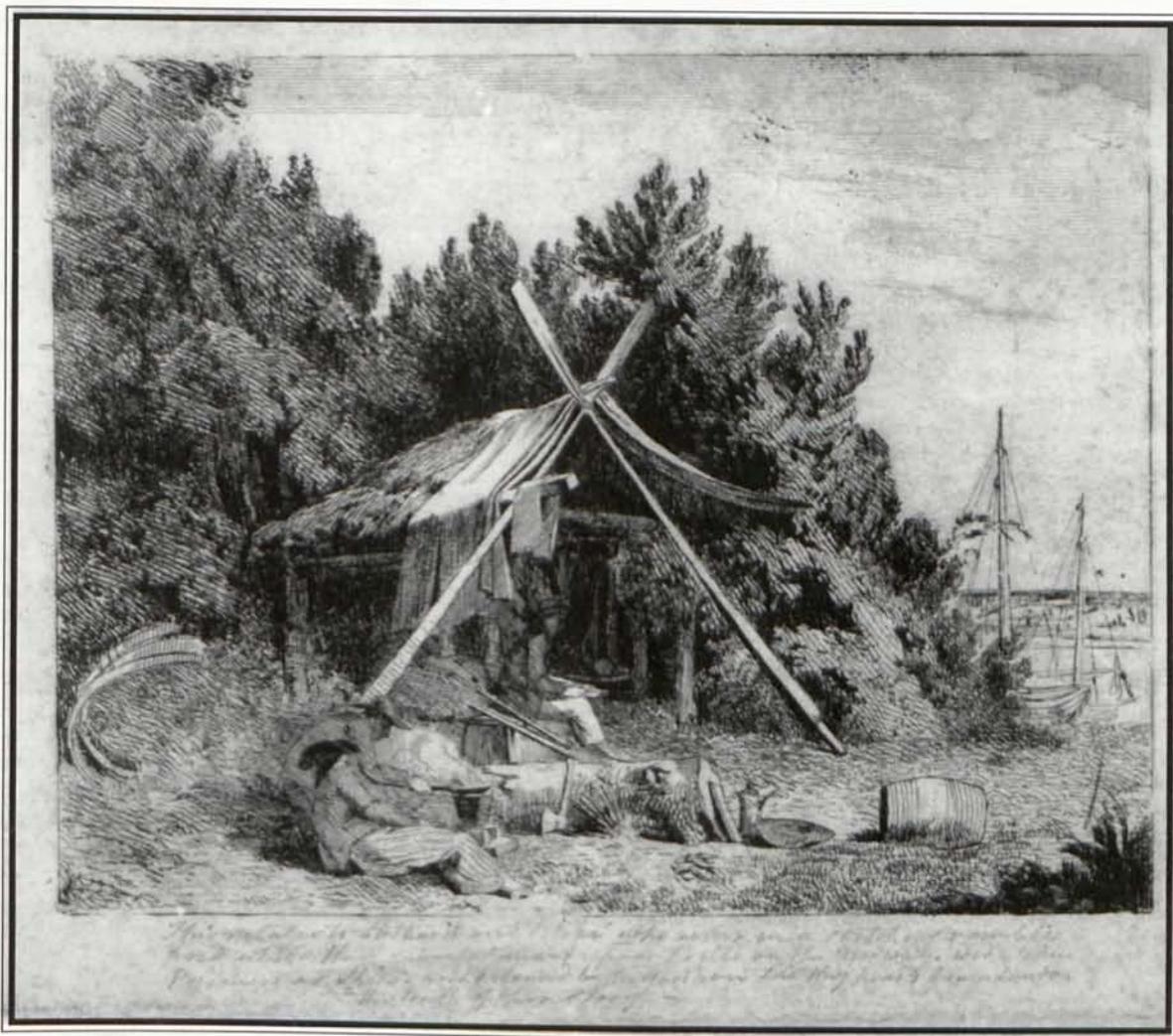


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I N F O R M A T I O N

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COVER ILLUSTRATION: Thomas Stothard's etching of his own design representing the occasion when he, Blake, and another friend were arrested while on a sketching expedition on the Medway. Collection of Robert N. Essick.

Blake, Burke, and the Clanrickard Monument

BY A. HARRIS FAIRBANKS

On the north side of the nave of Westminster Abbey, in the third bay, is a monument that is of interest to Blake scholars for three reasons: it bears a motto that instantly recalls an important line from *The Book of Urizen*, its inscription associates this motto with the family of Edmund Burke, and its design suggests that it is the model for an illustration in *Jerusalem*.

The monument is that of Ann, Countess Dowager of Clanrickard, who died in 1732 (illus. 1). It includes the effigy of a reclining woman whose "left hand is around her coronet (the same design as that which surmounts the coat of arms), with her finger slightly curled around it as though holding it."¹ Above the figure is the motto UN ROY, UN FOY, UN LOY [One King, One Faith, One Law]. An inscription below the effigy identifies the countess as the wife of "MICHAELL, Earle of CLANRICKARD of the Kingdom of Ireland, the Head of the Antient and Noble Family of the BURKES." Peter Burke, a Victorian biographer of Edmund Burke, prints an illustration (illus. 2) of "the arms borne by Edmund Burke and his proved progenitors, which were those precisely of the Clanricarde family" (2). Collared and chained cats are common to the monument and the Burke coat of arms.

Blake must have seen this monument. He was apprenticed to James Basire to learn the craft of engraving in 1772 at the age of 14. Starting in 1774, he spent much of the remaining five years of his apprenticeship in Westminster Abbey drawing funerary sculpture for Basire. Clearly he was a frequent and familiar visitor to the Abbey. Tatham's "Life of Blake" records that when the boys of Westminster School mischievously interfered with Blake's work in the Abbey, the Dean "kindly ordered that the Door should be closed upon them" (Bentley 512). "The impression the Abbey made upon Blake was profound, and was communicated enthusiastically to his young disciples fifty years later. Samuel Palmer wrote: 'In Westminster Abbey were his earliest and most sacred recollections'" (Bentley 13).

¹ I am deeply grateful to Miss Christine Reynolds, Assistant Keeper of the Muniments at Westminster Abbey for writing me to supply this characterization of the monument at a time when I was unable to revisit it and for further information concerning its date and heraldic bearings. She adds, "The eyes of the effigy are the quite common 'dead eyes'; i.e., they are not incised, but I would say she is meant to be looking upwards towards heaven."



1 The Clanrickard Monument in Westminster Abbey. Copyright Dean and Chapter of Westminster.

Though Blake is not known to have sketched modern tombs in Westminster Abbey, in his frequent visits he could hardly have missed such conspicuous features as the countess's tomb and its motto, so antipodal to his own values, especially since his work at this time would have attuned him specifically to funerary sculpture.

The motto on the monument is echoed in the final line of a passage from a plate which appears in three of the eight known copies of Blake's *Book of Urizen*.² This plate is of par-

² Essick and Viscomi have argued convincingly that Blake's final intention was to include this plate in *Urizen*. Viscomi argues that "for a short while [Blake] seems to have meant *Urizen* to be a twenty-six-plate book, to be read without plates 4, 8, and/or 16" (286) and conjectures that plate 4 was to be excluded because it "portrays *Urizen* heroically, as a Los-like creator, and is the only plate in which *Urizen* speaks" (283). Later, however, in an 1818 letter to Dawson Turner, Blake described *Urizen* as consisting of 28 prints (E 771). Essick cites this letter as evi-

ticular interest because it is the only one in which Urizen actually speaks.

7. Lo! I unfold my darkness: and on
This rock, place with strong hand the Book
Of eternal brass written in my solitude.
8. Laws of peace, of love, of unity;
Of pity, compassion, forgiveness,
Let each chuse one habitation;
His ancient infinite mansion;
One command, one joy, one desire,
One curse, one weight, one measure
One King, one God, one Law. (E 72; pl. 4:31-40)

Previous commentators have suggested other plausible sources for the last line of this passage:

The final line . . . initiates the Trinity of loyalist propaganda in the 1790s . . . A patriotic song printed by John Reeves's Association for Preserving Liberty and Property against Republicans and Levellers ends with strikingly similar lines:

In peace then and honour may Britons still sing
And bless their Good God, their old Laws, their Old King.
(Mee 181-82)

David Worrall also connects the "Trinity" of Urizen's final line with the contemporary debates about political institutions in France and England by reprinting several satirical prints. A 1794 cartoon by Cruikshank places Charles James Fox near a sheet that reads "NO KING/ No Religion/ No LAWS" (121), and a Gillray print of 1795 associates a group of Jacobins with a scroll including the words "No law, No King, No God" (122).

Neither of these analogues, however, quite captures Blake's pointed attack on the *uniformity* of Urizen's laws. The most conspicuous word in the passage describing Urizen's ideal is "one," repeated nine times in the three lines.³ The same antipathy to laws uniformly applied appears in the aphorism that sums up *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*: "One

dence that Blake's final intentions were to include plate 4 as part of the book and argues that while copy G, "the most highly finished and the last printed," lacks plate 4, a loose impression of this page had been intended for this copy. He surmises that Blake noticed a misalignment of the print on the page only after he had "disposed of his ink, used all available paper, or altered his press" so that reprinting the page became impractical, and that he considered his attempts to realign the image by hand coloring unsuccessful (231-33). Viscomi accepts Essick's argument that Blake omitted plate 4 from copy G for this reason (413n12).

³ W. J. T. Mitchell identifies Ephesians 4:3-6 as the "rhetorical model" of Urizen's declaration: "There is one body, and one Spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling; One Lord, one faith, one baptism. One God and Father of all" (125). While this passage includes Urizen's emphasis on uniformity, in other respects its resemblance to Urizen's declaration is less direct than the Burke motto. Blake might also have regarded the motto as a blasphemous mutation of the biblical verses.

Law for the Lion & Ox is Oppression" (E 44; pl. 24). This precept reappears with variations in *Tiriel* (E 285; pl. 8.9) and *Visions of the Daughters of Albion* (E 48; pl. 4.22).⁴

This emphasis on uniformity is, however, the point of the motto on the Clanrickard monument. The sentiment is one that would have angered Blake at any period of his life, and when he designed *The Book of Urizen* he may have remembered the motto quite apart from any connection with the Burke family simply as an expression of an ideology deeply and anciently rooted in the privileged classes of British society. But it is more likely that he did register the family connection. Blake wrote in the margin of Reynolds's *Discourses*, "Burke's treatise on the Sublime & Beautiful is founded on the opinions of Newton & Locke . . . I read Burkes Treatise when very Young . . . I felt the Same Contentment & Abhorrence then that I do now" (E 660). Blake's wording here suggests that he read Burke before the end of his apprenticeship to Basire, when he was almost 22 years old. If so, he was in a position to connect the offensive motto in Westminster Abbey with Burke's offensive aesthetics.

Obviously Blake would not have held any individual responsible for the ideology underlying an inherited motto, but in Burke's case the motto was peculiarly apposite to a political philosophy that he claimed as his own, and Blake had some sensitivity to emblems that people adopted, such as the Hunt brothers' pointing hand and Bacon's Janus (see Paley's note to J 50). While Blake's recorded comments about Burke are all from his marginalia to Reynolds's *Discourses* and apply chiefly to his treatise on the sublime and the beautiful, William Richey has recently made a strong case that two of Blake's books from the early 1790s were specifically organized as attacks on the politics of Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France*. He calls Blake's *French Revolution* of 1791 "an intricate web of intertextual references artfully designed to refute one of the most persuasive and eloquent voices of the age" (*The French Revolution* 833), and he sees Blake's central intent in *Europe*, produced in the same year as *The Book of Urizen*, as discrediting Burke's ideals of "the spirit of a gentleman" (or chivalry) and "the spirit of religion" (*Altering Aesthetic* 49). According to Richey, three of the pictorial designs in *Europe* have reference to Burke: The "spirit of a gentleman" is personified in Rintrah, the scaled warrior depicted in plate 5, and the "spirit of religion" in Palambron, the mitred, bat-winged priest of plate 11. In plate 1, which shows an

⁴ See also the illustration to plate 33 of *Jerusalem*, which shows a ploughman driving two human-faced lions yoked to his plough. The design corresponds with 29 [33]:4-11, where the "Rational Power" of Albion tells him that the "Human Form / You call divine" is merely a "Worm seventy inches long"; "It plows the earth in its own conceit." This image makes the point visually that a constraint on conduct appropriate to the ox is incongruous when imposed by this Urizenic "Rational Power" on the lion. The lions have human faces because people are the tenor of this visual metaphor.

assassin with a dagger hiding in a cave to waylay an unsuspecting pilgrim, Richey follows Erdman in detecting an allusion to Burke's 1792 dagger speech in the House of Commons (*Altering Aesthetic* 64-68).

Though Richey says almost nothing about *The Book of Urizen*, it is at least as resonant as the other two works with echoes of those motifs in the Revolution controversy that are particularly identified with Burke's *Reflections*. Burke's presence in *Urizen* would make some puzzling aspects of the book more intelligible. First, if the reader is intended to perceive *Urizen* as seriously misguided, some of the "laws" he promulgates stress surprisingly amiable virtues such as unity, peace, love, pity, compassion, and forgiveness. This anomaly bulks large in the critical debate about Blake's reasons for excluding plate 4 from some copies of *Urizen* (see note 1 below) because some critics feel that *Urizen's* speech risks presenting him as heroic and creative.

However, in the cultural context of 1794, critics of Burke's *Reflections* had already identified the sinister potential of some of these terms, especially peace and unity, as Burke applies them politically. As *Urizen* lays down "Laws of peace, of love, of unity," so Burke praises the laws of succession on which "the unity, peace, and tranquillity of this nation doth, under God, wholly depend" (103), though his argument makes clear that not the laws of succession alone, but the whole integrated structure of England's political and religious institutions is essential to preserving this unity. One problem for Burke's critics is that this structure involves preserving the hereditary privileges of wealthy landowners and clergy while the poor and religious dissenters must accept a diminished role in the state. Another problem is that Burke's vision of peace and unity underestimates and undervalues the extent of political dissent in England. He tells the French correspondent to whom the *Reflections* are addressed that Britain enjoys greater social consensus than the French have been given to believe through their correspondence with revolutionary societies:

Because half a dozen grasshoppers under a fern make the field ring with their importunate chink, whilst thousands of great cattle, reposed beneath the shadow of the British oak, chew the cud and are silent, pray do not imagine, that those who make the noise are the only inhabitants of the field. (181)

Besides peace and unity, *Urizen* also establishes laws "of pity, compassion, and forgiveness." Here his error lies in the belief that these virtues can be legislated. For Blake, true virtue is always spontaneous, never the product of laws: "I tell you no virtue can exist without breaking these ten commandments. Jesus was all virtue, and acted from impulse, not from rules" (E 43; *MHH* 23-24). Burke and *Urizen* both favor state religion because, unlike Blake, they believe that moral virtues should be made obligatory, if not through civil statute, then through religious commandment. *Urizen*,



2 Arms of the family of Burke from Peter Burke, *The Public and Domestic Life of the Right Hon. Edmund Burke* (London: Ingram, Cooke, and Co., 1853).

appalled "That no flesh nor spirit could keep / His iron laws one moment" (E 81; pl. 23:25-26), creates the "Net of Religion." Burke argues that "The consecration of the state, by a state religious establishment, is necessary also to operate with an wholesome awe upon free citizens" (190), and he criticizes revolutionary France for having relaxed religious constraints on its people:

All other nations have begun the fabric of a new government, or the reformation of an old, by establishing originally, or by enforcing with greater exactness some rites or other of religion. All other people have laid the foundations of civil freedom in severer manners, and a system of a more austere and masculine morality. (124-25)

The virtue of pity in particular is problematic in Blake's work. *The Book of Urizen* recounts the birth of Pity when Los looks on *Urizen*:

He saw *Urizen* deadly black,
In his chains bound, & Pity began,
7. In anguish dividing & dividing
(For pity divides the soul) . . .

(E 77; pl. 13:50-53)



3 William Blake, *Jerusalem*, plate 14, copy A. By permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

Los's pity for Urizen materializes first into a globe of life blood, then into his emanation, Enitharmon. This process has led some critics to perceive something invariably unhealthy in pity as Blake conceived it. Johnson and Grant in their note on this passage explain, "Love is fraternal, but pity implies condescension" (152n8), and Harold Bloom similarly states in his commentary in the Erdman edition, "Pity, as in 'The Human Abstract' of Experience, is a divisive element for Blake, being allied as it is to the fear and selfish possessiveness of the natural heart" (E 907).

