events from creation to apocalypse. *The Marriage*, it seems to me, notwithstanding the piecemeal appearance of its surface, develops a version of this progression. I do not mean to belabor the commonplaces that Blake's canon is Bible-soaked and his thinking nearly always expressed in terms of a story of fall and resurrection. Rather, my point is that the echoes of the Biblical mythos--crucial episodes

in their proper sequence--are numerous and specific enough to give *The Marriage* another dimension of coherence which reinforces Blake's parodic tactics and revisionary intentions.

As the pieces of Blake's mosaic fall into place, a dotted narrative line emerges whose segments parallel these episodes in Biblical history: Fall and Exile, the Law, Priesthood, the Prophets, the Coming of the Messiah, the Proclamation of the Gospel, the Life of Jesus, and the Apocalypse. Since, for my purposes, what is most meaningful is the order in which these occur, what follows is little more than a listing.

Fall and Exile. However the symbolic and syntactical ambiguities of "The Argument" on Plate 2 are resolved, it is clear enough from specific allusions ("red clay," "serpent") and from the action of the poem (the just man, who once kept his way, is driven by the villain into barren climes) that the event under reconsideration is the original sin.

The Law. On Plate 4, "The Voice of the Devil" identifies and corrects the errors caused by "All Bibles or sacred codes." The most famous of sacred codes is of course the Ten Commandments, whose explicit numbering is recalled here and whose repressive character is the prototype for the "Errors" enumerated and corrected. The parodic "Proverbs of Hell" (Plates 7-10) correct similar errors generated by less official forms of prudential wisdom.

Priesthood. On Plate 11, Blake offers a version of the events leading to the ordination of the first priests, a history recorded in the book of Leviticus which has been treated rather differently in orthodox interpretive tradition.

The Prophets. The second "Memorable Fancy" on Plates 12 and 13 finds Blake at table with Isaiah and Ezekiel. Their conversation, in stressing the iconoclasm of prophecy and the unmediated nature of its vision ("Isaiah answer'd. I saw no God, nor heard any, in a finite organical perception"), corrects the mollifications and distortions in "religious" readings of the Prophets.

The Coming of the Messiah. Earlier, in Plate 3, Blake implicitly identified himself with the Messiah. On Plates 14 and 15 he makes the meaning

of that identification more explicit: his engraved works, by cleansing "the doors of perception" and expunging "the notion that man has a body distinct from his soul," are to be the agency of salvation.

The Proclamation of the Gospel. The Doctrine of Contraries is Blake's answer to popular notions of good and evil based on orthodox misreadings of Scripture. Although its presence is felt implicitly throughout *The Marriage*, on Plate 16 the doctrine receives its most succinct and powerful expression.

The Life of Jesus. The fourth "Memorable Fancy" (Plates 17-20) echoes the Biblical accounts of Christ's temptation by Satan in such a way that the episode is made to serve Blake's ends. In Blake's ironic version of the temptation, it is an Angel who tries to dissuade the Messiah (Blake) from his course; it is the Messiah who suggests leaping into the void; and it is the Angel/Tempter who replies, "do not presume." The comic complication of roles lends support to Blake's attack on two fronts: categories of good and evil are salutarily confused and religious doctrines of restraint are undermined. This and the final "Memorable Fancy" (Plates 22-24), because they constitute a reinterpretation of Jesus' life, become both more pointed and more humorous when considered in particular relation to the Gospels. The smug and pious Angels, for example, who invariably speak King Jamesese ("thy phantasy has imposed upon me & thou oughtest to be ashamed.") are Pharisees as funny as any in Medieval drama. And in these penultimate sections of *The Marriage*, as in the Gospels, it is the confutations of Idiot Questioners which sound the most recurrent tone. But the most specific allusions to New Testament episodes, and the most outspoken corrections of prevailing notions concerning the significance of Jesus' ministry, come from the Devil in the last "Memorable Fancy": ". . . if Jesus Christ is the greatest man, you ought to love him in the greatest degree; now hear how he has given his sanction to the law of ten commandments: did he not mock at the sabbath, and so mock the sabbaths God? murder those who were murdered because of him? turn away the law from the woman taken in adultery? steal the labor of others to support him? bear false witness when he omitted making a defense before Pilate? covet when he pray'd for his disciples, and when he bid them shake off the dust of their feet against such as refused to lodge them? I tell you, no virtue can exist without breaking these ten commandments."

The Apocalypse. Like the book of Revelation, "A Song of Liberty" (Plates 25-27) depends heavily on eschatological imagery of tumult and destruction--fire, thunder, earthquake, war. Both record a vision of "things which must shortly come to pass" (Revelation 1:1), and so stand as fit endings to cosmic histories.

To telescope *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* in this way is to reduce shamelessly its real complexities. Blake's treatment of Biblical material can scarcely be separated from its larger context without distortion. Nor is the sequence of Biblical allusions and parallels as neatly progressive as my outline suggests. In fact, Biblical episodes

are echoed backwards and forwards in *The Marriage* in much the same way they are echoed in the Bible itself. As the Bible has been perceived ever since the early Christians, the New Testament is contained in the Old and the Old in the New. One example of how this principle operates in *The Marriage* is the allusion to Golgotha ("tomb") in "The Argument" whose proper subject is Eden. Nonetheless, the gist of a progression of significant episodes seems to me as clear in *The Marriage* as it is in the Bible.

The advantage of my reductive outline is that it serves to reveal the Biblical mythos in *The Marriage* which is so eclipsed by Blake's primary mosaic structure that it has hitherto gone unnoticed. That primary structure, which is argumentative and develops in terms of alternation and reinforcement, has been variously demonstrated to be unified and coherent.⁴ My aim has been to indicate a secondary narrative structure which supports the primary. Whereas the one gives shape to Blake's grappling with ideological truths and falsehoods, the other reproduces and reinterprets the succession of familiar Biblical events on which the falsehoods are based. To find a version of the Biblical mythos underriding Blake's overt argumentation is unsurprising. *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* is, after all, an unsimplification of the orthodox "religious" reading of the Bible.

¹ "The Structure of *The Marriage*: A Revolutionary Primer," *Studies in Romanticism*, 13 (1974), 141-45. This is as good a place as any to mention that the well-known influence on *The Marriage* of Swedenborg's *Heaven and Hell* is a matter of incidental parody and refutation. *The Heaven and Hell*, whose Memorable Relations Blake satirizes in his Memorable Fancies, does not seem to have exercised any general influence on the design of *The Marriage*.

² Although his argument is generally convincing, Taylor does make too much of certain pictorial correspondences between *The Marriage* and the primers. He says that a common frontispiece to primers is the "Tree of Knowledge" which, in one primer at least, depicts a figure in a tree knocking alphabetic fruit to a figure below. Then he goes on to point the parallel that "in *Marriage*, pl. 2 . . . an energetic figure in the tree hands down fruit to a figure of some beauty below" (p. 144). Actually, in Blake's illustration it is unclear--perhaps deliberately so--what the figure in the tree (which is barren) is handing down. See David Erdman's annotations in *The Illuminated Blake* (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1974), pp. 15, 99; and Geoffrey Keynes's commentary on Plate 2 in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* (London and New York: Oxford Univ. Press in association with The Trianon Press, Paris, 1975).

³ p. 145.

⁴ See the following: *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, facsimile, with a note by Max Plowman (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1927); Martin K. Nurmi, *Blake's Marriage of Heaven and Hell: A Critical Study*, Kent State Univ. Bulletin, Research Series III (Kent, Ohio, April, 1957); *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, introduced by Clark Emery (Coral Gables, Florida: Univ. of Miami Press, 1963). Taylor conveniently summarizes these discussions at the outset of his essay.

MAPPING BLAKE'S LONDON

MARY LYNN JOHNSON-GRANT

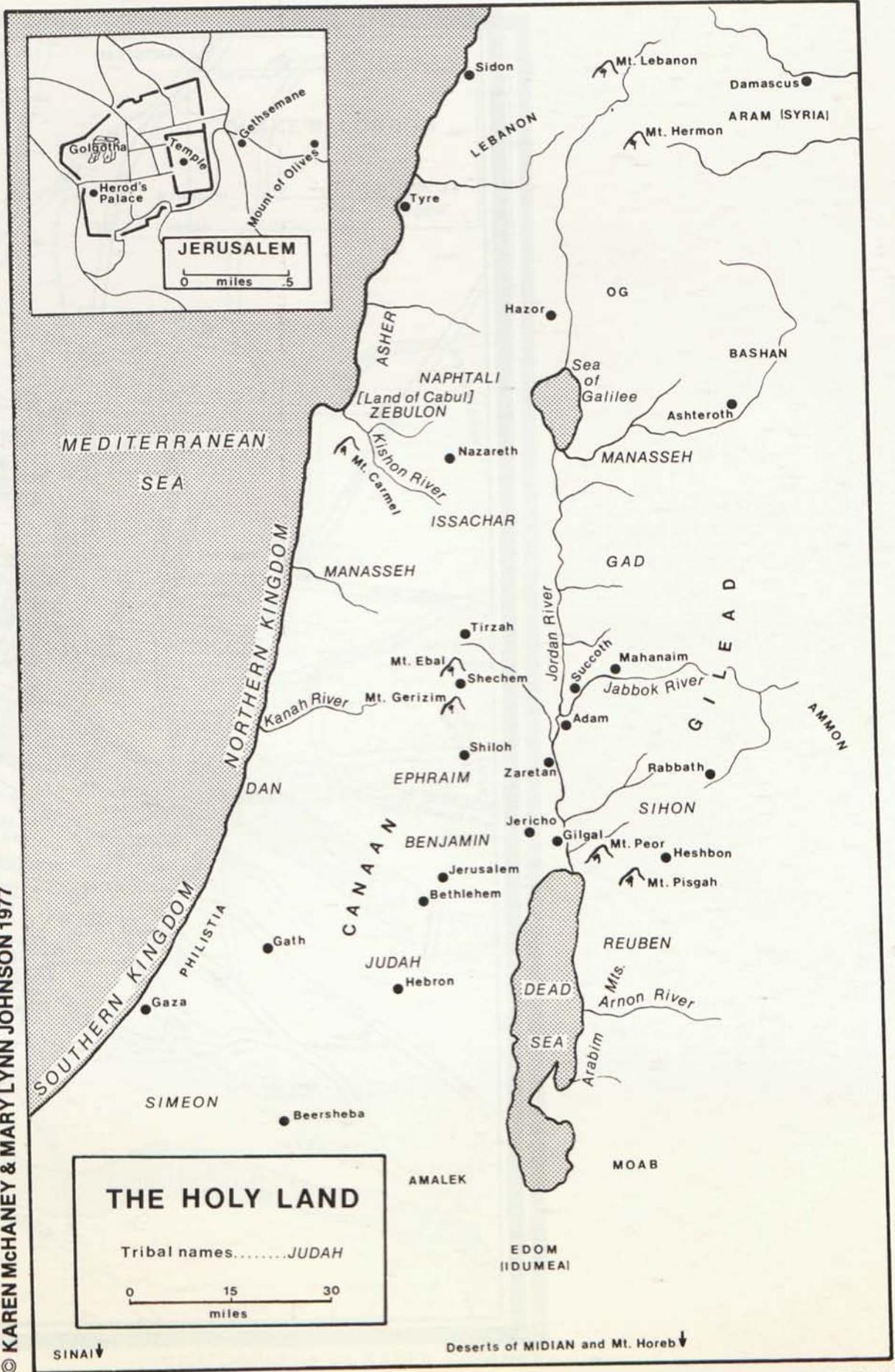
When Karen McHaney and I began working on maps for the Norton Critical Edition of Blake in February 1976, neither of us knew what we were getting into. Karen, a professional cartographer who happens to be a close friend of mine, expected to do precision work; I had in mind a visionary map making use of the northern and southern "gates" in *Milton* 28 [K 26] and the miniature skylines of York and London in *Jerusalem* 57, perhaps outlining Albion's sleeping body against the cliffs of Dover. I thought we could distort the scale along the lines of "A New Yorker's View of the U.S.A.," which shows the Hudson River about where the Mississippi should be and the rest of the country a shrunken blur, except for San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Miami Beach. The only example I had on hand to give Karen was a non-scale tourist map of London which contains blow-ups of the main attractions. It turned out, however, that Karen's insistence on true scale forced me to a better understanding of the physical spaces in Blake's visionary universe which I believe will make certain geographical relationships clearer to others than can be determined from previously existing maps.

