



THE PLEASANT CHARGE:

William Blake's multiple roles for women.

by

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"... Enitharmon and her Daughters take the pleasant charge."
Such is their lovely charge."
... till the Great Judgment Day
Milton 29:51-53, E. 128

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SUMMARY

A woman is called upon to play many roles in the course of a lifetime, although such roles are rarely exclusive, and may be culture-specific, society-oriented or family-influenced.

Recent sociological studies have suggested that for the eighteenth century the positive "good" role for the woman was linked with an attitude of passivity on her part while assertiveness was considered to be, at the best, a negative attribute and perhaps even "evil".

William Blake, particularly in his longer prophetic poetry, gives a substantial place to female characters as they play out roles in the narrative action. He asks in Jerusalem 56:3: "what may Woman be?", a question he attempts to answer through the many roles he creates for her within the text and in the illustrations.

Concepts in "role theory" provide the theoretical framework for my critical analysis of Blake's feminine characters as they function in the positions of daughter, sister, wife, mother, servant and whore; that is, my dissertation is informed by the understanding that roles are perceived and enacted, and that the performance of a particular role is determined by societal expectations, by the behaviour of others and by personality variables.

Blake's "daughter" performs a variety of overt roles; his "wife" is accepted as active partner in the marital relationship; his "sister" assumes an identity not usually acknowledged; his "mother" strives for the Eternal ideal of facilitator of

reconciliation; his "whore" demonstrates an energy which seems "good" in contrast to the ills of coy reluctance; and the "enslaved" lose their chains in willing service.

Although it is acknowledged that Blake's "female" is a literary creation and as such may be seen to reflect rather than represent the women of his day, Blake's sense of role may be inferred from his narrative technique and manipulation of dialogue. This perception of role may, in turn, be seen as concurring with, complementing or contrasting with current social attitudes.

The female in Blake's works may play out her roles in two ways: as a power for good or as a force for evil. For Blake "good" and "evil" are not dichotomous but contraries which work constructively against each other within a whole human, organic system to ensure progression from division - Blake's "evil" - to apocalyptic unity, his "good".

My dissertation combines a close textual analysis of Blake's poetry, with some comment on the graphic illustrations, and in common with a recent emphasis of Blake criticism considers the poet in relation to his contemporary society and prevailing conceptions of the role of women. However, as the thesis is argued from a consideration of action within narratives there will be no attempt made to provide a holistic concept of Blake's "woman".

It will be concluded that in the multiplicity of roles assigned to his fictional female figures, Blake transcends the stereotyping of female roles prevalent in his day, and affirms the importance, for the woman, of energetic action.

ERRATA

- p. 28 Wollstonecraft's Original Stories is a prose work, not "verse"; in line 5, for "verse" read "prose".
- p. 82 In line 10, for "fending herself off from it", read "fending it off".
- p. 107 The quotation, lines 20-26, is missing a line. Between l. 22 and l. 23 insert:
 "Of all that a man hath his house his wife his
 children" (E. 1. 11, E. 325)
- p. 120 Line 20: replace "no", with "now".
- p. 129 Line 22: insert "them" after "strengthen".
- p. 179 Lines 10-12: delete the phrase "In the earlier series for Butts (1799-1800)" as The Hiding of Moses, though owned by Butts, was a later picture.
- p. 192 Line 14: insert an apostrophe: Chaucer's.
- p. 223 Line: insert "servant" before "woman".
- p. 346 Footnote, l. 18: replace "blooming" with "bloom".
- p. 362 Footnote 21, line 1: replace "T. T. J. Altizer" with the correct initials which are "T. J. J. Altizer".
- p. 366 Footnote 52, line 18, replace initials as in the line above (T. J. J. Altizer).
- p. 389 Footnote 34: the reference should read: Mary Lynn Johnson and Brian Wilkie, "On Reading The Four Zoas", in Blake's Sublime Allegory, pp. 203-22, and p. 215 for reference to Ahania as the dutiful wife.
- p. 405 The correct spelling of the author's surname is "Schapiro".
- p. 428 Line 19: replace "Stepheo" with "Stephen".
- p. 430 Line 8: insert "Eds." after Curran, S. and J. A. Wittreich, Jr.
- p. 432 Line 25: replace "Disalvo" with "Di Salvo".
- p. 437 Line 11, 7-11: for "Mary Dorothy", read "M. Dorothy" as the author always signs herself in this way.
- p. 442 Line 6: for "Illinois University", read "University of Illinois";
 Line 23: Delete "Olive" and replace with "Olwen".
- p. 443 Line 18: Delete "eds.";
 Line 24: the reference should read:
 ----- and Brian Wilkie,
 "On Reading The Four Zoas." In Blake's Sublime Allegory. Eds. S. Curran and J. A. Wittreich, Jr., pp. 203-32.
- p. 446 Line 23: Replace the incorrect spelling with "Lindberg".
- p. 454 Line 10: Replace "Reiman, C. H." with "Reiman, D. H.". .
- p. 455 Line 10: insert an umlaut over "Düfer". This should be read as such throughout the dissertation.
- p. 456 Line 34: delete "Borders" and replace with "Borderers".
- p. 457 Line 1: Delete "James", and replace with "Janet".
- p. 459 Line 14: Delete "Studies" and replace with "Designs".

Supplementary Note

- p. 200 [Note: Lines 1-2: the phrase "the jargon of prostitution" refers to the phrase "in weary lust", a moralistic term often used by the social reformers and here used in parody by Blake.]

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ABBREVIATIONS

When stylistically appropriate the following abbreviations have been used:

<u>Short form</u>	<u>Title as given in Erdman (E.)</u>
<u>BA; Ahania</u>	<u>The Book of Ahania</u>
<u>BL</u>	<u>The Book of Los</u>
<u>BU; Urizen</u>	<u>The [First] Book of Urizen</u>
<u>Descriptive Catalogue</u>	<u>A Descriptive Catalogue of Pictures</u>
<u>Experience</u>	<u>Songs of Experience</u>
<u>FZ</u>	<u>The Four Zoas</u>
<u>GOP</u>	<u>The Gates of Paradise (For Children; For the Sexes)</u>
<u>IM</u>	<u>An Island in the Moon</u>
<u>Innocence</u>	<u>Songs of Innocence</u>
<u>J</u>	<u>Jerusalem</u>
<u>Lavater</u>	<u>Annotations to Lavaster's Aphorisms on Man</u>
<u>L.</u>	<u>The Letters of William Blake</u>
<u>M</u>	<u>Milton</u>
<u>M.H.H; MHH; Marriage</u>	<u>The Marriage or Heaven and Hell</u>
<u>Notebook</u>	<u>The Notebook of William Blake</u>
<u>Pickering MS</u>	<u>The Pickering Manuscript</u>
<u>PS</u>	<u>Poetical Sketches</u>
<u>SL</u>	<u>The Song of Los</u>
<u>Songs; SE; SI</u>	<u>Songs of Innocence and of Experience</u>
<u>TEG</u>	<u>The Everlasting Gospel</u>
<u>VDA; Visions</u>	<u>Visions of the Daughters of Albion</u>
<u>VLJ</u>	<u>[A Vision of the Last Judgment]</u>

Abbreviations (cont.)

For full bibliographical details of the following editions, see the Bibliography, on pp. 421-64.

<u>Short Form</u>	<u>Author, title, editor</u>
Bentley	<u>William Blake's Writings</u> . Ed. G. E. Bentley, Jnr.
Bindman	<u>The Complete Graphic Works</u> . Ed. David Bindman.
<u>Designs; or NT</u>	<u>William Blake's Designs for Edward Young's Night Thoughts</u> . Ed. D. V. Erdman, John E. Grant, E. J. Rose, Michael J. Tolley.
Dover	<u>Night Thoughts or, The Complaint and the Consolation</u> . Ed. Robert Essick and Jenijoy LaBelle.
E.	<u>The Complete Poetry and Prose</u> . Ed. David Erdman with commentary by Harold Bloom. Newly revised ed.
<u>I.B.</u>	<u>The Illuminated Blake</u> . Ed. David V. Erdman.
<u>Illustrations</u>	<u>Illustrations to the Bible</u> . Comp. Geoffrey Keynes.
K.	<u>Complete Writings</u> . Ed. Geoffrey Keynes.
S. & W.	<u>Prophetic Writings</u> . Ed. D. J. Sloss and J. P. R. Wallis.
T.	Trianon edition of <u>The Songs of Innocence and of Experience or The Marriage of Heaven and Hell</u> .
<u>Vala:B</u>	<u>Vala or The Four Zoas</u> . Ed. G. E. Bentley, Jnr.
<hr/>	
Butlin	<u>The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake</u> .
Stone	<u>The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800</u> , by Lawrence Stone.



I

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE ROLE OF THE WOMAN IN THE WORKS OF WILLIAM
BLAKE.

A woman is called upon to play many roles in the course of a lifetime: daughter, sister, wife and mother to name but a few. Such roles are rarely exclusive: there may be motherly elements in wifely affection and daughterly respect in sisterly relationships with older brothers. Moreover, roles may be culture-specific, society-oriented and family-influenced: there can be no definitive understanding of what constitutes "a dutiful daughter", for example.

Recent sociological and feminist studies have examined some of the roles allocated to or adopted by women of the eighteenth century, as they are revealed factually in diaries, letters and reflective writings of the day, or inferred from fictional representations of female heroines.

William Blake, writing in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, particularly in his longer prophetic works, gives a substantial place to female characters as they play a part in the narrative action, the eponymous Vala and Jerusalem being the most evident: the one ushering in the concept of the role of emanation, the other concluding the long prophecies as the sum of all emanations.

Additionally, Blake's illustrations are available, often, to complement, challenge or provide a contrast to his textual portrayals of role.

In the Print Room of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New

York, there is an undated watercolour inscribed "She shall be called Woman", which was formerly in the Butts Collection, No.106 in Rossetti's annotated lists of Blake's pictures, appended to Gilchrist's Life of William Blake, where it is given the title "The Creation of Eve - She shall be called Woman". One critic has seen the picture as representing the first intrusion of the Female Will into a sphere which had been solely Adam's.¹ My response to the original was that the gesture of the Angel of the Presence, in a movement suggestive of a linking of the hand of male and female, seemed more indicative of a potential partnership, implicit in which is the concept not only of a shared role but also the availability of multiple roles for the woman.

Blake asks in Jerusalem 56:3 (E. 206): "What may Woman be?", a question which he attempts to answer through the roles that he creates for her within the text and in the illustrations.² Although in Eternity the Human Form Divine is the androgynous ideal without gender or role differentiation,³ in the fallen world the separated female is called upon to carry out many feminine functions: perhaps daughter, sister, wife, mother, whore, and servant.

Recent studies in role theory provide the theoretical framework for my critical analysis of Blake's "female"; that is, the dissertation is informed by the understanding that people's role-performance (the tasks, functions, activities and patterns of behaviour that should be performed by occupants of an office, a position, or a status) are

determined by norms or standards developed by consensus, as well as by the roles, observations and actions of others; and by personality and capability variables. Roles must first be perceived and then enacted; sanctions, or rewards and punishments, may be applied by others to ensure conformity to general role expectations; and role conflict from internal and external sources or role confusion arising from role ambiguity may be experienced by the person involved. ⁴ (A brief explanatory list of role theory terms which are used in this dissertation is provided in Appendix A, pp. 297-98).

Important contributions to Blake scholarship have been made by placing his works in a Freudian or a Jungian framework, and an analysis of the roles which Blake's fictive characters enact brings together a Social Sciences and a Humanities approach. Blake's designs for themes from Shakespeare indicate his familiarity with the Bard and suggest that he had an excellent sense that "All the world's a stage" (As You Like It. II. vii) and that he chose to create for his "women" active roles in his narrative.

"Woman", therefore, as presented to the reader in the works of William Blake, may be placed in the context of, and possibly in contrast to, those novelists of his century who depicted the heroine in terms of her protestations of virtue; those sociologists who draw conclusions about the increasing passivity of the female's place in an industrial society, for the essence of womanhood in the sixteenth century was "summed up in the free and loving submission to her lord's will ... and equally in her sense of initiative"; ⁵ those theologians of the period who fought

to maintain scriptural injunctions concerning the good and the evil woman; those artists who respected the conventions of pastoral and serene portraiture; and those Romantics who were both fearful and dismissive of her presence, rather than exploratory of her activity.⁶

Furthermore, roles may be defined as positive or negative, as passive or active according to criteria laid down by the relevant society, culture, era or situation. For instance, even allowing for inadequate information and for subjective impressionism, it may be deduced from the historical and literary background which is available, from documents of the period, from social essays or theological prescriptions of the day and from enlightened social historians, that for the female of the eighteenth century the positive "good" role was linked with an attitude of passivity on her part, and that assertiveness in the woman was considered at the very least negative and perhaps even "evil". Even Thomas Gray's whimsical Cat Ode, illustrated with vision by Blake, shows the unfortunate result of an excess of action!⁷ In similarly allegorical but more serious vein, the narrator of the fairytale in The Adventurer, Nos. 103 and 104, October 30 and November 3, 1753, contrasted "the calm and equal tenor of a virtuous mind" with "mistakes [or action] ... committed in the tumult and precipitation of outrageous malevolence", an analogy evident in The Rambler, No. 66, November 3, 1750, when the writer points to the ladies who are ever convinced that their interests lie in looks rather than in acts of virtue.

Examination of such stereotyped formulations of woman's role is one thrust of some early and much recent feminist criticism; there has been a recapitulation of the voices of Mary Wollstonecraft and Mary Hays - an "understanding of women ... chained down to frivolities and trifles" and an "acquiescence from prudence and necessity";⁸ there has been a condemnation of literature as the unreflective record of the collective consciousness of patriarchy - or words of praise for when it is not;⁹ there has been an investigation into the history of the "inarticulate",¹⁰ the second sex,¹¹ the dominant and the muted groups¹² and the traits of the oppressed personality;¹³ there has been analysis of the image of "the perfect lady" and her natural submission;¹⁴ there have been studies of her place in family, work and public - of her role in the home, as beast of burden and of her emergence from behind closed doors;¹⁵ there has been a search for the "invisible woman",¹⁶ hidden in history;¹⁷ and there have been essays on the traditional doctrine of sex-linked behaviour.¹⁸

Another issue of consequence to the feminist critic is the extent to which a writer deals with the feminine component in his or her writings, and the extensive treatment Blake accords to the female in his works makes them very accessible to this approach. Blake scholars have been very fortunate that there are available systematic listings of work relating to the "woman" in Blake's poetry and prose, in the form of careful bibliographies, references or acknowledgements; notice of work in the field or of recent dissertations.¹⁹ An analysis of these sources shows that two decades ago examination of Blake's imagery, investigation

into social and theological background, and provision of a definitive text - each in relation to the woman figure - were major emphases among researchers. In the 1970s writers very often drew analogies concerning the female in Blake's text: she was of androgynous nature, she was the feminine principle; she was emancipation or sexual independence, the "woman scaly", the divine form, pity, or poetic text, to name some lines of thought. Other later studies have been concerned with the construct of passivity, how the Emanations respond to the presence of the male, and these writings draw conclusions about Blake's feminist, anti-feminist or open-ended stances. More recent articles have shown a return to examining the context of Blake's day as well as the word on the page, and there is a renewed interest in Blake's sexual imagery or play upon words.²⁰

Nevertheless, with all these disparate insights into the female in Blake's works, it may still be maintained strongly that the woman is also comprehensible within the framework of role theory, and this thesis is a contribution towards a view of her as active in many roles and working in two ways: as a power for good and as a force for evil. Blake admits of, and often encapsulates, a dualistic notion of the function of the feminine presence.²¹

It will be argued that in the multiplicity of roles assigned to the figure of the one who "shall be called woman", Blake transcends the stereotyping of the female prevalent in his day, and stresses the importance of energy and of action, directed to whatsoever ends, an idea incipient in the

eighteenth century,²² but given demonstrable form in Blake's pages. Blake was working within the eighteenth-century traditions of criticism understood by one writer to be: process or philosophical criticism; product or historical criticism; and by-product or corrective criticism, which third category includes illustration as an interpretative function.²³ The age regarded illustration as a valuable mode of illumination and elucidation, beyond mere decoration, and working towards imaginative explanation and enlightenment.²⁴ In fact, book illustration was expanding into a minor industry.²⁵

This dissertation, therefore, combines a close textual analysis with some comment on the illustrative component in Blake's work, and in common with a recent emphasis of Blake criticism considers the poet in relation to his contemporary society and prevailing conceptions of the role of the woman.²⁶

As the thesis is argued from the viewpoint of action, no attempt at a holistic concept of Blake's "woman" will be made, and the terms "good" and "bad" will be used simply as holding those meanings set down by the dictionaries of Blake's day.²⁷ Acknowledgement should be made, however, of two additional insights into the terms: the Church still held that in the future life good men would be rewarded and evil men would be punished;²⁸ notwithstanding, evil was coming to be seen more in relation to the educational, political and economic theories of Rousseau and Voltaire and in the ideas of rational choice posited by Newton and Descartes than as a consequence of the Fall.²⁹

Although the simplest view of evil would seem to be in terms of cause and effect - evil relative to man-made laws - man's view of good and of evil has always been individualistic and situational, whether it be concerned with metaphysical, moral or mechanistical evil: for example, Platonic pessimism³⁰ which held that evil originated at the stroke of creation could be contrasted to what has been seen as the optimism of such eighteenth-century figures as Edward Young whose Night Thoughts Blake was commissioned to illustrate:

The Night Thoughts are intended to turn the soul from the vanities, evils and disappointments of this life to the stable and blessedness of life hereafter.³¹

Young attempts to forge links between pleasure, piety and virtue, to make connections between ills and gracious ends, and to dichotomise in representing love as vice or virtue.³² (This sort of "optimism" is often regarded as pessimism - no hope is held out for life's improvement in this world).

Blake's century reacted against Hobbes' Leviathan; evil was seen as rather a spur to good, and thinkers pointed to the "regenerative potencies of evil",³³ although in the Romantics there was a leaning towards the idea of evil in man, perhaps Kant's "radical evil".³⁴

Alternatively, evil may be comprehended in the doctrine that, as a consequence of the Fall, evil is part of God's plan for redemption,³⁵ or reflections on evil could result in a search for a scapegoat on to whom it may be transferred.³⁶ Many in Blake's day supported the fundamentalist belief in a separate

devil, a Miltonic personification of evil - or, conversely, the Gnostic concept of a separate force co-ordinate with a good God.

Discussion on the nature of good and evil was common in the eighteenth century; indeed, expected and enjoyed, as an examination of the periodical literature of the day will demonstrate: for example, there is the contributor in The Adventurer, No. 40, March 24, 1753, who describes his friend confined to a madhouse after an injudicious application to the study of good and evil; or the letter purporting to be from a "very great personage" [Satan] on the topic of virtue (The Adventurer, No. 60, June 2, 1753); or the reflection in The Idler, No. 99, December 29, 1759, on the question deemed unanswerable by philosophers: "how evil came into the world".

S. Foster Damon writes that for Blake all acts of creation were evil in the sense that divisions came into being,³⁷ a point recapitulated by J. G. Davies in his study on Blake's theology,³⁸ and incorporated by Anthony Blunt into his comment on the³⁹ watercolour held in the Tate Gallery, Elohim creating Adam.