While these comments correctly describe a way that pity for Blake is often perverted in the transition from innocence to experience, we should not conclude that pity is wrong *per se*. Pity and the other two terms of Urizen's laws, compassion and forgiveness, continue to be valorized in *Jerusalem*, where they are used with no qualification or irony to express Mary's thanks and praise:

O Mercy O Divine Humanity!
 O Forgiveness & Pity & Compassion! If I were Pure I
 should never
 Have known Thee . . .

(J pl. 61:43-45)

Blake often couples genuine pity with forgiveness directed toward those who have been branded as impure sinners. Los is fundamentally attuned to this divine pity: "O whom / Should I pity if I pity not the sinner who is gone astray!" (J 31[45]:34-35).

For Blake there are two quite distinct ways in which pity can find unhealthy expression, and both of them occur in *The Book of Urizen*. The first, that which Grant, Johnson, and Bloom describe above, occurs when oppressors or tormenters shed hypocritical tears for those whom they themselves have victimized. In the world of Experience, this hypocritical pity is exemplified, for instance, by those in "Holy Thursday" who, while they feed the children in their care with "cold and usurous hand," orchestrate an annual event in which the children they have impoverished can thank them for their charity. In Blake's mythic space, this kind of pity marks accusing figures such as Rahab, who howls, "drinking groans of victims weeping in pity, / And joying in the pity" (J 80:55-56) and Urizen, who "wept, & he called it Pity / And his tears flowed down on the winds" (U 23:2-3). His is a false and hypocritical pity because his own iron laws have caused the distress for which he weeps.

But Los does not belong in a category with Urizen and Rahab, and the pity he feels for Urizen is not the hypocritical pity that oppressors profess to feel for the victims of their own corrupt systems. Los's error is that he is led to pity the wrong object, for this is the second way in which pity goes wrong in *The Book of Urizen*. His is a genuine but misdirected pity; it divides his soul because it is extended toward Urizen, whose authoritarian values are fundamentally at odds with his own. Urizen is an accuser rather than one of the accused. Los's pity operates where its contrary, wrath, would be more appropriate. Blake pursues this same theme in *Milton* where Los, pitying another accuser, Satan, allows him to drive the Harrow of the Almighty and later repents: "Mine is the fault! I should have remembered that pity divides the soul / And man, unmans" (E 102; pl. 8:19-20). One mark of Satan's spiritual deprivation is that he does not have "the Science of Wrath, but only of Pity" (E 103; 9:46).

Among critics of Burke's *Reflections*, it was exactly this operation of pity where wrath would have been more appropriate that drew heaviest fire. Burke's widely satirized passage extolling Marie Antoinette led Paine to criticize his total disregard for prisoners in the Bastille, and, like Blake, Paine attributes this failing to the misdirection of his imagination:

Not one glance of compassion, not one commiserating reflection, that I can find throughout his book, has he bestowed on those who lingered out the most wretched of lives, a life without hope, in the most miserable of prisons . . . He is not affected by the reality of distress touching his heart, but by the showy resemblance of it striking his imagination. He pities the plumage, but forgets the dying bird. (51)

Mary Wollstonecraft finds that Burke has neglected a different category of French victims:

... your tears are reserved, very *naturally* considering your character, for the declamation of the theatre, or for the downfall of queens, whose rank alters the nature of folly, and throws a graceful veil over vices that degrade humanity; whilst the distress of many industrious mothers, whose *helpmates* have been torn from them, and the hungry cry of helpless babes, were vulgar sorrows that could not move your commiseration, though they might extort an alms. (27)

By 1794, counterrevolutionary sentiment in Britain manifested itself partly in pity for the memory of the royal family and for the many emigrés arriving in England. Burke's depiction of Marie Antoinette was the most publicly visible embodiment of pity and admiration for the supposed graces of the *ancien régime*. In *The Book of Urizen* Los, whose imagination makes him capable of great empathy, pities Urizen, and that pity consolidates into the image of a beautiful and charming woman (Enitharmon), who is at once the embodiment and the object of pity ("But Los saw the Female & pitied" [U 17:10]).⁵ Enthralled by her beauty, he fails to remember her link to the authoritarian Urizen; and to keep her for himself, he chains his son Orc, the principle of potential revolutionary energy, to a rock.

A final aspect of Urizen's speech on plate 4 that becomes clearer if we assume a covert allusion to Burkean ideals is the paradoxical idea that anyone could "chuse" what was already "His ancient infinite mansion." Burke repeatedly uses the metaphor of an "antient edifice" (106) to characterize the structure of British laws and political institutions. Constitutional documents "claim and assert our liberties, as an *entailed inheritance* derived to us from our forefathers, and to be transmitted to our posterity" (119; Burke's emphasis). In thus adhering to the "principles of our forefathers," though, we are guided not by the "superstition of antiquarians, but by the spirit of philosophic analogy. In this *choice* of inheritance we have given to our frame of polity the image of a relation of blood" (120; emphasis mine).

Thus, *Urizen*, like *The French Revolution* and *Europe*, contains internal evidence that Blake is describing in mythopoeic form the origins of a reactionary social consensus whose principal spokesman was Edmund Burke, and does so through motifs that echo Burke's *Reflections* as well as Burke's motto from the Clanrickard monument.

I turn now to the other possible echo of this monument in Blake's work, the design at the bottom of plate 14 from

⁵ Johnson and Grant note that "Enitharmon's characterization [in *Europe*] as charming tyrant bears considerable resemblance to Wollstonecraft's portrait of Marie Antoinette in her *History of the French Revolution* (1793)" (122).

Jerusalem (illus. 3).⁶ Morton Paley remarks in his note on this design in the Blake Trust edition, "Albion's posture suggests a tomb effigy, perhaps one by John Flaxman, with an angel at its head and another at its feet" (152). Not only the posture of the figure, but also the general composition of Blake's design resemble those of the monument. In *Jerusalem* a rainbow corresponds with the stone arch of the monument, clouds correspond with the cusps of the trefoil, and the winged Jerusalem corresponds with the heraldic device above the reclining figure.

It is notoriously more difficult to establish the significance of a visual quotation than a verbal one. Blake is unmistakably contemptuous of the Clanrickard motto and puts it to a dramatic use as one mark of Urizen's error. Is he equally scornful of the plastic representations of the monument, or do these somehow seize his imagination as having symbolic or potentially symbolic power? Or is he indifferent to possible meanings, taking away a purely visual memory of a useful spatial composition?

I am not sure that we can answer these questions conclusively, but the transformations he has wrought in the original design illustrate some aspects of his artistic psychology. Blake stated on many occasions, most famously with regard to the guinea sun (E 565-66), that he paints what he sees, but that everyone does not see alike. The image of Albion on his couch of death suggests what Blake saw when he looked at the Clanrickard monument.

The posture of the figure and design of the niche are apt for Blake's purposes. In the illumination, Albion strikes all commentators as presenting an image of death, and yet his posture suggests that this death is not irredeemable. Above the sleeping Albion Blake envisions a rainbow that opens into starry space. The creation of the rainbow is narrated on plate 48, where Erin, "an Aged pensive Woman," takes a moment of time and draws it out "Into a Rainbow of jewels and gold, a mild Reflection from / Albions dread Tomb" (J 206; pl. 48:28-36). Paley's notes to plate 14 call attention to a later passage where

... all the Sons of Albion appear'd distant stars,
Ascending and descending into Albions sea of death.
And Erins lovely Bow enclos'd the Wheels of Albions
Sons.

(J 210, pl. 50:20-22)

But it should be added that a passage on plate 14 itself refers to this same image: "And Los beheld the mild Emanation Jerusalem eastward bending / Her revolutions toward the Starry Wheels in maternal anguish" (J 152, pl. 14:31-32). Minna Doskow explains the relationship between the celestial objects within the rainbow and those outside it. Albion, she says,

⁶ The similarity of posture would have been more evident on the copper plate, where the head would be on the left, the feet on the right.

cannot perceive the imaginative promise of his world or self. His universe is represented by the clouds of obscurity, stars of reason, sea of materialism, and moon of the simply natural world, which now holds a red globe within its arms . . . that is Enitharmon or fallen space (17:51). (55)

She contrasts this universe with the "Universe within" of Los's children, "Starry and glorious" (14:17, 19), represented by the stars and planets near the top of the plate. Thus a design corresponding to the shallow niche of the Clanrickard monument suggests both a fallen space within the arch and an imaginative space surrounding it. Possibly Blake saw a similar contrast between a benighted view of death and of values within the Clanrickard niche and the imaginative space of Westminster Abbey.⁷

Taken in isolation, any one of the similarities I have noted between the Clanrickard monument and Blake's work could be considered coincidental. But since the monument is found at the site where Blake studied funerary sculpture for years, relates to a statesman already known to be of great interest to him at the time an echo of the motto appears in *Urizen*, and presents a composition so closely matching a *Jerusalem* illumination for which an original had previously been conjectured, we have substantial grounds for considering the monument the source of both.

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⁷ I am grateful to Robert N. Essick for calling to my attention to Blake's pen-and-wash drawing of "A Young Woman Reclining on a Couch, Writing in a Book," 1780-85 (Butlin #161, Cat. #147). Her left arm rests on a cushion, her left hand holding open a book in which she writes with her right hand. Her expression is pensive, as though reflecting deeply on what she is writing, and she wears a coronet. The subject is unknown.

While any connection between this drawing and the Clanrickard monument is entirely conjectural, the young woman's coronet might provide a link. If Blake, as I have suggested, considered the monument with its motto and badges of rank an expression of false values, he may have intended to signify that even a woman of rank might properly engage in a more creative and imaginative activity than contemplating her coronet.

MINUTE PARTICULARS

Blake's First Arrest, at Upnor Castle

BY G. E. BENTLEY, JR.

William Blake was a notably peaceable citizen, for all his radical, antinomian views. He may have believed that "One Law for the Lion & Ox is Oppression,"¹ and that "All Penal Laws court Transgression & therefore are cruelty & Murder,"² but he lived quietly within the laws. Only twice, so far as we know, did he offend the majesty of the law, and both times he was released without a stain upon his character—though some scholars suspect that on the second occasion, when he was tried for sedition in 1804, he may have escaped through a technicality rather than through genuine innocence.

The second arrest, in 1804, is moderately well known because Blake himself wrote about it and a good number of documents survive.³ The first however, is more slightly known, the facts are altogether sparser, and a new fact has recently appeared which allows us for the first time to set it firmly in context.

When Blake was in his early twenties, he made friends with number of rising young artists such as Thomas Stothard, the book-illustrator, John Flaxman, the sculptor, and George Cumberland, the inventor and artist. It was perhaps about September 1780 that this first incident occurred. According to Stothard's daughter-in-law, Stothard would occasionally spend a few days with his friends in sailing up the Medway, landing and sketching as they pleased. In one of these excursions he was accompanied by his old friend Mr. Ogleby,

and Blake, . . . Whilst the trio were one day engaged with the pencil on shore, . . . some soldiers . . . very unceremoniously made them prisoners, under the suspicion of their being spies for the French government; as this country was then at war with France. . . . There were they detained, with a sentinel placed over them, until intelligence could be received from certain members of the Royal Academy, to whom they appealed to certify they were really peaceable subjects of his Majesty King George, and not spies for France.⁴

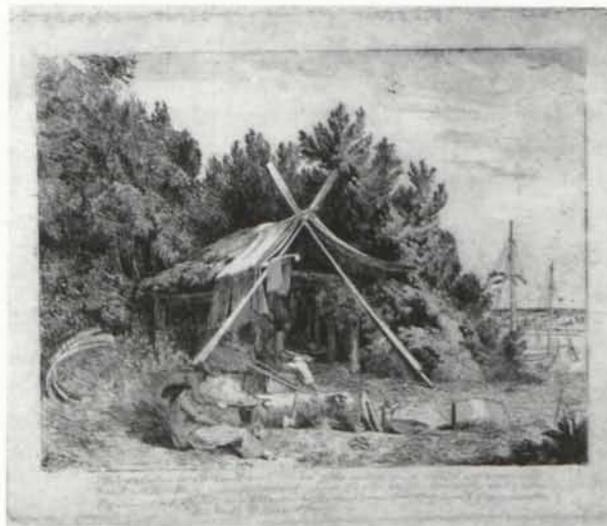
Stothard made an etching of his sketch which is very rare. One copy is in the Balmanno Collection of Stothard in the

¹ Marriage (?1790), pl. 24 (*William Blake's Writings* [1978], 27).

² Annotation to Watson (*William Blake's Writings* [1978], 1419).

³ *Blake Records* (1969), 121-149, and *Blake Records Supplement* (1988) 24-28.

⁴ Mrs. [A.E.] Bray, *Life of Thomas Stothard, R.A.* (London, 1851), 20-21, reprinted in *Blake Records* (1969), 19-20.



1 Thomas Stothard's etching of his own design representing occasion when he, Blake, and another friend were arrested while on a sketching expedition on the Medway. This copy, from the collection of Robert N. Essick, emphasizes that the incident took place at Upnor Castle.

British Museum Print Room,⁵ another is in the Rosenwald Collection of the U.S. National Gallery of Art,⁶ a third is with a collection of prints and drawings by Stothard formed by George Cumberland in the Fitzwilliam Museum, and a fourth was recently acquired by Robert N. Essick.⁷ This last previously unknown copy has an inscription of some importance, though its authorship and authority are unknown:

This relates to Stothard and Blake who went on a sketching ramble and while they ... [illegible] Upnor Castle on the Medway were taken Prisoners as spies and detained by the garrison till they heard from London the truth of the story [see pl. 1].

This is, of course, a much abbreviated account but it emphasizes the vital detail of where they were arrested, and this in turn helps to explain why they were arrested. Until we knew where the incident took place, it seemed a somewhat wanton abuse of military power, that such peaceable artists should have been so rudely accused and confined.

The Medway flows 60 miles east-north-eastward, mostly through Kent and if the sailing artists were "sailing up the Medway" they must have begun at or near the mouth, at

⁵ This is probably the copy reproduced by Mrs. Bray.

⁶ For its very puzzling inscription, see *Blake Records* (1969), 19 n.4; its identification of the third member of the sketching party as "Parkes" may refer to Blake's fellow-apprentice and later partner James Parker.

⁷ Described and reproduced in Robert N. Essick, "Blake in the Marketplace, 1994," *Blake 28* (1995), generously shown me in typescript.

the estuary of the Thames. They had not travelled very far when they were arrested, for Upnor Castle, on Upnor Reach, is only a few miles from the Channel, just east of Rochester, on the north bank of a sharp bend of the Medway. The river here was wide and bucolic, and Upnor Castle was certainly picturesque, but the military significance of Upnor Castle and its neighborhood would have been plainly visible to the most unworldly artist. Chatham Docks, "the chief arsenal of the Royal Navy of Great Britain ... one of the most considerable in the world,"⁸ is just across the river from Upnor Castle, and on occasion as many as 40 men-of-war might be seen moored there together.

UPNOR-Castle, is ... about over against the famous Dock in *Chatham*; it was built by Queen *Elizabeth*, in the Third Year of her Reign [1561], for the Defence of the River *Medway*; where the greatest Part of the Royal Navy usually lye at their Moorings, and for the Security of the aforesaid Dock.⁹

The docks were established in the reign of Charles II, and they were vigorously extended during Blake's youth and early manhood. Anyone reading the newspapers in London a few miles away was likely to have been aware of such developments.

In 1758, when this country was threatened by invasion from the French, the elaborate fortification, called the *Lines*, were commenced, extending from the Medway, above the Ordnance Wharf, measuring half a mile in width and a mile in breadth, extending beyond the limits of the Dock-yard, where they again unite with the river. Within this area, besides the naval establishments, are included the *Upper* and *Lower Barracks*, the church of *Chatham*, and the hamlet of *BROMPTON*; containing about five hundred dwellings. Various important additions have since been made, as in 1782 an Act passed for the purchase of lands, for the further security of this great natural depôt.¹⁰

However, Stothard and Blake were not the only artists to ignore the presence of military power at Upnor Castle, to their peril. In 1791 Samuel Ireland made a series of *Picturesque Views on the River Medway* from the Nore to the Vicinity of its Source, and when he came to Upnor Castle

⁸ Anon., *The Picturesque Beauties of Great Britain: Illustrated by ... Original Designs Taken upon the Spot: Kent* (London: George Virtue ... [1830]) 19-20.