We worked first on the Holy Land and Britain, thinking it would be a cinch to put together the maps in the backs of our Bibles with Stevenson's map in the Longman-Norton Blake and to check both against Blake's biblical allusions. But Bible maps show political boundaries at particular points in history, and the map in Stevenson's edition (p. 575, drawn by K. C. Jordan) doesn't make a typographical distinction between tribal names and other territories such as Bashan and Moab; also the tribal territory of Simeon has been omitted. We combined place-names from all historical periods to represent Blake's overlaying a Christian outlook upon this ancient land. When the authorities were uncertain or in conflict about the location of a city, we placed it where it seemed best to fit Blake's references. To keep the map uncluttered, we left out all places important in the Bible but unimportant in Blake. We followed the same practice for the map of Britain, adding to Damon's *Dictionary* map of the cathedral cities the locations of the 52 counties (a meaningless catalogue of names to American students) and the major rivers and mountains mentioned by Blake, as well as Felpham and the landmarks in the southern "gate," Lizard Point and Land's End. We settled for an arrow pointing to Caithness along the northern "gate"; if we had extended the area to the north of Scotland we would

have had no space for the names of the counties, after reduction to fit the map on the Norton page. Our effort to draw something resembling both the coastline of Britain and the Giant Form of Albion came to nothing; perhaps some one person knowledgeable in Blake and skilled in cartography, calligraphy, and drawing could do better. We left Albion and Jerusalem to the viewer's imagination and suggested the visionary dimensions of Britain and Palestine by Stonehenge-like trilithon markers for places associated with human sacrifice, including Golgotha and Tyburn.

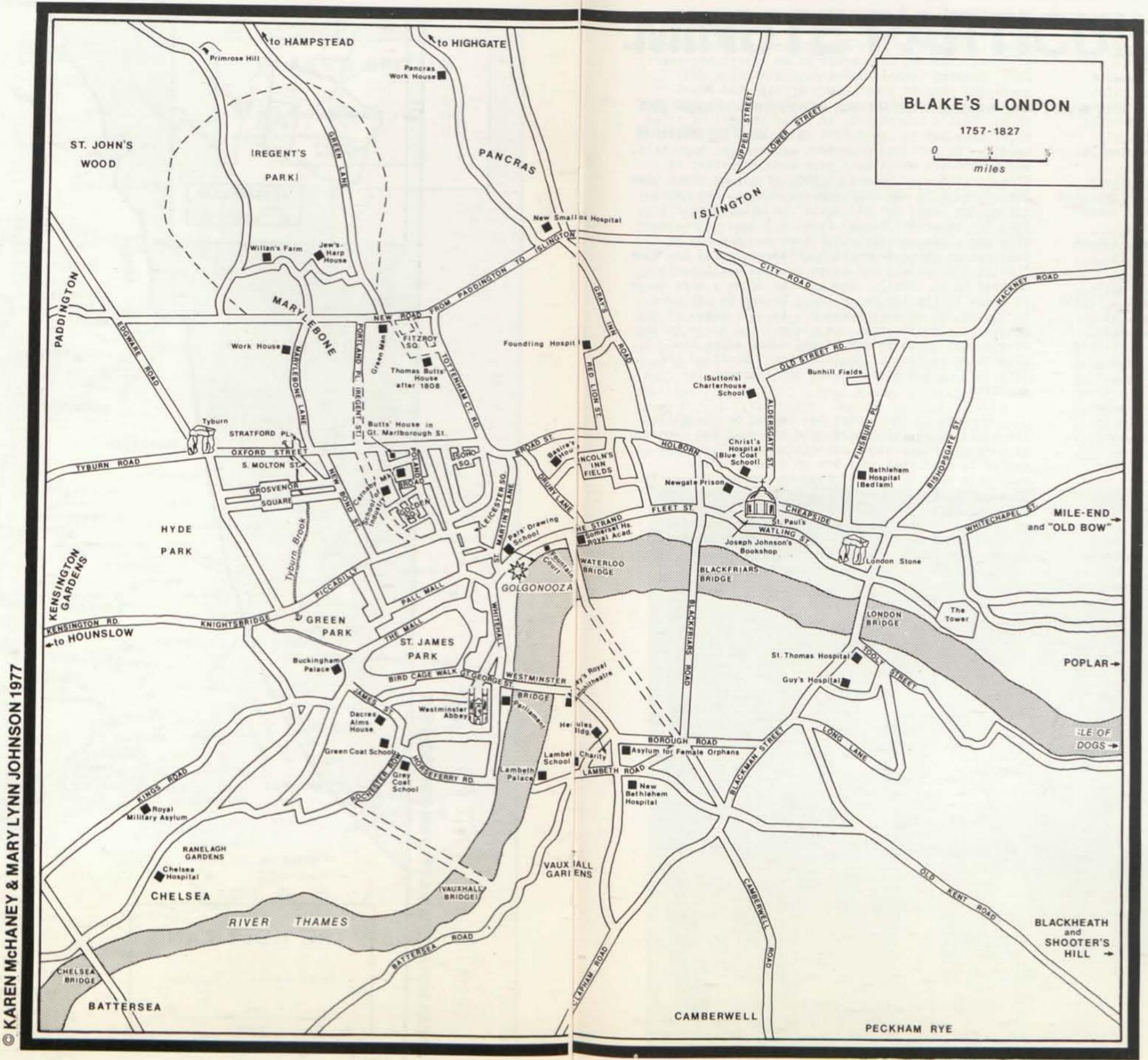
Making the London map was the hardest, yet most rewarding, of our jobs. Our chief innovation has been to represent all places important to Blake, in both his life and his work, during all periods of his career. Thus we could not base our map on any single historical map. Stevenson's "Map of London ca. 1810" requires an explanatory note: "The site of Regent St. is approximately that of Swallow St. on this map" (p. 621), and in any case it takes in so much territory that it had to be reduced beyond the point of legibility to fit on the page. Nor could we depend upon the portion of Cary's "Plan of London and Westminster" (1820) reproduced in Damon's *Dictionary*--helpful though it was to us--because the Blake locations don't stand out among all the other features; also it doesn't extend far enough east into The City to show St. Paul's and London Stone or far enough north to show Regent's Park. Until the last stages of our project, I somehow forgot about Bentley's reproduction of portions of Horwood's "Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster" (1792-99), which points out all Blake's residences; without Bentley's guidance I would have misplaced Fountain Court near the Temple, on the basis of an erroneous guidebook description. Because of the combined effects of photographic blurring and reduction, the name of Fountain Court in Bentley's reproduction is illegible; this street is not shown at all in Damon's clear reproduction of Cary's Plan (it should be about where the "46" is, west of Waterloo Bridge).

Because we were not confined to a London map of any one year, we were able to represent "eternally building eternally falling" London: John Nash's renovations (1812-20) and Waterloo Bridge (originally planned as Strand Bridge). Here I began to understand what the Golden Builders were doing. We had already found Willan's Farm and the Jew's-Harp House on early maps of London before Blake's time; in



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CARTOGRAPHY BY KAREN MCHANEY



BLAKE'S LONDON
1757-1827

0 1/4 1/2 3/4 1 miles

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CARTOGRAPHY BY KAREN MCHANEY

aligning these with post-1820 maps showing the results of Nash's project, I was finally able to grasp the point that the farm and the tavern were actually within the royal preserve which Nash redesigned as Regent's Park--not further out in the country as I had imagined them. Even after going through piles of reference books, however, we were never entirely sure of the exact course of Tyburn Brook. It rises at Shepherd's Well in Hampstead and since the sixteenth century has flowed in a conduit surfacing at Stratford Place and Oxford Street; it formerly separated into three swampy branches emptying into the Thames near Westminster Abbey, but it was diverted into ornamental streams in Green Park and St. James Park. It was originally the boundary between Kensington and Westminster. Blake seems to place it *within* Kensington Gardens (*Milton* 6:9); Hogarth pictures it just at Tyburn Gallows in *The Idle Prentice Executed at Tyburn* (1747). According to Damon's *Dictionary*, "It crossed Oxford Street a little to the east of the present Marble Arch [i.e., at Tyburn], and flowed through St. James' Park, then plunged underground at the intersection of Stratford Place and South Molton Street"; this would mean that it flowed south and then back north, crossing Oxford Street twice. It was apparently so scarcely a river and so nearly a sewer that maps of Blake's time do not record it. Karen and I followed Stevenson in representing only the surface section which wound from Stratford Place past Grosvenor Square and entered Green Park at Halfmoon Street (the latter street not named on our map). I would like to know its full course and what it looked like in Blake's time.

A few other features are noteworthy: Blake's patron Thomas Butts, usually thought of as residing in Fitzroy Square, did not move there until 1808; we have marked also his house in Great Marlborough Street,

to which Blake addressed his correspondence. By leaving out streets and landmarks inessential to Blake's London, we were able to show places associated with his training and career as an artist-engraver: Pars' Drawing School, James Basire's house and engraving shop in Great Queen Street, the Royal Academy in Somerset House, Joseph Johnson's bookshop in St. Paul's Churchyard; if I had thought of it we might have put in Langford's sale-rooms in Covent Garden. We included prominent orphanages, hospitals, and workhouses which must have been important in Blake's vision of London whether or not he names them. One of these is the Charterhouse School, the institution for "aged men and youth" in Obtuse Angle's song "To be or not to be" from *An Island in the Moon*; this and other charity schools on our map can be imagined as those from which children in red and blue (Christ's Hospital) and green (Green Coat School) marched to St. Paul's, and perhaps Dacre's Alms House is where little Tom Dacre lived before he was sold to the master chimney sweeper. An idle query of no scholarly significance: as there is no North Molton Street, was South Molton Street named after the Devonshire village of South Molton? Books on the origin of London street-names don't answer the question.

Working on these maps has helped me visualize the building of Golgonooza amid the soot and clamor of London. Place-names associated with Blake are easier to spot than they are on other readily available maps of late eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century London. I hope all three maps will be useful to readers of the *Blake Newsletter*, as well as to the students who will read *William Blake: Selected Poems and Designs*, a Norton Critical Edition edited by John E. Grant and Mary Lynn Johnson, scheduled for publication in the winter of 1978.