Catherine Macaulay, a contemporary of Blake, in keeping with Scotist and Franciscan doctrine, and citing current opinions including those of Lord Bolingbroke (1658-1751), wrote of good⁴⁰ and evil as arbitrary determinations of the divine will; Lord Shaftesbury and Francis Hutcheson saw good as a just disposition⁴¹ or benevolence, while Hume argued for distinguishing good and evil, not by reason, but by the impressions they occasion.⁴²

However, for the woman of the eighteenth century virtue and vice, good and evil, were to be seen in private and domestic terms.⁴³ The good woman contributed to domestic

comfort, modelled the young mind and achieved everlasting felicity by her worldly conduct;⁴⁴ the virtuous wife acted as though she felt tender regard for the husband.⁴⁵ Writing early in the century, Mary Astell added to the list of seven deadly sins: querulousness, rashness and inconstancy were signs of the evil woman; generous resolution, courageous industry and composed temper were indications of the good woman.⁴⁶ Conscious virtue was allied to religion, truth, a modest reserve, a retiring delicacy, an easy dignity in public and compassion for the unfortunate.⁴⁷

This accorded with the view which the Church Fathers had held:⁴⁸ woman was the lesser, passive, material principle. This was also the argument propounded in eighteenth-century (and later) sermons which upheld the Old Testament patriarchal society, pointed to the good woman of Proverbs, afforded honour to marriage and advocated Pauline obedience and submission.⁴⁹ Richardson's image of Pamela hardened into moral absolutes.⁵⁰

Blake's attitude to the question of good and evil is complex; extensive studies, some theses and numerous critical articles have examined his theology and his opinions and the Blake canon in relation to this subject.⁵¹ A close textual analysis and an evaluation of those references reveal that four aspects found common to Blake's view of these dual moralities are of particular relevance to a discussion of the actions of the virtuous and the vicious woman.

Firstly, Blake's stance is firmer than that of many of

the writers of his day; he acknowledges the presence of good and evil using those terms, whereas Samuel Johnson's sage in Rasselas considered it vulgar to give such appellations to the "modes and accidents of life".⁵² When Blake writes of the "Prince of Evil" (Annotations to Watson, p. 4, E. 614), he is close to the Biblical "prince of the power of the air" (Ephesians 2:2); when he speaks to Crabb Robinson he states that the Devil is eternally created not by God but by God's permission, phrasing found again in Milton 22:29-30; 23:18-20 (E. 117- 18) in the context of the Blake/Los figure's being verbally assailed by Rintrah and Palamabron: "O merciful Parent ... O mild Parent! Cruel in thy mildness, pitying and permitting evil ...". On another occasion Blake allowed to Crabb Robinson that there might be error or mistake and if these be evil, then there is evil; and in a third conversation with the same individual held that "reason is the only evil".⁵³ In the Laocoon, Blake speaks of Good and Evil as "Riches & Poverty a Tree of Misery propagating Generation & Death" and two serpents are labelled respectively "Evil" and "Good" (E. 273, Plate 2), the latter adjective an unusual connotation for the serpent of either mythical or Biblical tradition.

However, although Blake acknowledges and labels good and evil, he sees these as irrelevant to character; people are not to be stereotyped according to models such as those of Theophrastus which imply an inability to comprehend both good and evil within the one person.⁵⁴ This same convergent or non-lateral thinking Freud would, in later days, term "decomposition".⁵⁵

Aristotle says Characters are either Good or Bad: now
Goodness or Badness has nothing to do with Character ...
a Good Apple tree or a Bad, is an Apple tree still...
(On Homers Poetry, E. 269)

[Los] I care not whether a Man is Good or Evil; all that I
care
Is whether he is a Wise Man or a Fool.
(Jerusalem 91:54-5, E. 252)

Man is a twofold being... that which is capable of evil
is also capable of good.
(Annotations to Lavater, 489, E. 594)

Rather, Blake's underlying premise, in the tradition of writers
who see primal man falling into fragmentation, and as is implied
in the phrase "... Man anciently contained in his mighty limbs
all things in Heaven & Earth" (Jerusalem, Plate 27, E. 171)
equates essential good with unity and essential evil with
separateness, or Boehme's Selbheit.⁵⁶ In Jerusalem, Blake draws
the analogy between falling into humanity and the concept of
evil:

Man is born a Spectre or Satan & is altogether an Evil
(Jerusalem, Plate 52, E. 200)

... by his Maternal Birth he [Jesus] is that Evil-One
And his Maternal Humanity must be put off Eternally,
Lest Sexual Generation swallow up Regeneration
(Jerusalem 90:35-37, E. 250)

Secondly, although Blake recognises that good and evil
may be defined as such, he is hesitant to polarise
the two concepts simplistically, a division about which
Swedenborg had no doubts: "a man cannot do good which is truly

so until evil is put away" (Swedenborg: True Christian
57
Religion, 435).

It was an old doctrine of Blake's that the division of the entire universe into the black and white of Evil and Good was a false system preventing any real valuation of the universe, which is essentially holy.⁵⁸

Similarly, on page fourteen of the Notebook, Blake lettered the title "Ideas of Good & Evil", partly hidden by the marriage picture added beneath it. This juxtaposition suggests to Erdman a marriage of contrary ideas, an interpretation given support by textual reference:

Good & Evil are here both Good & the two contraries Married
(Annotations to Swedenborg, 68, E. 604)

Good & Evil are Qualities in Every Man whether [a] Good or
Evil Man
(A Vision of the Last Judgment, 86, E. 563)

It may be inferred that Blake believes that man on occasion takes upon himself too much in apportioning the good and the evil:

Serpent Reasonings us entice
Of Good & Evil: Virtue & Vice
(Gates of Paradise, The Keys, E. 268)

...those are Cast away who trouble Religion with
Questions concerning Good & Evil...
(A Vision of the Last Judgment, 70, E. 544)

Moreover, such judgments are better left to God:

Do or Act to do Good or to do Evil who Dare to
Judge but God alone
(Annotations to Watson, 118, E. 619)

Perhaps there is a good serpent!

Everything is good in God's eyes.
Who shall say what God thinks evil
(To Crabb Robinson)⁶⁰

There are, moreover, two other aspects of this drawing together of good and evil: they may work as contraries, and evil should be considered as a State, rather than a condition, and thus man may pass through it and be delivered from it:

Without Contraries is no progression ... From these contraries spring what the religious call Good & Evil.
(Marriage of Heaven and Hell, Plate 3, E. 34)

They take the Two Contraries which are calld Qualities, with
Every Substance is clothed, they name them Good & Evil
which
(Jerusalem 10: 8-9, E. 152-153)

...the Evil is Created into a State. that Men
May be deliverd time after time evermore.
(Jerusalem 49: 70-71, E. 199)

Good, by the same token, must also be a State.

Blake, therefore, grapples with the concepts of good and evil and posits not two discrete irreconcilable entities but progression: the two work as contraries and man may pass through the State of evil and the State of good.

The third point on this topic of particular relevance to my thesis is that Blake comments upon and inverts the conventional associations of good and evil with passive/active and with soul/body:

Active Evil is better than Passive Good
(Annotations to Lavater, 409, E. 592)

After making due allowance for satirical overstatement in the Marriage, it may still be seen that in contrast to the Argument, the voice of the Devil presents current assumptions about these absolutes as "error":

... Good is the passive that obeys Reason[.] Evil is the active springing from Energy.

Good is Heaven. Evil is Hell.

(Marriage, "The Argument", Plate 3, E. 34)

That Energy. call'd Evil. is alone from the Body.

& that Reason. call'd Good. is alone from the Soul.

(Marriage, "The Voice of the Devil", Plate 4, E. 34)

Good had been regarded in terms of the established conventions of the day but, in Blake's view, evil by working as energy without regard to those conventions might actually be the "good".

Blake frequently uses the adjective "good" simply in the generally accepted sense, but three quotations cast further light upon his opinions.

Firstly, in common with William Law, translating and drawing upon Jacob Boehme and with Swedenborg, Blake deplored the selfishness manifest as will:

There can be no Good-Will. Will is always Evil
(Annotations to Swedenborg's Divine Love, Flyleaf, E. 602)

Secondly, in correspondence with William Hayley, Blake maintained his optimism about the ultimate success of good art:

What is Good must Succeed first or last
(Blake to William Hayley, 27 November, 1805, Letter 93, L. 119)

Thirdly, in The Everlasting Gospel, Blake scorns the attribution of good to any man:

To be Good only is to be
A Devil or else a Pharisee (line 28)
(The Everlasting Gospel [f], pp. 48-52, E. 521)

It is significant that Blake had originally associated the good in this instance with "God", and this considered alteration is one further inversion of conventional thought. Erdman in a textual comment notes the deletion of "God" and the addition of "Devil", "the deletion and addition made in pencil, but firmly" (E. 880).

Blake thus acknowledges the possibility of good and of evil, freely uses those terms, yet makes individualistic and controversial remarks about the nature of such qualities, and, additionally, views brooding, or inaction, as an evil. After his fall, Albion sits brooding (Jerusalem 42:2. E. 189); Urizen, in Envy, protecting himself with his books ranged about him, is seen to hang brooding over the fiery Orc (The Four Zoas VII, p. 77:19; p. 78:1, E.353); or to offer a "brooded smile" as he tempts Los with an offer of domination (The Four Zoas I, p. 12:10-11, E. 307). Hand broods incessantly, within him the Brooding Abstract Philosophy which can destroy the Imagination and the Divine Humanity (Jerusalem 70: 1-5; 16-20, E. 224).

However, despite the force of the word, it should be acknowledged that brooding, having biblical and Miltonic connotations of creativity, is not wholly an evil. Nevertheless, when brooding is associated with inaction, as in

the case of the lovely Thel (The Book of Thel 1: 12-13, E. 3), the essential lack of productivity verges, for Blake, on the lack of possible good.

Los achieves, for Los is active: he builds Golgonooza, he directs the labours in the furnaces (Jerusalem 10:17, E. 153; Jerusalem 8: 23 ff, E. 151ff). Oothoon is not given to brooding over consequences; she acts out what her soul seeks (Visions of the Daughters of Albion; 1: 11-13, E. 46); "the Industrious / Find this Moment & it multiply" - the Moment in each Day that Satan cannot find (Milton 35: 42-45. E. 136).

Blake, then, does not present good and evil as always dichotomous, although he differentiates forces in those terms; they are contraries acting in tension until evil is ultimately resolved in the apocalyptic good. The illustration to Jerusalem 18 (I.B. 297), while not representing the contraries concept, is in the same spirit of potential dichotomy yet eventual reconciliation as the two females touch toe to toe, strive to go separate ways but are emblematically united by the central embracing couple.

Blake's independence of thought in relation to received ideas about good and evil allows him the freedom of expression to create a multiplicity of roles for the woman figure in his works.

A question naturally arises in any critical appraisal of fictive characters about the relationship of the product of inspiration to the person of the real world. However, in Blake's case, it is not necessary to create problems which did

not exist for the author himself: he moved with ease beyond the usual categorizations. For him, his sweet shadow of delight was located both in Milton and in Felpham; a fold of lambs in a meadow, a metamorphosis into a beautiful sculpture - a sight seen out there, yet apprehended "here ... touching his forehead"⁶⁵; his brother Robert was beloved in life and directed him after death, as Blake puts it.⁶⁶ Blake could move back and forth along a hypothetical continuum, recounting interactions with figures of the real world yet incorporating these into imagined yet believed encounters with literary or fictive representations.

Historians have emphasised the significant disparity between the lives of real women and the ideal fictional woman created in literature;⁶⁷ "the wrong way through the telescope" is one expression used;⁶⁸ "the information that can be reinforced by practical experiences is too limited"⁶⁹ is another comment. Students of literature have found that fictive heroines reflect, rather than represent, social reality - Moll Flanders hovers between what Stone calls the distant mother of the seventeenth century and the intimate family circle of the eighteenth century.⁷⁰

It is reasonable to assume that the prolific writings of Daniel Defoe would reflect his views and those of his contemporaries, views which he had held for much of his adult life and expressed many times in his contributions to literary journals, and views which stand as valuable sources providing insights into the England of the eighteenth century, socially,⁷¹ politically, and economically. Moll Flanders is more than a fiction; it displays the social conditions of the various

classes of the time (albeit mainly the middle and upper classes) and it accommodates Defoe's opinions and advice on these conditions as he manipulates narrative technique to reveal prevailing social attitudes, while providing a satisfying, dramatic story. Moll (together with Defoe's Roxana) does reflect some of society's current practices and opinions: the stultifying effect of the kind of education often received; the search for gentility; the impossibility of upward mobility without money; the absolute power of the husband or of the father and the consequent search for security on the part of the female. In summary, while Defoe's heroines may reflect the social reality of the insecurity of the woman in the eighteenth century, as representations of woman's lot they are but a small sample and withal a fictive one.

Similarly, Blake critics have addressed themselves to the problem of Blake's created heroines and implied or inferred historical significance: it has been suggested that Blake's female characters and the events they enact may represent psychic processes, entities and human phenomena which Blake considers universal;⁷³ or, alternatively, they may be symbols of psychological states;⁷⁴ or they may enter analogous human relationships and act out of human emotion rather than allegoric necessity;⁷⁵ or they may stand as the "particular" or the universal collective individual. I argue that Blake would say that they play out assigned roles, from the single role perceptions of Innocence and of Experience onwards to

multitudinous Oothoon, again to the human forces within life in The Four Zoas and finally to the Giant Forms of the later prophecies.

Blake himself anticipated such questions:

The connoisseurs and artists who have made objections to Mr. B's modes of presenting spirits with real bodies, would do well to consider that the Venus, the Minerva, ... are all of them representations of spiritual existences of God's immortal, to the mortal perishing organ of sight; ...

(A Descriptive Catalogue, E. 541)

Furthermore, Blake allows for moving in and out of roles, using the description "Poetical personifications and Acts" (Blake to Dawson Turner, 9 June, 1818, Letter 133, L. 142) as does a later critic:

The Zoas and their Emanations act according to the requirements of the present situation, not according to a concept of stable personality. ⁷⁶

Thus the Nurse of Innocence and the Nurse of Experience act situationally, either owning the child's right to independence ⁷⁷ or overshadowing her charges. Enitharmon asserts the Female Will (Jerusalem 87: 12-13, E. 246) yet labours pliantly beside Los (The Four Zoas VII, p. 90, E. 370-71), although, admittedly, Blake's changing concept of the same character and his changing personal stance over twenty years of conjugal life must be taken into account in the latter instance, as is "the changing point of view" in the former Songs examples.

It may be argued that any literary representations of women will necessarily present a reduced aspect; however, the

emphasis of my thesis is towards exposing overt function, analysing processes of interaction and effect, and stressing the importance of women's actions in the works of Blake, all presented against a background of social and theological thought, graphic (iconographical) form, and the Romantic stereotyping widespread in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Each chapter, while avoiding attention to the minute particulars at the expense of the whole, will present attitudes of the day towards the role under discussion, followed by examples from Blake's works of females cast into that role by the author. Minor instances of the role under consideration are included in an appendix to each chapter in order to maintain a clarity of argument within the body of the dissertation and these appendices are to be found after the last page of text proper and before the notes to the chapters (see Table of Contents). It will be argued that close analysis of Blake's text will confirm the hypothesis that Blake provided for the female a multiplicity of roles, and often a duality of stance - a power for good and/or a force for evil - and that this framework of action differs from the then current prescription of women's necessary passivity.

Two additional points on methodology should be made: firstly, the number of references from Blake text. This could create a sense of mere lists as opposed to reasoned argument. There are, however, so many extracts that serve to validate the thesis of this dissertation that, rather than omit these altogether, it was decided to shape the presentation into the two

sections mentioned above: major examples which most clearly substantiate the role under discussion, and minor instances set aside in the Appendices and related to the respective roles. In this way, the argument outlined above emerged more clearly.

The second research "problem" concerns the wide critical field already extant in Blake scholarship. I have found little space available for formal evaluation of this. When I have found critical comment particularly worthwhile or critical appraisal unhappily woeful, I have said so within the chapter, or in a brief annotation to the reference. It should not be inferred that where I have made no such comment I accept the critical material as "gospel" - such approbation is reserved for Blake! My stated aim is textual analysis in accord with my hypothesis.

The eighteenth century, with its emphasis on the inactivity of the "good" woman, polarised male and female, good and evil, passivity and activity:

There is something so charming in the fair sex, that we should almost adore them, if they did not lay aside all the pride of reputation, and by some good-natured familiarities reduce themselves to an equality with us.

(The Connoisseur, No. 74, June 26, 1755, p. 128)

Blake synthesised the two extremes and in action gave a new role and a new hope to (she who shall be called) woman.

Enitharmon and her Daughters, representative of all women, are given, in scriptural terms a charge or office to perform; it is an active one - to watch over mankind (the Spirits) until Judgment Day. Theirs is to be the "mild influence"; theirs the multiple roles (Milton 29: 54, E. 128).

... the Daughters of Memory shall become the Daughters of Inspiration. (Milton: Preface, E. 95)

The first role assigned to the new-born female is that of daughter: the annals of history and the tales of fiction contain many instances in which the gender of the infant is seen as of the utmost importance. Patriarchal values in the eighteenth century ensured that too often the birth of a girl went relatively unremarked, if the fact were not entirely suppressed, or feared as holding dire consequences in relation to the practice of providing marriage portions. ¹A curious mixture of feelings of dismay and relief is reported, for example, in the Letters of William Blundell, writing in the century before Blake on the death of a baby girl:

My wife has much disappointed my hopes in bringing forth a Daughter, [sixth daughter, ninth child] which, finding herself not so welcome in this world as a Son, hath made already a discreet choice of a better...

Although, in time, physical and personal attributes were to assume as much importance as a substantial cash portion, to provide such dowries the upper class may have had to mortgage estates,³ the merchant may have had to produce inordinately large sums,⁴ and the farmer may have had to bargain between finding the keep of the suitor and/or paying him out in cash and kine.⁵

So strong were society's expectations for her, and so weak was the position of the daughter that a village could offer up a girl to appease occupying troops, as one search of seventeenth-century records has revealed.⁶ The eighteenth century was both

7 8
prescriptive and proscriptive of the role and behaviour
required in a daughter. Journal articles of the day indicate
9
that a daughter could be sold off to an aunt, married off by a
10
father, cast down or used up by a mother, or driven out by an
11
12
uncle.

Without the protection of a male figure, a daughter might
face "the dread of wandering about without money or employment,
exposed to the menaces of a beadle, or insults of the rabble",¹³ or
liable to the "debauching ... which happens in the course of
gallantry".¹⁴ Not only was there physical security in the
daughter's over-fidelity to the father,¹⁵ but there was also a
certain emotional satisfaction and financial safety in the model
of the "Dutiful Daughter".¹⁶ Thomas Carter in his Christian Common
Wealth: Or, Domesticall Dutyes, in the seventeenth century had
urged that daughters not be given inheritances as that would
undermine their husbands' authority over them. He wrote that
women should have no authority except that given them by their
husbands or fathers.¹⁷ Articles in the Guardian and the Tatler
some decades later reveal, moreover, an understanding that the
daughter should exert power over her lover to the benefit of the
father, even if this should mean marrying a man she did not care
18
for.