⁹ John Harris, *The History of Kent*, Vol. I (London: D. Midwinter, 1719) 1: 386. According to Harris, "In the Castle are about 37 Guns," and down river are several other batteries, but eighty years later the armaments of the Castle had been allowed to deteriorate to a pathetic state.

¹⁰ Anon., *The Picturesque Beauties of Great Britain: Illustrated by ... Original Designs Taken upon the Spot: Kent* (London: George Virtue ... [1830]) 21.

he had an experience strikingly similar to that of Blake and Stothard some 10 years before. He made a sketch of Upnor Castle with impunity, but his next sketch was fraught with peril.

Upnor castle, considered as a pleasing object of the picturesque kind, on the banks of the river, draws our warmest commendation, but, as a place of natural defence, I fear, has never answered any purpose whatever; yet it must be allowed to have its merits as a place of snug security for the governor, storekeeper, clerk of the cheque, &c. &c. The governor has command of all the forts on the river except Sheerness. ...

Such was the shamefully neglected state of the castle that there were only four guns fit for use, mounted within it, at the time the Dutch made their bold attempt up the river in the reign of Charles II. At present it has no platform, nor yet one gun mounted, which, for the author of this work, was probably a fortunate circumstance, as he had fixed his station very near it while making the annexed sketch of the castle.

Other mischiefs, however, seemed to await him, for, while he was peaceably situated beneath the stern of a man of war, to keep under the wind, he was visited by a person from on board, who claimed the privilege of taking him before the Commissioner in Chatham yard, to answer for his rash attempt on this noble place of defence.

Having satisfied Commissioner Probyn that he had no insidious design against the navy, he was suffered to depart in peace¹¹

It is perhaps little wonder that while Ireland was sheltering from the wind under the stern of a man-of-war his bona fides were suspected.

In Stothard's sketch there is no indication of Upnor Castle, but presumably it is just out of sight. There are only two figures there, one of them apparently still sketching, but of course Stothard himself, who made the sketch, is invisible.

But what are these artists doing making landscape-sketches at all? Stothard was a figure painter, whose forte was (or became) charming book-illustrations on a small scale, and Blake is scarcely known to have made landscapes. How curious that these young men whose penchant was so strongly for the human figure should have been out sketching landscapes at all.

But perhaps they were carrying out a student assignment for the Royal Academy Schools. It is striking that when Ireland was haled before the authorities he talked himself out of his difficulty but that Blake, Stothard, et al. had to have their stories verified by members of the Royal Academy. If they had claimed that they were sketching for the Royal

¹¹ Samuel Ireland, *Picturesque Views on the River Medway from the Nore to the Vicinity of its Source* (London: T. & J. Egerton, 1793) 36-37.

Academy Schools, it would have been natural for the story to be confirmed from the Royal Academy itself. And indeed the military may have wondered why the Royal Academy was sending its students to represent military installations.

Of course the Academy had not done anything of the kind. But the unworldliness of these young men, blithely making careful sketches (like that in Stothard's etching) of military fortifications of the greatest naval base in the world in time of war, almost surpasses comprehension. At least it might appear so to naval intelligence, if that is not an oxymoron.

Blake's Meheux?

BY VINCENT CARRETTA

Among the plates executed by Blake after designs by other artists is Robin Hood & Clorinda, "J. Meheux delint.," published by T. Macklin in London on 30 March 1783. Robert N. Essick, in *The Separate Plates of William Blake: A Catalogue* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983) 133, observes that "[n]othing is known of 'J. Meheux, other than his designing 'Robin Hood and Clorinda,'" and notes that "Samuel Redgrave, *A Dictionary of Artists of the English School*, 2nd ed., London, 1878, p. 292, gives the artist's name as 'John Meheux.'" The John Meheux in question was probably the John Meheux (1749?-1839) who corresponded during the 1770s with Ignatius Sancho (1729-80), the black Westminster grocer whose posthumously published *Letters* (London, 1782) I have edited: *Letters of the Late Ignatius Sancho, an African* (Penguin Putnam Inc, 1998).

Meheux's obituary in *The Gentleman's Magazine* (December 1839) 662, says, "In his 90th year, John Meheux, esq. of Hans Place, formerly many years Secretary to Board of Control. He has bequeathed 5000£. to Indigent Blind School, 200£. to Deaf and Dumb Institution, and 100£. each to St. George's Hospital, Westminster Lying-in Hospital, and Society of Arts, all duty free." During the 1770s, Meheux was an amateur writer and artist, submitting essays to the newspapers and designs to print sellers through Sancho. Sancho had many contacts in the art world. His portrait had been painted in 1768 by Thomas Gainsborough, and his friends included the artists John James Barralet, William Henry Bunbury, Matthew and Mary Darly, Daniel Gardner, John Hamilton Mortimer, Joseph Nollekens, and William Stevenson. Besides Mr. and Mrs. Darly, who frequently etched and published prints after the designs of amateurs, Sancho also knew the print and booksellers John Ireland and John Wingrave.

In a letter misdated 21 March 1770 but written in 1776, Sancho sends Meheux "a proof print"; in one of 4 January 1776, Sancho asks about Meheux's sketches; and on 3 September 1777, Sancho asks Meheux,

How do you like the print?—Mr. D[arly] says, and his wife says the same, that you are exceedingly clever—and they shall be happy to do any thing which is produced by the same hand which did the original—and if Mr. D[arly] can be of any service to you in the etching, you may command him when you please.

Given the history of Sancho's John Meheux as an amateur artist providing designs for prints executed and published by others during the late 1770s, he is probably Blake's "J. Meheux" of 1783 as well.

R E V I E W S

Marvin D. L. Lansverk, *The Wisdom of Many, The Vision of One: The Proverbs of William Blake*. American University Studies, Series IV, vol. 142. New York: Peter Lang, 1994. 215 pp. \$38.95.

Reviewed by NELSON HILTON

Unknown gnomes mine. pro-verbal proverbs. but, ah! men, Wisdom's awful theopanatives love her. language bombs

Or so one might imagine from recent, stimulating work by Marvin D. L. Lansverk. Beginning with "the puzzle that Blake would use proverbs at all" (2), given the oppressing conformity often found in such "wisdom of the many," Lansverk traces a path to Blake's invention of "a new type of proverb" (3) or prophetic performative in which speech acts. Along the way he revives for us an image with profound implications for Blake's emanations, the figure of the divine female consort in the "Wisdom Books" of Hebrew scripture.

The first part of his book, a literary history of Blake's relations to proverb literature, opens with a comparison of the themes, forms, and functions of the Book of Proverbs and of Blake's "Proverbs of Hell." Timely criticism this, for "the only major English writer himself to have composed a

whole collection of proverbs”—as John Holloway observed over 28 years ago (*Blake: The Lyric Poetry* [London: Edward Arnold, 1968]). Lansverk shows that while Blake “rejects the Book of Proverbs’ external law of distributive justice” (188) with satire and transformation, he adapts its binary forms which “draw together two phrases or versets into a parallelism” (15)—e.g., “Joys impregnate. Sorrows bring forth.” So, the thesis being driven hard, we are asked to see that “Blake converts the biblical ‘A wise king scattereth the wicked, and bringeth the wheel over them’ (20:26) into a command as well: ‘Drive your cart and your plow over the bones of the dead’” (23).

Lansverk notes also how the introductory chapters of the Book of Proverbs, 8 and 9 in particular, would have attracted Blake, “with their sustained mythic personification of the virtues of Lady Wisdom.” This figure “is most commonly imaged as a superior goddess who is both a possession of God and a childhood companion with him. As she says in an early poetic exposition of the myth,”

The Lord possessed me in the beginning of his way,
before his works of old . . .
When [God] appointed the foundation of the earth:
Then I was by him, as one brought up *with him*: and I was
daily *his* delight, rejoicing always before him.
(8:22, 29-30) (18)

Remarking Blake’s “attention to and exploitation of . . . typographic details’ ability to carry additional meaning,” Lansverk appropriately retains the use of italics in the King James Version for “words merely implied in the original Hebrew” (34). Attention to the original Hebrew would have been appropriate as well, as the AV translation of “one brought up” for the Hebrew (*‘amon*) can be challenged by readings of “*‘amôn* as ‘master architect’ or else ‘little child’” or both at once (Judith M. Hadley, “Wisdom and the Goddess,” in *Wisdom in Ancient Israel*, eds. John Day et al. [Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995] 238). These references can begin to suggest that a Bible-reader like Blake could have pondered, with the most recent scholarship, how, “from a literary-theological point of view, personified Wisdom is simply unequalled in the entire Old Testament” (Roland E. Murphy, “The Personification of Wisdom,” in Day et al. eds. 232).

The second chapter, on “Blake and Bunyan’s Allegorical Proverbs” argues that “[t]he pervasive use of proverbs by Bunyan cannot have escaped Blake’s attention, nor the fact that Bunyan adopts and extends the very aspects of biblical proverbs that Blake despised” (38). This, then, is an “allegorical use of proverbs” which Blake rejects, “yet also a model for the variety and power of proverbs in imaginative literature” (188). While Swedenborg’s works do not offer many proverbs, they supply Blake with a vocabulary and a “symbolic theory in the doctrine of correspondences” to be transformed “from a divinely revealed, fixed

hermeneutic into a heuristic for the creation of [Blake’s] own wisdom” (188). “Almost every term used in the Proverbs of Hell,” from the many animals to the abstract nouns, “is given discussion in Swedenborg’s dictionary of correspondences,” Lansverk reports (65).

The book’s first part concludes with a study of “Blake’s and Milton’s Paradoxical Proverbs,” the title pointing to the poets’ co-creation of “a radically new type of proverb” (5) which exhorts rejection of the tradition of law, Milton’s “custome,” as grounds of authority and affirms instead liberty and “the tradition of prophecy.” For Lansverk, “[t]he importance of Milton as an analogue of Blake’s proverbs cannot be overestimated. In fact, this link is so close that if it were not for Blake’s subsequent transformations, Milton might be said to cross the boundary between analogue and actual source. . . . Blake’s readers should recognize that the late eighteenth century poet does not create his paradoxical proverbs *ex nihilo*” (84).

Milton’s crucial contribution, according to this argument, can be exemplified through a passage in *The Reason of Church Government*, where Milton combines several verses from the Book of Proverbs which “emphasize the function of proverbs as exhortations. Quoting Solomon’s personification of wisdom as a woman, Milton writes: ‘as Salomon saith, “*She crieth without, she uttereth her voice in the streets, in the top of high places, in the chief concourses, and in the openings of the Gates*”’” (79). This emphasis on “exhortation” takes Lansverk to Stanley Fish’s familiar argument that “the purpose of Milton’s prose is to get his readers to ‘exchange one way of knowing for another,’ to exchange their reliance on reason for a reliance on vision” (81): “an example of how to do things with proverbs” (89), in other words.

The second part of the book turns to textual interpretation of five of Blake’s productions, focusing both on his use of proverbs as performative rather than affirmative utterances and on his “systematic revision” of Hebrew Wisdom literature. It is worth recalling that these texts include not only Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Ecclesiasticus, and Wisdom, but also that work whose importance for Blake requires no rehearsal, Job. The discussion of *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* as “Blake’s Performative Book of Proverbs” hinges on those verbal utterances named (or, performed) by J. L. Austin in *How to Do Things with Words*, in which to say is to perform and so engender a new psychological or social reality. This function of occasioning “a change in reality in the act of speaking . . . lies at the heart of Blake’s use of proverbs” (98). As this effect gives performatives “the force of utterances of God,” Lansverk coins for them the name “*theopanatives*,” drawing on “the Greek root of our word prophecy—*phanai*, or to speak—and . . . related to the term *theopany*—or the visible manifestation of God” (102). They are used, he writes elsewhere, “as textual language bombs to create the reality they refer to” (*Northwest Society for Eigh-*

teenth-Century Studies 19 [1991-94] 182). The neologism serves to emphasize the oddity that “Blake even uses the term *proverb* rather than the many alternatives available”—gnome, dictate, maxim, apothegm—“given that his aphorisms are not the restatement of general, popular wisdom” (113; these would be *theopalliatives*, perhaps). Lansverk’s intriguing suggestion is that Blake’s act of “naming his sententia *proverbs* . . . in opposition to the social conventions of language which serve to define the term, is itself a performative,” and that, more importantly, the etymology allows an author fixated on naming to denominate an attempt at meaning both “before” and “on behalf of” (*pro*) words (*verbum*) (113).

Chapter 6 presents *Visions of the Daughters of Albion*, with its memorable proverbial epigraph, as “Blake’s Book of Job,” “a parable of proper sententious utterance” (117). The influence of biblical story appears in the poem’s “dialogue format, in its presentation of a battle between two types of wisdom” (120-21)—and “two ways of expressing it” (122)—and foremost “in its use of proverbial questions” (121). Bromion’s and Theotormon’s repeated questions, like those of Job and his comforters, embody “panicked efforts to maintain a semblance of order in a world on the brink of confusion” (120) (owing to loss of faith, for the Hebrew story, in the actuality of “distributive justice”), and their questions represent futile attempts “to gain rhetorical ascendancy” (120). Lansverk notes how Theotormon’s concluding outcry, “Tell me what is the night or day to one o’erflowd with woe,” doubles Job’s “most characteristic lament of woe” (125). To Oothoon, however, is reserved the use of “the proverbial questions from Job” to express the “theopanative wisdom” of her understanding of an imaginative wisdom unknown to her antagonists. The tight, steady focus of the discussion here shows one of the limitations of the author’s method, as when he writes that “to emphasize that her learning is not the rote following of a commandment but the generation of her own theopanatives—Oothoon maintains that her soul is ‘pure transparent’ and not ‘defiled’” (122). But any construction of Oothoon’s supposed intention is complicated by the full context:

Rend away this defiled bosom that I may reflect.
The image of Theotormon on my pure transparent
breast.

(2.15-16)

Not only is the implication of defilement not rejected here, but the notion of pure transparency’s reflecting raises questions about the speaker’s (psycho-)logic. Oothoon here plucks, again, a “flower” of rhetoric (*OED* “flower,” 6d), but in its seeming entire neglect of the wisdom of many who have written specifically on *Visions* (not to mention Blake and performatives, like Robert Essick in *William Blake and the Language of Adam* [1989, 25-26]), Lansverk’s vi-

sion misses opportunities to ground itself more substantially. It misses, as well, occasions to express itself with greater felicity—things seem recurrently “more” or “most” important, or “actually” so (117); Blake has “finely tuned proverbial hands” (117).

The Four Zoas appears in this book as “Blake’s Vision of Ecclesiastes,” and with his concern, Lansverk can build on Brian Wilkie and Mary Lynn Johnson’s puzzled observation that “[t]he kind of paradoxical epigram, reminiscent of Blake’s Proverbs of Hell, occurs more often in *The Four Zoas* than one might expect in a work so grand in scale” (131). For a Blake involved in “continued experiments with reforming biblical Wisdom books” (132), however, a full blown dramatization and transformation of “Ecclesiastes’s cyclical world view, its structure, and its proverbs” seems par for the course. Apropos of that “structure,” however, Lansverk reports that “[b]iblical scholars have not been able to find much identifiable progression of ideas” (140). (The book here has structural difficulties of its own, as a doubling of footnote 17 throws the remaining 10 out of sync.) Donald Ault’s work on embedded structure in *Narrative Unbound* (1987) could usefully be linked here (and to the discussion of “Blake’s Narrative Bound Proverbs” [173]). Lansverk argues that the two passages from John with which Blake glosses *The Four Zoas*’s opening “proverbs”—

Four Mighty Ones are in every man; a Perfect Unity
Cannot Exist. but from the Universal Brotherhood of
Eden,
The Universal Man, to Whom be Glory Evermore. Amen.

—together “comprise the central Gospel reference, the *locus classicus* . . . to the power of performatives, and thus they can be seen to serve as a ‘functional key’ if not a ‘content key’ to Blake’s work” (151). John 17:21-23 and 1:14 read:

That they all may be one; as thou, Father, art in me, and I
in thee, that they also may be one in us: that the world
may believe that thou hast sent me.
And the glory which thou gavest me I have given them;
that they may be one, even as we are one.
I in them, and thou in me, that they may be made perfect
in one; and that the world may know that thou hast sent
me, and hast loved them, as thou hast loved me.
And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us . . .