1 James Jefferys, "A Rustick Dance." Pen and grey wash 20-1/8 x 26 (51.1 x 66). Maidstone Museum and Art Gallery.

MINUTE PARTICULARS

THE REDISCOVERY OF AN ARTIST: JAMES JEFFERYS 1751-1784

MARTIN BUTLIN

The exhibition of drawings by James Jefferys held at the Victoria and Albert Museum from February to May 1976, supplemented by an article by the two organizers, Timothy Clifford and Susan Legouix, in the *Burlington Magazine* for March 1976, has added another name to the circle of artists whose work lies behind the proto-Romantic Neo-Classicism of much of Blake's work.¹ His drawings, the main body of which is in the Maidstone Museum with other examples at the Royal Academy, British Museum, Huntington Library and two or three other collections, include imitations of John Hamilton Mortimer (1741-1779), works that have at one time been attributed to James Barry (1741-1806), and reflections of other artists such as Gavin Hamilton (1723-1798), George Romney (1734-1802), and Henry Fuseli (1741-1825). He was in fact, within this general overall style, a thorough-going eclectic. Certain personal mannerisms will no doubt lead to further attributions, but his early death seems to

have prevented the emergence of any very distinct personal style.

Apart from the inferences to be made from his drawings (the closeness of some of them to Mortimer suggests perhaps a master-pupil relationship) little is known of his life. Study at the Academy Schools and the exhibiting of a number of works at the Society of Artists led to the most significant feature of his career, a stay in Rome on a traveling scholarship from 1775 to some unknown date, probably 1779 or even later. Nearly all of Jefferys' dateable drawings were done during this visit. Mentioned by the landscape painter Thomas Jones (1742-1803) as one of the English colony of artists there, he would have known most if not all of this group, among them significantly Fuseli (in Rome 1770-1778), Romney (in Rome 1773-1775), Thomas Banks (1735-1805; in Rome 1772-1780) and John Brown (1752-1787; in Rome 1771-1781).



Of Blake's works it is particularly the early drawings in pen and wash that are closest to this group of artists; the technique and general style were common property. Central to the attribution of Blake's drawings in this idiom are the two sketches on one sheet at Windsor² for the Joseph series exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1785. In addition, one of the group of similar but slightly cruder drawings for the composition known as "The Good Farmer" is on the reverse of a drawing for "St. John the Evangelist before a Vision of Christ," engraved by Blake for *The Royal Universal Family Bible* in 1782.³ Round these fixed points can be gathered, with varying degrees of certainty, a fairly large group of other drawings. At first sight one Jefferys drawing in the exhibition at the Victoria and Albert Museum, "A Rustick Dance" (illus. 1), caused this writer at least momentary doubts. The drawing is particularly close to such works as the Tate Gallery's "Allegory of the Bible"⁴ (this is in fact colored but is otherwise similar in style to the rest of the group) both in its technique and in the rather flaccid, elongated figures. These doubts are now stilled but suggest that the fringes of this group of attributions to Blake should be critically reexamined with a thoroughness that is, alas, impossible in time for my forthcoming catalogue, already with the publisher if not as yet at the printers.

A much grander and more personal example of Jefferys' draughtmanship is "Fallen Warrior lying against a Dead Horse" (illus. 2). This shows a more general kinship with Blake's series of depictions of the horrors of war and other disasters, which began with the small watercolor of c. 1779-1780 of "Pestilence, probably the Great Plague of London,"⁵ included two works exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1784, "War unchained by an Angel, Fire, Pestilence,

and Famine Following" and "A Breach in a City, the Morning after a Battle," and culminated in four watercolors of 1805, "Pestilence," "Fire," "War" and "Famine." Moreover, "A Breach in a City," at least as it is known in the surviving versions,⁶ even includes a hovering eagle close to those in the Jefferys drawing.

The rediscovery of Jefferys has already led to further discoveries concerning both his relationship to Mortimer and the possible later development of his style; these have yet to be published. A possible effect on some Blake attributions has already been suggested. But most important is the addition of a new personality to the background of Blake's artistic development, and the strengthening of the importance of artistic life in Rome in the 1770s for an artist who was fated never to leave his native England.

¹ Exhibition *The Rediscovery of an Artist: The Drawings of James Jefferys (1751-84)*, Victoria and Albert Museum, February-May 1976, with sixteen-page illustrated catalogue, and article "James Jefferys, Historical Draughtsman (1751-84)" in *Burlington Magazine*, 118 (1976), 148-57.

² Repro. Geoffrey Keynes, *William Blake's Illustrations to the Bible*, 1957, nos. 32a and 32b.

³ British Museum 1874-12-12-143; see Martin Butlin, *William Blake: A Complete Catalogue of the Works in the Tate Gallery*, 2nd ed., 1971, p. 26 under no. 3.

⁴ See Butlin, *Catalogue*, p. 26 no. 2, repro.

⁵ See Martin Butlin, "Five Blakes from a 19th-Century Scottish Collection" in *Blake Newsletter* 25 (Summer 1973), pp. 4-8, illus. 1.

⁶ Those in the Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh, probably of the early 1790s, repro. David V. Erdman and John E. Grant, eds., *Blake's Visionary Forms Dramatic*, 1970, pl. 23; and the University of North Carolina, of the later 1790s, repro. Kerrison Preston, ed., *The Blake Collection of W. Graham Robertson*, 1952, pl. 56.



2 James Jefferys, "Fallen Warrior lying against a Dead Horse." Pen and grey wash over pencil 19-3/4 x 30-1/4 (50.1 x 76.8) Maidstone Museum and Art Gallery.

UNNOTICED PRINTINGS OF BLAKE'S POEMS, 1825-1851

RAYMOND H. DECK, JR.

I have discovered several printings of Blake's poems, two of which are of particular interest because they occurred during the poet's lifetime. The texts of these poems and the circumstances of their printings are discussed in articles about C. A. Tulk, Blake's Swedenborgian patron, and about Pamela Chandler Colman which I am now preparing for publication. The article about Mrs. Colman, complete with her Victorian illustrations of Blake's poems, will appear in a future number of *Blake Newsletter*.

April and July 1825. "The Divine Image" and "On Another's Sorrow" from *Innocence* were printed in *The Dawn of Light and Theological Inspector*, "Complete in One Volume" (London: Thomas Goyder, 1825), pp. 144, 252.

July and August 1843. "Introduction" to *Innocence* and "The Blossom" from *Innocence* were printed in the *Boys' and Girls' Magazine*, ed. Mrs. S. [Pamela Chandler] Colman, 2 (Boston: T. H. Carter, May-August 1843), 73-74, 142.

September and October 1843. "Nurse's Song" and "Laughing Song" from *Innocence* were printed in the *Boys' and Girls' Magazine*, ed. Mrs. S. [Pamela Chandler] Colman, 3 (Boston: T. H. Carter, September-December 1843), 9, 66.

August-December 1843. "The Lamb," "The Shepherd," "The Blossom," and "A Dream" from *Innocence* and "The Lilly" from *Experience* were printed in *The New Church Magazine for Children*, 1 (Boston: Otis Clapp, July-December 1843), 59, 112, 126, 159, 160.

21 October 1843. "The Lamb" from *Innocence* was printed in *The Retina*, ed. William C. Howells, 1 (Hamilton, Ohio: Printed and Published by the Editor, 1843-44), 47.

1843. "A Dream" from *Innocence* was printed as "Story of the Emmet. (A Dream)" in *The Little Keepsake for 1844*, ed. Mrs. S. [Pamela Chandler] Colman and first sold during the latter part of 1843 as a holiday gift for the new year (Boston: T. H. Carter, [1843]), pp. 34-36.

June 1844. "Nurse's Song" from *Innocence* was printed in *The New Church Magazine for Children*, 2 (Boston: Otis Clapp, January-June 1844), 191.

July 1844. "The Child and Lamb" (i.e. "The Lamb" from *Innocence*) and also "Evening Hymn," a poem incorrectly attributed to Blake, were printed in the *Boys' and Girls' Library*, ed. Mrs. S. [Pamela Chandler] Colman, 2 (Boston: T. H. Carter, [May-August 1844]), 87, 47.

December 1844. "The Divine Image" from *Innocence* was printed in *The New Church Advocate*, 2 (London: W. Newbery, 1844-45), 191.

March 1846. "The Lamb" from *Innocence* was printed in *The Little Truth-Teller: A New Church Magazine for Children*, 1 (Philadelphia: Published by a Committee of the General Convention, 1846), 71.

January 1848. "Night" from *Innocence* was printed in *The New Church Magazine for Children*, 6 (Boston: Otis Clapp, 1848), 17-18.

September 1851. "The Human Form" (i.e. "The Divine Image" from *Innocence*) was printed in *Heat and Light for the Nineteenth Century*, 1, No. 1 (Boston: Otis Clapp, September 1851), 32.

AN UNPUBLISHED POEM ABOUT BLAKE BY WILLIAM BELL SCOTT

GEORGE GOYDER

My copy of the 1808 quarto edition of Blair's *Grave*¹ is the original subscriber's copy which belonged to Robert Scott, father of William Bell Scott. It contains the bookplate of William Bell Scott, his signature on the title-page dated 5 March 1849, and a poem inserted at the end in MS. The text is as follows:

On seeing again after many years
William Blake's designs for 'the Grave'

There was a time before the chick could fly
But still was screened by the maternal wing
I looked on these with awe, they were a spring
Of marvels: had not God on high
Shown innocent William what it is to die,
And made him paint the raptures of the pain,--
Body, soul parting but to meet again,
The truths concealed within futurity?

And now that years have shriven and tonsured me
When labouring much in various fields have filled
The tablets of my brain, these pictures burn
With their old fires by whose light still I see
An inspiration, in art littlest skilled²--
My soul leaps up, my childhood's awes return.

W. B. S.

¹ Several of the pages are watermarked J. S. Whatman 1807; others are 1808. One of the engravings is of the 1807 watermark. The copy is in original cloth with leather edges and back.

² First written, "An inspiration, not mere handwork skilled," then "An inspiration, in art that littlest skilled"; "that" was then deleted.

ON THE FRONTISPIECE OF *The Four Zoas*

MYRA GLAZER SCHOTZ

The frontispiece to *The Four Zoas*, a male figure sketched above the words "Rest before Labour" on ms. page 2, is as problematic as the poem itself.* While Geoffrey Keynes, W. H. Stevenson, and G. E. Bentley, Jr., all describe the figure as recumbent, Bentley notes that it may alternatively be seen as soaring upward.¹ Recently, John Grant, assuming that his predecessors based their description on the manuscript held sideways, asserts that when it is held upright, as the "inscription and the binding indicate" that it should be, "what one *sees* is that the man is rising, no doubt to or in his 'labour,' after his 'rest.'"²

But even when the manuscript is held upright, the figure remains ambiguous. That ambiguity is due, in part, to the unfinished state of the drawing and the absence of a background for reference, but it is also due to complexities inherent in his posture. Those complexities, I believe, are worthy of critical attention.

* I am grateful for a research grant from Ben Gurion University enabling me to study the illustrations in *The Four Zoas* manuscript.



One point needs to be made at the outset. Whether Blake's figure is reclining, or rising, or both, he certainly is not *resting*. He veers in several directions at once and is engaged in at least three simultaneous actions. His upper and lower torsos are contradictions of one another. As a result, his stance as a whole suggests not rest, but inner conflict and physical tension.