The same expectations, fears, follies and vices were
perpetuated by the practice of the girls being educated by their
mothers and the boys by their fathers.¹⁹ It is with some sense of
surprise that the Rambler tells of the widow who in the absence
of the father was foresighted enough to train her daughters in
all the farm tasks,²⁰ an advance again on Defoe's bereft "mother"

who bred up her sons to the father's trade. ²¹

Rousseau's model of differentiated education, enlightened as it was in regard to consideration being given to individual differences, distinguished between approaches to the education of a boy and the needed accomplishments of a girl,²² and this was reflected in the periodical literature of the time: care was to be taken of the daughters' persons to the neglect of their minds.²³

For example:

All the girls hear in this life is that it is time to rise and to come to dinner as if they were so insignificant as to be wholly provided for when they are fed and clothed.

(Tatler No. 243, p. 437)²⁴

On the same page of that journal is a proposal for a female library "to advance the value of their innocence as virgins, to improve their understanding as wives and to regulate their tenderness as parents"!

William Hayley's [The] Triumphs of Temper, a didactic work of six cantos, being three thousand, one hundred and thirty-two lines of rhymed heroic couplets on the art of good temper in women, was very popular as a present to daughters, and the author wrote in his Memoirs:

... the sweetest reward I ever received as an author was a cordial declaration [by the mother] that she was truly indebted to the work ... for an absolute and delightful reformation in the conduct and character of her eldest daughter ... metamorphosed from a creature of a most perverse and intractable spirit, into the most docile and dutiful of children.²⁵

Although Dr. Gregory, writing in 1774 of a father's zeal

for his daughters' improvement in whatever makes a woman amiable, stated that he did not regard his daughters as "domestic drudges" or the "slaves of man's pleasures". Rather, he viewed them as designed to soften hearts and polish manners, with their learning kept secret and their religion acting as a check for their natural vivacity.²⁶

Similarly, Samuel Richardson's correspondent Lady Bradshaigh was fearful lest mothers find their girls to be scholars;²⁷ mauvaise honte was something to be warned against and The Female Aegis, a book read widely in its day, speaks of the female obligation of compliance.²⁸

It is not surprising that one widowed father wrote that he felt incapable of giving his daughter a "proper" education in his own house,²⁹ nor is it difficult to accept that it was common knowledge that many parents preferred not to see or hear of daughters until these were safely and suitably married.³⁰

Anecdotes are to be found, additionally, of the unhappy existence of many daughters, of mothers beating virtue into their little girls, and of the enforcement through harnesses of the rigours of correct posture to the detriment of health and indeed to the extent of the child's death.³¹

However, the daughter of Blake's century did take her place in a family where affective relationships rather than strictly economic considerations predominated, as proliferating portraits of children and of family groups suggest, and as the development of a pleasant literature for boys and girls indicates.³²

Powell describes the typical day of an eighteenth-century

33

daughter: walking, playing music, translating, and reading - very much the earlier Vives model of unmarried girls passing their time in the company of other girls, discussing holy books and resisting the temptation to talk about feasting and dancing, not necessarily concentrating on the acquisition of the skills of household management.³⁴

Art historians have pointed out that the increase in the number of paintings of children in Blake's time reflects the parents' greater emotional investment in and more readily expressed feelings of compassion towards their offspring. One example relevant to this chapter would be George Romney's Mrs. Stables and Daughters.³⁵

The topic of Blake and his place in the developing literature for children has been well covered by J. Harvey Darton,³⁶ but a brief mention of the significant trends in this acknowledgement of the child as an individual should be made. John Bunyan had offered in 1686 A Book for Boys and Girls or Country Rhymes for Children re-issued after his death as Divine Emblems, or Temporal Things Spiritualized. His plan was to take common objects and after describing them draw a lesson from them. Cornelia Meigs in her evaluative and comprehensive history of children's literature evidences Some Excellent Verses for the Education of Youth (1708) as demonstrating the didactic trend of the day,³⁷ while Isaac Watts' Divine Songs Attempted in Easy Language issued in 1715 as Divine and Moral Songs for Children³⁸ was an illustrated attempt at simple theology. Less attractive in content and strongly flavoured with "morals" were the books of the "monstrous regiment": Mrs. Trimmer, Mrs. Sherwood, and Mrs.

Barbault³⁹ - and more appealing were John Newbery's A Pretty Little Pocket Book (1744) and his The History of Little Goody Two-Shoes.⁴⁰

Blake himself illustrated Mary Wollstonecraft's book for children, her Original Stories from Real Life (1788), softening, as Dennis Welch has pointed out, the tone of the verse in his interpretative drawings.⁴¹

In the century preceding the publication of Blake's Songs of Innocence and of Experience there was clearly a movement towards meeting the needs of younger readers through an examination of everyday surroundings, through educational verse, through spiritual concepts presented in simple language, through moral tales, through the introduction of fantasy and, with Blake's Songs, a recognition of the worth of the child.⁴²

This accorded with the changes evident in society: Stone states that by 1800 there were six distinct modes of child-rearing practised by different social groups, the new one of the eighteenth century being the maternal, child-oriented, affectionate and permissive mode that came to prevail among the upper ranks of the bourgeoisie.⁴³

Nevertheless, despite the trend towards what may be thought of as Lockean child-rearing,⁴⁴ in the hierarchy of familial power and authority, the daughter of the eighteenth century took a low position. There was still an emphasis upon the need to study diligently household economy and to engage in appropriate leisure activities and it was expected that she would be willingly submissive and obedient to parent figures, an attitude fostered by the mother in her educative role and influenced by the fact

that the mother in turn had been and was still herself subject to parent, husband, brother and even to male child.

Blake writes himself in a letter of "all the attention a daughter could pay to a mother" (Letter 60, Blake to William Hayley, 14 January, 1804, L. 78-79) but, with some exceptions, the daughters Blake creates in his works very much have minds of their own be it for good or for ill, be it individually or collectively. Blake's early historical picture, Lear and Cordelia in Prison, may well mirror the theme of "forgiveness of injuries"⁴⁵ but it also presents the idea of the strong-minded daughter (see Butlin I, 53; II, Plate 45).

Admittedly, Tiriel's daughters are firmly subordinated to the main father figure, much as Tiriel may rant of daughters glorifying in rebellion; and Heva lives in childlike docility under the protection of Mnetha (Tiriel 6: 17-18; 2:5-9. E. 283, 277). The daughters of Urizen's Shadowy Feminine Substance strive to please their mother (FZ II, p. 30: 33-34, E. 320); and the Daughters of Time take up the conventionally feminine occupation of spinning (NT 353, VIII, p. 7).⁴⁶ Young uses a series of negative verbs to speak of these allegorical Daughters: they deceive, cheat, flatter, laugh at, and promise much to Man (7, stanza 2: ll. 1, 2, 4, 6), stereotypical generalisation that Blake himself moved firmly beyond after the few early allegorical personifications of the daughter. In the Poetical Sketches, for example, morning is seen as a virgin (l. 1 in "To Morning" and the phrase, the "daughters of the year", is used in "To Autumn" (PS, E. 410, 409), but in the Night Thoughts designs, Blake depicts a male spinner, a mother with her distaff,

and an old woman (Virtue) spinning (NT 30, I, p. 25; 6, I, title page [E 1, Dover ix]; 294, VII, p. 22).

With The Book of Thel, the Songs and the later prophetic works Blake defies the expectations of his age in regard to the daughter; in fact, he believed that to bring up girls in secrecy and ignorance resulted (to use Joseph Wicksteed's terms) in their becoming victims and victimising their daughters [and mankind] in turn.⁴⁷

Blake presents the concept of the collective Daughters, not merely as poetic muses, but as powerful, active entities: powers for good, forces for evil.

In regard to the poem of Innocence, "The Divine Image", Robert Gleckner suggests that Blake had some awareness of the rudiments of the Four Daughters of God tradition, deriving from Psalm 85 in which the opposing Heavenly Virtues are reconciled, particularly with Milton's version of the traditional debate. Gleckner then carries the analogy of collective debate across to The Four Zoas in the prophetic works.⁴⁸ The analogy works well with the concept of the grouping of Blake's "Daughters": it is not Justice, Peace, Mercy and Truth who are straining among themselves, not even only Pity and Love replacing the first and last: it is the Daughters of Albion binding Jerusalem's children, the Daughters of Beulah spreading a couch for Jerusalem, the Daughters of Urizen compelling the Shadowy female to gather food for Orc, the Daughters of Los weaving a new Religion; the Daughters of Luvah lacerating their victims with knives (FZ II, p. 25:29-31, E. 317; I, p. 20:9-11, E. 313; VIII, p. 101 (1):20-

23, p. 373; Milton 22:37-38, E. 117; Milton 27:35-36, E. 125).

Their activities are for good or for evil: their perceived position is not that of passive daughters and their enacted role is dynamic, not static.

I. The Little Girl - Daughters Lost and Found.

Blake's first lengthy studies of daughters appear in The Songs of Innocence and of Experience in the "little girl" poems. The two poems "The Little Girl Lost" and "The Little Girl Found" first appeared in Songs of Innocence but when Songs of Experience was engraved they were located in that group.⁴⁹

Critical studies of the poems have seen Lyca variously as a lapsed soul;⁵⁰ as hovering on the borders of heaven;⁵¹ as deriving from the Babes in the Wood tradition;⁵² as an archetypal figure who is a synthesis of such images as Persephone, the sleeping maiden, Una - the Christian Koré, the Magdalen who recovers innocence, Eve who reverses the Fall, the Dantesque pilgrim unafraid of beasts of prey, Isaiah's "little child" and as one who has parallels in Wordsworth's "Lucy Gray", Keats' Madeline and Coleridge's Christabel.⁵³ Further studies have examined the presence of the beasts, concentrated on the illustrative component or dealt with the question of Lyca's age. Geoffrey Keynes notes that in the first plate, the maiden is pointing up to the prophetic stanzas (T. 34-36):⁵⁴ a daughter as a power for good, possibly.

"The Little Girl Lost" (T. 34-35; E. 20-21)

In futurity
I prophetic see
That the earth from sleep,
(Grave the sentence deep)

Shall arise and seek
For her maker meek:
And the desart wild
Become a garden mild.

In the southern clime,
Where the summers prime,
Never fades away;
Lovely Lyca lay.

Seven summers old
Lovely Lyca told.
She had wanderd long,
Hearing wild birds song.

Sweet sleep come to me
Underneath this tree;
Do father, mother weep.-
Where can Lyca sleep.

Lost in desart wild
Is your little child.
How can Lyca sleep,
If her mother weep.

If her heart does ake,
Then let Lyca wake;
If her mother sleep,
Lyca shall not weep.

Frowning frowning night,
O'er this desart bright,
Let thy moon arise,
While I close my eyes.

Sleeping Lyca lay;
While the beasts of prey,
Come from caverns deep.
View'd the maid asleep

The kingly lion stood
And the virgin view'd,
Then he gambold round
O'er the hallowd ground;

Leopards, tygers play,
Round her as she lay;
While the lion old,
Bow'd his mane of gold.

And her bosom lick,
And upon her neck,
From his eyes of flame,
Ruby tears there came;

While the lioness,
Loos'd her slender dress,
And naked they convey'd
To caves the sleeping maid.

Other questions arising from the critical framework of this thesis may be asked and answered. What norms and expectations prevail in this poem? Whose participating role may be discerned? What observer reactions are evident? Which personality and capability variables are displayed? Is role perception congruent with role enactment?

In this "Lost" poem, Blake deviates from the usual expectations, a fact he makes clear in the first two stanzas which are separated by an illustration from the remainder of the poem and thus serve to set forth the context. It is in times to come that the earth will seek her maker and the desert will bloom. Similarly, the reader will have to suspend his/her sense of the usual, for lions are not thought of as animals which gambol, nor tigers as engaging in play, and young girls are seldom safe in lying down in the wild surrounded by beasts. Lyca has taken a positive active step towards autonomy. Unhampered by the stifling over-concern on the part of her mother and father, she puts her trust in Nature rather than in nurture. She perceived that her appropriate goal is to leave the family circle and to seek an identity of her own. In fact, she reverses the

accepted roles as she counsels her parents, freely admitting that their behaviours have an influence on her. Blake has Lyca implement a move which is identifiable with the school of feminist thought which holds woman's core identity to be threatened and impeded by the inability of the daughter to differentiate from the mother.⁵⁵ Lyca's role performance is congruent with her role perception: it is not at the feet of the family that she has chosen to lay herself. She places herself actively in the tradition of the Orphan Child who voluntarily separates herself from her parents.⁵⁶

It is left to Lyca's parents to uphold received roles: in their tears, their cares, and in their aching hearts traditional behaviours are maintained.

The companion poem "The Little Girl Found" (text below) (T. 35-36, E. 21-22) posits the norms that parents should, and do, seek far and wide for errant and erring children, a Gospel imperative congenial to Blake but removed from the eighteenth-century and nineteenth-century tendency to cast out the deviant female. The poem is moving in its intensity: the mother following to the point of exhaustion, little voice left from her incessant expression of grief, the dreams of Lyca's plight, the father helping the mother to pursue her wish to be re-united with her daughter by gathering her up in his arms and going onwards thus hindered. Blake has encapsulated the remarkable idea of a wanted daughter who yet achieves her independence without a final breach with the parents. This is clearly implied in the concluding image of the poem where the parents are shown as

dwelling in the significantly "lonely" dell: re-union with the daughter may be imaginative rather than tempero-spectral. Lyca's parents are led into a new perception of their role: a waiting rather than a wailing brief.

"The Little Girl Found" (T. 35-36; E. 21-22)

All the night in woe,
Lyca's parents go:
Over vallies deep,
While the desarts weep.

Tired and woe-begone,
Hoarse with making moan:
Arm in arm seven days,
They trac'd the desart ways.

Seven nights they sleep,
Among the shadows deep:
And dream they see their child
Starv'd in desart wild.

Pale thro' pathless ways
The fancied image strays,
Famish'd, weeping, weak
With hollow piteous shriek

Rising from unrest,
The trembling woman prest,
With feet of weary woe;
She could no further go.

In his arms he bore,
Her arm'd with sorrow sore;
Till before their way,
A couching lion lay.

Turning back was vain,
Soon his heavy mane,
Bore them to the ground;
Then he stalk'd around,

Smelling to his prey.
But their fears allay,
When he licks their hands;
And silent by them stands.

They look upon his eyes
Fill'd with deep surprise:
And wondering behold,
A spirit arm'd in gold.

On his head a crown
On his shoulders down,
Flow'd his golden hair.
Gone was all their care.

Follow me he said,
Weep not for the maid;
In my palace deep,
Lyca lies asleep.

Then they followed,
Where the vision led:
And saw their sleeping child,
Among the tygers wild.

To this day they dwell
In a lonely dell
Nor fear the wolvish howl,
Nor the lions growl.

The above poem may engender a sense of ambivalence: admiration for Lyca, relief at a resolution of her dilemma, or sympathy for the parents. In the third "little girl" poem, given below, the disastrous consequences of a parent's pursuing supposedly legitimate authority are very evident: fear and alienation.

In "Introduction" to Experience (T. 30, E. 18) the Bard, or the father figure, calls longingly to the "lapsed Soul" and speaks of renewal and reconciliation but in "Earth's Answer" (T. 31, E. 18-19) there is the same projection as in the poem below of a self-centred [Urizenic] father forbidding and denying the delights of innocent love, binding and imprisoning in the name of Reason till the spirit despairs. There is, moreover, a sense of

the role of the Word or the book being not to free but to freeze
thought.

"A Little GIRL Lost" (T. 51; E. 29-30)

Children of the future Age,
Reading this indignant page;
Know that in a former time.
Love! sweet Love! was thought a crime.

In the Age of Gold,
Free from winters cold:
Youth and maiden bright,
To the holy light,
Naked in the sunny beams delight.

Once a youthful pair
Fill'd with softest care:
Met in garden bright,
Where the holy light,
Had just removed the curtains of the night.

There in rising day,
On the grass they play:
Parents were afar:
Strangers came not near:
And the maiden soon forgot her fear.

Tired with kisses sweet
They agree to meet,
When the silent sleep
Waves o'er heavens deep,
And the weary tired wanderers weep.

To her father white
Came the maiden bright:
But his loving look,
Like the holy book,
All her tender limbs with terror shook.

Ona! pale and weak!
To thy father speak:
O the trembling fear!
O the dismal care!
That shakes the blossoms of my hoary hair

This poem also looks to a future time and the first stanza
is set off a little by its centring and by the overhanging
branch between it and the second stanza in which the story of Ona

properly begins. Ona, daughter of initiative as was Lyca, has decided to act on her truest instincts. However, Ona perceives in the father a figure of jealous repression. It may be asked if Blake is satirising an inadequate father/daughter relationship. There is the textual evidence that the father expresses love, yet there is the following analogy of the often-repressive "holy book and the record of Ona whose "tender limbs with terror shook". The sense of a guiding Spirit available to enlighten the parent figure or to comfort a Lyca is quite missing.

What Blake believed to be the negative norms and standards of his age, of Experience, are easily definable: love was thought to be a crime; parents have unrealistic expectations; patriarchal wrath is destructive. However, some of the ideals that Blake would have held to be the consensus of Innocence are evident also: youthful attraction one for another is a thing of beauty; play is as natural as breathing; strangers and parents should respect the right of their children to privacy; children have the right to have their communications received by their parents without censure.

However, the golden age, the light-filled Edenic garden lose their colour at the entrance of the father. The "white" may refer most naturally to his hair or beard or he may be white with rage or affronted purity. The maiden may be transformed to pale grief or the "bright" may have the connotation of the white and bright of purity. At the encounter, both father and daughter suffer, analogously, a reverse prodigal son situation: she becomes pale and weak and he suffers a kind of premature winter. If reference is made to "Earth's Answer" once again the world will become a

chill restrictive grey (1.5).

Although Ona has sought to enact for herself an independent role, in the light of what she perceives to be her father's unyielding stance, it may be inferred from the reference to her trembling limbs that she will be forced back into the subservient daughter attitude.

Pamela Dunbar in examining Blake's set of illustrations to Comus writes of Plate VIII in which the Lady having returned home is greeted by her parents "with stern and proprietorial expressions ... in the Huntington version [the mother] clutching at her daughter's wrist". The Lady's position as an individual attempting to achieve freedom in a repressive world is likened to the confrontation in "A Little GIRL Lost" where, in Ona's mind, an oppressive father "confronts her with the terrors of the moral code masquerading as love and religion"⁵⁷. In both instances, however, such an interpretation must be seen as going beyond text to historic context.

Blake's three "little girl" poems, whatever the outcome to the heroine, do foreground life situations in which role alternatives are presented. They reflect his vision that there were possibilities for daughters beyond the expectations of the society of his day: daughters were to fulfil their potential.

Thel, Blake's Daughter of Beauty is also challenged to do that.

II. Thel - Daughter of Beauty

The Book of Thel (E. 3-6), 1789, has given rise to two

principal lines of critical thought:⁵⁸ here is a soul on the point of entry into the mortal world⁵⁹ - fascinated by the fear of incarnation: here is a virgin contemplating the world of sexual experience - the latter a view adopted by more recent writers.⁶⁰ Many sources for Thel have been suggested and these are well summarised in two studies in particular: Michael J. Tolley links Thel with Young's Night Thoughts and presents the problems of self-sacrifice in contrast to Thel's selfish innocence;⁶¹ Mary Lynn Johnson discusses Thel, "Mne Seraphim" and Beulah and presents⁶² Thel as locked in selfhood.