I note here that Blake writes out the last phrase in the Greek, without accents or breathings, “καὶ ἐσκηώζεν ἐν, ἡμῖν” which sets up a multi-lingual clinch with the nearest word of the poem proper, “Amen” (ἡμῖν[“us”] could be transliterated “amin”): Hebrew *amên*, cognate with Wisdom as the “master architect”/ “little child,” *amon*. Being “just & true to our own Imaginations” (*Milton Preface*), we become like unto “the Amen, the faithful and true wit-

ness" (Rev. 3:14) with a name "that no man knew" but which "name is called The Word of God" (Rev. 19:12, 13). The Johannine texts, writes Lansverk, "outline how Blake can lay claim to the performative power of God demonstrated in Genesis," and indicate "the importance of speech act to Blake's use of proverbs" (151). I will add that the pertinence of Wisdom's emanative name Amen for this argument can be illustrated by Gustaf Dalman's comment that, "Amen is affirmation, Amen is curse, Amen is making something one's own" (in *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*, eds. G. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringler, trans. John T. Willis, vol. 1 [Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1974] 322).

So, in *MIL/TON*, "Blake's Book of Infernal Wisdom," such textual fiats express the polymorphously erotic "sports of Wisdom in the Human Imagination" (3.3):

And it is thus Created. Lo the Eternal Great
 Humanity
 To whom be Glory & Dominion Evermore Amen
 Walks among all his awful Family seen in every face
 As the breath of the Almighty, such are the words of
 man to man
 In the great Wars of Eternity, in fury of Poetic Inspi-
 ration
 To build the Universe stupendous: Mental forms Cre-
 ating

(30[33]. 15-20)

This is only one of many passages which allow Lansverk to characterize *MIL/TON* as "a freestanding collection of proverbs, with the narrative parts simply providing a frame for the wisdom statements as in the Book of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes" (173). Such statements are themselves thematized in the poem's references to "Dictates," "a proverb in Eden," "a prophecy in Eden," and perhaps most curiously, "gnomes." In a provocative paper presented to the 1995 meeting of the Northwest Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies, Lansverk notes S. Foster Damon's suggestion that "Blake may have known that a gnome also means a wise but cryptic saying," and argues that Blake surely knew the dominant reference of "gnome" in his age. Indeed, in marking well *MIL/TON*'s words about the "servants of the Harrow, / The Gnomes" (7.18-19), it is striking to discover that subterranean gnomes only appear in English with Pope's *Rape of the Lock*, while the older reference flourishes in "gnomic," "gnomical," "gnomographer," "gnomologic," and "gnomology"—as in Milton's *Tetrachordon*: "Which art of powerful reclaiming, wisest men have also taught in their ethical precepts and gnomologies" (*OED*, s.v.). *MIL/TON*'s depiction of Palamabron

Curbing his living creatures; many of the strongest
 Gnomes
 They bit in their wild fury, who also madden'd like wild-
 east beasts

(7.46-47)

echoes strongly the language of the speaker of the deuterocanonical "Book of Wisdom" or "Wisdom of Solomon," who claims to be taught by wisdom and to know "[t]he natures of the living creatures, and the furies of wild beasts" (7:20, AV version). (One would have thought that this quotation would also find some bearing on Lansverk's discussion [144] of "the Natures of those Living Creatures" at the opening of *The Four Zoas*.) In my *Literal Imagination* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1983), I posited a Blakean "ear/earth," and it would seem that it is in such ground, "in the Auricular Nerves of Human life / Which is the Earth of Eden" (*FZ* 4.1-2), that the Gnomes labour to bring forth, like Zen koans, the performative nature of wisdom.¹

Lansverk writes that "*Milton* is the study of how Blake's central character Milton learns to leave behind the affirmative utterances too characteristic of his Puritan works for the more powerful and visionary performative utterances" (164) which he voices at the poem's conclusion and which, Lansverk feels, "comprise the climactic moment of the work: 'Obey thou the Words of the Inspired Man . . .'" (172). As if Satan, "To pervert the Divine voice in its entrance to the earth" (9.23), hadn't been spouting "obey my principles" (9.26) from the beginning. Lansverk should be more wary of so-called "climax": Milton talks the talk, but the walk he forces still, again, on Ololon. To apply the "moral" which Lansverk finds earlier in *The Marriage*, we must attend to "what [the] prophets do and not what [they] say, even though what [they] say is correct" (103). It's not *Ololon*, as Lansverk argues, who must "realize that she is Lady Wisdom" (170), but Milton and ourselves who read her, as a result of his lack of recognition, in the "Double Six-fold Wonder" (42[49].4) of *MIL/TON a Poem in 12*

¹The word "koan," from Japanese *ko*, "public," and *an*, "matter, material for thought," denotes "a paradox put to a student" to stimulate the mind (*OED Supplement*)—like the image of Los's response to the wild Gnomes, when he "took off his left sandal placing it on his head, / Signal of solemn mourning" (*M* 8.11-12). In which context, the following koan, from the famous thirteenth-century Chinese collection, *Wumenguan* or "The Bolt on a Nonexistent Door," may not be amiss:

Because the monks of the eastern and western halls were fighting over a cat, Master Nanquan picked it up and said, "If you can speak, I'll spare the cat. If not, I'll kill it."

No one replied, so Nanquan killed it.

That evening Zhaozhou came back from somewhere else and Nanquan told him what had happened. Zhaozhou then took off his sandals, put them on his head, and walked out. Nanquan said, "Had you been here, you could have saved the cat."

In the course of his commentary on this koan, Thomas Cleary observes, "Zhaozhou's farcical act silently remarks that to be enslaved by something that originally was supposed to foster liberation is like being worn by a pair of shoes instead of wearing them" (Thomas Cleary, trans., comm., *No Barrier: Unlocking the Zen Koan: A New Translation of the Zen Classic Wumenguan* [New York: Bantam Books, 1993] 66, 68).

Books. These objections can serve to exemplify Lansverk's contention that "[t]he only doctrine which . . . can fruitfully be said to underlie [MIL/TON] . . . is the doctrine of contraries . . . here both as the opposition between . . . two ways of reading and in the very form of the performative proverb, which ultimately amount to the same thing" (182-83).

The Book of Wisdom says that "she is the breath of the power of God [cf. *M* 30[33].18, above], and a pure influence flowing from the glory of the Almighty: therefore can no defiled thing fall unto her" (7:25; Lansverk fumbles this crucial quotation through misattribution and omission of the central phrase [194])—that is, as the New Jerusalem Bible has it, "she is a breath of the power of God, pure emanation of the glory of the Almighty" (and, for Blake, "all bionic" existence). The Greek of the Septuagint has "aporroia" also as common in the neo-Platonists and translated, literally, as "outflow," "emanation." Lansverk sees the plot of *Jerusalem The Emanation of The Giant Albion* as "the story of Albion's learning to treat Jerusalem as Lady Wisdom, his consort from the very beginning, and not as the harlot she becomes when externalized from him as a sexual object" (193). This entails the reader's learning that "the Treasures of Heaven" are none other than "Mental Studies & Performances" (*J* 77). Lansverk comments that, "[t]hrough the speech act theory to identify Blake's use of language would not be created for a hundred and fifty years, Blake could still point the way, whether coincidentally or not . . . that to perform is 'to do something,' 'to fulfill a command,' and most importantly 'to present a literary work of art'" (196-97).

Students and lovers of Blake can be grateful to Marvin Lansverk for this awakening call to the rich fields of the poet's sport with Wisdom and performative language.

Unknown gnomes mine. pro-verbal proverbs. but, ah! men, Wisdom's awful theopanatives love her. language bombs

Christopher Heppner, *Reading Blake's Designs*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996. Pp. xvi + 302; 72 illus., 14 color plates. \$69.95.

Reviewed by FRANK A. VAUGHAN

In the commentaries published by poets and critics through the 1960s, Blake studies began the process of discovering what Blake believed, of finding out how Blake's ideas "meant," and of applying this meaning, or myth, to his poetry, prose and, to a lesser degree, to his art. Part of the joy in Blake's quirky brilliance is that his ambiguity leaves so much room for critical invention. For the critic

Blake was the America of the seventeenth century, the Africa of the nineteenth century, or the Tahiti of the early twentieth century. However, in the latter portion of the twentieth century Blakean explorers have become less comfortable with general, programmatic speculations and tend to see the need to specialize in Blake's various efforts. Increasingly he is fragmented into a poet, a linguist, a critic of scientific perception, a social critic, a radical theologian, a myth-maker, a literary critic, a satirist, an art critic, a commercial engraver, an illustrator of his own work, and an illustrator of the works of others.

Christopher Heppner's *Reading Blake's Designs* focuses on Blake as an illustrator of the works of others. Within this still-large area, *Reading Blake's Designs* calls for commentators to read Blake's designs more moderately, accurately, and individually. Too much exploration of Blake's illustrations relates the illustrations not to the immediate text but, by association and analogy, to similarities in Blake's myth, or his own designs as interpreted through his poetry.

Rather than deal with Blake as a pragmatic, technical, or creative artist, Heppner's book "reads" the meaning of the designs through the analogy that art is "like language," a design like a sentence, composition like syntax, and a figure like a word in context. Using this analogy, Heppner reminds the reader that Blake is a history painter and that in the eighteenth century this genre had a concrete set of purposes and devices. For instance, as a history painter Blake would use both a natural and a codified language of gesture and expression which he would expect the reader to recognize and interpret. Thus, Blake uses what Heppner calls the codified *pathos formula* (7-9), and his vocabulary of figures is "disturbingly all-purpose" (11). In the 1790s Blake's language of figure, gesture, expression, and movement becomes dependent on a "codified system." For the critic this can lead to the danger of assuming that Blake's figures are "univocal" (9), single in meaning beyond a specific context. Yet, akin to words, figures have a complex relationship to their context, partially creating it and partially being created by it. Equally, and this is a point Heppner also develops (52-56), Blake's art is an art dependent on words, titles, names, verbal hints, an art increasingly dependent on allusion to verbal texts in order to give particular meaning and therefore an art fleeing from the visual to the verbal.

In the 1790s Blake became increasingly influenced by Michelangelo, but it is not the Michelangelo of the Sistine Chapel's panoramic view. Most people in the eighteenth century knew Michelangelo only through the print makers' and sellers' vision of him. Therefore Blake probably accepted him as a creator of great figures, not as a creator of contexts by which these figures were given meaning. Commentators try "too hard to interpret Blake's figures as if they were a response to the program behind Michelangelo's art" (38). Michelangelo's impact on Blake

is also important because of the qualitative difference between his art and Blake's. As a history painter Blake also had need both of narrative, and of codes of gesture and expression, to create recognizable meaning in individual characters. But where Michelangelo's figures are intensely real psychologically, powerful as allegorical moments personified and part of an impressive panorama, Blake did not merge all three levels into great art.

Heppner also goes on to characterize Blake's use of artistic sources more as "adoptive," or with little concern for their original source (33-34), than "parodic," or with a strong sense of play with their sources. This seems a bit odd in view of the work of Ault, Gleckner, Wittreich and other critics who see Blake's method of rebellion as a calculated play with sources until their implications implode. To Heppner, Blake-the-illustrator/artist is less caring, or understanding, of tradition and sources than Blake-the-poet. At one point he even says that he has "come close to suggesting" that Blake might be convicted of "fundamental incompetence as an artist, of failing to transform poetic symbols into analogous and intelligible visual symbols" (193).

This sense of Blake as an artist who has been over-read, who is careless and cannot "play" seriously with ideas, images, or perspective appears in several places. Heppner notes that many of Blake's figures are generated simultaneously as allegorical and as a portion of a narrative, yet this duality is blurred (136) where perspective is used casually by Blake. At one point he asserts that Blake creates "perspectival syntax" which is "sometimes loose enough to permit the imagistic equivalent of comma splices and dangling participles" (220). Heppner sees this casualness of perspective as a carelessness that leaves the critic stymied about the figures' intentions toward one another. Heppner takes such a lack of agreed-upon concrete, meaningful relationships in "The Good and Evil Angels," to show how commentators misread in order to construct a set of relationships which creates a text to corresponds to a familiar Blakean idea, piece of text, or even design. For another instance, the designs for *Milton*, plate 21 and 41, seen by W. T. J. Mitchell as being homoerotic, Heppner takes as either badly thought out or badly drawn (220-21). Heppner chastises commentators generally for succumbing "to a stream of association triggered by recollection of passages from his poetry" (99) and commentators on this latter design specifically for placing too much weight on the perceived homoeroticism—waxing on about the loving brotherhood of man in Blake's poetic myth. Heppner also argues that commentators should spend more time carefully scrutinizing the design to reconstruct the text on which it is based (99), and then, presuming the text to be correct, use this text to analyze the design. Commentators need to be more moderate in order to see, and re-construct if necessary, the concrete text to which Blake is reacting rather than turn all designs into a passage from Blake's poetry.

Similarly, because Heppner sees Blake's art in continual flight toward the more explicit verbal meaning, he also sees art history as justifiably having difficulty in dealing with Blake. Yet, it might be even more just to say that even if art historians have some difficulty in dealing with Blake because of his eccentric ideas, his use or avoidance of traditional methods and images and meanings, or his dependence on verbal labels, it is too early in the study of his art to accept that Blake is visually careless because he is too verbal, to downplay the power of verbal sources in great art, Blake's visual/verbal play with sources, or even to downplay Blake's artistic craftsmanship. To do so smacks of condemning the artist for the imperfect education of the commentator in viewing his art.

Christopher Heppner issues several warnings which have the merit of demanding common-sense accuracy in reading details, artistic traditions, and genres before commentators translate designs generally into Blakean paragraphs. Yet there are many issues raised and not resolved in his general warnings. Why, for instance, is it a problem that an illustration's meaning is dependent "upon words implicitly contained with them" (75)? The play between the verbal and the visual is a rich field Blake often explores poetically and artistically. And in the specifics of many arguments Heppner's tends to be a bit confusing. He declares his book to be one which shows that "Blake interacts energetically with the texts he chooses to illustrate" (xv). But in an age that seeks more understanding of smaller areas, the topic of Blake as illustrator remains a topic for a much larger book. Just the meaning of "illustration" is complicated. And Blake's attitude toward any text is varied and complex. For instance, Heppner is simply too general and too glib when he opposes Morton Paley's assertion that in Blake's Young designs "certain pictures...actually satirize either passages they are supposed to illustrate or their author" (149). He asserts that these "statements become a sometimes misleading hermeneutic principle" (149). It seems truer to say that Blake uses and misuses a text subtly to create the meaning he wants, one which often differs significantly from an author's text and intention. To do this Blake ignores or contradicts the slight details in the text, shifts images and details, creates his own designs based on an idea he has "gathered" from the text, merges images in the text with traditional motifs, twists ideas in the text to fit what he wants to say to his primary audience, creates images whole-hog, and even at points creates designs that are ironically literal. This, in fact, is how he operates with the Gray designs, if to a lesser degree in the 543 Young designs.

Yet if Blake treats Gray one way, with his complex but limited admiration for him, then he is very likely to illustrate Milton, the Bible, Shakespeare, Young, Newton, etc. in other ways—depending on his reaction to the writer, the text, or his ideas at a given point in his career, or/and the purposes of the series. And there is a large difference between the primary audience of the Gray designs, or the

Young designs, and other audiences he had or created for himself. The idea of audience affecting the relationship between designs and text, then, must be as noteworthy as noticing the impact of audience on *Macbeth*. Thus, any analysis of designs Blake created for illustrations of another text must be done on a level of that individual project, series, audience, and even design as part of a series. As Blake knew, to generalize is to err.

Interacting, then, is not constant in method, purpose, or degree, and the result of Heppner's taking on the large area of illustration is a sense of disconnection as he focuses on various points of detached interest, or moves from one design, or design series, to the next. At one point he even says vaguely that he will be looking at "a few works by Blake, chosen to illustrate various facets of the process of invention" (89). Each chapter takes on a commentator's failure to do justice to Blake, or a failing by Blake. Part 1 is made up of three chapters—on the *pathos formula*, Blake's use of Michelangelo, and what Heppner calls "Humpty Dumpty Blake"—i.e., the relationship of design to text in Blake. Part 2, titled "The syntax of invention," has chapters four through nine. The chapters focus on "fables," the relationship of the 12 large prints, the Young "Night Thought" designs, Blake's use of the Bible, Blake's use of perspective, and finally, in the last chapter, a reading of *The Sea of Time and Space*. This reading in the last chapter "derives from, and is in turn designed to support, the hypotheses about Blake's art developed in previous chapters" (237). But each chapter covers such a large area that, while the general intention is clear, the issues involved in discussing individual designs are addressed only generally, speculatively, and by assertion. There is no connective subtext, unless it is very generalized.