From the waist up, the figure bends sharply to the left in a manner reminiscent of Michael's posture in "Michael Binding Satan." He pillows his head in his extended left arm and, unless Blake intended him to be markedly exophthalmic, his eyes are closed. He thus appears to be sleeping. But if the upper torso suggests sleep, the lower torso suggests movement. From knee to foot the right leg suggests a soaring movement by veering leftward, literally echoing the upper torso yet, by its movement, contradicting it. It is also contrasted to the left leg which, indeed, is like a Zoa seeking separation from his fellows and attempting to exist independently of them. In an anatomically impossible position, the left leg is drastically foreshortened, with toes splayed as if the foot is pushing against a counterforce in order to heave itself upward.

The tension inherent first in the contrast between the upper and lower torsos and, second, in the effort needed to rise, is intensified by the

1 From *The Four Zoas*: the frontispiece.

REVIEW

Songs of William Blake and Music of Blake's Time. A concert at the University of California, Santa Barbara, 3 March 1976, for the conference on Blake in the Art of His Time.

William Blake. *An Island in the Moon.* Audio tape of a production for KPFFK Pacifica, Pasadena, CA. Produced by Everett C. Frost. Music by Edward Cansino. 2 reels, 7 1/2" ips; also cassettes. Los Angeles, CA.: Pacifica (Los Angeles 90038).

Reviewed by Martin K. Nurmi

According to Burton R. Pollin's bibliography, *Music for Shelley's Poetry* (1974), over 800 composers have set Shelley. The number may not be quite that high for Blake, because Shelley was better known earlier. But Blake has been extremely attractive to composers to set, partly because of the surface simplicity of his lyrics but also partly because of his strong musical rhythms, which must result from his evidently having composed melodies for many of his songs himself. (Shelley, who loved music very much, was apparently almost tone-deaf but had a marvelous ear for poetic-musical rhythms.) Words alone, however musically rhythmic, do not imply specific pitch intervals of melodies, but some of Blake's lyrics come about as close to doing that as seems possible, because their rhythms are so insistently musical, their grammatical sense often suggests musical phrases, and pitch patterns of words sometimes even suggest the direction of voice leading.

The concert, "Songs of William Blake and Music of Blake's Time," given in connection with the Blake conference in Santa Barbara in March of 1976, gives a sample of some recent settings, mostly choral, with also *Ten Blake Songs for Voice and Oboe* by Ralph Vaughan Williams, a selection of two pieces by the glee composer, Samuel Webbe, and two songs from the theatre by Charles Dibdin and Thomas Linley. Ending the concert was a performance of Hubert Parry's familiar setting of the preface to *Milton*, titled "Jerusalem." The program of the concert gives no information on the works or performance besides their names and dates for the songs by Dibdin and Linley. Vocal groups are The Dorians and The Schubertians from the University of California--Santa Barbara and the University of California--Riverside Choral Society. There are various soloists.

Daniel Pinkham's choral settings of "The Sick Rose," "The Blossom," and "Spring" follow closely the rhythms of Blake's text but heighten them in musical declamation. The very short lines of "Spring" are properly grouped into musical phrases at a tempo faster than that of speech in a way that should suggest how the poem should be read, as well as sung. Blake probably sang it.

"The Lamb" in Arthur Farwell's set of four songs almost completely follows the rhythms of the words, even a bit literally--which is almost inevitable because the words clearly indicate musical rhythms. "Cradle Song" is suitably gentle until an unaccountable dynamic climax near the end that would surely

wake up anyone it was being sung to. "The Tyger," with its terrible intensity and incantatory trochees is probably impossible to set in a vocal line that effectively and adequately combines with the words in what Thomas Moore called the "compound creation" of a song. Farwell does about the only thing a composer can do: he puts the energy of the tiger into the piano part and lets the singer give the text without any real attempt to evoke the fearful symmetry vocally. The result is quite effective, as a keyboard composition with intoned vocal part. Benjamin Britten's treatment of "The Tyger" in his fine song cycle, *The Poems and Proverbs of William Blake* (1964) does something similar, but his setting, written for Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau and recorded by him with the composer at the piano (London OS 26099), relies more on the vocal part, in which Blake's rhythms are altered by being strongly dotted, sometimes syncopated and even jazzy, while the piano, mostly in a pulsating accented bass, evokes a tiger of controlled but incredible energy. In this group of songs by Farwell, Jill Feldman's clear, steady soprano negotiates the tritones and other demanding intervals cleanly and musically, and Stephen Kelly's piano accompaniments are solid, impressive in "The Tyger."

Vaughan Williams' approach to Blake's lyrics is a very different one in *Ten Blake Songs for Voice and Oboe*, written in 1957 for the film, "The Vision of William Blake." As the title suggests, the only "accompaniment" is a solo oboe (three songs are for voice alone). "The Tyger" is not included in this set, probably because the voice needs more help than an oboe can provide. Nevertheless, though one would expect a voice-oboe setting to concentrate on pastoral songs, this set is not restricted to them but includes some very difficult ones, like "London," "A Poison Tree," and "Cruelty has a Human Heart." Blake, who equated melody in music with line in art, and harmony with coloristic effects, would have been delighted with these settings. They show what melody alone can do in realizing the musical implications of the words. And the oboe playing its own melodies with the tenor voice--it is not an accompaniment in the usual sense of the term--interweaves with the voice, now commenting on thematic material from the vocal line, now introducing motifs to be expressed by the voice, now realizing contrapuntal and harmonic implications of the vocal intervals. A version with everything worked out in conventional harmonic accompaniments would be as disappointing as the various harmonic realizations of the Chaconne from Bach's Partita No. 2 for unaccompanied violin.

The performance of *Ten Songs* by Ian Partridge, tenor, and Janet Craxton, oboe, as recorded by EMI (HQS 1236) is a hard act to follow. Peter Roberts, a robust but lyrical tenor, gives a very good performance, but John Beckner's oboe part leaves much to be desired in rhythmic suppleness, articulation, and phrasing. He plays the notes.

The song character of Blake's lyrics rather gets lost in Roger Nixon's setting of "Love's Secret" and in John Crawford's "Nurse's Song" and "The Little Black Boy," which strike me as being more choral compositions that use words as a starting point than as musical settings of the text in which text and music work together; for they all but overwhelm the

poems, especially Crawford's "The Little Black Boy," where the irony of the tenderness of the Black Boy toward the English Boy is completely lost in the striving for impressive choral effects with piano accompaniment--which even at one point introduces some irrelevantly gauche jazzy figures. Crawford's setting of "Spring," however, is thoroughly delightful, merrily rhythmic and straightforward.

The glees and songs of Webbe, Dibdin, and Linley are pleasant and well performed by the Schubertians, Carl Zytowski, tenor and "Concertmaster" for the occasion, and Michael Ingham, baritone and director of the Dorians (who is a little shy of some of his high notes). The anthem, "Jerusalem," by Parry--who should also be known for his 1880 setting of *Prometheus Unbound*--may have been embraced by religious orthodoxy and even used as a hymn without full awareness of its doctrine, but it is a strong piece anyway, either as a solo song (Paul Robeson used to sing it) or as a choral composition. (It is available through G. Schirmer in New York.) This piece, with organ and combined choral forces, ended the concert.

Most of the new music in this concert consisted of choral settings of Blake's songs. Blake's song texts do make good texts for choral pieces, but it seems to me that they work better for the solo voice. Blake wrote words for choruses galore, especially in *The Four Zoas*, and it would be interesting to have some of these turned into the musical form he had in mind.



Frost's dramatized production of *An Island in the Moon*, with music, for radio was originally played at the Santa Barbara Blake Conference and is now available for sale. It is well worth having.

The production does everything it can to translate Blake's text into a dramatic-musical form with complete fidelity. With the exception of a very few added words to help the proceedings make sense, and an occasional modification of a word here and there in the song-text of a kind which does not violate the sense or spirit of the original, the words spoken by the singer-actors and sung by them are all Blake's and include the whole of the *Island*. One can follow the production completely with the text and not have to skip around through cuts or rearrangements. It would be an excellent--and thoroughly enjoyable--teaching aid. Technically, it is professionally produced, with stereophonic spatial separation of the speakers effectively employed.

Since almost all of the speakers are also singers and represent different ranges of the voice, differentiation of the large cast of characters comes through quite clearly, and the narrator helps the listener out in identifying them whenever things get confusing. If the production were played for an audience thoroughly familiar with the text--or had the advantage of visual identification of the characters--the pace of some of it might be picked up a bit to communicate more of the rollicking spirit

of this (mostly) genial satire. But the boisterous parts come across well, and it keeps moving, especially with the delightful music.

Edward Cansino's score for the production is also directed toward evoking the original but without attempting a literal archeological recreation of the music Blake would have heard in his ears as he wrote. The instrumental introduction first suggests space-travel by means of electronic instruments, or electrically modified ordinary instruments, and lands us in a musical scene on an 18th century moon (which resembles England) where we hear a harpsichord and a few strings, which will be the basic instrumentation for most of the music, aided on occasion by flute, piano, and once by tympani. Cansino's selection of a Handelian model for many of the songs is right, it seems to me, with his adaptation of the Baroque arias for harpsichord and voice, using recitatives and floridly embellished arioso passages, sometimes in the parody of which the English were so fond. Blake might well have known Samuel Foote's parody of an air by Gemmiani, to which he wrote words on "The Tragical History of Billy Pringle's Pig." We hear echoes in the music also of Haydn, the English ballad, and of Purcell--especially in Miss Gittipin's "Leave O leave [me] to my sorrows," which rather suggests in its repeated bass the *basso ostinato* of Dido's "When I am laid in earth." The music is always delightful and, when appropriate, moving. Cansino properly resists the inevitable temptation to milk the two songs of *Innocence* by writing really lyrical melodies for them, which I think would have violated the spirit of the piece. His settings are sensitive and moving but of a kind in which the words of the poems retain prominence. Blake might have sung tunes like these. An effective device musically in some of the songs is that of suddenly moving from floridly embellished singing to *Sprechstimme*, to bring us back from musical satire to a more verbal one.

Transitions between chapters are marked by music, usually atonal; and what must have happened in the missing leaf of the MS is suggested by an extended musical interlude with crowd sounds.

I couldn't help but be a little curious as to why none of Handel's *Watermusic* was used at the point where Steelyard says, "lets have handels waterpiece." Instead, Cansino writes a recitative that is mostly chanted and then works in an imitation of the Hallelujah chorus from *Messiah*, though I must admit that the rhythms of the last three lines work with the dotted rhythms of parts of the chorus.

The musical performance is very good on everyone's part, and so is the acting.