Ferber and Gleckner also see Thel as a negative figure, as a "spiritual failure",⁶³ a view in contrast to that of Nancy Bogen in her new interpretation of The Book of Thel,⁶⁴ to Anne Mellor who finds the heroine's refusal to enter experience as a positive personal action,⁶⁵ and to Pearce who views Thel as a victim of false religious instruction.⁶⁶

Studies by Tarr and Levitt examine the virginity concept in Thel and in Comus,⁶⁷ while Tayler mentioning this in passing sees the two daughters as at the point of maturity, respectively shrieking and retiring to the vales, or emerging from the forest into the morning (from the light into the shadow and from shadow into light, so to speak), shadings evident also in Klonsky's⁶⁸ reproduction of Blake's watercolour Comus with the Revellers.⁶⁹

To Raine's and Chayes' references to traces of the Cupid and Psyche legend in Thel,⁷⁰ Jean Hagstrum adds a mention of the influence of Romney's chalk drawings of Orpheus and Eurydice on the illustrations,⁷¹ while Gourlay and Grant compare Blake's representation of Thel as a shepherdess with Reynolds' portrait

of Anne Dashwood. Although pastoral portraits of young women were common in the eighteenth century as a conventional declaration of innocence and virtue, Thel and Anne Dashwood are shown not merely as Arcadian emblems but as pictorial introductions to the contemplation of the transience of life. 72

The opening lines of Thel clearly indicate the norms and expectations for the other daughters, the sisters of Thel - they are to lead their sunny flocks - and Thel's withdrawal from that role is evident. There is a sense of insubstantiality about Thel: she is pale, she seeks secret places, she would like to fade away, her voice is soft, her lament gentle; she is drawn toward some future abode of peaceful rest. Indeed she looks and she sounds like the conventional heroine of eighteenth-century fiction who is looking appropriately not to this world but to another - although Thel does make a brief gesture towards a regret at the fleeting nature of life: "... why fade these children of the spring? born but to smile & fall ..." (1.7, E. 3). In Plate 5 she expresses a wistfulness at having to leave her "shining lot" (1.13, E. 6). Her departure from the expectations of others lies in her refusal to follow the occupation of the mother figure Mne Seraphim.

Thel attempts to find and define a new role for herself aided, firstly, by the Lilly who presents the possibility of a positive earthly role: as a source of beauty, of refreshment and nourishment. In this, Thel's first encounter, the image of transience mentioned above is applied by the Lilly to her own self; she is a "watry weed", but she protests, nevertheless, her

delight in the mortal world - be it ever such a lowly vale. The Lilly positions herself firmly in reality and brings the Eternal down into her sphere:

... I am visited from heaven, and he that smiles on all
Walks in the valley. and each morn over me spreads his hand
(Plate 1:20-21, E. 4)

Thel, on the other hand, has placed herself in the Edenic realm of "him that walketh in the garden in the evening time" (Plate 1:14, E. 3) and consequently, although she acknowledges the worth of such a role - for the Lilly! - she can see no lasting place in nature for herself. She voluntarily continues in her search towards ephemerality and obsolescence.

Using Thel's words against her, the Lilly calls forth the Cloud who is strangely and strongly radiant, for Thel had imaged herself in terms of a faint cloud, kindled and then vanishing (2:11-12, E. 4). The Cloud presents to Thel the sense of a tenfold advantage in the act of passing away, but this requires a self-bestowal which Thel does not find appealing. She dissociates herself from any hint of taking on the role of Earth Mother and from a life whose only end is to feed worms. Once again using Thel's own terms, the speaker introduces the object lesson: the lowly worm who does elicit an involuntary maternal response and for a moment Thel moves towards a fellow feeling for mothers as she perceives the helpless shape to be like an infant in swaddling clothes.

In this passage Blake uses imagery reflective of the Christ embracing his Bride and incorporates ideas redolent of the maternal aspect of God in the loving, anointing, kissing and

binding, thus strengthening the context of appeal to Thel,
 potential wife and mother.⁷⁴ Nevertheless, having rejected the
 role of Mother Nature and of Mother/Father Earth, it is not
 surprising that Thel rejects also the adoption of the role of
 mortal mother, the Mother of Clay role. Blake thus sets forth
 in this early work a number of life options whereby Thel may find
 and define a role for herself: the supplying of nourishment (a
 marriage partner or wife role of support); the emptying of the
 self (a daughter role, although her own parent is not seen except
 as "him that walketh"); the nurturing possibilities of motherhood
 - and all are found by Thel to be in opposition to her own
 expectations for existence.

Thel's outward appearance may resemble the ideal of
 eighteenth-century womanhood: the gentle maiden, and Thel's
 rejection of suggested activities may be interpreted as a refusal
 to accept the implicatons and constraints of a mortal life. In
 another sense, she is a daughter far in advance of her time in her
 decision not to conform to the passive roles suggested to her by
 her parents and her advisers. Thel cannot accept the
 implications of a useful life: she will not restrict her senses
 nor curb her desires. For her it may well be the fate of the
 "maiden Queen" of "The Angel" of Experience: fled youth and grey
 hairs (E. 24).

In what is known to modern psychology as the "reduction of
 cognitive dissonance",⁷⁵ Thel chooses what is for her the ultimate
 resolution of conflict:

The Virgin started from her seat, & with a shriek.

Fled back unhindered till she came into the vales of Har
(Plate 6: 21-22,E.6)

To effect congruence between her role perception and her role enactment, there is a bipartite response she can make: decide and retreat. Thel will protract an untimely Innocence, an error ironically underscored by Blake's last illustration to the poem, interpreted by Morton D. Paley as three naked children [in freedom] riding the serpent of sexuality. Thel is self-centred but not self-effacing.

Thel acknowledges in her responses that there is in her the potential for greater, for active not passive, good. Her disinclination to exert this brings not so much evil as emptiness upon her and upon the world from which she flees. Thel is neither completely a power for good nor a force for evil. That is the pathos which Blake has captured.

Blake's later "daughters" will move beyond Thel's self-determining but self-isolating tendencies to maximise their personality capabilities and in just such a definite adoption of a specific role, Ololon begins a journey.

III. Ololon: Daughter "fulfilled".⁷⁷

Critical studies on the nature of the character of Ololon have found no difficulty in perceiving her both as a power for good and as a force for evil. Sanzo's Jungian analysis represents her as both the positive anima in references to the "sweet river" and her union with the eternal family (Milton 21:15, 58-60, E. 115-16) and in the self-undertaken role

of sacrifice (Milton 21: 45-60, E. 116), as the negative anima of the historical Milton with his belief in religious war and moral virtue (Milton 42: 7-8, 11-14, E. 143). Self-sacrifice in Blake is a desideratum, while religious war usually requires the sacrifice of others.

Susan Fox in a feminist approach points out that while Ololon is indeed sweetly submissive, she also confesses to an attempt to vanquish Milton, an aspect of the selfhood personified (for Howard) by the Leutha/Rahab/Tirzah figures who share with all the manifestations of Milton's emanation the quality of delusion.

Northrop Frye discerns a "paradox": the object of Milton's journey is to seek Ololon, wife and daughter, but it is Ololon in fact who seeks him. However, this is not so much paradox as mutual search: people may seek each other as in "The Little Lost" and "The Little Boy Found" (E. 11). Other critics match aspects of good or evil with stages along Ololon's journeying: flowing as a River, existing as multitudes, manifesting herself as a young girl, embodying Milton's religion of chastity, casting off the virginal, uniting with Milton, or progressing in understanding.

In Milton and in the nature of Ololon, Blake has transcended the concept of the traditionally passive role of the virtuous heroine in epic and romance, and has re-created as relationships what were seen as stereotypical life positions. Moreover, as the last plate of Milton (50, I.B. 266) clearly indicates, Ololon is enthusiastic in the exercise of, and

exuberant in the success of, her free choice.

Blake has reversed the antifeminine tradition of epic wherein there is a distrust of sex as being a distraction from martial heroism;⁸⁵ he has produced a counterpart of Milton's Muse Urania who carries out a Christianized prophetic role.⁸⁶

Initially it may be argued that in Ololon Blake has set the expectations for another conventional daughter: she is spoken of as a "sweet River of milk and liquid pearl" with "mild banks", imagery which Florence Sandler associated with "the spermatric stream of Hermeticists"⁸⁷ (Milton 21: 15-19, E. 115) and terminology associated with the role of a nursing mother from the lips of whose baby may hang drops of liquid pearl mother's milk. Moreover, there is an identification of those who dwell in Ololon with the passive echoing Daughters who weep and lament upon the mountains (VDA 1:2; 2:20; 5:2; 8:13, E. 45, 46, 48, 51) and, even when there is decision not to sorrow thus, there is yet a description of a self-effacing ideal:

And when night came all was silent in Ololon: & all refusd to
lament
In the still night fearing lest they should others molest.
(Milton 21: 26-27, E. 116)

Finally, there is Blake's use of the plural forms "us" and "we" in which is reflected the eighteenth-century tendency towards non-individuation of the female: "let us descend ... let us give ourselves ... let us enter into repentance (Milton 21:45-50, E. 116) - a practice nicely reversed in the royal and feminine plural of Queen Victoria in the following century!

In Blake's context of feminine self-sacrifice these

locutions are ratified by the voice of the Divine Family "Lo I am with you always..." (21:56, E. 116).

However, in Book Two, Blake reverses the role expectations for Ololon. In Plate 33 (I.B. 249, E. text Plate 30, p. 129) the illustration shows the female toe-toucher (representative of Ololon, according to the Erdman commentary in The Illuminated Blake, p. 249) active and strong, separating from the counterpart and pointing upwards in a gesture of self-determination and this is followed in Plate 31 (E. 130-31) by Ololon's enactment of the perceived role for her as she descends to Beulah.

During her journey towards Milton, Ololon is given time to reflect. There is a possibility that she may yet abdicate her active role in the redemption of Milton for, although Ololon is surrounded by the Power & the Great Glory of the Lord, Beulah is an inviting, pleasant Shadow where the weak and weary are sheltered (Milton 31: 15-16, 1-7, E. 130). Blake allows the reader two interludes, the Song of Spring and the Songs of Beulah, before it is quite certain that Ololon will continue in her determination to vary from the gentle female intention of good and assert the positive resolve of which she is capable:

But Ololon sought the Or-Ulro & its fiery Gates
And the Couches of the Martyrs: ...
(Milton 34: 19-20, E. 134)

Instead of revealing aspects of the selfhood in the form of resistance to her journey, the descent of Ololon to Beulah is characterized by a choric lamentation and an openness that has been prepared by Milton's track. Consequently her journey functions as a characterization of loving aspects of Ololon rather than elements of selfhood to be overcome. ⁸⁸

For some time, Ololon has the support of the Daughters of Beulah who journey with her initially through dark Chaos until Milton's Shadow becomes visible - when they flee (Milton 34:20-21, 47-48, 22, E. 134). It is when Ololon pauses at the Gates of Death and looks down in fear at the Heavens of Ulro that her participatory role is confirmed. Although appalled at the havoc caused by divisions into sexes; at the War and Hunting of the brotherhood; and at the Loom of Death of the sisterhood, she completes her descent to Los and Enitharmon (34: 48-49 - 35: 1-17, E. 134-35) to Blake and to Milton. This daughter of action pauses but briefly at the point of choice, the Fountain which marks the way back to Eden or the path onwards towards the Void and Generation's Religions (36: 26-27; 35:49-50, E. 137, 136).

A number of observer reactions to Ololon's progress may be isolated: the presence of the Eternal within her silences protests along her way (35:40-41, E. 136); the Female form of the plural Ololon gains her entry into the Vegetated world (36:14-17, E. 136-37); her archetypal Virgin form leads to a statement of obedience from Blake - in effect, a little child may lead (Milton 36:32-33, E. 137) (Isaiah 11:6, Matthew 18:18, 2, 5; Mark 10:15; Luke 18:17).

Nevertheless, despite such a willingness to serve, such a wish to enlist Ololon's comfort for his Shadow of Delight, Blake himself must not be permitted to sidetrack the Virgin from her perceived role of seeker of Milton. Once more, Blake creates a sense of suspense about the outcome of Ololon's active role as she encounters another possible distraction from her ultimate

role performance. Some plates later, Ololon confronts Milton and in a moment of insight perceives herself as a feminine promoter of false doctrines, natural religions and human divisions. In this instance it is her perception of herself embodied and manifested as a Rahab/Babylon (Milton 40:17, E. 141) which may cause Ololon to flee, as had Thel.

However, in her active admission of elements of error, in her preferring the words of the Inspired One, in her abandoning such roles as that of idiot questioner, in her dividing away from a false self, Ololon's role of active Redeeming Daughter is complete and "Finis" may be written (Milton 40, 41, E. 141-42; Milton 50, I.B. 266).

Ololon has been variously viewed: as a young virgin with appeal to Milton's restrained desire⁸⁹, a sexual connotation associated with the derivation of the name;⁹⁰ as akin to Boehme's⁹¹ Sophia, the maiden wisdom. In her release from absorption in the issues of chastity and virginity she may be seen as a vehicle for presenting Blake's view of Milton's idea of human sexuality, the difficulties with his three wives and daughters, and Milton's hierarchical view of gender relationships. In fact, Romney's Milton Dictating "Paradise Lost" to his Daughters⁹² could be said to have a nice irony in the title.

The female depicted in the last plate has been described as "regenerate woman",⁹³ as the Emanation and Bride,⁹⁴ as stepping forth to Resurrection and Judgment,⁹⁵ as "Ololon come home to her eternal parents",⁹⁶ and as bearing a resemblance to Mary in Blake's designs for Paradise Regained, particularly the last plate The Homecoming

of Jesus.

In the context of role theory, the active role which Ololon initiates results in good for Milton - and for herself, for she is enabled to divide from the Six-fold typical feminine portion, to cast off the constraints of unnatural chastity and ill-considered virginity, to unite with Milton and to embrace as a sacrificial Garment the One Man. Had Ololon remained the passive daughter, Milton might be yet walking in Eternity, "unhappy tho in heav'n" (Milton 2:16, 18, E. 96).

Lyca, Ona, Thel and Ololon have been seen to perceive and to perform active roles in varying degrees. These active qualities of daughters increase exponentially when the Daughters group together to exert influence as they adopt composite roles.

IV. Daughters: Collective and Prophetic.

One of the most important functions of Blake's "daughters" is to band together to work for good or for ill. ⁹⁸ There has been some, although not exhaustive, critical comment on the groups of Daughters which Blake has set into the narrative action. This section examines the active roles which collective daughters pursue.

The very young Blake challenges the Muses to respond to their calling, to move from languor to action (Poetical Sketches, "To the Muses", E. 417). This exhortation is given later expression, in a prophetic context, when Blake writes that in the New Age the Daughters of Memory shall indeed become the Daughters of Inspiration (Milton: Preface, E. 95). The Greek Muses

are daughters of Mnemosyne, and not of Inspiration and Imagination, and therefore incapable of sublime conceptions (A Descriptive Catalogue, E. 531). Blake had written to Thomas Butts on July 6, 1803 (L. 57, Letter 46) using that adjective in the phrase "Sublime Allegory" implying that his definition of the most sublime poetry was somewhat like Plato's (L.58): "... Allegory address'd to the Intellectual powers, while it is altogether hidden from the Corporeal Understanding..." (L.58), in contrast to such moral allegory or fable as is formed by the daughters of Memory. "Imagination is surrounded by the Daughters of Inspiration", he wrote elsewhere ([A Vision of The Last Judgment], p. 70, E. 554, K. 604). Blake also differentiated between what Reynolds may have called "Genius", which could be taught, and the "Genius" which cannot be obtained "by the Invocation of Memory & her Syren Daughters" (Annotations to Reynolds, p. 5 (E. 642); p.50 (E. 646)).

In Visions of the Daughters of Albion the daughters as a corporate identity are given narrative as well as prophetic import as they hear Oothoon's lament and "eccho back her sighs", but theirs is a relatively powerless role compared with that given to the Daughters of the later prophecies who may be seen as forces for evil or as powers for good. In Visions they merely supply "feedback" that "as long as possessive morality prevails,⁹⁹ all daughters remain slaves."

The Daughters of Men in "The Book of Enoch", for which Blake executed at least six designs, have been discussed, as is the Enitharmon of Europe (Plate 2:13; 4:13-14; 5:1-3; 12:25-26, E.

61, 62, 64), in terms of their seeking to limit the eternal to the worldly.¹⁰⁰ However, even more negative behaviours are to be found in the Daughters of Albion of the later prophetic books.

Gillham views them sympathetically when he sees them as daughters of the industrial revolution in England bearing the brunt of repressive laws.¹⁰¹ Admittedly, towards the conclusion of Jerusalem (84:25-26, E. 243) they do make an appeal to Los for help against the distresses and terrors of the fallen world.

However, the most common identification that Blake makes in relation to these Daughters is as they are united in Rahab and Tirzah (for example: Jerusalem 5: 37-42, E. 148; 67:2-3, E. 220; 69:33, E. 223; 80:41-42, E. 237; 84:29-30, E. 243). Thus it is that Blake sets the norms for their behaviour and thence are the observers' expectations led: they are forces in Generation for evil and situationally "incurable".¹⁰²

The Daughters (who are named individually in The Four Zoas II, p. 25: 29-30, E. 317) strip and bind Blake's heroine Jerusalem and her children; they administer sexual delight and sexual strife arbitrarily; they control the "vegetative powers" in everyone and they govern all in the name of morality, circumscribing the brain and dividing and uniting at will. Even Albion speaks of them in terms of harlotry and demon-possession although they are his own daughters and his agents. They practise human sacrifice prolonging the torment of their victims and, coalescing as Vala and as sub-symbols of the Double Female they are cast nominally into the role of error, as Blake's negative verbs [underlined above] show. They weave the web of Generation and bring down upon mankind war, storms, pestilence

and ruin (The Four Zoas II, p. 25:25-31, E. 314, 317; Milton 5:5-10, E. 98; Jerusalem 5:39, E. 148; 32:47, E. 179; 58:1, E. 207; 42:14-16, E. 189; 66:27-32, E. 218; 64:2-11, E. 215). Then, in a role reversal, they are carried away in admiration for Reuben, Blake's sensual man! (Jerusalem 74:33-35, E. 230). The hot-blooded Daughters in chilling cruelty cause in the observer a reaction of petrification and freezing which Blake from the time of The First Book of Urizen associated with stunted growth and death.

... they cut asunder his inner garments: searching with
 Their cruel fingers for his heart, & there they enter in pomp,
 In many tears; & there they erect a temple & an altar:
 They pour cold water on his brain in front, to cause.
 Lids to grow over his eyes in veils of tears: and caverns
 To freeze over his nostrils...
 (Jerusalem 66:27-32, E. 218).