This generalness creates many issues. For instance, there is the analysis of the design titled "A Crowned Woman Amid Clouds with Demons Starting Away" on pages 93-96. Heppner identified the woman as Jerusalem in an earlier article and defended that reading in 1986. Here, in this revised analysis, he asserts that the woman is "clearly descending" (94-95) and he sees that the word "Gog" is clearly written on the design (i.e., "Accepting Blake's identification of the male figure as Gog..." 94). From these two assertions based on debatable evidence he sees the woman as the concept of the New Jerusalem descending and then asserts a "powerful structural analogy" (95) "between the contexts of the account of Gog in Ezekiel and that in Revelation" (94) implied in the design. He then moves on to the "standard" late-eighteenth-century commentary on Revelations and from here he moves to show how this reading is relevant to the political scene of the day. Finally, this reading is an example of how to avoid slipping into "a stream of association triggered by the recollection of passages from" Blake's poetry (99).

While his reading has much to recommend it, it is itself quite speculative and brushes aside many details in the de-

sign. For instance, there is certainly a "language" of crowns and Blake used different crowns to mean different things (e.g., in the two sets of *Comus* designs) so that this crown does not necessarily signify marriage in this design. And even if it did, marriage as a symbolic event in Blake is a complicated issue that needs explanation, especially in a context which sees this design as based on an analogy between the Gog of Ezekiel and Revelation's Jerusalem descending. Maybe even more to the point, Heppner defends his view by using what he sees as the "standard" (96) reading of Revelation in Joseph Mede and David Pareus, two "widely read" commentaries. Yet commentators on Blake's art need to be careful about where Blake got his ideas, or if ideas seemingly current in his time-period are either known or accepted by him. As recent critics have pointed out, many of Blake's ideas were received second hand, given various twists, and certainly developed instinctively and eccentrically as his own thought evolved. What Blake knew and what he made of what he knew need to be treated more gingerly, less generally, and with less presumption. Again, an assertion akin to the one that architecture becomes a "type of the sacredness of the human body," is a grand statement that makes the beginning point of a good book, rich in details and notions about architecture taken from Blake's designs, from his prose and poetry, from what we know he read, and from his period generally. But it is hardly evolved from the pictorial evidence in this design. While it may be erroneous to recreate designs in the image of Blake's poetry, it is also dangerous to overlook details, and rash to move too far from the design when reading a located or created text.

On the level of style, Heppner enlivens his writing through the use of similes and analogies, but sometimes he does so at the expense of our accuracy of understanding. For instance, there is the ever-present analogy between language and the thing we call "visual language." Sometimes there is a sense that a discussion of a complex process is being truncated or ignored because the analogy is taken too close to being factual. There are also, to name a few of these analogies, the "morse code" of pp. 12, 41; a "virtual forest" of hands of p. 15, a "hand to hold in flight" of p. 35, a figure carrying a "large freight of allusional meaning" of p. 38, a "stable charge of inherent meaning" of p. 39, and new meanings that do not "fit comfortably in old bottles" of p. 86. Visual language tends also to become intellectually uncertain and blurry, as when Heppner mixes his metaphors in looking "at a gesture that plays a prominent role in *The Sea of Time and Space*, in part as a way of clearing a little of the ground for the reading of the painting" (57).

Heppner also uses the clarity of strong assertions, as when things are "perfectly so" (96), or "exact" (30, 221), or in "total union" (221), or "precise" (32) or "diametrically opposed" (57), or "entirely" (91). The strength of these assertions, much as with the expansive use of analogies, tends to beg questions or to force the reader to accept the

commentator's point of view rather than to look closely at presented evidence. At some points the meaning seems to get away from him, as when he says that "Blake usually kept the basic features of a design when repeating it" (99). Isn't this obvious?

The purposes of Heppner's book are to show us some pitfalls in the reading of Blake's designs for other texts, and then to give us an example of how his methodology begets a more lucid reading through his analysis of *The Sea of Time and Space*. This reading covers the last 30 pages of the book and is perhaps the most cogent reading to date. As I said earlier, Heppner's method of reading the design focuses on creating/locating a text which he feels explains the design, and then highlighting certain details of the design and associating them with something in the text in order to reinforce the importance of the text. Toward defining the text he first sees the red, arm-extended man in the lower left of the design to be Isaiah. Unfortunately his evidence for this is a vague likeness from Blake's woodblock titled, "The Prophet Isaiah Foretelling the Destruction of Jerusalem" (B 773) and an equally vague likeness of gesture from the figure in the frontispiece to *All Religions are One*. He then states absolutely "Whatever its origins that block and its associated sketches identify the man in red in *The Sea of Time and Space*: he is Isaiah" (239). It is not that he is wrong, but that his evidence is not nearly as conclusive as his assertion. After this he asserts that "Accepting Isaiah" as Blake's model of "consciously and professedly Inspired Man" who represents "Real Vision," we can turn "to puzzle out the classical side of the painting." I do accept Isaiah as a Blakean example and I see the possibility of this figure being Isaiah, but the evidence and logic Heppner uses on Blake's painting is no radical departure from the methodology he condemns.

What Heppner concludes is "that the text behind Blake's painting is one that he took to be the basic statements of Pythagorean and Platonic philosophy, including both Taylor's translation and notes and Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, particularly Pythagoras's oration in Book Fifteen, which Blake would have taken to be the primary extant text of Pythagorean thought...." Thus "Blake's painting expounds the world view of Pythagoras and Plato as Blake understood it, with Isaiah there to expose its fabulous, ever deceptive, nature" (246).

He then identifies the woman behind this Isaiah to support the text. He insists that "We must seek or construct a text" (248), and, based on pictorial evidence that is only weakly allied to the text he has located the most "suggestive single text" to be "found in Taylor's translation of 'The Hymn of Orpheus'" (248). He insists that the passages "point to much of the action of the painting" so that the two passages he quotes correspond "approximately to the right hand and lower portion of the painting, the second to the upper left" (250). From approximate likeness this figure becomes Nature. Again, it is not that he is wrong in

his conclusion, or that we do not need to explore Taylor as a background to Blake's painting, but that his evidence is weak, his reading is more inspirational than logical, and while he does insist that we not turn the design into a verbal quote from Blake, his reading is a Blakean analysis of the text, not a carefully considered exploration of the interaction of a text and a design.

For instance, the woman out to sea and drawn by chariots he identifies as Aurora based on a vague likeness to Blake's "one certain portrayal of Aurora" (255). Though he has to disregard the dissimilarities, he insists that "The evidence for Aurora as the identity of the figure is strong." But this evidence consists of basic similarities between this figure and "several well-known images of Aurora," though he does not highlight concrete evidence Blake actually knew the tradition. It is not that this is *not* Aurora, but that what Blake knew and how he knew it need amplification and clarification.

From this perhaps correct speculation Heppner then concludes that the "rows of dots leaving her feet" are "drops of dew scattered as she rises" which in turn supports his whole notion of the water-cycle theme in the painting and in the text. Thus, "Aurora's veil of morning clouds descends in something like a vortex from Apollo's chariot to indicate the interdependence of the two" (256). Again, it is not that he is wrong, but that while he is asserting a new methodology of reading and seeming to censure older commentators who base themselves on association, Blake's poetic passages, Blake's myth, analogies, and inspirational leaps, I see no radical difference in Heppner's methodology when it comes to a concrete reading of a design. At most he seems to have trimmed the excesses of the 1970s and earlier.

A little later he says that, "The correspondences between the detail of Blake's painting and the sources I have quoted demonstrate that he is illustrating texts external to his own mythology, though links can be made since his myth is derived from such sources, among others" (260). Still later he asserts that "The logic binding these differently conceived figures into a unity is that of an implicit text, not the logic of visual coherence and immediate sensory intelligibility" (276). Of course he is right to acknowledge this as the case and right in the last chapter to see Blake's use of perspective as "appositive," as well as to accept Blake's use of the verbal in his art. And I think the warnings Heppner gives about how to read Blake's illustration to other texts are solid, though related more to past commentaries than to present tendencies. His warnings should be accepted as necessary and lucid guidelines, and as a challenge to read Blake by better evidentiary rules. Yet, his book shows how much the reading of a Blake design is an art more than a method, how far commentators on Blake's illustrations have come, and how far we have to go in setting down the basic rules if there is to be a method.

Mark L. Greenberg, ed., *Speak Silence: Rhetoric and Culture in Blake's Poetical Sketches*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1996. Pp. 221. \$39.95.

Reviewed by JENNIFER DAVIS MICHAEL

The publication of a collection of critical essays on *Poetical Sketches* marks a milestone in Blake studies, where such volumes usually focus on the *Songs* or, more recently, on new theoretical approaches to the prophetic books. Although Blake has long been a fixture in the romantic canon, *Poetical Sketches* remains something of a stepchild. As Mark Greenberg notes in his introduction, criticism of these early poems "has tended to pivot on questions of value" from the beginning. If we consider the history of its reception, the book seems paradoxically to disappear in two directions. On the one hand, Blake's early work was often seen as derivative or imitative of such predecessors as Thomson, Gray, and Collins. On the other hand, when the poems were considered seriously, it was only as "sketches" for the later songs and prophecies. Hence the poems were rarely evaluated in and of themselves; instead they were measured against their eighteenth-century antecedents or against Blake's mature work.

Robert Gleckner's book *Blake's Prelude* (1982) was the first major attempt in the modern era of Blake studies to assess and interpret *Poetical Sketches* on its own terms, without the "anticipative fallacy" he saw in the work of Frye, Bloom, and others (2).¹ Inevitably, therefore, *Blake's Prelude* looms over *Speak Silence* as Thomson's *Seasons* looms over Blake's cycle of lyrics: every one of these essays cites Gleckner at least once, and Gleckner himself responds at the end of the volume. Several of the contributors deliberately enact the "fallacy" Gleckner criticizes, recognizing perhaps that the desire for a pure text, read in a vacuum, is itself a fallacy. No matter how we try to look at *Poetical Sketches* in isolation, we cannot forget that Blake is the author, nor can we forget what we have already read of Blake. We are Experienced readers, and to return to Innocence is not only impossible but unwise.

But the book is more than an argument about how to read the juvenile productions of a canonical poet. What strikes me most about the various approaches in this volume is their common use of close readings, suggesting a renewed emphasis on formalism and lyricism in Blake. Although a review of this length can hardly do justice to the

¹ Gleckner acknowledges Margaret Lowery's *Windows of the Morning* (1940) as an independent assessment, but argues that Frye's *Fearful Symmetry* undermined much of Lowery's work by reading Blake's later myth back into *Poetical Sketches*.

detailed readings in these essays, it is refreshing to see such meticulous attention given to poems once dismissed as "rude" and "clumsy" (Tatham, quoted on 15). At the same time, however, there is a persistent impulse to turn away from the poems toward something else: toward questions of originality and value, toward Blake's later "system," toward a theory that replaces notions of originality and truth with pure poetic artifice. All are attempts, we might say, to fill the "silence" that "speaks" so loudly in these enigmatic poems.

In the first essay, "Sketching Verbal Form," Susan Wolfson paradoxically draws on W. J. T. Mitchell's theory of "composite art" to discuss Blake's single unillustrated letterpress publication. She finds in *Poetical Sketches* a "visual rhetoric . . . where conventions are deformed by poetic self-inscription" (31). What the advertisement disclaims as "irregularities and defects" Wolfson redefines as deliberate violations of conventional meter and line, such as "Smile on our loves; and, while thou drawest the / Blue curtains of the sky" ("To the Evening Star"). One wonders to what extent these effects can be called visual: after all, the "dissonant eye rhymes" are dissonant only to the ear, and strong enjambment operates on the ear as well as the eye. Nonetheless, Wolfson goes a long way toward redefining Blake's apparently unformed or deformed lyrics as deliberately formal. Even in a poem like "Fair Elenor," which Gleckner ranked among "the least accomplished, and perhaps the most 'un-Blakean,' poems in *Poetical Sketches*" (Gleckner 16), Wolfson locates a system in which the lack of rhyme produces not liberty but bondage through "deadening repetitions" (43). (One can only wish Wolfson had further developed her brief remarks on "Blind-man's Buff," another much-deplored and neglected poem in the volume.) Turning from rhyme to blank verse in *King Edward the Third*, Wolfson sees Blake subverting Milton's association of blank verse with "liberty," which becomes an empty word in the king's "imperialist cant" (56). Wolfson's essay takes *Poetical Sketches* seriously, as possessing its own aesthetic, and yet her serious evaluation is based very much on Blake's later work, from her opening argument in which she discusses the visual form of the text in *The Book of Urizen*. It is hard not to ask oneself, as Gleckner does in his response, What if *Poetical Sketches* was all we had of Blake? The question is not whether such coherence could be found in the poems, for Wolfson has demonstrated conclusively that it can, but whether it would be sought in the first place.

Stuart Peterfreund addresses "The Problem of Originality and Blake's *Poetical Sketches*" in the context of the Hebraic literary tradition, which used metaphor to find familiar expressions for new ideas, in contrast to classical writers, who found new ways to say old things (74): "nature to advantage dress'd," as Pope said. In Blake, as in the Bible, language or speech precedes things and actions: this is why Blake so vigorously rejects the classical dictum to

imitate nature, because nature is only the product of a speech act. Peterfreund thus reads the "problem of originality" in *Poetical Sketches* as a struggle between the Hebraic impulse to prophecy (bringing things into being through language) and the ever-present "temptation to classicize" (83).

Peterfreund introduces his essay with the bold claim that Blake himself wrote the demurring advertisement to the volume. He bases this claim on Blake's later works, which always begin with an introductory comment by the author, and on the genre of the "original" books of Macpherson and Chatterton, introduced by a persona other than the author (one might note the same device in Defoe). His point, however, is that by setting the "irregularities and defects" against the "poetic originality" of the sketches, Blake is deliberately making originality the subject of his volume. Peterfreund goes on to argue that *Poetical Sketches* is in fact replete with such defects, "though not of the sort that the smug persona would recognize. The irregularities are misappropriations of authentic inspiration by force of poetic convention and habit" (83). In other words, by playing out the conflict between Hebraic prophecy and classical imitation, Blake in effect demonstrates that true irregularities are not symptoms but rather failures of original genius.

Peterfreund makes a crucial contribution in identifying and explicating the tension between Hebraic and classical tradition in *Poetical Sketches* and in Blake's work in general. His application of his theory to the four seasonal poems, though painstakingly worked out, is less convincing. He argues that "To Spring" follows "correctly" the process of original creation outlined in plate 11 of *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, whereby "the ancient Poets animated all sensible objects with Gods or Geniuses," and that the subsequent seasonal poems also fail the test of originality in different (though sequential) ways. Like Gleckner, I am wary of using a single paragraph from a later work as the key to originality in *Poetical Sketches*. I also disagree with Peterfreund's assumption that "To Spring" is calling for an "apocalypse" that ultimately "fails." By his own argument, to prophesy is to bring about through speech. The mere fact that the speaker does not go on to describe the "decking" and "crowning" of the land by Spring does not mean it does not happen; in fact, the subsequent poems to Summer, Autumn, and Winter would imply that it does. The error, whether in Blake's speaker or in Peterfreund's reading, is in looking for apocalyptic consummation in the cyclical world of the seasons.

Peterfreund is right in identifying the atmosphere of *Poetical Sketches* after "To Winter" as a "twilight" world, a blend of prophetic light and classicizing shadows. But here too he reads ahead 21 years to *Milton* to find the restoration of originality so lacking in the early volume. Peterfreund implies that the Blake of 1783 already knows the poetic theory of the *Marriage*, *Milton*, and *Jerusalem* to boot. The prob-

lem is not simply the "anticipative fallacy," but a way of reading that minimizes poetic development, or makes its course clearly defined from the start. Peterfreund's reading binds the text in all directions: binds it to biblical sources, binds it to later texts, binds the young apprentice to the aging and disillusioned artist. Like the swaddling bands of "Infant Sorrow," these ties sometimes nurture an understanding of the text and at other times restrict it too narrowly.