DISCUSSION

WITH INTELLECTUAL SPEARS & LONG WINGED
ARROWS OF THOUGHT

FOLCROFT FACSIMILE OF THE *Songs*

MARY ELLEN REISNER

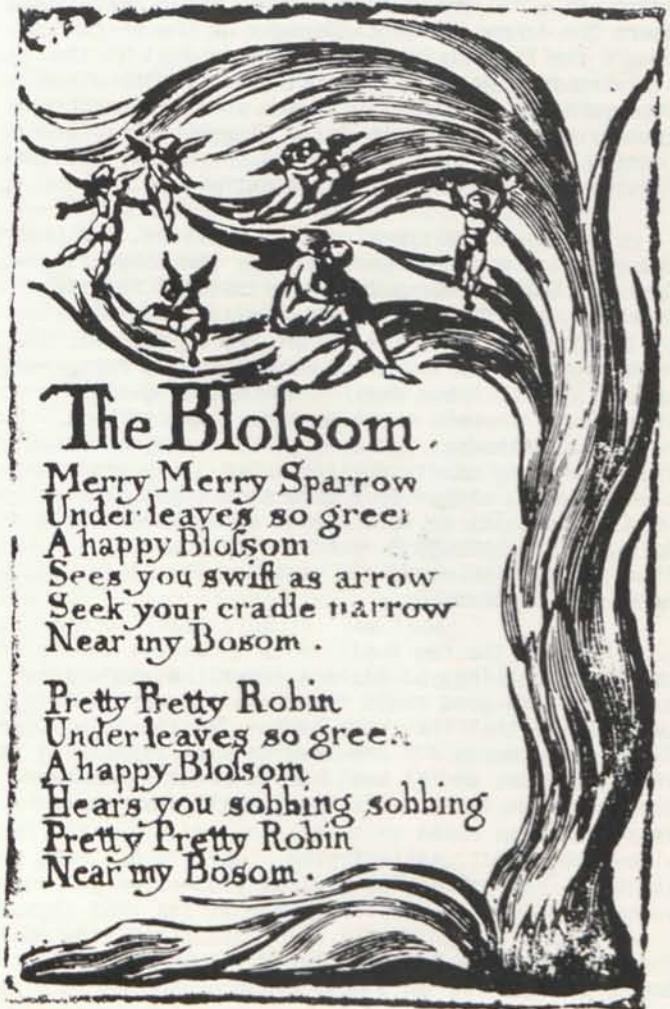
Mary Lynn Johnson's article "Choosing Textbooks for Blake Courses: A Survey & Checklist," in *Blake Newsletter* 37 will have been read with attention and her annotations to listed volumes, "negative entries as well as positive ones," studied with interest. Such a survey supplies a clear need among teachers of Blake. One positive listing, however, should have contained a cautionary comment and should, I think, be put right. Under Section VI, "Facsimiles & Reproductions Inexpensive Enough for Classroom Use," Johnson lists the Folcroft facsimile of the *Songs* as "Well-printed from the uncolored posthumous copy (b) in the Houghton Library." The facsimile is, in fact, anything but reliable, its worst error being the unwarranted alteration of Blake's text of "The Blossom" so that the line "Near my Bosom" is made to read "Near thy Bosom." On comparing the Folcroft page with its original in the Houghton Library I found that, although broken, the letter *m* was printed clearly and that the punch on the verso followed the contours of the upper edges of the *m*, precluding the existence of any uninked, unprinting portion above. Morton Paley kindly checked other posthumous copies in the British Library and in Sir Geoffrey Keynes' collection; the reading "thy" was not supported. Thus the Folcroft facsimile must have been retouched to produce this unauthorized variant in Blake's text. In her annotations Johnson comments on retouching, trueness of color, softening of lines and quality of background paper tone; thus the reader is all the more likely to have faith in a facsimile described as "well-printed." This small correction to "A Survey & Checklist" will, it is hoped, save anyone using the Folcroft facsimile, especially "The Blossom" page, a considerable amount of confusion.

BLAKE AND HAYLEY IN WITTREICH'S

Angel of Apocalypse

TOM DARGAN

Richly illustrated and densely documented, this book on "Blake's idea of Milton" by a Milton scholar has the appearance of an admirable and exciting performance. So it was reviewed by Purvis E. Boyette (*Blake Newsletter* 39), and so it first appeared to me. In fact, I took it for a guide to new territory, and navigating by its footnotes and bibliography I steered back through Wittreich's previous books and articles to the obscure and sometimes rare works of William Hayley (1745-1820), the sometimes Miltonist and sometimes patron of William Blake. And my wages were exasperation.



1 "The Blossom," posthumous copy b. By permission of the Harvard College Library.

A close reading of *Angel of Apocalypse* reveals double disaster: the evidence is not evidence, and the arguments won't stand to a position. The two faults feed each other, at the expense of the reader, so when he leaves the text to trace a reference he finds only a tenuous or illusory connection where he expected solid evidence, and when he returns to the text he soon finds himself robbed of his scrupulousness--for the emphatic position of page 248 becomes abandoned territory by page 251. This book is a shell game.

The trick of the shell game is to make a move before the observer starts counting, so you are always a jump ahead of him. Wittreich gets the jump on his reader with the fallacy of the dubious assumption. A central point--persistently referred to, repeatedly elaborated--is never argued in its own right, but instead is passed off in the footnotes as if it were an established fact. An instance is the idea that Hayley was an important influence on Blake. Wittreich cites Frederick Pierce as evidence, in a

sleight-of-hand where a question of degree is passed off as a matter of fact:

Pierce's conclusion is that Blake, profoundly influenced by Hayley's *Life* [of Milton] took imaginative hints from it. (p. 231)

We are referred to Pierce's article of 1929.¹ In that article, we find Pierce citing lines from Hayley's *Life of Milton* (1797) that seem to provide the plot for Blake's brief epic *Milton* (begun 1804). Says Pierce, "it is possible that the central theme of Blake's poem was suggested by two passages in Hayley's *Life*." In one Hayley imagines that Milton might come back from the other world to give the lie to his misinterpreters. In the other passage Hayley imagines Milton coming back specifically to revenge Dr. Johnson's *Life* of him by writing a worse account of Johnson. Pierce points out that Blake had every opportunity to read Hayley's *Life*, since Blake moved to Hayley's village, Felpham, to work with Hayley, in 1800. Pierce concludes that Blake took "imaginative hints" (Pierce's term) from such passages.

Whether Hayley's influence is here "profound" (as Wittreich says) is another matter. This is not Pierce's conclusion. Plot, of course, is profound only in an architectural sense: it is the basis of the shape and structure of a work. Thought and skill enter after the plot has been fixed: in the elaboration and development of the work. There is no profound thinking in Hayley's plot for *Milton*. A giant, maligned by his inferiors, returns. This is a formula for hundreds of stories and myths, an idea re-invented, probably, by every child who has muttered at a parent. That Hayley is the source of the idea is interesting, perhaps, for the same reason that it is interesting that Lady Hesketh suggested the Sofa for the theme of Cowper's *Task*. No particular originality, thoughtfulness, or active participation is assigned to the source; the source is distinguished only by his or her proximity to the artist. Pierce himself is careful not to inflate Hayley's influence here, and careful not to inflate Hayley's capacity as a thinker. During Blake's stay at Felpham, from 1800 to 1803, Hayley was "posing as a Miltonist," says Pierce. The materials Hayley had assembled for an edition of Milton's works were the important influence on Blake; from these (Pierce continues) we can infer a broad reading of Milton for Blake. Pierce certainly does *not* conclude that Hayley's thinking or writing was a "profound influence" on Blake, as Wittreich's reference might lead a reader to believe.

Efforts to further press Hayley into an original, thinking, active influence are not successful. Another note on the Hayley-influence issue refers readers to Wittreich's 1972 article, "Domes of Mental Pleasure." Here Wittreich has proposed that Hayley taught Blake a new theory of poetry. Statements of Hayley and Blake are juxtaposed:

The epic poem, in Hayley's words, is a "dome of mental pleasure" that combines at its "different portals" the various arts . . . ; it is the "prime enobler of th'aspiring mind" and the great "arbiter of space and time," capable of penetrating and embodying the

unknown. . . . Blake's epic practice mirrors Hayley's theory. He uses the epic form to transcend the time-world in whose center he finds the heavens of eternity; within the epic mode, he presents "Visionary Forms Dramatic . . . In Visions / In new Expanses, creating exemplars of Memory and of Intellect, / Creating Space, Creating Time according to the wonders Divine / Of Human Imagination."²

But when Hayley's lines are seen in their context they have nothing to do with Blake's unique ideas about time in narrative structure. In the immediate context of the phrases quoted by Wittreich, Hayley is simply comparing painting with poetry. In his view, a painting can only portray an instant in the visible world, whereas poetry can proceed through time, or makes jumps in it, or describe things of the invisible world. Painting "catches, with observance keen, / Her single moment of the changeful scene"; whereas poetry, the "Unquestion'd arbiter of space and time! / Can join the distant, the unknown create. . . ."³ This praise of poetry over painting is contained in a broader context where Hayley encourages poetry to catch up with the successes of her sister art. I see no connection whatsoever between this and Blake's "Visionary Forms Dramatic," or any uniquely Blakean use of "the epic form to transcend the time world." Yet, for Wittreich, "Blake's sympathy with these precepts is so obvious as to preclude the necessity for lengthy discussion."

Nonetheless, Wittreich does press the discussion a little further. The article continues to the effect that this is where Blake learned to eliminate sequential narrative time in *Milton*. That poem, of course, does eliminate conventional sequence. The text, says Frye, proceeds through a "series of lifting backdrops";⁴ the pictures, says Erdman, "converge upon the center" of a moment of revelation.⁵ *Milton's* organization is more a concentric pattern than a narrative line connecting beginning and end. But to argue that Blake derived his non-sequential narrative from Hayley is not only to over-read Hayley out of context, it is to invert Hayley's categories. What could be more conventional than Hayley's idea of narrative time--unless it is his static theory of painting? It might have been better to look for the origin of Blake's unconventional narrative time in painting, and the ways a painting can present multiple perspectives on a single moment.

So, even though the Hayley-influence idea is central to *Angel of Apocalypse*, the reader will have to turn to the earlier article, "Domes of Mental Pleasure," to see that idea argued in its own right. The article concludes, "Hayley's theory of epic as a revolutionary form--and the precepts related to that theory--are related, then, with meticulous clarity, to Blake's epic achievements." *Angel of Apocalypse* begins (logically speaking) at this point.

It should be remembered that Wittreich has been challenged before on this point, and on the habit of over-reading Hayley and quoting him out of context. This is the point of Judith Wardle's 1974 article "Satan not having the Science of Wrath . . ." in *Studies in Romanticism*. And the challenge is not fairly answered by Wittreich's attempt to dismiss it

as a "difference in point of view," or as a confusion on Wardle's part of Hayley's epic theory and Hayley's epic practice. Nor is Wardle's challenge given the attention it deserves when Wittreich buries his response to her in a footnote (p. 314). Wardle faults Wittreich for just the sort of errors I have found: for teasing tidbits of Hayley off the bone to make a thin soup. "By careful selection of quotations [Wittreich makes] it seem that Hayley's attitudes were very close to Blake's," says Wardle; "Wittreich summarizes Hayley's recommendations in the *Essay* in such a way that it appears valid to claim that Hayley provided theoretical support [for Blake]." And on Wittreich's contention that Hayley presented Blake with an idea of "epic as a revolutionary form," celebrating an idea of freedom, she finds, "when one examines more closely what this means to Hayley, the similarities are not so close." In addition to this too-careful picking out of evidence, Wardle faults Wittreich for misreading Hayley: "He is deceived into believing" that Hayley condemns epic machinery, while in fact Hayley "vacillates" on this point (Hayley vacillates on most points: this is why he can seem to support almost any point one likes). Again, Wittreich "miss[es] the shift of tone" when Hayley makes a close pass at praise for Spenser, and so misreads Hayley's negative reference to allegory for a positive one.⁶

I turn back now to the book proper, to consider closely some interpretations of Blake's text and designs. Wittreich infers from a line in *Milton* (15:52) that Blake saw in Milton some change of heart, some shift from political to religious hopes, and some model for himself to console worldly disappointment with otherworldly hope:

The poet who lost God in his childhood returned to him in old age . . . this observation . . . is implicit in Blake's reference to Milton's "bright pilgrimage of sixty years." (p. 40)

Milton lived 66 years; the idea is to account for the six years Blake drops here. The last six years must be when Milton returned to God, according to this reading of Blake. But if we turn to the line in Blake, the context supports precisely the opposite view. Here Milton descends to Blake's "tarsus," then "redounds" as a cloud over Europe. "Then Milton knew that the Three Heavens of Beulah were beheld / By him on earth in his bright pilgrimage of sixty years."⁷ That is, Milton's revelation comes in Milton's afterlife, when he entered into William Blake. The "bright pilgrimage" is Blake's way of referring to Milton's lifetime, when he was "on earth." In *Milton* Blake seems to think of a person's allotted time on earth as "sixty winters"; in *Jerusalem* (published when he had passed that mark), he seems to prefer a "pilgrimage of seventy years." Blake has only rounded off the number here.