If the Daughters themselves are not directly engaged in the process of destruction, they send the warrior to the battleground (Jerusalem 68:11-70; 79:68-78, E. 221-222; 236). Herein is a sacrificial slaying reminiscent of women in matriarchal society who offered up their prisoners of war in sacred rites, suggests one archetypal study of Blake.¹⁰⁴ Even Los is hesitant, initially, to approach the Daughters openly "lest he be consumed/ In the fires of their beauty & perfection & be Vegetated beneath/ Their Looms, in a Generation of death & resurrection to forgetfulness" (Jerusalem 17:7-9, E. 161). However, at the apocalypse, they, with the Sons of Albion with whom they are often linked in thought and action, are shown as waking from their evil condition - here euphemistically entitled "Sleep"¹⁰⁵ (Jerusalem 96:39, E.

256).

Blake has shown no reluctance to depict daughters as enacting negative roles for their very activity often produces good. Tiriel's daughter is resentful (Tiriel 6:22-25, E. 286) - but is the means whereby Tiriel journeys at all. Urthona's daughter is possessive - but ministers to the infant Orc (America 2:6-7, E. 52). Enion's daughter, Enitharmon, is jealous, wilful and scornful (FZ II, p. 34:45, E. 323; Jerusalem 87:12-13, E. 246; 882, E. 247) - but, as Damon has it, "she forms a home, where the oppressed man finds a refuge ... as in the third illustration to Dante"¹⁰⁶. Satan's daughter, Leutha, is seductive (Milton 11:32 - 13:12, E. 105-07)- but offers herself as a ransom for her father's sin, and repents before the Divine Pity. Laban's daughters, Leah and Rachel, mentioned in Jerusalem 69:11 (E. 223) were deceitful - but to the support of Jacob. Albion's first daughter, Gwendolen, hides a "falshood" in her left hand¹⁰⁷ (Jerusalem 81, I.B. 360) - but is permitted with her sisters to form the Mundane Shell (Jerusalem 83:33, E. 241).

These daughters acting alone may be seen as potentially agents of ill, but in reality work as powers for good even though they may express negative emotions.

Certainly, Albion's Daughters working collectively can be formidable forces for evil. There is, however, a paradox: as such they thereby have a fruitful role, working as contraries against the powers for good, providing the tension through which Los is enabled to work towards apocalyptic resolution of good and evil. Sloss and Wallis point to Jerusalem 84 where the Daughters of Albion who had been a source of error now assist Los in his

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regenerative labours, and in l. 26 ask for power to subdue "these terrors" (Hand transformed into a Double Molech) (E. 243).

There are other groups of daughters to whom Blake assigns roles not conducive to the work of regeneration. Vala may be seen as a manifestation of the Daughters of Luvah and, clutching the Druidic symbol of Knife and Poison Cup, merges into the character of the pluralistic Daughters of Albion (Jerusalem 63:39, E. 214), scornful of all mankind, and particularly of man's role. "The Human is but a Worm", she cries, as she (and the Daughters of Albion) advance the cause of the female (Jerusalem 64:11-17, E. 215), indulging in the cruel joys of mutilation of victims, and colluding in a plot to murder Albion (FZ IX, p. 136:26-28, E. 404; Milton 27:35-41, E. 125; Jerusalem 80:16-24, E. 236).

In similar vein, the iron-hearted daughters of Urizen at the sight of whom even Urizen is sickened (FZ VIII, p. 101 [1]:23, E. 373; Book of Urizen VIII, 23:9-12, E. 81) and whom he curses as "daughters of my abhorrence" (FZ VI, p. 68:27, E. 346) seek to entangle Enitharmon in Mystery's Tree, to reduce the power of Los, and to bring all mankind under the will of their father (FZ VII, p. 80:2-6, E.355) to the extent that Man forgets Eternity (FZ VII, p. 83:22-23, E. 358). Yet they, also, in times of final crisis assume the merciful, though belated, attitudes of concern for their mother and attention to the demands of hospitality (FZ IX, p. 121:40-42, E. 391; IX, p. 125:15-16, E. 394). It is significant that when they are called to "Rise" Blake, ironically, illustrates a wilful plunge downwards (FZ

VII, p. 79:24, E. 355) - not the falling which may result in ultimate rising!

Finally, Paul Miner points to a further evil group, the Daughters of Zelophehad, for whom the Amalek women are named, who represent Milton's wives and daughters, and who symbolise the feminine powers of the fallen world (FZ, p. 105:30-56, E. 378-79; Milton 17:10-11, E. 110). These females, mentioned in Numbers xxvii:1-11 and in Joshua xvii:3-4, sought and were given the birthrights of the male, there being no sons in the family. Blake took these daughters, answerable to no male, to be symbolic of the Female Will which restricts the senses of man. Their stamping feet covered in human gore, they weave the black woof of Death trying to subvert the guardianship role given to the Daughters of Enitharmon who are to keep the souls till the Judgment Day (Milton 29:55-58, E. 128).

However, Blake did not portray all collective Daughters as active forces for evil. There is initiative which reflects the feeling of the lines from The Marriage of Heaven and Hell (albeit the Voice of the Devil) that Energy is Eternal Delight (Plate 4:3, T. xvi).

The Daughters of Enitharmon, called the Daughters of Beauty, are allocated by Blake benevolent roles: they weave forms for the Spectres, drawing on their own resources and those of Eternity, an action performed with "care & love & tears". They are powers unto good, for in this caring function they permit a movement upwards towards Eternity (Milton 28:19, E. 126; FZ VIII, p. 103:33-35, E. 376; VIII, p. 113[1]:9-13, E. 376; Milton 26:35-36, E. 123).

In a similarly enabling role, Jerusalem's daughters are shown in Jerusalem 46 (I.B. 325) as moving upwards towards Eternity or Imagination, both of which directions are in contrast to the downwards flight of Urizen's Daughters.

There is some ambiguity about the role prescription for the Daughters of Los: they are starry and glorious, but limited (Jerusalem 14:13-20, E. 158). In Milton they are hyper-critical: their mouths utter a prophetic wail as Milton's progress becomes evident but their outward actions are concerned with weaving a new Religion (Milton 22:37-40, E. 117). There is the same sense of ambivalence in the following plate as the eldest and the youngest of the Daughters of Albion enshroud Milton who is already overlaid by the Covering Cherub (Milton 23:14-18, E. 118), perhaps a device by Blake to ensure some dramatic tension at this point in the narrative. Nevertheless, in Jerusalem, the Daughters of Los play a role significantly parallel to that of Los as described in Jerusalem 5:17-18, E. 147 (... To open the Eternal Worlds...). They exert an influence for good as they sit patiently at their endless Wheel, labouring for life and love, in pity creating the gentle animals, working for the benefit of the spectres, and sustaining even Rahab and Tirzah (Jerusalem 59:26-55, E. 209). When Enitharmon separates into a Will and an Intellect of her own, the Daughters of Los empathise with their father, singing his woes as Los walks from Furnace to Furnace (Jerusalem 86:38-61, E. 245) for, by implication, their role in Eternity is supportive closeness and benevolent weaving (Milton 26:2-11, E. 123).

It is, however, the Daughters of Beulah who act most notably for good by their benevolent influence and their restorative function. They sing as in a prophetic role; they labour at the creative task, following the sleepers, creating the spaces, giving form to the Spectre, watching and weeping in sympathetic emotion. Although they are powerless to prevent the dead descending to Ulro, they mediate and exercise a divine perception, and they execute a protective role as they hide Jerusalem when she flees from Satan and Eternal Death. They are comforted by the Divine Vision when in an episode derived from the story of Lazarus they implore Jesus to raise the dead Albion. They write the Eternal Promise, they recognise the Saviour and in a Magdalen enactment they praise the One Man and anoint his feet. With the Sons of Eden they guard Albion's tomb and they fulfil a prophetic role as they respond to Erin and echo her call for the Lamb of God to descend. They adopt a nurturing role, feeding the human vegetable and nursing the masculine and feminine into youth and maiden by their tears and smiles (FZ I, p. 4:3, E. 301; I, p.5:34-43, E. 303; Jerusalem 74:8-9, E. 229; FZ I, p.9:9-18, E. 304-05; I, p.20:1-2, 8-10, E. 313; Milton 31:9-10, E. 130; FZ VIII, p.99:19-22, E. 372; IV, p. 55 [1]:13 - p. 56:18, E. 337; Jerusalem 37:13-14, E. 183; 69:45-46, E. 224).

Daughters, therefore, as reported by novelists, historians and contemporary writers, in Blake's lifetime were very often circumscribed by the expectations held for them by the positions assigned to them, by the actions allowed to them, and by the authority figures set above them. Seldom could they gain strength by uniting with sisters or with mothers for these were

in a similarly weak situation vying for attention and favours from a patriarchal society.

Lady Mary Wortley Montagu had written initially to her suitor that her "present duty is to obey my father", (Letter to Wortley from West Dean, Wiltshire, 20 August, 1710) although two years later she was to write her acceptance of his proposal of marriage in defiance of the wishes of her father whom she spoke of as "the disposer of me" (Letter, London, c. 26 July, 1712).¹¹⁴

In choosing themes for his illustrations to the Bible, Blake shows an awareness of daughter roles: he depicts not Lot's wife but his daughters; Job and his family will figure in the Job series, but Job and his daughters are selected as an alternative grouping. The vulnerability of daughters is illustrated in the two pictures concerning the daughter of Jephthah; while the importance of substitute daughters is emphasised in Ruth the Dutiful Daughter in Law. Moses is saved by the compassion of the daughter of Pharaoh and, in an inversion, the daughter of Jairus is raised by Christ (Lot and his Daughters, Butlin I. 381, II. Plate 485; Job and his Daughters, I. 394, II. Plate 500; Jephthah Met by his Daughter, Butlin I. 450, II. Plate 528; The Sacrifice of Jephthah's Daughter,¹¹⁵ Butlin I. 452, II. Plate 522; Ruth the Dutiful Daughter in Law, Butlin I. 456, II. 537; The Finding of Moses, Butlin I.440, II. Plate 533; Christ Raising Jairus' Daughter, Butlin I. 417, II. Plate 1193).

Blake's daughter figures in the text are given a surprising variety of overt roles. Within the parameters of a dissertation

the material under discussion is necessarily eclectic. It is, however, representative in that it demonstrates that Blake had an excellent sense of possible role and that he chose to give the "daughters" which he created an active, not a restricted role. On occasion they display negative emotions and may perform as forces for evil rather than inevitably choosing to be powers for good but it is action that is the operative word and their distinguishing feature. Lyca, Ona, Thel, Ololon, even Leutha, archetypal virgins, set forth on their quests despite disapproval or protest from parent figures or encompassing societies. The Daughters collective become even more venturesome. ¹¹⁶ Be it for good or for ill, their destiny and their choice lie in the adoption of roles which they perceive as appropriate for themselves, which may or may not conform to or be integrated with the roles of others but which extend and vary their personality capabilities. They achieve, thus, an internal congruence and coherence. They perceive and they permit themselves to enact. They join the small band of "daughters in revolt" identified as "the new woman" of seventeenth and eighteenth-century drama. ¹¹⁷

These have been outgoing daughters and the likelihood of their being satisfactory, capable wives and adequate mothers has been maximised. They are truly daughters of inspiration.

Plant ye/The Seeds O Sisters in the bosom of Time & Spaces
womb/To spring up for Jerusalem:(Jerusalem 85:27-28, E. 244).

Social historians have pointed to the lack of career opportunities for the unmarried gentlewoman of the eighteenth century: her position in society was open to exploitation, her role prone to confusion. Gilchrist, when writing of Blake's sister, reflects an instance of this insubstantiality of the sister image:

Miss Blake has crossed our path but once casually during the course of this narrative,- during the Felpham days₂, when she made one in her brother's household.

Biographically, little else is known of Blake's own sister, who was seven years his junior. Although sister roles are given consideration in his works, Blake's dominant relationships were with brother and with wife. Blake refers to his sister, Catherine, in his letters in neutral tones, as delivering messages or accounts, for example, but it may be conjectured that, in times of less than fourfold vision, relationships between wife and sister-in-law may not always have been cordial:

' Must my Wife live in my Sister's bane,'
'Or my Sister survive on my Love's pain?'

Letter to Thomas Butts, 22 November 1802,
"With happiness..." ll. 49-50, Letters, 40 (L.), p. 45.

Nevertheless, Blake writes in the covering letter that his wife

wished him to copy out the lines and send them to Butts with "her kind love and respect" (Letter 40, Blake to Thomas Butts, 22 November, 1802, L. 43, and an earlier poem mentions both in the one breath: "... my wife's shadow too,/ And My Sister..."(Letter 25, Blake to Thomas Butts, 2 October, 1800, L. 28).

Sisters may well have been one of the roles "hidden in history" (see Note 17 in the introductory chapter), although recent research has documented the conditions in the late seventeenth century which led to the rise of the bluestocking and the incipient feminist in the middle of the following century. In the eighteenth century itself women novelists actually presented the heroine as struggling against "female difficulties".⁴

Nevertheless, in Jerusalem 38:44 (E. 185) Blake, through Los, laments that in times of tribulation there are, among other absences, no sisters who "come forth to embosom the slain" - no Antigone figures to look to the gods rather than to man, no sisters similar to those who take their place with other groups to weep for the plight of Albion (Jerusalem 4:12, E. 146). Despite the fact that "sisters" are the only female group named in Jerusalem 34:12 (E. 180) and associated with the concept of the Divine Family seeking recognition from Albion - in fact demanding it for Man's very existence (1.13) - it seems that in the literature of Blake's time the sister is seldom given her due. Although such tributes as that in seventeenth-century verse to "Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother" may linger in the mind,⁵ the role of sister has not received the same literary emphasis nor has it the same dramatic appeal as that of daughters,

mistresses, or mothers.

The ideal of the dutiful daughter was held similarly before the sister of the family. She was in the line of "noble" families of "brothers valiant" and "sisters virtuous" held forth by the plaque of the Lucas family in Westminster Abbey.⁶

William Kenrick in 1753 wrote derisively of the woman who had not managed to achieve the wife role and no longer fitted into the daughter role:

Grey hairs are uncomely to the virgin, the antient maiden is a byword with her sisters, and is accounted ill-condition'd among women.⁷

Some role theorists differentiate between "position" and "role", the former being associated with social identity and status and the latter more with active performance of the role than with mere occupation of the position.⁸ Samuel Richardson's Clarissa enables this distinction to be seen when she says of her brother: "although I am to be treated by my brother, and, through his instigation, by my father, as a slave in this point, ... yet my mind is not that of a slave." By birth Clarissa has been allocated the position of sister, yet she has assumed the role of a woman of more independent mind, early refusing requests of sister and brother to forbid the visits of Lovelace.

Although Blake's references to "sister" are not as numerous as those to mother or daughter or, indeed, to whore, and many of the allusions occur merely in the conventional courtesies of the letters,¹⁰ a close examination of context will reveal that he repeatedly portrays woman in the position of sister adopting a role active beyond expectation. This chapter will examine

passages where this occurs.

I. Sisters in Blake's early works.

Although Blake does not describe Thel as a sister, the first two lines of The Book of Thel show that Thel is the youngest of the daughters of Mne Seraphim and thus a sister in relation to her siblings. She is also the only named daughter (E. 3).

Thel in Plate 1 could be likened to the eagle who soars at the top of the illustration; ¹¹ not for her the earthbound occupation of leading the sunny flocks. Despite her propensity for deliberation and her ultimate decision not to participate in life experience as was discussed in reference to her daughter role, Thel is the one daughter who breaks away from the pattern of family tradition and hierarchical obedience, the sister who questions her destiny.

It could be argued that Thel investigates the possibility of a substitute sisterhood: the Lilly, the Cloud (which can be regarded as a sibling, rather, being denoted masculine), the Clod of Clay, even the fair eyed dew. The Lilly suggests a vocation of humility, and sister-like deprecates any complaints that Thel may bring forth (Plate 1: I; 25, E. 3), introducing the second surrogate, the Cloud, to strengthen her position. Thel has displaced herself from her biological sisterhood; she feels that neither she nor anyone else can find her a rightful place, either within the Lilly's frame of reference or in the Cloud's embrace of the ideal of service. She has a sense of alienation,

of dissimilarity from her serving substitute-sisters. Nor is Thel able to identify with feelings of motherhood and sentiments of sacrifice posited by the last of the "sisters", the Clod of Clay. Although this latter figure is addressed as matron Clay, Thel addresses her more as an equal as in the relationship of sisterhood. However, even when Thel is invited to enter - and return from - what critics have accepted as Experience she reverts to the daughter/child role and embraces the vales of Har, which can be read as flight back to the father of mankind ¹² (Tiriel I, 6, E. 276) or as a return to "primal innocence".

Thel is prepared to listen to and even reply to the observations of her nature "sisters" but each of the proposed roles evokes an unwillingness to conform, a tendency which can be interpreted positively in the opening lines as Thel leaves her sisters to their sunny flocks but an expectation of completed action which is not realised in this early prophecy.

Hela, Tiriel's youngest daughter, also leaves her sisters, compelled by her father to accompany him in his wish to "dwell with Har & Heva" (6:3, E. 282) but in his paranoia he sees her best efforts to comply and comfort him as laughter at his tears and he inflicts a father's curse.

Blake treats the plight of the sister perceptively and sympathetically; although for Thel and for Heva there is no joy in their emancipation from the sister relationship, Blake portrays a readiness to move outside their allotted spheres which reflects their initial sense of the worth of energy and action.

Blake's early "sisters" cannot successfully find their "place", to use Thel's term, outside of the traditional sister

support system. They have lost their position in the family order and have yet to recognise their personality capabilities and rejoice in their new role possibilities.

"The Ecchoing Green", published in Songs of Innocence, which is dated 1789 as is The Book of Thel, also indicates that Blake held dear both sisters and brothers; the text mentions the two identities and the illustrations incorporate both male and female figures, the design of the second plate supposedly showing brother and sister as partners both preceding and following Old John (T. 6 and 7). "Nurse's Song" of Innocence (T. 24) shows a circle of what could be interpreted as brothers and sisters playing together in close physical proximity, male and female. This is the concept of Innocence: a strong sisterhood intermingling with accepted, loved brothers, equal in strength and activity.

Experience, however, lacks this closeness of relationship between brother and sister; for example, the two figures in the illustration to "The Fly" (T. 40), although both active, play separately, the girl absorbed in her own game, the other's progress monitored by the adult; in the title-page to Experience (T. 29), the two young figures are kept apart by the bodies of the parents. There is no bond evident in the "Holy Thursday" plate (T. 33) except between mother and child, the illustrated interaction in the "Nurses Song" of Experience (T. 38) is not between brother and sister but between nurse and boy, while the depicted relationship in "The Little Girl Lost" (T. 51) must be interpreted as that of lovers. It is only in the third plate of

"The Little Girl Found" of Experience (T.36), in a paradisiacal setting, that the children play together; in "The Garden of Love" (T. 44) the two young figures are concentrating on their prayers while in "The Little Vagabond" (T. 45) the children are contemplating the fire. Although it may be pointed out that the children in "The School Boy" (T. 53) work happily together, it should be remembered that this poem was first included by Blake in Songs of Innocence.

In the freedom of Innocence the sister is joyously free: in the reality of Experience, she conforms to the expectations of the day.