Thomas A. Vogler's "Troping the Seasons" challenges both Gleckner and Peterfreund on the subject of Blake's originality. For Vogler, it is not a choice between original, prophetic truth and "mere" imitation or mimesis: rather, "truth" is produced by a "rhetorical machine" as cyclical as the seasons. Blake is "trying on the seasonal paradigm" and in doing so is pulled simultaneously toward nature and metaphor. Vogler expounds this view through a stunning history of poetic representations of the sun, the "golden load" of Blake's "To Autumn." His wide-ranging discussion has applications far beyond *Poetical Sketches* and is marred only occasionally by an excessively dense theoretical prose, as in the following sentence:

If the possible subject of poetic enunciation is already inscribed in a synchronic pastoral machine that constantly provides the already-available position characteristic of any discursive formation, then that position can be seen to have a special relationship to the sun, a prototypical relationship characteristic of that between all signifiers and their "real" signifieds, which are mental constructs rather than the natural objects with which they have only a rhetorical relationship. (122)

Vogler concludes with a provocative discussion of poetry's dependence on "feigning," in the words of Shakespeare's *Touchstone*, suggesting that what Blake or any poet is offering is not "original" nor "true" but a combination of faking and desiring whereby readers "persuade themselves that they have found the object of their desire" (145). His purpose does not seem to be to discount the effectiveness of Blake's rhetoric, but to reveal it as rhetoric, as "feigning" that is the only truth. Romanticists who are also romantics will protest that imagination is truth, but in fact Vogler is agreeing with them, as he ends his essay by quoting *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* that "a firm persuasion that a thing is so, make[s] it so."

In a brief but incisive essay, Vincent A. De Luca also takes up the matter of Blake's tropes, but does so in the context of the eighteenth-century sublime, which he says substitutes for divinity "the transient states of natural cycles," represented and embodied in constantly shifting metaphors. De Luca applies Burke's theory of the sublime to Blake's motifs of hurried transformations, but notes that the succession of images in the sublime is "a subtractive rather than an additive process," whereby "Each new trope removes light and clarity from the amassing whole until we are left

with a final dark" (157). He goes on to compare this process of troping with the depleting process of time, thus returning to the poetry of the seasons and to Blake's "Mad Song," which "crouds after night" not only in the sense of "murmuring" but also in the sense of crowding or pressing on darkness. "Crouding after Night" (the title of his essay) thus becomes for De Luca the sublime theme of the whole volume, which he ultimately casts as a rivalry between the wintry northern landscape of the Burkean sublime and the (re)generative troping of Hebraic prophecy.

Perhaps the most ambitious essay in the collection is Nelson Hilton's "The Rankest Draught," which analyzes the prose piece "then She bore Pale desire," often grouped with *Poetical Sketches* by editors. The chaotically ambiguous syntax and punctuation of the "sketch" seems an extreme example of the "irregularities" in the typeset poems, so that Hilton is tempted to see "then She bore Pale desire" as a purer version of the same kind of work that Blake's well-meaning friends mutilated with their corrections. Hilton begins his essay by transcribing Blake's prose piece into metrical lines: a questionable move, some would say, in light of current arguments that Blake's lineation should not be tampered with. But this is not an engraved poem; Hilton makes no alterations from Erdman's text; and his transcription simply reveals the metrical form already there in the language. Sometimes it is a trochaic tetrameter familiar from the *Songs* ("She doth bind them to her law"), but more often it is blank verse: "My Cup is fill'd with Envy's Rankest Draught / a miracle No less can set me Right." If nothing else, this lineation makes it easier to read a text that too many readers might dismiss as gibberish. But this transcription is only a prelude to Hilton's consideration of the piece as a poem, one that is intrinsically concerned with the creative process it both embodies and describes.

Hilton explores the "psycho-theogony" of the poem using Melanie Klein's theory about the opposition of envy and creativity as well as his own richly allusive close reading, drawing on Shakespeare, Spenser, Burton, Milton, and a host of lesser figures. The effect is not merely to uncover the sources of Blake's images, which indeed would make "then She bore Pale desire" seem as derivative as any of the lyrics in *Poetical Sketches*, but rather to depict the poet/narrator struggling with his own envy which is itself creative: "it is the Cursed thorn wounding my breast that makes me sing. / however sweet tis Envy that Inspires my Song." The poem depicts the "gods" of the passions generating themselves in a succession of metaphors that aptly represents De Luca's sense of the sublime, but rather than the poet controlling those metaphors, "trying them on" as Vogler has it, they control him. Hilton's article thus pays unusual attention to a "fragment" while also engaging many themes of the collection.

As I mentioned before, all the articles in the collection respond in one way or another to Gleckner's book.

Gleckner then responds to these responses in the closing piece, "Obtuse Angled Afterword." I shall refrain from responding to a response to a series of responses, except to say that the inclusion of Gleckner's piece helps to give the book the informal flavor of a roundtable discussion as well as raising good questions about the specific arguments presented. Giving Gleckner the last word, however, makes it seem as though all things begin and end with Gleckner where *Poetical Sketches* is concerned, whereas the volume has already demonstrated how much more is left to discuss. The questions of originality, evaluation, and formalism raised here have implications for the rest of Blake's work and beyond: implications which I hope will continue to be pursued with the energy already shown in *Speak Silence*.

Work Cited

Gleckner, Robert F. *Blake's Prelude: Poetical Sketches*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1982.

Peter Isaac, *William Bulmer: The Fine Printer in Context 1757-1830: Expanded from the Sandars Lectures Cambridge 1984*. London: Bain & Williams, [February 1994]. Pp. 198, 43 plates. £75.50.

Reviewed by G. E. BENTLEY, JR.

The two greatest English printers during William Blake's lifetime were William Bulmer and Thomas Bensley, and each was responsible for a number of works of major importance in Blake's career and in the history of fine printing. These included for Bulmer three major publications by Boydell: Hogarth, *Works* (1795), Shakspeare, *Dramatic Works* (1791-1802), and *Boydell's Graphic Illustrations of the Dramatic Works of William Shakspeare* ([?1803]; 1813). For works printed by Bensley Blake did even more, and more important, work: Lavater, *Aphorisms* (1789), Lavater, *Physiognomy* (1789-98; 1810), two advertisements for Blair's *Grave* (1805) plus Blair, *Grave* (1808; 1813), and Gay, *Fables* (1793 [i.e., 1810]). In the cases of the Boydell Shakspeare and Lavater's *Physiognomy*, the interest of contemporaries and posterity was not infrequently as much in the typography and printing as in the illustrations. Such fine printing is of major importance in Blake's professional context.

William Bulmer established his reputation very rapidly and solidly:

From the moment in March 1790 that he established the Shakspeare Press in Russell Court, Cleveland Row, St James's, William Bulmer was regarded as a fine

printer, and this reputation has survived him by a century and a half.¹

He had the enormous advantage that he was associated ab initio with John Boydell's proposals for an heroic national edition of Shakspeare's *Dramatic Works* (1791-1802), with illustrations by the best designers and engravers (including Blake) in England, one of the most ambitious fine book projects ever undertaken in Britain. He did not so much exemplify the best standards of English printing; he substantially created them. Boydell said in his 1789 Shakspeare Prospectus,

At present, indeed, to our disgrace be it spoken, we are far behind every neighbouring nation, many of whom have lately brought the Art of Printing to great perfection. (121)

As Thomas Bewick said of his old Newcastle friend, "William Bulmer ... was the first that set the example, and soon led the way, to fine printing in England" (16). The printer John Nichols defined "what is technically called *Fine Printing*" as consisting in

new Types, excellent Ink, improved Printing Presses, a sufficient time allowed to the Pressman for extraordinary attention, and last, not least, an inclination in the Employer to pay a considerably advanced price.—Mr Bulmer's example was successfully followed by Mr Bensley; and *Fine Printing* is now performed by every Printer of respectability in the United Empire. (43—see illus. 1)

Bulmer and Bensley were largely responsible for what has been called "this brief Golden Age" of English printing (122). In particular, in Bulmer's editions of Milton and Shakspeare for Boydell, "the letterpress text is a splendid typographical achievement" (142).

Bulmer's success was built upon his use of the types designed by William Martin, and Isaac (35) cites evidence of 1803 that Bulmer had exclusive use of these types, at least at first. The point is made even more clearly in a fascinating entry for 31 March 1796 in the diary of the American papermaker and entrepreneur Joshua Gilpin about his visit to London:

Lawrence Greatrike & his partner George Stafford² who lives in Crane Court Fleet Street came & dined with me—he told me that beside the two founderies

¹ P. 11. According to [J.B. Nichols], "Memoir of William Bulmer, Esq.," *Gentleman's Magazine*, C (Oct 1830), his first publication—Boydell's Shakespeare #1—"at once established Mr. Bulmer's fame as the first practical printer of his day".

² A printer at Crane Court, Fleet Street (1790-96), according to Ian Moxted, *The London Book Trades 1775-1800* (1977).

of Caslons³ & one of Frys,⁴ there is one owned by Stevenson⁵ & another by [*space*] making 5 in all,⁶ that Martin is confined to cut for Bulmer only—that all are cut on the same body as Fry's, but that the rest are not generally so plain—that the Scots foundery—Willsons[?] furnish the best types—that Fry employs Birmingham cutters, that the difficulty lies in fixing the Matrices so as to make the bottoms of all the Letters even—who also is making the metal.

he further informs me that Fry lately sent out a pearl bible ready cut for some house in Philad.^a or New York, that it is easy to have it; that the price of good printing is very little inferior [*sic*] to the common—gave me Specimens of his Edition of the Encyclopedia—& of Johnson's dictionary—talked with Greatrike ab.¹ paper making, he thinks that the bleaching very much injures the screen[*in*]g[?], shewed me sundry Specimens some made on a new kind of wove mould, gave me also an acct of the Mills in France—⁷

Peter Isaac's book is an admirable biographical and commercial history of Bulmer, with particularly important chapters on "The Shakspeare Printing Office," "Influential Support," his "Publishers," "Bulmer as Employer," and "Fine Printing." These sections are so solid that they may confidently form the foundation for future studies of Bulmer and his contemporaries. My greatest regret is that there is no table of the 43 reproductions which exemplify so much of the beauty and accomplishment of Bulmer's work.

An indication of the intricacy of the printing business—and of Bulmer's generosity in dealing with his creditors—may be seen in a letter in the Huntington (partly quoted on 84-85) which Bulmer wrote to the firm of Cadell & Davies:

Shakspeare Printing Office
July 9th 1812

Gentlemen,
Though I cannot help feeling the very unpleasant situation in which you are placed with regard to the History of Dublin, and know that it is not the usual practice for a Printer to call for settlement of his account for an unfinished single volume, yet under all the cir-

³ Caslon must be Elizabeth Caslon [II] (d. 1809), who, with her son Henry Caslon [II] (1786-1850) and mother-in-law Elizabeth Caslon [I] (c. 1725-95), inherited the type foundery of Henry Caslon [I] (d. 1788), who had inherited it from William Caslon [II] (d. 1778).

⁴ Fry is either Edmund Fry (d. 1835), London typefounder, or his brother Henry Fry, London typefounder, sons of Joseph Fry (d. 1787), type-founder of Bristol.

⁵ Stevenson must be Simon & Charles Stephenson (1791-96), London typefounders.

⁶ According to *Holden's Triennial Directory* for 1802, there were 7 typefounders in London then (Maxted, xxiii-xxiv).

⁷ Quoted from a microfilm of the MS in the Pennsylvania State Archives.

cumstances of the case, I feel myself compelled to apply to you for cash on account, or for a bill at a short date, for the above work. — The History of Dublin was begun nearly 4 years ago; and my charge upon it, up to October last, is nearly 250£. since which period not one single sheet has been printed: and to add to the inconvenience I have had to keep standing 4 whole sheets of the Work, in which are several tables, and 6 separate folding tables besides.—These sheets & tables, though they abound in sorts we are in daily want of in the common course of business, I will still endeavour to keep standing in their present states, provided you have hopes of the Author's shortly proceeding with the work, but I cannot really do so much longer.

The coarse proofs of the standing matter are inclosed, which I will thank you to return, to prevent accident.

I am, Gentlemen,
Your's very truly
W Bulmer

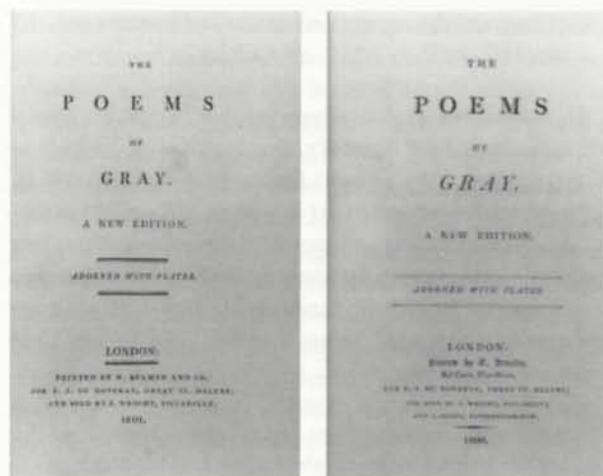
Mess Cadell & Davies

In 1812, Bulmer had been waiting almost four years for any payment for the very substantial amount of work done—and he may have had to wait six more until the work was finally published.⁸ Almost equally awkward, he had had to keep four quarto sheets (32 pages) plus six tables (including small sorts of type which were in short supply) in standing type, presumably because they had not yet been corrected.

The work in question is J. Warburton, J. Whitelaw, Robert Walsh, *History of the City of Dublin*, from the Earliest Accounts to the Present Time (London: Printed for T. Cadell and W. Davies, in the Strand, by W. Bulmer and Co. Cleveland-Row, St. James's, 1818), 2 vols., quarto. Whitelaw had taken over materials about Dublin from the late Mr. Warburton, and when Whitelaw died in 1813 there was evidently a pause before Walsh took up the reins. There was some delay in getting on with the work even after Bulmer's letter, for the only typographical folding plates (1: 648) is watermarked "1816" in the Huntington copy. Apparently some sheets of *The History of Dublin* had been printed for almost six years before the work was published, and Bulmer's type and paper were tied up for years at a time producing no benefit to him. Bulmer's forbearance in the circumstances seems very remarkable.

Peter Isaac has been publishing works on William Bulmer for over 30 years, beginning with *Checklist of Books & Periodicals Printed by William Bulmer* (1961), with a First

⁸ Bulmer must have been used to waiting for payment; for instance, according to the promissory note of 9 Jan 1804 (National Book League), he was not paid his £43.18.6 by Cadell & Davies for printing William Marshall's *On Planting* [3rd edition, 1803; Isaac, p. 160] until "Six Months after Date", i.e., 9 July 1804.



1 Titlepages of *The Poems of Gray* Adorned with Plates printed by Bensley for Du Roveray in 1800 <GEB> on the right and by Bulmer ostensibly for Du Roveray but in fact for J. Wright in 1801 <GEB> on the left. Both titlepages are exceedingly simple and handsome, that by Bensley more delicate and feminine, with italic type, longer rules, and better balance, that by Bulmer more bold and masculine, with shorter and more prominent rules and less variety of size and face.

Du Roveray had "sold Wright the Plates," and he was therefore astonished, when he "accidentally saw ... Copies of Gray in a bookseller's Shop," to find his name still on the title page of Wright's edition. He wrote indignantly to Bulmer in September 1801 about the "unwarrantable" "liberty that has been taken with my name in stating on the title-page of the books that they have been printed by my orders, or for me ... Why not to render the deception complete (for a deception has been clearly intended) state likewise that they were printed by Mr Bensley? One falsehood is as easy to justify as another" (quoted from the MS in Harvard; it is also given on Isaac, 88-89). Bulmer's reply is not known.

Supplement (1962), a Second (1973), and a Third (1986), and culminating in the Sandars Lectures at Cambridge (1984),⁹ which are supplemented in his 1994 book with a checklist (145-79), expanded yet again, of works Bulmer printed.¹⁰ Despite the splendid extent and comprehensiveness of this list, it would be surprising if it could not be enlarged.¹¹ The supplemental works below are merely those

⁹ The lectures were sent to friends as *William, Bulmer, 1757-1830: 'Fine' Printer*: Sandars Lectures, 1984 (1984), 49 pp., organized in a manner quite different from the 1994 book.

¹⁰ In 1994 books are numbered 1-593, serials as 1-141, Publications of the Board of Agriculture as 1-58, and R.H. Evans Auction Catalogues as 1-7, but intercalated numbers make the totals much higher; for instance, 45 Evans catalogues are listed. The 1961 list had 381 entries.