Still, this reading of the "sixty years" is the textual basis in Blake for Wittreich's idea that *Milton* celebrates a change of heart in Milton's lifetime:

Blake's *Milton* pursues a double purpose: one is to locate the decisive turning point in

Milton's life, which, we have already said, comes with the writing of *Paradise Regained* and then to mythologize it; the other is to relate that moment of redemption to the renewal of the entire human race which comes with "the great Harvest and Vintage of the Nations" promised in the poem's final plate. (p. 243)

The assertion persists: Blake brings Milton back, not to have him correct errors he made in his lifetime, not to correct errors made by his interpreters, not to assert political leadership once again in an England torn between republicanism and royal tyranny; but rather to dramatize a revelation Milton had during his lifetime. I am not taking issue with any tradition in Milton criticism that Milton may have experienced some religious conversion or re-conversion late in life, nor with any interpretation of *Paradise Regained* that takes such a conversion experience into account. The issue is whether, in Wittreich's terms, such a "decisive turning point" is "located" in Milton's lifetime in Blake's *Milton*. By Wittreich's own evidence, it is not.⁸

Nonetheless Wittreich uses this idea of Milton's conversion to account for differences between designs in different copies of *Milton*. Both Plate 1 and Plate 16 of *Milton* give full page pictures of Milton. The engraving on the copper plate, of course, is fixed and permanent, but one print can and does vary from the next because the inking and coloring of the print vary. Here is a good place to look for changes of emphasis, even changes of mind in Blake's mental picture of Milton. In copies C and D of Plate 1 the cross-hatching over Milton's body is not so obvious as in A and B, because these lines, printed from the copper plate, are colored over with a more opaque pigment. Wittreich sees in this difference an indication that Milton has escaped from what Wittreich terms a "net of selfhood." He says the cross-hatching has been "lifted":

The alterations of this plate as we move from Copy A to Copy D, turn us from a darkened into a transfigured Milton. . . . Blake's implication is clear: the journey Milton makes through the wilderness of self enables him to transcend the law and to embrace the spirit of prophecy. (pp. 26-27)

Now there is no way of knowing from this if Wittreich is saying that Milton changed his mind, or Blake. Remember, we are collating one plate from four copies. And note the implicit assumption about the relationship of these copies: that they constitute a complete series, A through D, separated by more or less equal periods of time, or at least equal portions of mental space, to correspond to an evolution in Blake's thinking, or in Milton's, whichever it is. In fact not much is known about when these copies were printed, beyond the watermark on the paper, which is dated 1808 on copies A, B, and C, and 1815 on D--which only means these copies were not printed before these respective dates. And to call cross-hatching a "net of selfhood" implies that cross-hatching has a special and negative meaning in Blake.⁹ In fact, Blake would have been very foolish to adopt such a symbolism: cross-hatching is the engraver's usual

method of giving body to an outlined figure. Blake would have to draw only benighted figures, or stick to simple line engravings. But most important, this interpretation overlooks the picture as a whole. Here Milton is stepping forth, pushing through his name, just as he steps through his literal "self / hood" in Plate 18. Wittreich is "quoting" the cross-hatching out of context, out of the context of the picture. We don't need to collate A, B, C, and D to see that Milton escapes from his selfhood. He is doing it in every copy, by main strength of his left hand (traditionally his political hand) at that. Has Wittreich missed this because of his peculiar idea that Milton here "walks naked, Blake exhibiting Milton's shame, exposing his faults?" (p. 36)-- an unBlakean reading for a naked hero!

Wittreich applies the same interpretation, and the same method, to Plate 16. All copies show the hero standing naked, with a garment in his left hand and a belt in his right; both hands are held away from the body and the stance is broad. Wittreich maintains that in A and B Milton is taking off his clothes (a "garment of selfhood"), and in C and D he is putting them on (a "robe of righteousness"). His primary evidence is the pink-brown shading on the white garment of Copy D. He understands this to depict a bloody garment, which he associates with the bloody robes of Ololon. So Milton is putting on a "robe of righteousness" like Ololon's, whereas in the other copies he is (or was) taking off some pristine, hypocritical covering. But in fact, the pink-brown shading is used generally in Plate 16 D, and not only on the garment; so there is no reason to assign the color any special meaning when it comes to the garment. Once again Wittreich is quoting out of context; the picture as a whole clearly shows the hero with naked beauty displayed. And with all this worrying about whether the clothes are coming off or going on, Wittreich has missed an alteration of some substance: in D the garment is extended so the end of it is now under Milton's left foot. In Wittreich's reading, Milton would be standing on the clothes he is about to put on!

Clearly Wittreich's habits do not improve as he moves from Hayley to Blake. General rules, however arbitrary, come before any particular evidence; and any shred or flicker of text or design that might serve as an instance is pulled from its context to so serve, even if the whole context is tugging mightily in just the opposite direction. One more instance of this habit of holding evidence hostage to a formula may be instructive.

The formula will be familiar: different copies of a design reverse in meaning. The instance is prints of the engraving *Albion Rose* (the print Gilchrist called *Glad Day*). The interpretation: that the uncolored print of the engraving (the one with the caption from which we get the title) depicts a sinister, "selfish" Albion:

the line engraving portrays Albion in his fallen aspect; the color print depicts him as a redeemed man. (p. 54)

Readers will recall the design as Blake's exuberant application of the traditional drawing-

textbook picture of a man inscribed in a circle. Traditionally the design demonstrates the "exempeda" method of measuring a man's proportions where his height is six times the length of his foot. Blake's version is pleasing, and essentially Blakean, for the way the passive anatomy-lesson model is made active: human proportion, it seems to say, is found when a man measures the steps of the "dance of death." The term is found in the caption; it means willing self-sacrifice:

Albion rose from where he labour'd at the Mill
with Slaves / Giving himself for the Nations
he danc'd the dance of Eternal Death

"Eternal Death" in this sense of self-sacrifice is used in *Milton*: when Milton sacrifices his place in Heaven to return to earth, he says, "I go to Eternal Death," because "The Nations still / Follow after the detestable Gods of Priam" (*Milton* 14:13-14).

How Wittreich can read this print as sinister and selfish is a troublesome problem. He confuses the dates of the engraving and the prints made from it until, at one point, he seems to date the color print earlier than the engraving from which it was printed; no matter, the Keynes book of *Engravings*¹⁰ assures us that the two color prints and the two monochromes are from the same plate, because the lines that print on the monochrome have also printed on the color print, even if coloring has mostly hidden them. It shouldn't matter; but Wittreich's formula seems to demand some sequence of printing, over a period of time in which Blake had second thoughts about his republicanism. In the caption, it has been pointed out, "dance of Eternal Death" looks like an ironic inversion of Burke's characterization of democratic revolution as a "death dance."¹¹ Somehow Wittreich gets his signs reversed, and reads all of the caption ironically, except for the "dance of Eternal Death," which, he says, shows that Blake agreed with Burke. In the picture itself Wittreich finds the expression on Albion's face to be "selfish," which is probably not worth arguing about. And he finds the moth flying between Albion's legs, which he calls "bat winged," some symbol of universal pollution (this moth is not evident in the color prints). But we need only leaf through the reproductions in Wittreich's own book to see worse monsters who do not signal a negative reading for the pictures they are in. *Paradise Regained* watercolors nos. 8 and 9, for example (plates 41 and 42 in *Angel of Apocalypse*), have monsters and creatures of the night, but certainly they have not made Jesus sinister or selfish. They seem to have troubled Jesus like bad dreams, but as he wakes and rises they flee offstage, rather like Albion's moth.

This interpretation of *Albion Rose* as sinister and selfish is only one--the worst perhaps--of the troublesome interpretations to be found in *Angel of Apocalypse*. Clearly they do not begin with evidence and build toward a general formula--they work the wrong way around, by beginning with a formula and then finding instances which, taken out of context, might seem to fit it. How else explain the persistence of this conversion or reversal formula, when each instance Wittreich himself cites turns out to be testimony against it? Wittreich has put himself

in the position of a trial lawyer with a poor case, who knows in advance the position he must argue, who can offer only circumstantial evidence, and who can only hope to carry the jury by stubborn persistence.

I have already noted the theory, central to *Angel of Apocalypse*, that Hayley profoundly influenced Blake. This theory is constantly invoked in the book to support arguments to this or that point, but it is never presented and proved in its own right. I have shown important instances where it does not hold up, instances where Wittreich argues that Hayley's thinking about Milton, and Hayley's thinking about epic, were the sources of Blake's ideas on the same matters. Now I want to consider Wittreich's contention that Hayley perceived an important conversion or reversal of thinking in Milton, which occurred between *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*, and that Hayley perceived *Paradise Regained* in a new and original way, and that Hayley strongly influenced Blake in this regard. The formula, that Hayley mediated an idea Blake held about an important change of heart Milton experienced in old age, is familiar. I want to show that this formula--which is at the core of the theory that Hayley was a profound influence on Blake--is unfounded, if remarkably persistent. It seems to give *Angel of Apocalypse* coherence, but it does so by mere persistence, and not by any evidence that holds up in this book, nor by any certain proof in Wittreich's work before the book. I will trace the argument for Hayley's perception of Milton's change of heart to Wittreich's earlier articles and sources, through his own citation of them, and demonstrate that this aspect of the Milton-Hayley-Blake theory is, literally, built on nothing.

To open the question of Hayley's influence on Blake in *Angel of Apocalypse*, Wittreich confronts the tradition that Blake remembered Hayley as a nuisance. He cites what he calls Stuart Curran's "proof" that Hyle--the character Blake cast as a damned nuisance in the inferno of his poetry--is not Hayley. Curran begins with the fact that "hyle" can be a Greek term for matter, and that there is a Gnostic tradition of personifying materialism as Hyle.¹² Curran's point here is well taken: there is more to Hyle than the historical Hayley; Blake has appropriated part of a Gnostic tradition to mold a symbolic character. But Curran is not reasonable when he declares that since Hyle is more than Hayley, he is no longer Hayley in any part. There are just too many instances in *Milton* and in *Jerusalem* where Hyle is grouped with other characters whose names are thin disguises for the real-life principals of Blake's well-known sedition case, principals like his accuser, judge, and the prosecutor. In that case Hayley stood bail for Blake--Hayley being the "great man" of the village Felpham where the trouble took place. Perhaps Blake was not properly grateful for Hayley's help, but in that role, and in his role of patron (where Blake assumed Hayley would come up with some profitable project for him), it is probable that Blake saw Hayley as an emblem of materialism of some sort--company in which a poet can come to worldly distress. To conclude from Curran's article that the development and expansion of the character Hyle eliminates the historical Hayley as the basic material for Hyle is surely incorrect. But Wittreich does just that.