Wordsworth spoke of shades of the prison-house beginning to close upon the growing Boy (Intimations Ode, v:67-68);¹³ as the eighteenth-century sister grew she was hedged around with values of inaction and passivity. Blake argues illustratively in the Songs for the excellence of energy and action and for the sister who enacts a role reversal and transcends the stereotypical self-effacement.

II. Blake's "Prophetic " Sisters.

Paul Miner has pointed to the influence of Gray's poem, "The Fatal Sisters", on the development of Blake's later symbolism, discussing in particular Albion's twelve daughters at their loom of blood and citing Vala amid the battle (The Four Zoas VII, p.92:34-37, E. 365).¹⁴

There are other fatal sisters in Blake's prophecies.

Cambel and Gwendolen are named early in The Four Zoas (II,

p.25:29-30, E. 317) and Jerusalem (5:41, E. 148) as among the Daughters of Albion, Cambel (on occasion identified with Boadicea - Jerusalem 71:23, E.225; 90:24, E. 250) replacing the Conwenna of Milton 23:16 (E. 118) in the common activity of weaving the webs and casting the shuttles of Religion and War (Jerusalem 7:44-45, E. 150; 66:63, E. 219). The mention in the Second Night follows a horrific description of the state of the nation: the tygers of wrath are unleashed; Albion groans; people flee from the slaughter; Jerusalem falls in ruins; Reuben sleeps, and the Daughters themselves are reported as stripping Jerusalem and binding her children. In the passage from Jerusalem 5, Cambel and Gwendolen, uniting into Tirzah and her sisters, are among the Daughters of Albion who control what Blake, borrowing from Thomas Taylor,¹⁵ calls our vegetative powers; that is, the elements of our earthly existence.

Tirzah's song (and that of the Females of Amalek in The Four Zoas VIII, p. 105: 30-53, E. 378-79) in Jerusalem 68: 1-9, (E. 221) emphasises this element of sinister sisterhood in the refrain "Bind him down Sisters...".

Hand, having absorbed all his brothers, condenses his Emanations, including Cambel and Gwendolen, into "hard opake substances", the weapons of war, suffocating man's delight in woman (Emanative joys) by the pomp of religion (Jerusalem 8:41-49:31, E. 152). It is for the prophet Los to forge his spiritual sword, to work at his anvil, to transform the fatal pair into precious metals and stones (Jerusalem 9: 17-24, E. 152). The Prophet has the means and the will to establish a positive role

for the sisters. In this same passage reference is made to a Lie and to the Truth, foreshadowing what is the principal story associated with these sisters: Gwendolen's "Falshood" (Jerusalem 81, 82, E. 238-41).

Despite the attempts of Los, Cambel and Gwendolen are imaged later in Jerusalem as delighting in their own will and the adulation of others: Gwendolen dances naked and drunk to the timbrel of war (Jerusalem 58:2, E. 207); she emits earth-shaking laughter when Los challenges the Druid concept of female chastity (Jerusalem 63: 25-32, E. 214); she takes up the heart of Hyle, hides his tongue in teeth, rolls "his kidneys round", and transforms the vessels of seed, "giving them bends of self interest & selfish natural virtue" (Jerusalem 80:66-76, E. 237). Freudian theorists would no doubt find significance in the suggestion of such aberrant sexual manipulation,¹⁶ but in the context of the role of sister, Gwendolen may be simply seen to be in control. Hyle is "compelled into a shape of Moral Virtue against the Lamb" (1.77). Cambel also is the dominant partner. Hand is drawn by love of her; she divides from him: she sends him towards the Looms of Cathedron - understood as the body of woman¹⁷ - and he runs to do her bidding (Jerusalem 80:57-65, E. 237; 82:52-54, E. 240). Two like sisters have become absorbed similarly in their new "toys" and Jerusalem, another sister, may call, but in vain (Plate 77:2, E. 233):

My brother & my father are no more! God hath forsaken me
The arrows of the Almighty pour upon me & my children
(78:31-32, E. 234)

Although Jerusalem in these lines has avoided stating that her

sisters, too, have deserted her, it is obvious that Cambel and Gwendolen have turned inwards into a mutually closed relationship of two and away from the demands of universal sisterhood.

The drama of these two sisters and their plans for retaining woman's ascendancy over man is set in the context of Blake's address to the Christians which precedes chapter four of Jerusalem. Here reference is made to Gifts of the Gospel, Gifts of the Spirit, Divine Arts of Imagination (Plate 77, E. 231) but this is of little moment to Cambel and Gwendolen .

There has been illuminating critical comment on the plot of Gwendolen and Cambel as well as interpretation of Plate 81, in which the sisters are depicted; therefore this further brief examination of the text will concentrate simply on the changes of roles which occur as the sisters interact.

Gwendolen initiates the conversation with Cambel:

O sister Cambel said Gwendolen...
... what shall we do to keep
These awful forms in our soft bands: ...(80:83-85, E. 238)

The adjective "awful" has a sense of contrast to the "soft" which is obviously how the sisters view themselves. They are united in their self-deception: Blake writes that their light mingles; they are earnest in their endeavour. Gwendolen has cast herself into one possible sister role: conspirator. She resumes in Plate 81 by broadening her remarks to all the Sisters, sharing confidentially her inadequacies, lapsing at times into a childlike confessional tone, at others into aspects of the whore: "I am become perfect in beauty over my Warrior" (81:5, E. 238); and yet again into a

resemblance of the cruel mother: destroying, stripping, clothing and advocating fear instead of love (ll. 9-16, E. 239). When she is addressing all the Sisterhood, Gwendolen is more specific in the nature of her remarks: Reuben, Joseph, the Cruel-one of Albion, the pet-name Jehovah of Hosts are all introduced into the monologue. It may be argued, therefore, that there are two sister roles available to Gwendolen: that of intimacy and that of general sorority.

Gwendolen projects her fears that unless she finds a way to bind man to her will, she will perish. This is the same fear that Enitharmon evinces as time draws to a close (Jerusalem 92: 7-12, E. 252). In both cases the apprehension is rooted in woman's uncertain position when she is not seen to have the support of a male. In Enitharmon's case, she fears that if she is annihilated then Los will simply create another Female; in Gwendolen's instance, she reads an "eternal fate", outcast from life and love, generalising from Jerusalem's groans and Vala's lamentations.

Blake's Lambeth prophecies also encapsulate this sense of the necessity of ensuring that the male is dependent on the female and subservient to her: the shadowy daughter in America cries that she will not let the terrible boy go (America, Preludium, Plate 2:6-7, E. 52); Enitharmon in Europe (Plate 12:25-26, E. 64) laughs in her sleep to see every man bound.

To promote her worth, Gwendolen adopts the mother, or martyr role: she has wept over Hyle, given milk, embraced the domesticity of cups and dishes; she has indeed created the weeping infant.

As the Sisters of Albion listen they are seen to unite in Rahab: they are already reflecting the whore role towards which Gwendolen is moving. Gwendolen's falsehood is now outlined: it is a slander on Enitharmon; it is an attempt to retain her place in the sisterhood; it is a negation of Albion's ultimate possibilities; it twists the terms of warning and entreaty used by Los in Milton 24:14-16 (E. 120) when he refers to Amalek, Canaan, Moab and Tirzah. Moreover, it incorporates an idea prevalent in primitive myth - if a person's name is taken away, or changed, the essence of the person is also destroyed.

The nameless shadowy female in the Preludium to Europe similarly accuses Enitharmon: "O mother Enitharmon wilt thou bring forth other sons? / To cause my name to vanish, that my place may not be found" (Plate 1, E. 60). It is evident from both text and illustration that Gwendolen's story is delivered to the widest possible audience, all the Daughters of Albion, and yet that in her concealing her deceit behind her back her words are open to as little scrutiny as possible, and in that way they are (and she is) doubly enticing. Any close examination of her words would reveal that Egypt is hardly a Garden of Eden or Babylon worth desiring. Gwendolen is pursuing two courses: she is projecting her own fears and her own fantasies on to a second innocent source and she is capitalising on the commonly-held view that if one tells a big enough lie it will be believed - someone may take her words literally and make an unwarranted link between Jerusalem and the Tree! Gwendolen's illusion that she has successfully played out a repressive mother role and that

Hyle is bound to her is swiftly brought to an end as she, in sister-like triumph, reveals herself to the Daughters of Albion - and Hyle appears as a winding worm (82:37-50, E. 240), a form lower than the infant shape she had desired. It will be remembered that Vala was first a worm (FZ II, p. 26:7, E. 317) - Blake's symbol for the lowliest member of creation - long before becoming a dominating sister figure.

Cambel had been satisfied to exert dominion over Hand and to collude with Gwendolen in schemes to repress man or discredit Enitharmon - until she sees the appealing worm-like creature and notices the new mothering role adopted by her sister: "Cambel trembled with jealousy: she trembled! she envied!" (Jerusalem 82:52, E. 240). So powerful is this feeling that it comes to the attention of Los, who had previously tried to make something purer of the sisters (Jerusalem 9:22, E. 152): in his Furnace he again tries to mould a better Cambel, though "she laboured in the Furnace of fire, / To form the mighty form of Hand according to her will". It is, however, deformity rather than beauty which she brings forth and binds in the iron arms of love.

Gwendolen in sisterly sympathy howls - and repents. In tears and pain she gives herself to the new task of motherhood: moulding a new form of love from the winding Worm.

The dynamics between Cambel and Gwendolen and their absorption with the infant forms are not lost on the other watching Sisters: they tremble and they soften and their souls are moved a step closer towards regeneration (82:77-78, E. 240).

The fatal pair may now adopt multiple roles: mothers, workers, sisters - and, Los adds, "creators".

Let Cambel and her Sisters sit within the Mundane Shell:
Forming the fluctuating Globe according to their will.
(Jerusalem 83:33-34, E. 241, and 11. 43, 46, E.242)

The sisters in general, the Daughters of Albion, add a
coda to the "fatal sisters" episode:

Our Father Albions land: O it was a lovely land! & the Daughters
of Beulah
Walked up and down in its green mountains: but Hand is fled
Away: & mighty Hyle: & after them Jerusalem is gone: Awake [...]
(Jerusalem 83:85-87, E. 243)

They look back to the past - the verb "to be" is in the past
tense - when the Daughters of Beulah, known as the positive
contrast to the Daughters of Albion, walked freely on the green
mountains, in contrast to current times of black jealousies and
materialism. Albion's Daughters survey the present when Hand and
Hyle are fled and Jerusalem is gone, and they turn to the
future when Hand will return in dreadful form, but when Los will
arise on his Watch.

However, all is not yet resolved for Gwendolen's "Falshood"
grows and becomes a challenge for Los to bring truth out of
deceit and fruitful action out of manipulative scheming. Blake
does not leave the story of Gwendolen and Cambel with a view of
them as pure forces for evil. The element of initial
temptation, the Falshood, in the hands of the Daughters of Albion
becomes a threefold potential for good: a Space, ("a
manifestation of Eternity" - Damon, Dictionary, p. 379), an
Allegory ("seldom without some Vision" - [A Vision of the Last
Judgment]), and a symbol of promise - Canaan (Jerusalem 84:31 -
85:4, E. 243).

Plate 85 concludes with an invitation to perceive and to perform a specific role:

...plant ye
The Seeds O Sisters in the bosom of Time & Spaces womb
To Spring up for Jerusalem...(85:27-28, E. 244)

This element of suggested action for a sister or sisters occurs in other passages in Jerusalem. When England is described in terms of strife, the Sisters curse (Jerusalem 16: 6, E. 159); as Jerusalem separates from Albion, the Daughters of Beulah weep for this sister but are encouraged by Erin to more positive action: "Learn therefore O Sisters to distinguish the Eternal Human / That walks about among the stones of fire in bliss & woe / Alternate! from those States or Worlds in which the Spirit travels:" (Jerusalem 48: 22, E. 197; 49: 72-75, E. 199). In the next plate, Erin will again exhort her sisters to a better course: "Arise sisters! Go ye & meet the Lord..." (Jerusalem 50:12, E. 200). In a return to the symbol of Cathedron (Jerusalem, 59:23, E. 209), the Daughters of Los (named as Sisters) are seen to be labouring endlessly at Reel, Loom and Wheel to maintain existence, even that of Rahab and Tirzah (Jerusalem 59: 22-44, E. 209).

Sisters act - but not always for good: they are not unflinchingly beneficent in intention.

In commenting on the phrase in which Vala asserts that Luvah, "my Father", had commanded her to murder Albion (Jerusalem 80:16, E. 236), S. Foster Damon recognises that the Emanations

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are at once daughters, sisters and wives, and analogously they

may also be seen as sisters one to another. Frye points out that the four parts of Jerusalem are each based on an imaginative contrast: one such is Jerusalem the Bride and Vala the Harlot,²⁰ which he also calls the fiery city and the fallen city.

Throughout Jerusalem, there is an inter-personal dynamic between Vala and Jerusalem based on their perception of each other as sisters though they be at times "unfortunate extremes",²¹ "ravaging destructive principle or redemptive principle". The bat-winged figure watches over the sleeping Jerusalem of Plate 2 (I.B. 281-82); the sisters meet (and part) in the toe-to-toe illustration of Plate 18 (I.B. 297), seen by Damon as sisters in harmony;²² and in a parenthetical line Blake writes that Vala produced the Bodies and Jerusalem the Souls (Jerusalem 18:7, E. 163). From the perverted viewpoint of Hand and Hyle, Jerusalem is the Harlot-Sister (1.30) while Vala is Goddess, Nature, Virgin-Mother, but Jerusalem 17 reveals that it is Vala who is seeking to destroy Jerusalem (11. 24-26, E. 161).

When Vala has drawn close to Jerusalem (19:41, E. 164), they sing together - "assimilating in one"²³ (a disastrous embrace, according to Bloom) - dividing and uniting, though Jerusalem trembles at the touch. Vala presumes much on the relationship. At Jerusalem's plea on the harshness of her present existence, Vala replies merely that "thou art my sister! ... thy shame is mine also!" (Jerusalem 19:40-46, E. 164-65; 20:19, E. 165). Jerusalem cries that she has lost the sense that she is a loved sister and in its place has gained the perception that she is regarded as the sinful one over whom Vala shudders and weeps. Jerusalem can only ask for forgiveness, for mercy and for love

(Jerusalem 20:22-26, E. 165).

Vala herself is in role conflict, admitting that Jerusalem is both sister and daughter (1. 19); on the one hand, she wishes to protect Jerusalem; on the other, to involve her in shame. Little wonder that Vala is portrayed as weeping and trembling and that Jerusalem also sheds tears and finds herself in some role ambiguity: she feels "once lov'd" and yet also, as Damon puts it, "ensnared" in the Veil.²⁴

However, at some times the sisters are so close that an observer may take them for one: Albion, assuming a Job-like mantle as he suffers his boils, feels that they have colluded to bring him disease and death (Jerusalem 21:1-4, E. 166); he sees Jerusalem hidden in dark and cold Vala (Jerusalem 22: 26-32, E. 167-68); he is prevented from reaching Jerusalem by the Veil of Vala (Jerusalem 23: 1-7, E. 168). Jerusalem herself when speaking to Vala mentions that the Lamb of God received "me" and gave "thee" to Albion but between the two lines adds that He smiled on "us" (Jerusalem 20:39, E. 165) bringing to mind times when the sister relationship was truer, a "time of love" (1. 41, E. 166), a remembrance which sways Jerusalem towards losing herself in Vala if it were to be for the sake of Albion (23: 9-10, E. 168).

Yet love and hate are never far apart as shown when Fallen Man makes up the third in the triangle of love: Jerusalem senses Vala's love, jealousy and despair; Vala forcefully asserts her right to Albion (Jerusalem 45:43-50, E.195), and triumphs over despairing Jerusalem (Jerusalem 60: 39-49, E. 210-11). It is only from the Divine Voice that Jerusalem can derive comfort

(Jerusalem 60:68-69, E. 211). By Plate 78, Jerusalem is to be found sitting in sackcloth as the Spectre Sons of Albion rage against her and the Lamb, enlisting and elevating to power her sister, Vala (Jerusalem 78:10-22, E. 234-35). At this overwhelming evidence of sisterly neglect and persecution, Jerusalem cries that she feels abandoned. Not only once-loved and loving Vala but also the male figures from whom she felt she could draw support seem to be against her: "My brother & my father are no more! God hath forsaken me" (78:31, E. 234). In desperation she adopts the mother role, only to find that even there no comfort lies, for her children are destroyed before her eyes and the Counties of England are hardened against her (79:1, 20, E. 234). In hope of elucidation she appeals to Vala: "Tell me O Vala thy purposes" (79:68, E. 236); however, Vala is absorbed in her own self. Jerusalem has attempted a sister role, a wife role and even a mother role (79:68; 80:2, 3; E. 236) and finally is forced into the dependent imagery of the humble worm. Vala is unmoved: she was commanded to murder Albion, she claims, defiantly (Jerusalem 80:16, E. 236). In her projected scenario she views Jerusalem, rather than herself, as Harlot-Sister, a term evidently in her mind from earlier times (Jerusalem 18:30, E. 163) though not used explicitly in this later diatribe.

Blake would have been familiar with the biblical story in Ezekiel 23 which tells of the harlot sisters Aholah (Samaria) and Aholibah (Jerusalem), wedded to Jehovah but both led astray - a figurative passage of rebuke against Israel for alliances with other Eastern empires and their idolatries, and an allegory borrowed from Jeremiah 3:6-13 in which the back-sliding sisters

Israel and Judah are called to repent. In addition to the concept of the two sisters as brides of the one (as Vala and Jerusalem are of Albion), there are two interesting similarities in the Biblical and the Blake accounts: it is the Jerusalem sister who survives the executed judgment of men (to use the Authorized Version phrase, v. 10) and it is Jerusalem who is condemned to drink of the "sister's cup deep and large" (v. 32); in Blake's final "Awaking into his Bosom" it is Jerusalem who is named but a Jerusalem who has drained Vala's cup in that she has been forced into ruins and into harlotry before her ultimate vindication (Milton 22:47, E. 117; 33:22-23, E. 133; Jerusalem 78:21, E. 234), and before she is again powerful enough to take the Cup from Vala (Jerusalem 88:56, E. 247). My supervisor, Michael J. Tolley, offers the suggestion that Jerusalem 88:52-53 (E. 247) refers to the Incarnation and sees in the cup an allusion to Revelation 17.4 and Revelation 18.5 which would relate back again to Ezekiel 23.

Albion may abandon Jerusalem for her sister temporarily (Jerusalem 23:1-4, E. 168); his sons may prefer to build the city of Vala, Babylon (24:30, E. 169); Jerusalem's essence may be absorbed within that of her own sister (60:39, E. 210) yet ultimately it will be Jerusalem who will endure: "And I heard the Name of their Emanations they are named Jerusalem" (99: 5, E. 259).

An examination of the relationship between Jerusalem and Vala is but one of many interactions taking place among the Emanations and suggestive of sister roles. Nevertheless, in the

passages considered, the concept of sisterhood is explicitly mentioned in the text rather than inferred from the circumstances of the action. A later chapter will consider the multiplicity of roles which the Emanations adopt and the sisterhood of Jerusalem, Vala, Enitharmon, Enion and Ahanian will come under further scrutiny there.