¹¹ Note that it is not always easy to find works in the list. For instance, Thomas Park's *Cupid Turned Volunteer* (1804) is listed under

turned up from a Huntington handlist of Bulmer:

1 Claude Gelée, dit Le Lorrain. LIBER VERITATIS; | OR | A COLLECTION OF PRINTS, | AFTER THE | ORIGINAL DESIGNS | OF | CLAUDE LE LORRAIN; | IN THE | COLLECTION OF HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE | EXECUTED BY | RICHARD EARLOM, | IN THE MANNER AND TASTE OF THE DRAWINGS. | TO WHICH IS ADDED | A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF EACH PRINT; | TOGETHER WITH | THE NAMES OF THOSE FOR WHOM, AND THE PLACES FOR WHICH THE ORIGINAL | PICTURES WERE FIRST PAINTED, | (Taken from the Hand-writing of CLAUDE LE LORRAIN on the Back of each Drawing) | AND | OF THE PRESENT POSSESSORS OF MANY OF THE ORIGINAL PICTURES. | - | VOLUME THE FIRST[-SECOND]. | LONDON: | = | PUBLISHED BY MESSRS. BOYDELL AND CO. CHEAPSIDE. | PRINTED BY W. BULMER AND CO. CLEVELAND-ROW. [?1791] Folio, 2 vols. with 200 prints, and a supplementary volume PRINTED BY JAMES MOYES (1819). N.B. The title page exists in at least two different forms; one of them specifies "two hundred prints" "Published by the proprietor, John Boydell, engraver, London, 1777" (ESTC lists copies in the Ashmolean Museum [Oxford], British Library [3], Dalhousie, Gottingen, Newberry Library [2], Michigan, John Rylands Library [University of Manchester], U.S. National Gallery, and Yale—none seen by me), and this can have nothing to do with Bulmer, who was not in business at the time. The second form, as above, is almost certainly in or after 1790 (when Bulmer began paying rates at Cleveland Row [Isaac p. 25]) (4 copies seen in the Huntington <129352; 281823; 295025; Art Gallery fn C1135 G3A3>). This Bulmer titlepage is not listed in ESTC, NUC, and elsewhere, but I wonder whether some of the sets located there, uniformly dated "1777" (the date of Boydell's dedication) are not in fact the Bulmer printing.¹²

2 [Incipit:] Cy ensuyt une chanson moult pitoyable des grivouses oppressions qe la povre Commune de Engleterre souffre ... Pp. i-xliiii in Gothic type, with a colophon on p. [xlv]: LONDON; | FROM THE [Gothic:] Shakspeare Press, BY | WILLIAM BULMER AND CO. CLEVELAND-ROW, ST. JAMES'S. | 1818. 4°. The work was compiled by Sir Francis Palgrave; the front paste-down of the Huntington copy is inscribed: "Only 25 copies printed by Sir F. Palgrave, all for presents."

"Elizabeth, Princess", the designer of the prints; Thomas Williamson's *Oriental Field Sports*, oblong folio (1807), 4° (1808), is oddly listed under Edward Orme, who was merely the supervisor of the engravings; and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (1819) and other works are listed only under the Roxborough Club.

¹² Claude's *Leber Veritatis* Vol. I-II (n.d.) is listed in Isaac's first *Checklist* (1961), the Second 1973, p. 8, #143, and the Third (1986, p. 10, #143), but it dropped out of the 1994 list because, as Professor Isaac tells me, when he checked the British Library copy he found that it did not bear Bulmer's name.

Kathryn S. Freeman, *Blake's Nostos: Fragmentation and Nondualism in The Four Zoas*. SUNY Series in Western Esoteric Traditions. David Applebaum, Editor. New York: State University of New York Press, 1997. Pp. 208. \$49.50/16.95.

Reviewed by SHEILA A. SPECTOR

In *Blake's Nostos: Fragmentation and Nondualism in The Four Zoas*, Kathryn S. Freeman explores the possibility of using Eastern nondualism as a useful context in which to place Blake's first epic. Taking a mystical, rather than conventionally literary approach, Freeman suggests that previous studies have all been hampered to varying degrees by their reliance on principles of linear structure, and as a result, all have failed to account for the relationship between the apocalyptic Night the Ninth and the eight nights which precede it. The reasons, she argues, are "that the powerful though tenuously held vision of nonduality in Night the Ninth provides a touchstone for the rest of the poem and that the organized innocence of Night the Ninth is fully cognizant of the fragmented world of the first eight Nights" (21). With the use of subtle and perceptive readings, filtered through a concept she labels "nostos," "the return home of consciousness to its expanded state" (4), Freeman analyzes "the elements of Blake's mythos, including its principles of causality, narrative, figuration and teleology, all having both dual and nondual, or fallen and redeemed, versions" (22).

According to Freeman, Blake's myth has been misunderstood because of our own reliance on Western modes of thought. Given *The Four Zoas's* resistance to the more conventional interpretation of Blake's contraries as dialectical antitheses, Freeman suggests in her first chapter, "Blake's Mythos: Nondual Vision in a Dualistic World," the possibility that Eastern mysticism might help to elucidate the poem. Asserting that in Blake, "The fallen state, a contraction of undifferentiated, expanded consciousness, is therefore subsumed by the redeemed rather than being antithetical to it" (3), Freeman redefines Blake's doctrine of contraries in terms of the fragmentation and reintegration of consciousness, providing revisionist readings of selected poems from the *Songs of Innocence and of Experience* to support her thesis. Having thus established the plausibility of her approach, she posits the *Bhagavad Gita* as a possible analogue for Blake's treatment of nondual experiences. Regardless of whether or not Blake was directly influenced by the Wilkins translation (or even whatever derivative versions might have been available to him), Freeman believes that they shared similar attitudes towards the problem of consciousness.

In the remainder of her book, Freeman demonstrates the validity of her thesis, constructing a kind of hermeneutical

circle with Night the Ninth as its projected center. Beginning with the purported origin of the poem itself, she starts, in chapter 2, "Pangs of an Eternal Birth: *The Four Zoas* and the Problem of Origin," with the last words of the manuscript, "End of the Dream," placing *The Four Zoas* in the context of an inverted dream vision, one in which the "dreamer" is undifferentiated consciousness, thus making the dream world, in contradistinction to more conventional renditions of the genre, the phenomenal world of time and space. From this perspective, everything which occurs within the poem represents the now revealed to be "unreal" state in which consciousness is fragmented into competing components whose actions, as governed by the laws of material existence, distort the "reality" delineated by their idealized portrayal in Night the Ninth. When viewed through the lens of Night the Ninth, the salutary effect of activities heretofore (mis)perceived as being deleterious is revealed to be part of a cosmic plan of reintegration.

The next three chapters—"Prophecies, Visions, and Memories: Fictions as Mental Contraction," "Centricity and the Vortex," and "City of Art, Temple of Mystery: The Divided Path to Apocalypse"—are devoted, respectively, to time, space and formal design or function. After describing the conventions of the inverted dream vision, Freeman next explains how the temporal elements generally associated with narrative structure have been altered. Instead of a single voice articulating the action, the competing parts of the fragmented consciousness, i.e., the Zoas, their emanations, spectres, etc., all express their own limited, and hence distorted, impressions of the aspects of the action in which they themselves participate before they all reintegrate in Night the Ninth. Presented more like a drama, the narrative is coordinated by a stage manager rather than articulated by a single unified consciousness. Because no one within the dream world has full knowledge of all events, the speeches reveal more about the individual speakers than about the situation. In the fallen state, prophecy degenerates into anxiety, vision into perception, and memory into mythmaking, as each of the fragmented consciousnesses attempts to organize what they all sincerely, though erroneously, believe (from evidence derived from their demonstrably limited cognitive abilities) to be the state of their existence.

Consistent with the narrative voice, Blake's use of imagery in *The Four Zoas* also follows the pattern of fragmentation and reintegration into a unified whole. Tracing complementary images of the vortex/mandala and chain/Ouroboros, Freeman illustrates, in "Centricity and the Vortex," how, in order to portray the subjectivity of perception, Blake modulates his images to reflect different aspects of the fragmented consciousness. Consequently, as she argues in "City of Art, Temple of Mystery," the two extant Nights the Seventh are more rightly seen as two different perceptions of the same concept. Rather than one replacing the other, or the two combining into a single narrative

thread, Night the Seventh [a] and [b], like the fragmented narrative voices and inverted spatial images, are two attempts to solve the same problem:

In Night the Seventh, the fork in the road to apocalypse, fallenness reaches its most dire state while glimpses of eternity promise wholeness. In terms of the poem's concern with representation and mythos, Night the Seventh is the pivotal moment in which the poem must confront its central paradox, the problem of how to represent the imageless. The two versions present two paths to wholeness. Both contain failed architectures of art, the building of which leads in dramatically diverse though not mutually exclusive ways to apocalypse. (130)

The apocalypse achieved in Night the Ninth is the reintegration of consciousness:

The apocalypse is therefore not the destruction of the world at the end of time, but the continuous annihilation and inevitable rebuilding of the dualistic world and its infinite variations, and the return to pure consciousness. In the dream that human experience knows as waking life, such a return is available continuously though held in precarious balance. (157)

Freeman's structural analysis of *The Four Zoas* is quite persuasive. Her explications of key passages are both enlightening and provocative; and by positing Night the Ninth as the focal point, she suggests interesting new implications for the cruxes which have historically surrounded Blake's shift from *Vala* to *The Four Zoas*, as well as his decision to leave the manuscript unengraved. Less persuasive, unfortunately, is Freeman's attempt to locate *The Four Zoas* in a new cultural context.

The first problem results from imprecise terminology. Examining, as it does, the "mystical" (30-31) implications of Blake's "nondual" (2) representation of "undifferentiated consciousness" (25), focusing especially on manifestations of "causality, narrative, figuration and teleology" (22) in Blake's "mythos" (5), Freeman's monograph can be somewhat confusing. Because each of these terms signifies a technical concept whose full dimensions are still a matter of critical dispute, she would have done well to provide clear and precise working definitions so that the reader could follow her train of thought. Instead, her explanations tend to be ambiguous or superficial. Most unfortunate is the confusion generated by her central concept, "nostos." As she defines the term,

Innocence must be distinguished from naïveté for the same reason that the epic *nostos* of Night the Ninth—the return home of consciousness to its expanded state—must be distinguished from the nostalgia of the characters in their fallen state for an irretrievable past. (4)

This sentence is concluded with a footnote reference in which she explains that "Nostalgia, homesickness as a disease, according to the O.E.D., derives from the Greek *nostos*, return home" (177n4).

Though not exactly inaccurate, Freeman's explanations are misleading. Etymologically, the term does derive from the Greek *nostos*; however, its English usage places the word in the context of the Trojan War. According to the *OED*, "*Nost(o)i*," as introduced into English in 1883, "is the title of a lost poem of the Epic Cycle dealing with the return of the Greek heroes from the Trojan War"; as such, it has been defined as "a homecoming, applied *spec.* to the homeward journeys of Odysseus and the other heroes of Troy. Also, the story of such a homecoming or return, esp. as the conclusion of a literary work." To avoid confusion, Freeman should have explained that she was recontextualizing the term into what is really the unrelated concept of consciousness. Along the same lines, the footnote regarding "nostalgia" causes its own confusion. Despite the compound etymology provided by the *OED* (the Greek *nostos* for "homecoming," plus *algos*, "pain"), Freeman's note gives the impression that there exists an ambiguous, if not erroneous relationship between "nostos" and "nostalgia," one which she is now clarifying. Again, she needed a more complete explanation of why she feels it necessary to differentiate between the two. Most important, Freeman should have avoided the false impression created by the juxtaposition of ideas, that the term derives from some form of Indian mysticism.

After the initial introduction of her governing concept, Freeman does not return to "nostos" until the end of the chapter. In the interim, she sketches out the theoretical basis for her approach to *The Four Zoas*, positing Eastern mysticism as a useful paradigm. Conceding that "there is scant evidence that Blake had direct exposure to such works, it is probable, though as yet unconfirmed, that Blake read Sir Charles Wilkins's translation of the *Bhagavad Gita*, the most influential text of Eastern nondual philosophy" (31), and in a footnote, she cites speculation by Charu Sheel Singh "that it is likely that Blake met both Charles Wilkins and Sir William Jones through his teacher James Basire, official engraver to the Society of Antiquity and to the Royal Society, to which Wilkins and Jones were elected in 1772 and 1778" (181n35). While not discounting the significance of "Western mystical writers, including Plotinus, Boehme, and Spinoza," Freeman considers "Eastern nondualism . . . a more accurate analogue for Blake's mythos both because of its freedom from the Western orientation of space and time in describing the relationship between the dual and nondual and because of its depiction of consciousness as inclusive of the physical world" (32). Then citing Singh's comments on the *Vedas*, as well as the "nondualism of Kashmir Shaivism, an ancient Indian philosophy," for support, she apparently places *The Four Zoas* within the Eastern cultural context:

The goal is the dynamic balance of the mind's dualistic tendencies to divide body and soul, self and other, and the human and divine with the nondual state that heals these divisions. In epic terms, the achievement of nondual vision at the apocalypse of Night the Ninth is the *nostos*, the return home of consciousness to wholeness. (33)

In the culmination to her argument for an Eastern paradigm, Freeman repeats her original definition, creating the misleading impression of a relationship between the terminology and the cultural context—one which does not exist, not etymologically, not thematically.

By introducing her neologism, Freeman implies that the Eastern "return home of consciousness to wholeness" is somehow different from the universal mystical experience generally referred to as "the return to the One." Although she asserts "the lack of a paradigm in Western models to describe undifferentiated consciousness as an attainment rather than a regression" (23), Gershom G. Scholem, for one, claims just the opposite:

To use the neoplatonic formula, the process of creation involves the departure of all from the One and its return to the One, and the crucial turning-point in this cycle takes place within man, at the moment he begins to develop an awareness of his own true essence and yearns to retrace the path from the multiplicity of his nature to the Oneness from which he originated. (152)

To confuse matters further, her reliance on Eastern mysticism is inconsistent and ahistorical. By citing variously the *Vedas* (1400 BC to 800 BC), the *Bhagavad Gita* (c. 200 BC), and the Śaivism in Kashmir (in fact, a movement originating at the end of the ninth century AD), while quoting specifically Abhinavagupta, a teacher of the tenth century AD, Freeman gives the false impressions that Indian mysticism is monolithically nondual, and conversely, that Western is dual. Actually, the entire question is much more complex. As W. T. Stace explains in "Pantheism, Dualism, and Monism," the fourth chapter of his *Mysticism and Philosophy*, in addition to the nondual approaches—those which Freeman instantiates—India has also produced dualistic explanations of the mystical experience; in contrast, Western, especially Christian, mystics have likely been inhibited by their governing religious institutions. According to Stace,

Although the Christian mystics themselves can generally be quoted—in their most decisive passages—on the side of dualism, it remains a question whether this would have been their view if they were not overborne and subjected to threats by the theologians and the ecclesiastical authorities of the Church. (219)¹

¹ Some misconceptions need to be clarified. First, Spinoza, though a pantheist, was not a mystic. More important, Tantric Śaivism in Kash-

This explanation could be applied to Blake as well, for even though, as Freeman notes, Andrew Lincoln interprets the revisions of *Nights the Seventh* [a] and [b] as revealing "A Christian Vision," it can be argued, as she says, "that the revisions do not reveal that Blake ever doubted the nondual relationship between the human and divine that replaces the traditional Christian one" (179n20). The problem is that Freeman does not provide the necessary intellectual contexts for these contentions.

Despite her formidable interpretive abilities, Freeman never really establishes her own critical stance. Although her subject is Blake's "mythos," she neglects to indicate how she approaches the subject, referring sporadically to Jung, Cassirer, Eliade, Frye and Damrosch, though without attempting to distinguish among their varied approaches to myth. So, too, with mysticism. Although she claims to take a mystical approach, Freeman does not place her book within any theoretical context. For Eastern mysticism, she quotes the one passage by Abhinavagupta, as quoted by Paul Eduardo Muller-Ortega in *The Triadic Heart of Śiva: Kaula Tantricism of Abhinavagupta in the Non-Dual Shaivism of Kashmir*, and Singh's essay "Bhagavadgita, Typology and William Blake," which she refers to in a footnote. No authority on mysticism appears in the text, notes or bibliography, just Blake scholars—like Damon, Frye and Aubrey—whose books touch on mysticism to a greater or lesser degree.² Given her rejection of Western mysticism in favor of Eastern, one would have expected at least a passing reference to Rudolf Otto's classic study, *Mysticism East and West: A Comparative Analysis of The Nature of Mysticism*.