Next, he asserts that Blake follows Hayley in a new understanding of Milton:

Like Hayley, Blake found in Milton's *Paradise Regained* a poem of "pure religion" accompanied by "greater force of imagination" than had been presented in *Paradise Lost*. (p. 128)

Wittreich is quoting Hayley here, not Blake, and he cites a previous article of his to substantiate the idea:

In the final estimate of both Hayley and Blake Milton's distinguishing characteristic was his religious enthusiasm. It was the "prime director of his genius" as exhibited in *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*, the latter poem representing "the truest heroism, and the triumph of Christianity."¹³

Again the quotations are all from Hayley, not Blake. At this point in the *Festschrift* article Hayley's *Life of Milton* is cited. But the reader who turns to the *Life* will find that Hayley is not promoting *Paradise Regained* as any advance of Miltonic genius beyond *Paradise Lost*. Nor does Hayley mention any conversion or change of heart that might have provided extra energy to write *Paradise Regained*, as Wittreich implies.

On the contrary, Hayley is defending *Paradise Regained* against the familiar, specious charge that it is less brilliant than *Paradise Lost*, by asserting its own virtues. Hayley points out that it is plainly moralistic instead of mightily imagistic like its big sister: "The splendor of the poet does not blaze, indeed, so intensely as in his larger production."¹⁴ Wittreich implies that Hayley finds a "triumph of Christianity" in the theme of *Paradise Regained*, an expression of a new-found religious enthusiasm in Milton. But Hayley only says that the poem's plain style represents a "spirit of self-command" in Milton: the mighty poet demonstrated modesty when he constructed a plain poem. Hayley everywhere is full of enthusiasm for the rhetoric of elaborate compliments; here he is only saying that such "self-command" might serve to teach modesty and plainness to "ingenuous youth": in Hayleyan rhetoric such modesty is "the triumph of Christianity." When the reader sees the context of these mighty-sounding quotations that Wittreich culls from Hayley, they prove to be no more than a rhetorical inflation of some dull prescription for modest oaks from mighty acorns.

Since there is nothing in Hayley that explicitly treats *Paradise Regained* as evidence of an important change in Milton's thinking, and since Hayley says nothing at all of this supposed conversion or recantation of politics on Milton's part, and certainly nothing of Milton achieving a more "pure religion" in any context that would make the phrase mean anything significant, what, at bottom, is the basis of Wittreich's persistent assertion that Hayley perceived a new Milton which he passed along to Blake? Wittreich's evidence, finally, is only a negative kind of evidence, which makes much of nothing. He says that Hayley did not treat *Paradise Regained* as if it were dependent on, or a sequel to, *Paradise Lost*:

Hayley asserts the integrity of Milton's brief epic, which is to say that he regards the poem as neither companion nor sequel to *Paradise Lost*.¹⁵

Wittreich means only that, as an editor of Milton, Hayley did not arrange the poems so it would be inferred that *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained* together make up an epic in sixteen books. For that matter, so didn't editor Thomas Newton before Hayley.

It is not difficult to cite Hayley as evidence for an arbitrary formula, because Hayley, as Blake remembered him, and as Judith Wardle reminds us, was a great vacillator. And besides, no one much cares what Hayley said. It is a different matter with Blake, whose views were extreme and definite. To imagine Blake that "fleshed out" Hayley's epic theories is to put Blake to school to the man he immortalized as a fool not to be endured. And it is to set Blake's motto, "Particulars before Generals," around backwards, to make Blake a willing producer of evidence *post facto* for Hayley's theories, in defiance of Blake's fierce originality and jealous independence.

¹ Frederick Pierce, "The Genesis and General Meaning of Blake's Milton," *Modern Philology*, 25 (1927), 165-78.

² Joseph Anthony Wittreich, "Domes of Mental Pleasure: Blake's Epics and Hayley's Epic Theory," *Studies in Philology*, 59 (1972), 112.

³ William Hayley, *An Essay on Epic Poetry*, 1782, reprinted Gainesville, Florida, 1968, p. 7.

⁴ Northrop Frye, *Fearful Symmetry* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1947), p. 332.

⁵ David V. Erdman, "The Steps (of Dance and Stone) that Order Blake's Milton," *Blake Studies*, 6 (Fall 1973), p. 73.

⁶ Judith Wardle, "Satan not having the Science of Wrath but only of Pity," *Studies in Romanticism*, 13 (1974), 147-54.

⁷ *The Poetry and Prose of William Blake*, ed. David V. Erdman (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1965), p. 109.

⁸ Edward J. Rose arrived at the same theory from different evidence. See "Blake's Illustrations for *Paradise Lost*, *L'Allegro*, and *Il Penseroso*: A Thematic Reading," *Hartford Studies in Literature*, 2 (1970), pp. 40-67.

⁹ For a discussion of how to read Blake's pictures emblematically see W. J. T. Mitchell, "Blake's Composite Art," in Erdman and Grant, eds., *Blake's Visionary Forms Dramatic* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1970), pp. 57-81. Mitchell is a sensible, undogmatic guide; "The image of evil in Blake's designs . . . is not an arbitrary emblem, or simply a devil with horns, but the sight of the human body surrendering its unique form and dissolving into a nonhuman landscape, as in many designs in the Lambeth books and the later prophecies where bodies take root in the ground or sprout bestial appendages." (p. 71).

¹⁰ Geoffrey Keynes, *Engravings by William Blake: The Separate Plates*, (Dublin: Emery Walker, 1956), pp. 6-7.

¹¹ David V. Erdman, *Blake: Prophet Against Empire* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1969), p. 11.

¹² Stuart Curran, "Blake and the Gnostic Hyle," *Blake Studies*, 4 (1972), pp. 117-33.

¹³ Joseph Anthony Wittreich, "William Blake, Illustrator-Interpreter of *Paradise Regained*," in Wittreich, ed., *Calm of Mind . . . Essays for John S. Diekoff* (Cleveland: Case-Western Reserve, 1971), pp. 93-133.

¹⁴ William Hayley, *The Life of Milton*, 1776, reprinted by Folcroft Press (no city), 1970, p. 220.

¹⁵ Wittreich, "Illustrator-Interpreter," p. 107.

NEWS

MLA SEMINAR 1977

Professor Anne Mellor will be the discussion leader for the Blake seminar at next December's Modern Language Association meeting in Chicago. She asks people to suggest possible topics. Write Anne Mellor, 4605 Alonzo Avenue, Encino, California 91316. She hopes to announce the topic in the summer issue of the *Newsletter*.

BLAKE EXHIBITION AND FESTIVAL AT ADELPHI

With a grant from the National Endowment for the Arts, Erica Doctorow and Donald A. Wolf are organizing an exhibition titled "William Blake: Poet as Painter," which will run from 19 March through 29 May 1977 at the Swirbul Library Gallery, Adelphi University, Garden City, New York.

The focus will be on the relation between illustration and text, with special attention to the ideas of Innocence and Experience. There will be about fifty items on display selected from the collections of the Rosenbach Foundation, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Princeton Museum of Art, Lessing J. Rosenwald, and several private lenders, among others. There will a catalogue; details will appear in the summer issue of the *Newsletter*.

In May a Blake festival will coincide with the exhibition. The festival will include an opera inspired by "Auguries of Innocence" and composed especially for the occasion, a dance program based on Benjamin Britten's settings for Blake's poems, and a readers' theater version of *Island in the Moon*.

BOOKS AND PRINTS FOR SALE

Edwin C. Epps, Box 6444, Columbia, South Carolina 29260, is selling, by mail and appointment only, books and prints by and about Blake, as well as a variety of other eighteenth-century and Pre-Raphaelite material. His most recent "mini-catalogue" has a page or so on Blake, the Pre-Raphaelites, and Ossian, among others.

THIS MAN READS BLAKE ALOUD

Aethelred Eldridge, in a booklet decked out with excerpts from newspaper and magazine features on himself, his wife Alexandra, and their Ohio Blake place, Golgonooza, announces the following:

I give a Public Performance: One Man reading through a range Of Blake's Prophetic Books. And I follow this up with discussion Before any Body of your choice: a 'Blake Class,' a bowling Team, a fresh-cheeked dinosaur--you name it. Introduce me to The Body and I shall exercise Energy upon it. "Energy is Eternal Delight."

.....

And you can reach us here:

Golgonooza
Aethelred and Alexandra Eldridge
R.R. #1
Millfield, Ohio 45761
614-592-4254

AETHELRED ELDRIDGE



ALEXANDRA ELDRIDGE



PUBLICATIONS

Oxford has announced the publication of G. E. Bentley, Jr.'s two-volume text of *William Blake's Writings*. Volume I: Engraved and Etched Writings. Volume II: Writings in Conventional Typography and in Manuscript. Oxford English Texts. Volume I, 694 pages; II, 1370 pages. The set, \$83.60.

The British Museum will publish a new printing of Blake's illustrations to Thornton's *Virgil*, made directly from Blake's original woodblocks, on 28 February 1977. The price is to be £300, plus (in the U.K. only) 8% VAT. A prospectus is enclosed in this issue.



Longman has announced a paper cover edition of *The Poems of William Blake*, edited by W. H. Stevenson in its Annotated English Poets series. \$8.75.

David Erdman's edition of *The Notebook of William Blake* will be published in a paper bound version, Smyth sewn and of the same size as the original published by Oxford, by Readex Books this spring. The new edition will correct the errors listed in *Newsletter 34* and include some further revisions. The retail price will be \$16.50.

The University of California, Santa Barbara, has announced the publication of the catalogue of the

Blake exhibition held last spring during the conference on Blake in the Art of His Time. The catalogue may be ordered for \$7.50 + .50 handling and postage (make checks payable to The Regents, University of California) from the University Art Galleries, University of California, Santa Barbara 93106.



Concise Catalogue
of
British Paintings

Volume I

Manchester City Art Gallery

The Manchester City Art Gallery still has available its booklet on Blake's Heads of the Poets for 35p. Their Concise Catalogue, Volume 1, has illustrations of all the Heads, works by Linnell, etc.; price £2.50 + 35p postage and packing (Volume 1 covers oil paintings by British artists born before 1850). (One work not listed in the catalogue because it has been acquired since publication is Samuel Palmer's "The Bright Cloud." A watercolor by Blake of "The Withering of King Jeroboam's Arm" will be in an exhibition of the Gallery's watercolors at Agnews, London, next fall, and will probably be illustrated in the catalogue of that exhibition.)