Of interest is a passage towards the end of Jerusalem 50 (E.200) where Erin and the Daughters of Beulah (and by implication Jerusalem [Jerusalem 48:21-22, E. 197]) cry: "O Lord! / If thou hadst been here, our brother Albion had not died."(ll. 10-11). The wording is reminiscent of an incident in the New Testament (John 11:1-44) in which the sisters Mary and Martha lament the death of their brother, convinced that had Jesus but arrived earlier Lazarus would not now lie in the tomb. The analogy is more evident when it is remembered that in Milton (24:26-27, E. 120) Lazarus is said to represent mankind in the person of "Albion the Redeemd".

Erin's speech concludes with a warning about the consequences of an unregenerate Emanation: "She will become an Eternal Death, an Avenger of Sin / A self-righteousness: the proud Virgin-Harlot! Mother of War! (Jerusalem: 50: 15-16, E. 200). Images of death and images of the sisters are conflated - Plate 50 begins with references to a murderous Providence, to a creation which lives on Death (1.5, E. 199) - but in both contexts it is also the sisters who have the power to defy mortality: Erin exhorts the Daughters of Beulah to "Go ye & meet the Lord (50:12, E. 200); Mary, traditionally representative of the heart, and Martha, of serving hands, run down the road

towards the Master - "our" brother Lazarus shall not die.

This is the ultimate in sisterly action: the wish to retrieve the beloved sibling from death.

This mutual action is also a better indication of sisterly co-operation than the other biblical account in which the listening Mary is contrasted with the bustling Martha: a role theory reading of this passage in Luke 10:38-42 would emphasise the importance of both roles and the necessity for role selection which would be appropriate to the situation - and this Christ verbalises: "Martha, thou art careful..." (v. 41) (an acknowledgement of her solicitude "but one thing is needful" (a recognition of Mary's listener role performance).

III. Other sister figures.

Blake completed two sets of eight designs illustrating Milton's Comus; the larger set, completed about 1801, was bought from Blake by Rev. Joseph Thomas and is now in the Huntington Library; the other set associated with Thomas Butts and thought to have originated about 1809, is in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

The Lady of Blake's Illustrations to Milton's Comus could be seen as sister by virtue of her relationship to the Brothers of the Masque. Although Morton D. Paley has reservations about the watercolours as art, he senses in a greater concern Blake's disquietude with the whole theme:

One could read the series as a projection of two alternatives equally unacceptable to Blake: Comus's duplicitous seductiveness²⁶ and the Lady's fear of the forces of life.

Similarly, in the Huntington copy of Scene 5,²⁷ "The Magic Banquet with the Lady Spell-Bound" where the Lady is shown with her arms folded across her breasts, J. Karl Franson sees Blake as highlighting the theme of defensive virginity.²⁸ Other critics have found parallels with Thel, tempted towards Experience and fending herself off from it.²⁹ Pamela Dunbar, in addition, writes of Blake as "a tireless critic of the 'double standard' of sexual morality and of the repression of 'natural desire'":

It is therefore not surprising that he should have transformed Milton's "sage / And serious doctrine of virginity" (ll. 785-86) into a sterile and destructive dogma, and his virtuous Lady into a coy, deluded, and self-denying miss whose maidenly refusal is to be seen as an error comparable with Comus's³⁰ aggressiveness, if not a necessary condition of it.

However, none of these readings gain much support from the designs. Blake's plates suggest that the Lady exemplifies the opposite to a "fugitive and cloistered virtue", an interpretation more in accord with the emphasis of this chapter that Blake advocated the right of the sister to exert her potential for active virtue.

Wittreich would concur with a change in emphasis from the Miltonic mind in the first set (1801), but "... where Blake has deviated from Milton's text in the first set he returns to it in the second series."³¹

Irene Tayler has written also on the Comus designs arguing that the phenomenon which is Comus may be regarded as the product

of the Lady's frightened fantasy. She posits, incidentally, two kinds of virgin: Milton's virtuous and cautious virgin reaching "maturity by resisting her wily male attacker" and Blake's frightened virgin who reaches "maturity by breaking free of her benighted state of self-isolating fear of her own desires."³² These categories or aspects can be re-cast as alternative active roles open to a sister.

George Peele's Old Wives Tale has been given as one possible source of Milton's Masque, a story in which a maiden is delivered from an enchanter by a Lady "who is neither maid, nor wife, nor widow",³³ rather than a Lady who is rescued by (among others) two brothers, but Milton's introduction of a fraternal dynamic affords an opportunity to explore possible relationships between sister and brothers and, in the companion illustrations, to draw minimal conclusions about contacts between daughters and parents.

Pamela Dunbar argues that Comus himself in his first conversation with the Lady implies that the Lady has been, in effect, deserted by the Brothers when they leave her unattended (l. 283). Dunbar emphasises their self-regard, substantiating this with reference to the allusion to Narcissus in l. 305 (Dunbar, p. 19). However, the text itself encapsulates the sense of the Lady's trust in her brothers; despite the parenthetical insertion in l. 185 ("as they said"), the Lady evidently believes that they saw her wearied, allowed her to rest, and went in search of berries for her. Blake in his third illustration shows the brothers actually engaged on such a task ("The Brothers Plucking Grapes", Comus III), and Comus himself admits that he

saw them doing just that (ll. 294-96). Moreover the Lady herself reiterates her faith in her brothers when, in rapid dialogue with Comus, she speaks of the Brothers going "To seek i' th'valley some cool friendly Spring" (l.282) and says that they meant a quick return.

Looking, then, at sister/brother relationships from the point of view of the female, the Lady in Comus adopts a trusting, believing role and this is depicted also in Blake's seventh picture, "Sabrina Disenchanted the Lady", as the sister turns head and hands towards the brothers who are now leaning towards her in gestures of devotion - recognising a new spirit of emancipation in her, adds Dunbar (p. 30). On the other hand, Blake makes a gentle comment on the inverse relationship (the brothers' attitude to their sister) when he draws the Attendant Spirit hovering over the distant Lady (Comus III). As the brothers reach vigorously for the grapes, to provide for her physical needs, it is left to the Spirit to look to her need for protection. Perhaps this plate is an ironical comment that both Brothers and Spirit must be careful not to usurp her experience: the sister has to be given the opportunity to develop an autonomous role.

It is evident, furthermore, that any reciprocal trust by the brothers is very superficial - even in the protesting Elder Brother's advocacy of his sister's "hidden strength", a chastity so dear to Heaven that Angels would "lackey" her, there is a ring of the rhetoric of the sermon - perhaps a fine-sounding oration on Virtue - rather than a genuine concern for "that hapless virgin our lost sister" (ll. 367, 419-20, 589, 350). The Second

Brother though less trusting again is perhaps more pragmatic when he feels that she is in peril: "within the direful grasp / Of Savage hunger or of Savage heat" (ll. 357-58).

Nonetheless the Brothers' eventual rescue of their sister is accomplished with brave flourishes of sword, albeit an ineffectual means against such an adversary, as the Spirit points out (ll. 815-18).

A few further comments should be made on Blake's illustrations, particularly where the Lady adopts, or is cast into, the role of sister. The first picture shows Comus and his Revellers or his Rout (the Dunbar term), the sister sitting quietly but in some astonishment: there is, initially, no active place for the Lady in this group of dissonant, anti-masque figures. To approach the Lady more closely, Comus must don non-threatening garb and, as shown in the Huntington series, adopt the appearance of kindly age. In both versions of the second illustration, "Comus, disguised as a rustic addresses the Lady in the Woods", the ruse is seen as successful for the Lady opens her hands in glad welcome and a self-offering gesture, whereas he hides one hand like Gwendolen. It is for the Attendant Spirit, intuitively more aware, to raise hands in alarm or warning. A Sister is ready to accept a male figure if he comes but "cap in hand" as does Comus, - a novel approach of male to female in Milton's and Blake's century(!), but a gesture which seems to hide his genitals and increase his non-threatening appearance. There is similarly no role for a Lady in a scene where the men of the family are at work, be that plucking grapes

or in consultation with the Attendant Spirit (as in the third and fourth illustrations). On the sister's behalf, the Brothers engage in both a Martha role and a Mary role!

The remaining four plates follow the involvement of the sister-figure until her final restoration to her parents. At the Banquet her gaze is fixed, trance-like, upon Comus and remains thus even during her Brothers' pursuit (and exorcism) of him, but she plays no active role to engage with him. Both Tayler and Dunbar -- the latter in regard to "Sabrina Disenchanted the Lady" (VII) -- suggest that Blake has given a central role to the Brothers thereby transforming, writes Dunbar, the woman-centred Milton allegory into a drama of male and female adolescence.³⁴ This interpretation implies that the brother figure wields a certain power in the life of a sister -- certainly on a physical level (for Sabrina is a source of supernatural good): in VII, the Lady has resumed a relaxed posture, she is giving her attention once more to the surroundings, she has spread wide again her arms and is tilting her head away from the Attendant Spirit towards the Brothers.

Blake in his treatment of the Brothers gives a dramatic relevance to an element that was not a central preoccupation of the Miltonic narrative. (Dunbar, p. 32)

Blake in accentuating the interactive role of these three siblings gives an importance and dignity to the role of the sister beyond the expectations generally held for her. The Lady benefits from being a sister, but, in turn, adds to the experience of the Brothers: she gainsays their cynical approach

to her potential for virtue and thus extends the possible roles for all sisters.

In a similar conjunction, in the poem "William Bond", Sister Jane is at the left hand of William and they act together in the affair of Mary Green (E. 496-98). Sisters may be strengthened by their association with a brother figure.

In the final illustration, "The Lady Restored to her Parents", the power of the brother and of the Attendant Spirit over the sister gives way to the influence of the parents over her: in Blake's earlier version the mother has her fingers tightly around the Lady's wrist; in the later version, it is the father who dominates as he leans broodingly towards his daughter.

The reader must decide whether the sister is ready for confrontation with or continuing counsel from those awaiting her return.

In addition to Blake's interest in sisters of action, mothers (seen possibly as former sisters or as role models) and sisters are sometimes mentioned as sharing roles: for example, they watch over the youth in "The Couch of Death" (E. 441), and they are linked together in the phrase from For the Sexes: The Gates of Paradise"(16)(E. 267): "I have said to the Worm: Thou art my mother & my sister" (E. 267).

Blake's Lady/sister attempts autonomy but "parents" are omnipresent, be they brother-figures or Attendant Spirits: she would venture alone to accompany Comus to the place where he had seen the Brothers plucking grapes alone; both mortal and immortal watch over her. Yet she is not as fortunate as Lyca from "The Little Girl Lost" and "The Little Girl Found" of Experience:

for the Lady has to return to her parents, "disenchanted"; and from the expressions which Blake has cast upon the elderly faces, it may well be to a reception, such as Ona perceives hers to be. However, Lyca, although initially shown as active (wandering and listening to nature) appears to be content, in the "Lost" poem, to remain in a state associated with sleep (ll. 17, 23-24, 32-33, 36, 52, E. 20-21) and, similarly, in the "Found" poem, the line "Lyca lies asleep" forms part of the conclusion (ll. 44, 46, E. 22).

In the Comus illustrations, Blake has explored the possibility of the emancipated sister and in doing so has foregrounded the limitations of Miltonic puritanical thought and his illustrated "sister" is thus more limited than her prophetic counterparts.

Discussion of a sister role is necessarily tentative because there are sub-sets of roles within the whole: there is the collective use of "sisters" which is similar to that of the grouped "Daughters", a concept discussed by Nelson Hilton;³⁵ there are the narrow relationships of sister to sister (as in the biblical harlots of Ezekiel, in the Mary and Martha incidents, or in the Harlot-Sister aspect of Vala and Jerusalem); and there are interactions between sister and brother, or sister and parent.

His early heroine Thel begins in the same active manner as the children of Innocence, choosing to leave the solitary occupation of minding sheep and engage in a search for alternative roles. Her subsequent failure to move on to a yet more active engagement with life - if not of evil consequence -

is implied to be of lesser value. Had Thel persisted in her initial commitment to action, she may well have been the sister who transformed, not conformed to, the separatism of Experience.

Blake posits the contraries of good and evil in the dynamics of two interactions: Erin encloses the Sons of Albion in her rainbow, and the Daughters of Beulah call upon the Lamb to take away the remembrance of Sin (Jerusalem 50: 23-30, E. 200); Cambel and Gwendolen - two forces for evil - squeeze Man into conformity lest they perish (Jerusalem 82: 3-4, E. 239).

The Lady of the Comus illustrations is not seen as evil for setting off in pursuit of her brothers, instead of passively waiting their return. Rather it is implied that she has taken the opportunity to venture beyond Thel; although enchantment is an element in the story, and Miltonic Chastity and Virtue a theme of it, the Lady in her energy is on the side of the powers of good.

Blake in an annotation to Lavater's Aphorisms on Man draws upon Scripture and makes the radical implication that the sister is an aspect of God Himself, a biblical allusion as Bentley (Writings, II, 1384) points out (Matthew 12:50):

Lavater: A GOD, an ANIMAL, a PLANT, are not companions of man...

Blake: "It is the God in all that is our companion & friend, for our God himself says, you are my brother my sister & my mother;..."

(No. 630, E. 599)

Sisters have a role to play in Blake's schema and it is not necessarily the accepted and acceptably insignificant one.

What is a wife...? (Jerusalem 57:8, E. 207)

The fact that Blake adds a question mark to his line "What is a Wife & what is a Harlot?" (Jerusalem 57:8, E. 207) is significant in two ways: firstly, it is not an exclamation mark the use of which often implies a rhetorical tone and, secondly, writers of the eighteenth century were prone to make statements rather than ask questions about the role of the wife of the day.

The model of the wife in the eighteenth century could be taken from an issue of The Tatler (No. 219, 1710): "Madam, your time passes away in dressing, eating, sleeping and praying", a statement which may be taken as the husband's perception of his wife's role; or from The Adventurer (No. 117, Tuesday, December 18, 1753) which reveals a wife's understanding of her own role:

I hoped that upon Understanding I should be able to ingraft Virtue: my imagination was perpetually wandering among the scenes of poetry and romance: I appropriated every luxurious description of happy lovers; and believed that whatever time should take from desire would be added to complacency; and that in old age we should only exchange the tumultuous ecstasy of love for the calm rational and exalted delight of friends, kindness, more true fidelity and implicit confidence.

This is the same unrealistic romantic expectation of marriage held by Arabella, the female Quixote of 1752!¹

The wife in Mary Wollstonecraft's unfinished novel, "The Wrongs of Woman", demonstrates her role confusion and a consequently more negative approach:

Humanity, compassion, and the interest produced by a habit of living together, made me try to relieve, and sympathize with him; but, when I recollected that I was bound to live with such a being for ever - my heart died within me;... Marriage had bastilled me for life. ²

In fiction, Daniel Defoe's Roxana says "The very nature of the marriage contract was ... nothing but giving liberty, estate, authority and everything to a man". ³ This expression of feeling was paralleled in fact in Common Law according to Blackstone's commentaries on the laws of England:

By marriage the very being or legal existence of a woman is suspended, or at least it is incorporated or consolidated into that of the husband, under whose wing, protection and cover she performs everything, and she is therefore called in our law a feme covert [sic].

In essence this may be stated as "my wife and I are one and I am he". ⁵

The position in France was similar and has been summarised thus:

Starting in the fourteenth century, we see a slow and steady deterioration of the wife's position in the household. She loses the right to take the place of the husband in his absence or insanity... Finally, in the sixteenth century, the married woman is placed under a disability so that any acts she performs without the authority of her husband or the law are null and void.

It may be inferred from Mary Astell's spirited defence of the equality of the sexes that prevailing views in the eighteenth century reflected not only this legal position of women but also the religious biases derived from Pauline (I Corinthians 11:3),

Augustinian and Lutheran emphases on the necessary subjection of women.⁷ Mary Astell counters the conventional New Testament texts most often quoted to support the supposedly inferior status of women and also challenges fundamental Judaeo-Christian concepts:

For the Earthly Adam's being form'd before Eve, seems as little to prove her Natural Subjection to him, as the living Creatures, Fishes, Birds and Beasts being form'd before them both proves that Mankind must be subject to these Animals.⁸

Less liable to overt challenge was The Book of Common Prayer (1549) which set down that following marriage vows a prayer was to be said entreating that the husband may love the wife as Christ does his Church and that the wife may be to the husband as loving as Rachel, as wise as Rebecca, and as faithful and obedient as Sarah. This background of biblical familial structure was the model for the Puritans and for later fundamentalist religion - the father at the apex and the beloved beneath but close beside him.⁹ "It was this relationship of love and obedience, reciprocal, inseparable, exclusive and unique, which made marriage, in truth, the image of nothing less than Christ's relation to his Church." Love and dominion were, to such believers, compatible.¹⁰

Despite the implication in the Myles Coverdale (1541) translation of Bullinger's statement of Christian marriage that Eve was meant to be companion to Adam ("he lyked her wel and ... he could finde in his hert to love her as one that was of his owne kinde")¹¹ and that husbands are to love their wives as their own bodies, there prevails in representations of Edenic love an

element of dependency in the wife figure and a sense of superiority in the male counterpart (Paradise Lost IV:490, 299; IX: 821-822; VIII: 571-617).¹² Even Bullinger devoted an entire chapter to duty and obedience in the wife!

John Bunyan did allow of one exception to society's general expectations, the case of the husband and wife yoked in unequal marriage, unbeliever with believer - and Bunyan found praise for the wife who said: "I have a husband, but also a God. I have a husband, but also a soul",¹³ a rare assertion in an age where new economic conditions were resulting in an actual¹⁴ diminution of a wife's social power.

Social historians while admitting the practical difficulties of deciding what exactly was the position of woman over the ages and allowing for the absence of records in relation to the working classes (one of the issues of methodology discussed in the introduction) will accept one generalization as valid: that of the subordination of and the implicit obedience expected from the wife.¹⁵ Speaking of married lovers, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu wrote:

The most trifling cares of economy become noble and delicate, when they are heightened by sentiments of tenderness ... to order a supper is not simply giving orders to a cook, it is amusing myself in regaling him I love.¹⁶

Lady Mary, writing her Epistle of 1724 based on the saga of adultery, separation, and ultimate divorce engulfing the lives of William Yonge and Mary Heathcote, included these lines which illustrate the virtue of passivity:

Too, too severely Laws of Honour bind
The Weak Submissive Sex of Woman-kind.
If sighs have gain'd or force compell'd our Hand,
Deceiv'd by Art, or urg'd by stern Command
What ever Motive binds the fatal Tye,
The Judging World expects our Constancy. 17

This same sentiment was encapsulated in an early courtesy manual:

If ever thou purpose to be a good wife, and to live
comfortably, set down this with thyself; mine
husband is my superior, my better; he hath
authority and rule over me; nature hath given it
to him ... God hath given it to him. 18
(The Bride Bush, 1617, p. 36)

For subsequent centuries, the worth of a self-effacing wife was still extolled. Several decades after Blake, Anthony Trollope was to represent Mrs. Grantly's joy at the success of her daughter's married life: "She sees all that she ought to see, and nothing that she ought not to" and adds an author's gloss: "As for feast of reason and flow of soul, is it not a question whether any such flows and feasts are necessary between a man and his wife? ... a handsome woman at the head of your table, who knows how to dress, and how to sit, and how to get in and out of her carriage - who will not disgrace her lord by her ignorance, or fret him by her coquetry, or disparage him by her talent - how beautiful a thing it is!"¹⁹

The eighteenth century itself is not without its extant examples. Thomas Holcroft in his Seduction (1787) depicts Lady Morden as the perfect wife, but one who "reforms" and apparently takes a lover, Sir Frederic Fashion, in order to effect some change in her erring husband - and does indeed bring the rake to

some slight repentance.