It should also be noted that while Freeman identifies consciousness as the hero of the poem, she is unclear whether she means Albion's, Blake's, the abstract concept, or even

mir was not a purely nondual philosophy, but developed from the confrontation between the nondualistic traditions of Trika and the Krama, and the dualistic Śaiva Siddhanta. According to Alexis Sanderson, "This nondualistic tradition with its relatively sect-neutral metaphysics has generally been called Kashmir Śaivism. This term, however, obscures the fact that in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the period of most of our Śaiva literature, it was the [dualistic] Śaiva Siddhanta that was the dominant Śaiva doctrine" (16).

² Freeman concludes the paragraph citing Damon and Frye with a puzzling assertion: "The recent criticism takes a significant step beyond noting local influences, however. E. P. Thompson details Blake's involvement in 'breakaway sects' that believed that 'Christ was in all men' (Aubrey 1987, 7)" (31). Not only does she not explain what she means by "local influences," but she seems to confuse mysticism with sectarianism, not to mention the work of Thompson on Muggletonianism with Aubrey on Behmenism.

Unfortunately, this is not the only instance of weak copy editing. Using an eccentric documentation style, Freeman merges together a full bibliographical reference to the works of Abhinavagupta and a full citation to the Muller-Ortega monograph, which she also lists separately under that author's name. Equally puzzling is her treatment of the already confusing versions of Rudolf Arnheim's *The Power of the Center: A Study of Composition in the Visual Arts*, whose first and revised editions both appeared in 1982, and whose 1988 version is iden-

the reader's. She never mentions any of the philosophical problems associated with the question of consciousness, or the controversy among philosophers of mysticism over whether or not a pure unmediated consciousness experience—that which she assumes—can actually exist.³ So, too, with genre. In asserting that *The Four Zoas* is a dream vision, she refers to medieval examples and Blake's *Vision of the Last Judgment*, but in a curious omission, not mystical visions. Even more peculiar, she overlooks Blake's other dream visions, notably Enitharmon's eighteen-hundred-year dream in *Europe*, and the prologue to *Jerusalem*:

This theme calls me in sleep night after night, & ev'ry
morn
Awakes me at sun-rise, then I see the Saviour over me
Spreading his beams of love, & dictating the words of
this mild song.

(4.3-5, E 146)

tified as the "new version." In her bibliography, Freeman includes two separate entries for *The Power of the Center*, the first dated 1982, and the second 1988, though misidentified as the revised edition. The entry for George Anthony Rosso's *Blake's Prophetic Workshop: A Study of The Four Zoas* includes the publication date twice; and in her bibliography, Freeman erroneously inserts an umlaut over the *u* in Muller-Ortega, while in a parenthetical reference of p. 33, she omits the hyphen. Also, in the bibliography, she misspells Śiva as Shiva, and she occasionally omits diacritical marks.

More seriously, the book contains several bibliographical lapses. Most notably, titles and/or authors' names are either incorrect or incomplete. For example, the title of John Howard's book is *Infernal Poetics: Poetic Structures in Blake's Lambeth Prophecies*, not *Infernal Poetic Structure in Blake's Lambeth Prophecies*; the full title of Paul A. Cantor's book is *Creature and Creator: Myth-making and English Romanticism*; of Michael G. Cooke's is *Acts of Inclusion: Studies Bearing on an Elementary Theory of Romanticism. Blake's Sublime Allegory: Essays on The Four Zoas*, Milton, Jerusalem is the full title of the anthology one of whose editors is Stuart Curran; Joseph Anthony Wittreich, Jr. is the full name of the other editor. The English translation of Hans-Georg Gadamer's *Truth and Method* was not published in 1993; rather, the revised translation was published in 1989; and Jean Hagstrum's essay "Babylon Revisited, or the Story of Luvah and Vala," included in the Curran-Wittreich anthology, was published in 1973, not 1983 (as indicated in the parenthetical reference on p. 153).

³In his 1978 essay, "Language, Epistemology, and Mysticism," Steven T. Katz asserts:

There are NO pure (i.e. unmediated) experiences. Neither mystical experience nor more ordinary forms of experience give any indication, or any grounds for believing, that they are unmediated. That is to say, *all* experience is processed through, organized by, and makes itself available to us in extremely complex epistemological ways. The notion of unmediated experience seems, if not self-contradictory, at best empty. (26)

Katz's contention was far from universally accepted. Notably, contributors to Robert K. C. Foreman's anthology, *The Problem of Pure Consciousness: Mysticism and Philosophy*, all opposed Katz, especially Stephen Bernhardt, in "Are Pure Consciousness Events Unmediated?"; Mark B. Woodhouse, in "On the Possibility of Pure Consciousness," and Foreman himself, in the "Introduction: Mysticism, Constructivism and Forgetting." For his part, Katz remains unpersuaded by their arguments ("Mystical Speech and Mystical Meaning," 5).

—not to mention Blake's own dream visions, like the nocturnal visit by his brother Robert who imparted the secret of the engraving process, or the denizens of Eternity who dictated his "sublime allegory."

Finally, *Blake's Nostos: Fragmentation and Nondualism in The Four Zoas* closes without directly connecting Blake's epic to its purported Eastern context. In her EXCURSUS, "Prophetic Disclosure and Mediated Vision: Blake in the Context of the English Romantic Sublime," Freeman differentiates Blake's attitude towards consciousness from that manifested by romantic poets under the influence of Edmund Burke. For some unexplained reason, she begins with William Collins, and then, following with Wordsworth and Percy Shelley, she explicates selected passages to demonstrate how Blake's attitude towards the sublime differs from theirs. In a footnote, she acknowledges V. A. De Luca's "elaborate study of Blake's sublime in the context of the Burkean sublime. De Luca aptly points to Blake's critique of romantic questers through his depiction of Urizen, though he does not suggest, as this study does, a redeemed representation of quest in the poem" (186n3). Yet, as with the reference to Andrew Lincoln cited earlier, Freeman relegates what should be the core of her argument to a footnote which she then neglects to amplify. Given the Eastern context posited in the first chapter, one would have expected a conclusion elaborating on how an understanding of Hinduism helps illuminate Blake's work, and if not that, at least a cogent explanation of why she thought it important to place Blake in—or more specifically, displace Blake from—the English romantic tradition. Perhaps in her next book Freeman will use her impressive talents for explicating poetry to support a more fully developed cultural context.

Freeman is likely correct in inferring that Blake, like those Christian mystics referred to by Stace, sought a vehicle for articulating the kind of nondual, if not outright pantheistic, experience which more conventional Christians, i.e., those who limited themselves to sanctioned forms of the Burkean sublime, would consider dangerous, if not heretical. But in delineating her thesis, she needed to do more than simply suggest an analogue generically justified by Jungian "dreams and visions" (32). She should have placed *Blake's Nostos: Fragmentation and Nondualism in The Four Zoas* within more fully developed theoretical, cultural and historical contexts. Then, her analysis would have been complete.

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South Bank Show Documentary on Blake. Directed by David Thomas. ITV (U.K.), 17 September 1995.

Reviewed by SARAH JOYCE

On 17 September 1995, ITV's South Bank Show screened a one-hour documentary on William Blake. It was directed at newcomers or rather, since no one in the British Isles is exempt from knowledge of at least one Blake lyric, at those who had only encountered his most famous productions. Accordingly, the program included biographical material, broad discussions of Blake's beliefs, and brief consideration of some of his writings, paintings and prints. It could easily have been disappointing for the already initiated scholar, but in fact it was a very appealing program, made with a great enthusiasm for Blake, and an impulse to celebrate as well as to inform.

One manifestation of this enthusiasm was the ebullient claims made for Blake's literary status by Peter Ackroyd, who was an important presence throughout the film. He praised Blake "the greatest religious poet England has ever produced" as well as "the greatest poet of London," finally placing him in the ultimate English canon: "His vision is so prescient, his poetry and painting, so marvelous, that he is of the same stature as Milton, as Chaucer, as Shakespeare." Whilst the scope of the program did not enable it to reward such eulogy with careful analysis, it did succeed in presenting what seemed to me an accurate and moving account of some of the reasons why Blake is so cherished by his twentieth century public.

At the heart of the documentary was the vision of Blake as the lonely, unrecognized genius, dramatically repre-

sented by Michael Loughnan, who performed extracts from Elliot Hayes's play, *Innocence and Experience* [see Blake 29 (1995/96): 97]. Amidst drying impressions of Jerusalem plates, Loughnan's Blake worked alone in his studio, frequently bursting into prophetic monologue although unvisited but for the brief appearance of the Archangel Gabriel. Ackroyd insisted that Blake's isolated labors were not the work of "some solitary visionary in a garret," but of an ordinary Londoner with extraordinary commitment: "earning his living all his life and only able to work on his own time."

Blake's ability to complete works that were doomed to near obscurity in his own lifetime was much admired in the film, and is indeed one of the most fascinating aspects of his achievement. In Ackroyd's estimation, this prodigious triumph over isolation was made possible by the very phenomenon that caused it: the visions. Blake's engrossing private spirit world certainly caused him professional problems, condemning him to poverty and much neglect, but, if Blake is to be believed, it also compelled his creativity utterly, providing him with both the substance of his works and the strength to beat down despair and labor upwards into futurity.

Ackroyd also argued that it was Blake's alienation, intensified after the catastrophe at Felpham, that gave him his insightfulness about the society that had rejected him, and his deep compassion towards the suffering that he saw throughout that society. He considers the inclusiveness of Blake's social vision as one of his truly prescient insights, which would not find a popular echo until our own century. He cited the egalitarian stance of "The Little Black Boy," as well as the following couplet from "Auguries of Innocence" in which Blake insists upon the ethical relevance of animal suffering:

Each outcry of the hunted Hare
A fibre from the Brain does tear.

In the same poem, Allen Ginsberg finds a startling precedent for a modern critique of the societies responsible for producing widespread destitution as well as the damage to the ozone layer:

The Beggar's Rags, fluttering in Air,
Does to Rags the Heavens tear.

Much of the documentary was filmed in London's streets and open spaces, strongly suggesting that Blake's vision "London, a Human awful wonder of God!" a vision of our London. This sense of continuity was powerfully communicated by the director's combining panoramic photography of London's modern skyline, with Loughnan's delivery of Blake's poetry about the city. The powerfully compassionate poem "London" was spoken over a silent film of familiar London streets with their traffic of cars and ordinary people bearing the "Marks of weakness, marks of

Woe" of our own period. Blake's joyful epiphanies were also rehearsed in modern London: the innumerable heavenly host crying "Holy Holy Holy is the Lord God Almighty," and the tree full of glistening angels on Peckham Rye.

The program's use of Blake's own words was a very successful strategy. Performances of his poetry by Loughnan and by Allen Ginsberg did justice to Blake in a way that some of the invented monologues did not. Ginsberg's delivery of Blake was fascinating and oddly compelling. Reading the words from a facsimile, he sang the "Introduction" to the *Songs of Innocence* and "The Tyger," in an improvised recitative style with a rhythmic accompaniment from a hand-held pump organ. The effect was completely unlike an ordinary folk ballad, such as "The Maid of Islington," which was featured in the program: it was much more direct and intense, more bardic perhaps. The performance of "The Tyger" was surprisingly pacy and joyful, dispensing with the fear which the poem can evoke when spoken aloud, but retaining the sense of awe.

As well as Blake admirers from the literary and artistic worlds, the film featured representatives of modern science and commerce: the biologist Rupert Sheldrake and the industrialist Peter Parke. Sheldrake echoed Blake's critique of Newtonian abstraction, blaming this kind of science for causing radical damage to our civilization: "It has split the sciences from the arts. It has split science from religion. It has fragmented our whole culture." He predicted that the science of the future would validate Blake's objection to the dead mechanistic universe posited by Newton. The world of future science would be "a living world. A world permeated by consciousness and spirit, full of life and quality."

Peter Parker said that "The Sick Rose" had changed his life, opening up a channel of Blakean influence throughout his career. This has amounted to a conviction that Blake's anti-materialist stance, his determination to see through the eye, not with it, is "crucial to the health of modern society." In the spring 1995 inaugural edition of *The Journal of the Blake Society at St James's*, he wrote that Blake's refusal to be dominated by reductive rationalistic thinking had fed directly into his own attitude to management: "His purpose was not to generalise, but to raise the faculties of the individual to action against poverty, privilege, cruelty and inequalities to sex or race, intolerance - in short, unimaginativeness." Blake's rejection of Newton's dead world has become an ethical imperative to see human situations as particularly and minutely as possible. The documentary both began and ended with the hymn usually known as "Jerusalem" (And did those feet") Ackroyd pointed out the incongruity between the patriotic emotions usually associated with the hymn and Blake's own attitude to the monarchy and the Established Church. However, as Parry's music soared to its final crescendo and the camera came to rest upon the rapt features of the engraved

Blake portrait after Phillips, I felt that this most famous lyric may have attained its hold on the British public partly through Blakean merits of its own, similar to those which the documentary had celebrated. What we find in Blake is a yearning for vision, a capacity for faith, and a mighty determination to transcend the empty cruelty of nature and create a world full of meaning and value, to build Jerusalem amongst the dark satanic mills.

N E W S L E T T E R

Twenty-First Century Blake: Call for Papers

"Twenty-First Century Blake." The Wordsworth-Coleridge Association invites papers for a session on William Blake at the MLA Convention in San Francisco, 27-30 December 1998. Papers should explore new directions in Blake studies, particularly the convergence of Blake and hypertextual media, the development of computer-based approaches to Blake's poetry, new methods in textual editing, and the relevance of Blake's work to the approaching millennium. Send 15-minute papers or detailed abstracts by 1 March to: James McKusick, Department of English, University of Maryland, Baltimore County, Baltimore MD 21250. Email: mckusick@umbc.edu.

Blake and the Book: The Materiality of Books in the Life and Times of William Blake: Call for Papers *St. Mary's University College, 18 April 1998*

Proposals are invited for 30-minute papers on all aspects of William Blake and the production, consumption, and reading of books. Blake was involved throughout his life in the illustration of texts (his own and those of others); he subscribed to books by friends; he created "bookworks" that sought to bypass his period's normal avenues of publication. The general theme of the conference is the book as material object in Blake's time. Morris Eaves (University of Rochester) will deliver the keynote address, "Graphicality: The Problem with Pictures."

Suggested topics might include: Blake's relationship to children's books, emblem books, book illustration, booksellers and publishers, book collecting, printing technology and other aspects of the art, culture, economics, market, history, and production of books in the romantic period. Abstracts (2 copies) of no more than 400 words should be sent to: Keri Davies, Blake Conference, St. Mary's University College, Waldegrave Road, Strawberry Hill, Twickenham TW1 4SX, UK. Fax: +44 (0) 181-967 9376. Email: kerid@efirstop.demon.co.uk.

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that this is crucial for the company's financial health and for providing reliable information to stakeholders.

2. The second part of the document outlines the specific procedures for recording transactions. It details the steps from initial entry to final review, ensuring that all necessary information is captured and verified.

3. The third part of the document addresses the role of the accounting department in this process. It highlights the need for clear communication and collaboration between different departments to ensure data accuracy.

4. The fourth part of the document discusses the importance of regular audits and reviews. It explains how these processes help identify errors and prevent fraud, thereby protecting the company's assets.

5. The fifth part of the document provides a summary of the key points discussed. It reiterates the importance of accuracy and transparency in financial reporting and offers final recommendations for best practices.

6. The sixth part of the document discusses the impact of technology on financial record-keeping. It explores how modern software solutions can streamline the process and reduce the risk of human error.

7. The seventh part of the document addresses the challenges of maintaining records in a global or multi-jurisdictional context. It discusses the need for compliance with various local and international regulations.

8. The eighth part of the document discusses the importance of data security and privacy. It outlines measures to protect sensitive financial information from unauthorized access and data breaches.

9. The ninth part of the document provides a detailed look at the reporting requirements for different types of transactions. It explains how to categorize and report on various financial activities.

10. The tenth part of the document discusses the role of the board of directors in overseeing financial reporting. It emphasizes the need for transparency and accountability to shareholders and other stakeholders.

11. The final part of the document provides a conclusion and a call to action. It encourages all employees to take ownership of their role in maintaining accurate financial records and to report any discrepancies immediately.