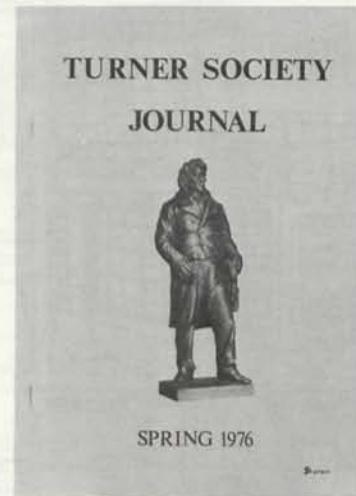


ROLF LOEHRICH

Rolf Loehrich, the author of *Oneirics and Psychosomatics*, *The Secret of "Ulysses,"* *Modus Operandi*, and *Systematic Oneirics*, and whose work "was acknowledged as original by Schlick, Carnap, Jung, Lichtenberger, and Monsieur de Monbrison," has now finished a work of six volumes entitled *Exercitium Cogitandi*. Volume 6, "The Personal Equation--Dancing with Death: A Diagnostic Impertinence," is a "satirical dramatization" that is "far from the joke under which it masquerades." It "expresses my hostilities directed against Kant, Luther, Blake, Jaspers . . . with due tolerance of the existential limitations we all suffer jointly." Blake is included in a section titled "Menage a Trois / Blake at a seminar, with the menage present among others." The price of the six volumes is £46; volume 6 alone, £8.50. Make checks payable to Exercitia Publications, 12 Penzance Place, London W.11, England. (Thanks to Robert Gleckner for this item.)

TURNER SOCIETY JOURNAL

The journal of the Turner Society is free to members and available for 50p to nonmembers. The Society was founded in 1975. The journal contains a variety of information, news, and articles. The Spring 1976 issue, for instance, began with an editorial about establishing a Turner gallery, which was followed by a miscellany of news, and ended with Part II of the text of a lecture delivered to the Society by Jack Lindsay. The address given in the journal is Turner Society, BM Box Turner, London WC1V 6XX.



THEL COPY A

Copy A of *The Book of Thel*, deposited at the Harvard University Library by Mrs. John Butler Swann in 1941, was returned to the owner on 13 May 1971. It was last known to be in the possession of H. Kraus.

BLAKE GREETINGS FROM GLASGOW

The Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries have published a handsome greeting card reproducing in color Adam Naming the Beasts and Eve Naming the Birds, price 17p.

BLAKE'S FAERIE QUEENE PAINTING

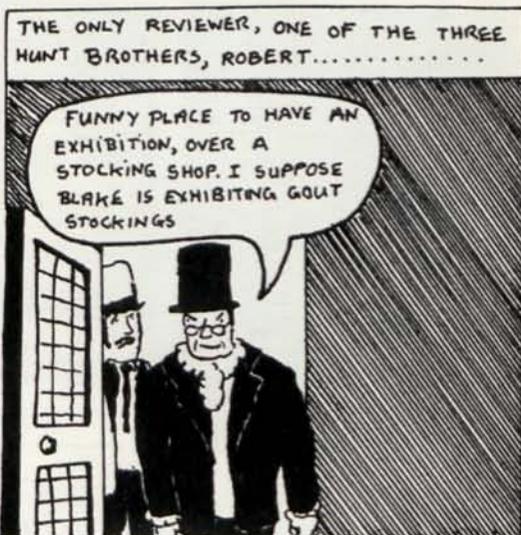
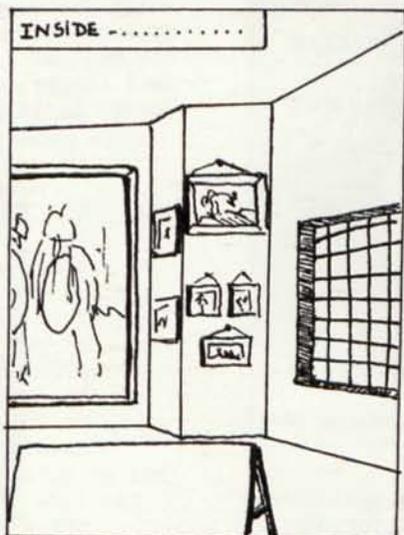
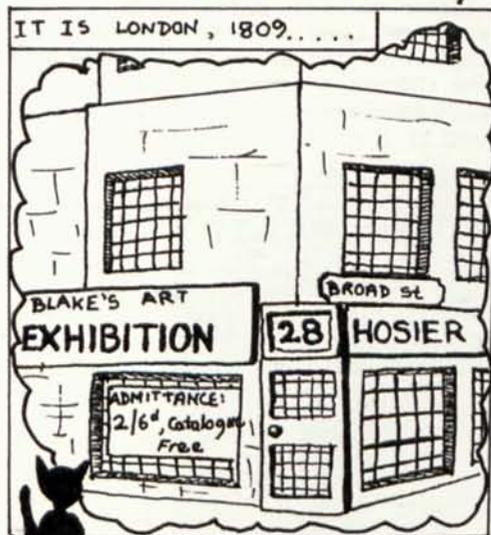
The large color reproduction of Blake's Spenser painting originally published in *Newsletter 31* is now available as a separate print. The picture is printed on a very large sheet of white enamel paper, with wide margins to allow framing. It is unfolded, and will be sent by first class mail in a cardboard mailing tube. The price is \$4.50, which includes about \$1.60 for postage and \$1.25 for the mailing tube. Make checks out to the *Blake Newsletter* and send to Jane Welford, Circulation Manager, *Blake Newsletter*, Department of English, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico 87131.

NEWS LAST INSTEAD OF FIRST

You will have noticed that the News has been moved from the beginning of this issue to the end. That will be its place from now on, so that we can hold some space open for late news items until (nearly) press-time.

A VISION FOR 1977

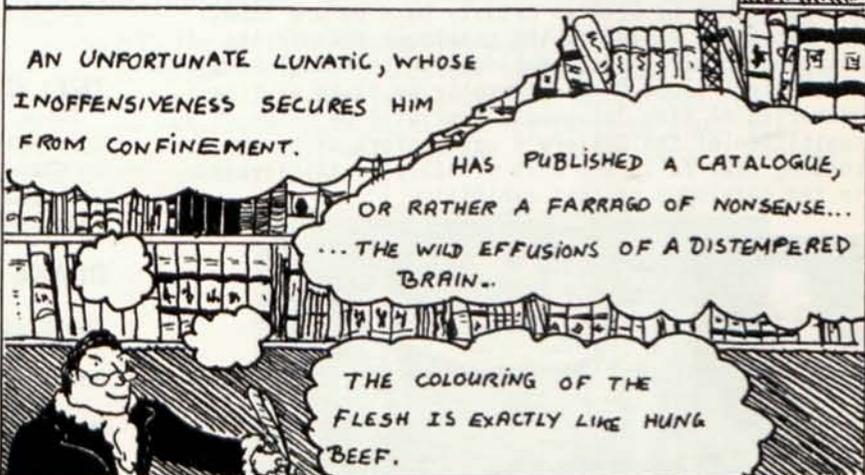
Envisioned by a Blakean Cat



ON SEEING THE "ANCIENT BRITONS" PICTURE, ONE OF THREE NUDE MEN.....



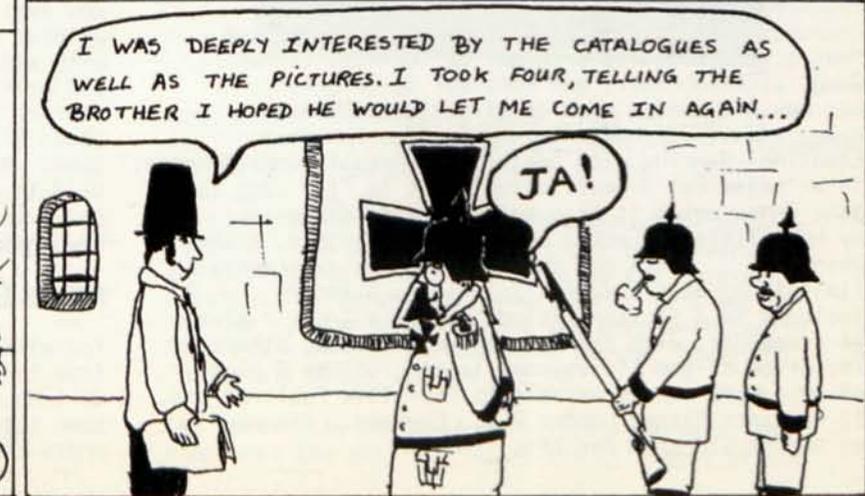
HUNT MADE NO BONES ABOUT CRITICISING WHAT HE SAW, IN "THE EXAMINER".



SEYMOUR KIRKUP SAW THE EXHIBITION, AND LATER WENT TO AUSTRALIA.....

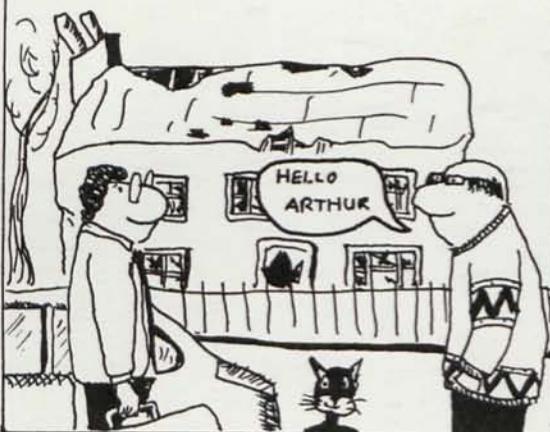


HENRY CRABB ROBINSON WENT, FOR A GERMAN MAGAZINE.....



OVER 150 YEARS PASS, DURING WHICH THE PICTURE OF THE "ANCIENT BRITONS" IS LOST....

ARTHUR HAS JUST RETURNED FROM SCHOOL, AFTER LEARNING ABOUT BLAKE.



LATER THAT DAY

I WONDER IF OUR ANCESTORS STOWED THOSE THREE NUDE MEN INTO OUR ATTIC?

WHO?

THEY ARE THE "ANCIENT BRITONS", THREE NUDE MEN, THE MOST BEAUTIFUL, MOST STRONG AND MOST UGLY, OVERTHROWING AN ARMY OF ARMED ROMANS.

THE STRONG MAN REPRESENTS THE HUMAN SUBLIME, THE BEAUTIFUL MAN THE HUMAN PATHETIC, THE UGLY IS HUMAN REASON

IT WAS NOT GREEK IN CHARACTER AND WAS 10 FOOT BY 14

BUT WHY DONT YOU JUST LOOK AT MODERN NUDE PAINTINGS, LIKE OTHER HEALTHY YOUNG LADS?

BECAUSE MODERN MAN IS LIKE A CORPSE

WE CAN SEARCH THROUGH THE JUNK IN THE ATTIC



OUTSIDE THE TATE GALLERY

HURRAH! HERE COME BLAKE'S LONG-LOST BRITONS

150th BLAKE ANNIVERSARY

IN THE GALLERY.....

I GUESSED IT HAD BEEN STOWED AWAY SOMEWHERE, EVER SINCE 1810, AND FORGOTTEN....

YOU MODERN BRITONS COULD MAKE THIS VISION TRUE. SEARCH YOUR ATTICS AND CELLARS.

YOU COULD DO THE NATION, BLAKE, AND YOURSELF A FAVOUR: FIND THE PICTURE

Drawn by MARTIN READ

Inspired by Ruthven Todd

Phrased from "Blake Records" edited by

Chosen by Michael Davis

G.E. Bentley Jnr.