John Burton, a writer with literary pretensions, gathered up his lectures on female education and manners into a volume, addressed ostensibly to girls who would one day be wives:

One design of Education is to instil in your Minds principles of obedience ... you will be disappointed, if you expect that your will is to predominate ... The Harmony of families, will soon be destroyed without subordination.²¹

He continues with words on the role of the Wife: "It is the province of the Male Sex, to encounter with the cares and perplexities ... It is the duty of the Female Sex to soothe those anxieties", and he concludes with a word from the Author of the Oeconomy of Human Life: "The care of her family is her whole delight; to that alone she applies her study."

The same term ("subordination") is used by John Bennett when, after referring back to "the original intention of heaven in the formation of the sexes", he writes:

The sentence of subordination obviously implies, that man should have the preeminence on subjects that require extensive knowledge, courage, strength, activity, talents or laborious application. Women were not formed for political eminence or literary refinement ... the wife, the mother and oeconomist of a family would unfortunately, be lost in the literary pedant.²²

More notable men of letters have been markedly circumspect on the subject of wives.

Boswell's Life describes Johnson's own marriage in 1735 as "strange" but his life as one of devotion to the beloved "Tetty". He records that Johnson, although feeling that it was far from

natural for man and woman to live in a state of marriage, considered the taking of a second wife a compliment to the former one who must have presented marriage as a happy state. He expresses on several occasions Johnson's concern about the confusion of progeny which could arise from a wife's adultery - such inclinations fitted her for a brothel - and he reveals the more demanding view that the deceiving husband could well expect more attention from the wife who was trying to reclaim him. Wives may not be studious enough to please the husband; they must not expect to practise publicly any art or talent; and they may be liable to throw away money in great profusion but, nevertheless, marriage was very necessary for a man for he "is less able to supply himself with domestick comfort". Arranged marriages by some agency such as the Lord Chancellor might well be a good idea; Society was, after all, the third party to the contract of marriage. Johnson refused to concede to Mrs. Knowles the point that men had much more liberty allowed to them than did woman. He is quoted as saying: "We have all the labour and the danger and the woman all the advantage".²³

Horace Walpole, spoken of by one editor as a confirmed bachelor, made good-natured fun of the matrimonial state, although he seemed at one time to have seriously considered marrying one of his "wives", as the Countess of Ossory named them, the Miss Berrys. One of his letters to the Countess indicates his approval of a rich wife and another to the Honourable H. S. Conway comments on the Marriage Act of 1753 and rails at the impudence of the proposed calling of the banns on three successive Sundays in church. Not for him, evidently, such

plays as Hugh Kelly's The School for Wives (1753), the comedy of manners rather than of sentiment to which he refers in the context of some of his contemporaries' attendance there.²⁴

It was to be William Thompson, writing just before the time of Blake's death, who would, as a man, make an impassioned Appeal on behalf of the female sex, devoting one third of his book to a defence of the wife:

Each man yokes a woman to his establishment,
and calls it a contract. Audacious falsehood!
... A contract implies the voluntary assent of
both the contracting parties. Can even both the
parties, man and woman, by agreement alter the
terms, as to indissolubility and inequality of
this pretended contract [?] No.²⁵

Of course some wives, even then as now, provided the dread exception which proves the rule of subordination: the "domestic daemon, given to this poor man to deceive and torment him" as Lady Mary Wortley Montagu put it in her essay on marriage; and Chaucer's Wife of Bath, described by Blake in terms of a scourge and a blight and a scarecrow (Descriptive Catalogue, p. 24, E. 537).²⁶
²⁷

This is an atypical description of a wife in Blake's works. Although the Emanations provide the focus of the role of wife in Blake's prophecies, Oothoon of Visions of the Daughters of Albion may be considered as a wife de futuro.²⁸ As an espoused figure, she draws from two traditions concerning the role of wife: the long-suffering and the loud-speaking but she manifests the extremes of neither: she delights to give herself to her husband but she is neither dominated nor dominating.

I. Oothoon: wife of no jealous clouds or selfish blightings.

The Motto establishes that the poem and the character of Oothoon are to be read with vision rather than with emotion. The Argument posits the norms for the poem: Oothoon does have love for Theotormon; although she is afraid, she is not ashamed and, moreover, she asserts her right to self-determination even at the price of Bromion's "terrible thunders".

From the text of Plate 1 the expectations of the other principals in the Visions may be deduced: the Marygold nymph affirms Oothoon's instinctual feeling that the senses open the way to delight, not to danger and that this joy is everlasting. Although one critic would argue that Oothoon's free sexuality leads at best only to Beulah,²⁹ her world of the fully-developed imagination is one of energy,³⁰ and one of joy in direct contrast to that of Theotormon, who adopts the role of the puritanical husband and puts moral fetters on his household.³¹

Bromion makes it evident in his opinion that he is all-powerful and in the verb "maist" (Plate 2:1, E. 46) suggests that he considers Theotormon inferior. Theotormon pursues his right to be seen as the outraged and anguished suitor and in both his severe smiles and his weeping implies that the status quo must be maintained and Oothoon's pleas for acceptance of a life to be lived to the full be ignored. For him the good wife is the restrained wife.

Oothoon's role perception and her role enactment are congruent. She looks beyond a virgin state and, differing from

Thel, looks to an ideal, undeterred by possible consequences. Even after the rape by Bromion she holds her vision and the actuality of her situation to be compatible: she is pure (Plate 2:15, 28; Plate 3:16, 20; Plate 5:5-6; Plate 6:4-5, E. 46-49), for she has merely exercised her right to be her true self (Plate 6:21 - 7:2, E. 50).

In an interpretation of the Daughters of Albion as a body, rather than as a generic term, it can be seen that theirs is a passive role: they monitor the situation and mediate a sympathetic, if not empathic, response. Their lack of action is the medium of their enslavement: "ENSLAV'D, the Daughters of Albion weep:" (I:1, E. 45).

To Bromion is given the most aggressive role yet one in which there is internal congruence: he perceives and he acts accordingly. Theotormon's perception is that he has the sole right to Oothoon but role performance is lacking; consequently he is forced into a change of role: from proud owner, he becomes offended lover and adopts, in addition, the stance of injured martyr.

Both males cast Oothoon into the role of harlot: Bromion by his act and Theotormon by his interpretation of his actions.

Observers' roles also become evident as the narrative unfolds: the omnipotent narrator in an overview declares that "The eye sees more than the Heart knows" (E. 45); Oothoon is seen as impetuous, Bromion as compelling obedience, Theotormon as sceptical and cynical and the Daughters of Albion as helpless but reflective.

Blake, however, in his choice of words modifies these generalisations: Oothoon may be termed prone to action, rather than rash, and her energy is to be commended: she loves, she plucks the flower, she rises up, she overcomes shame, fear and the natural modesty which leads her to hide in Leutha's vale; she continues in her insistence upon pure sexuality, or she waits silent but persistently positive day and night. Bromion is indeed overpowering, but admits to the loveliness of Oothoon and delegates into the care of Theotormon the coming child: he himself has the "swarthy children of the sun" in his dominion. It is Bromion whose ears are tuned to Oothoon's lamentations (Plate 3:1, E. 47); it is Bromion who attempts an answer to Theotormon (Plate 4), a rationale for the state of the world. Theotormon sits in misery conversing with shadows but weeps "secret tears". He acknowledges the union of the two other protagonists in his thought of them "bound back to back" - subordinated, obviously, to him. In Oothoon's eyes his image is pure - to her he is still "my Theotormon" who surely cannot expect hypocritical modesty! Moreover, Blake presents a Theotormon who is able to conceptualise and verbalise the torrent of questions which evokes Bromion's brief ameliorative discourse and Oothoon's breaking of her silence with the extended and magnificent justification with which the poem concludes.

Visions challenges the reader's sense of ethic, role, character evaluation and inter-personal dynamic. It is to Theotormon, not to Oothoon, that Bromion addresses his remarks about marriage and the care of the child; "then", Blake writes significantly, Theotormon does storm and roll around. It is not



Oothoon who weeps; it is Theotormon who passively sits weeping, silent. It is his initial inertia which has generated the evil of Bromion's imposed action. Oothoon howls and calls for Theotormon's Eagles to prey upon her flesh or urges her lover to respond in some way. From his silence she infers that he cannot hear her and in the sense that his eventual reply is calculated to elicit a response from Bromion, not from Oothoon, it may be taken that he does not want to. He will reply neither to her silence nor to her lamentation. Such inaction perpetuates the evils engendered when husbands and wives cannot or will not communicate role expectations, when a wife's personality and capability variables are not accepted and when sullen sanctions are imposed to ensure conformity to an allotted role.

Visions is a literary model analogous to the best teaching case-studies of today's "communication" experts!³²

II . Emanation yet his Wife...

Oothoon has to be interpreted by the reader as wife, but Blake makes it clear that the Emanations of the later prophecies were to be regarded as such: of Enitharmon he wrote: "Enitharmon is a vegetated mortal Wife of Los" (Jerusalem 14:13, E. 158); of Vala: "beauteous Luvah ... like a lilly is thy wife Vala witherd by winds" (FZ V, p. 64:29-30, E. 344); of Ahania (in a first thought, later to be deleted by Blake): "O Urizen look on [thy wife] (FZ III, p. 37:3, E. textual note, p. 830, K. 291). In association with the other two "evanescent shades" Vala and

Ahania, Enion is by implication wife of Tharmas both accused and desired (FZ I, p. 4:10-11; IV, p. 47:8-9, E. 301, 331). Moreover, "wife" is given the seal of approval because "the Lamb of God creates himself a bride & wife", Jerusalem, initially wife of Albion (FZ IX, p. 122:16, E. 391).

In Eternity, the Emanations effect the union of Man with Man; they are Edenic co-workers (Jerusalem 88:3-15, E. 246; 4:14-21, E. 146; 39:38-39, E. 187; Milton 15:13-15, E. 109). They bear the secret loves and graces of the Zoa, his infant thoughts and desires (Jerusalem 8:44; 20:27-28; 9:2, E. 151, 165, 152). These passages imply quite clearly that a busy Emanation is worthy one: theirs is holy labour.

Even when Blake speaks of the lack of sexual divisions in Eternity, he suggests that the Emanations equal the posited energy of the male:

In Eternity Woman is the Emanation of Man/ she has
No Will of her own There is no such thing in Eternity/
as a Female Will
(A Vision of the Last Judgment, p. 85, E. 562)

This view is stated more positively elsewhere:

When in Eternity Man converses with Man they enter
Into each others Bosom (which are Universes of delight)
In Mutual interchange, and first their Emanations meet
Surrounded by their Children, if they embrace & comingle
The Human Four-fold Forms mingle also in thunders of Intellect
But if the Emanations mingle not; with storms and agitations
... they roll apart in fear
For Man cannot unite with Man but by their Emanations
(Jerusalem 88:3-10, E. 246)

Man is adjoind to Man by his Emanative portion:
(Jerusalem 39:38, E. 187)

This is not to say, however, that they may not rest on occasion and they do so, periodically; for example, when the intellectual warfare of Eternity exhausts or terrifies them, they descend to Beulah (FZ I, p. 5:1, 29-31, E. 302, 303; III, p. 43:6-7, E. 328; IX, p. 122:8-14, E. 391; Jerusalem 79:74-75; 48:19-20, E.236, 197; Milton 30:1-5, E. 129).

In Generation, they should be the Zoas' "concentering vision" (FZ VII, p. 87:330, E. 369) but they may reflect more the husband and wife separateness of such as Milton "unhappy tho in heav'n" (Milton 2:16-21, E. 96) and his scattered Emanation(s), or the weeping inaccessibility of the Emanation "far within" of "My Spectre around me" (E. 475-77).

Nevertheless, the "wives" do display an initiative beyond that deemed apt in Blake's times.

34

III . Ahania: "dutiful wife" .

In Eden it would be inconceivable for Urizen to seize Ahania by the hair and throw her down the steps. Indeed Ahania herself describes, in an appealing fashion, wifely functions that she has in the past performed and she records emotions that must be associated with marriage - activities and excitements which, by virtue of her separation, are no longer available to her:

I cannot touch his hand:
 Nor weep on his knees, nor hear
 His voice & bow, nor see his eyes
 And joy, nor hear his footsteps, and
 My heart leap at the lovely sound!
 I cannot kiss the place
 Whereon his bright feet have trod, 35
 (Book of Ahania 5: 65-71, E. 88-89)

In these lines Ahania does indeed sound like an eighteenth-century paradigm for the loving wife, but Blake has built into the text elsewhere Ahania's perception of a more aggressive role for herself, and has had her enact it, with unfortunate consequences for the marital state.

Ahania questions (difficult "why" questions), even nags: "Why sighs my Lord! ... Why wilt thou look upon futurity darkning present joy ... Why didst thou listen to the voice of Luvah that dread morn... (FZ III, p. 37:5, 10; p. 39:2, E. 326). She flatters: "... are not the morning stars thy obedient Sons" (FZ III, p. 37:5, E. 326). While adopting a posture of submission she gives advice: "O Prince the Eternal One hath set thee leader of his hosts/ Leave all futurity to him Resume thy fields of Light (FZ III, p. 38:15 - p. 39:1, E. 326). (Cf. Judges 14:16-17 in which Samson's wife weeps before him but in effect conquers him). Ahania asserts herself and promotes her own perspective: "... listen to Ahania, listen to the vision" (FZ III, p. 39:12, E. 327) and the separation of wills and intellects which occurred at the Fall is evident: (FZ II, p. 30:43-48, E. 320). In addition, she evinces a possessive attitude and in reciprocity drives all other females away from Urizen (FZ II, p. 30:51-52, E.320).

Blake enlists the reader's sympathy for Ahania's attempt at independent action by showing the absurdity of Urizen's over-reaction: her Zoa refuses to take Ahania to the Nuptial Feast of Los and Enitharmon (FZ I, p. 16:15-17, E. 310); he calls her "Sin"... alternately kissing and weeping over her, eventually

hiding her in darkness and in silence (Book of Ahania, c.1.

No.7, E. 84) - and more:

His visage changd to darkness & his strong right hand came forth
To cast Ahania to the Earth he siezd her by the hair
And threw her from the steps of ice that froze around his throne

Saying Art thou also become like Vala. thus I cast thee out
Shall the feminine indolent bliss. the indulgent self of
weariness

The passive idle sleep the enormous night & darkness of Death
Set herself up to give her laws to the active masculine virtue
Thou little diminutive portion that darst be a counterpart
Thy passivity thy laws of obedience & insincerity
Are my abhorrence. ³⁷

(FZ III, p. 43:2-11, E. 328-29)

In these and the following few lines it is obvious that
Urizen has both an expectation of wifely passivity (although he
may claim to abhor this) and a realisation of Ahania's new
individuality - to the point of her correcting the male power.
For Urizen there is a role conflict - Ahania's role!

Moreover, Urizen accuses Ahania of following that other
model of insubordination, Vala. Ahania is not to be allowed to
be the counterpart of either himself or Vala, be one so high and
the other so low! Little wonder that Ahania, in role ambiguity
and role confusion, wails on the winds and cries aloud to the
Caverns of the Grave, not being able to see beyond the horrors of
the grave, the decay of the body and the thought of Eternal Death ³⁸
(FZ VIII, p. 108:8 - p. 109:13, E. 383-84). Perhaps it is with
some sense of seeking for that morning that has eluded her, as
well as for reunion with Urizen, that Ahania returns too
precipitately and dies in an excess of joy, a smiling corpse at
the feet of Urizen, a revival and death seen by Northrop Frye as
a symbol of sudden vision of real truth and a preparatory

apocalypse - an action for ultimate good born out of a rejection of ill-conceived obedience (FZ IX, p. 121:33-39, E. 391).

Although some of her decisions may be seen as injudicious, the last glimpse of Ahania is a vindication of her abundant energy: she rises like the harvest moon to take her place with Urizen at the feast when Harvest and Vintage are done: (FZ IX, p. 121:33-39, E. 391; IX, p. 125:26-35, E. 394-95; IX, p. 137:11-14, E. 405).

In the framework of role theory, Urizen has expectations for Ahania: he is to be God and none equal to him (FZ III, p. 42:19, E. 328), an understanding suggestive of a Miltonic Adam/Eve⁴⁰ situation ("She for God in him", Paradise Lost IV:299). Despite the argument of this chapter that Blake advocated an active role for the wife, there are passages (like this one) when Blake's somewhat Miltonic ideas on wives may be discerned and I have even wondered if Blake took a delight in penning the above description of Urizen's solution to marital disharmony!

Ahania's role is at first congruent with Milton's much-quoted line (again see the Christopher Hill note - Note 40) for "bright Ahania bow'd herself before his splendid feet" (FZ III, p. 37:1-2, E. 326). However, as she is recapitulating the story of the fall of Luvah and Vala it becomes evident that her expectations for their relative roles have changed; she expects to be heeded: "Listen to her who loves thee..." (III, p. 42:7-8, E. 328). Ahania is exerting previously concealed personality and capability variables; she will no longer be cast into the maternal mould described, and accepted, by herself in the Book of

Ahania (Plate 5:4-38, E. 89-90). Others' behaviours, as Urizen has suspected, have suggested new roles: Vala and Luvah have separated. However, ultimately Ahania's role conflict, despite Urizen's punishing sanctions, has a positive outcome. Ahania's active role has achieved for her a seat beside Urizen: "And bright Ahania took her seat by Urizen in songs & joy" (FZ IX, p. 125:35, E. 395).

41

IV. Enion: a little showery form.

Enion, wife of Tharmas (the Zoa generally spoken of as the parent power), pictured as weeping, blind and age-bent (Jerusalem 87, I.B. 366) and portrayed as wailing in the Elements or wandering where Ahania will walk (FZ III, p. 45:6-7; p. 46:6-12, E. 331; see also FZ I, pp. 6 and 7, E. 303-04) is nevertheless seen by one early critic as a mode of spiritual enlightenment, in mortality a hope.⁴²

It is Enion who finds hope in the image of the waiting seed (FZ VIII, p. 110:3-7, E. 385), the same Enion who, while lamenting the cruelty of fallen nature, recognises that wife (and house and children) is of great value to man.⁴³

What is the price of Experience do men buy it for a song
Or wisdom for a dance in the street? No it is bought with
the price
Wisdom is sold in the desolate market where none come to buy
And in the witherd field where the farmer plows for bread in
vain

(FZ II, p. 35:11-15, E. 325)

It is Enion who weaves a woof of terror (FZ I, p. 5:14-28, E. 302-03) yet it is Enion as archetypal Great Mother⁴⁴ who seeks

her children in pangs of maternal love viewing the ingrates with pity and love (FZ I, p. 8:10 - p. 9:4, E. 304). Northrop Frye suggests in this latter role a parallel with Demeter the Earth Mother or with Penelope awaiting her lord's return, ⁴⁵ the latter more relevant, of course, to this thesis as the embodiment of positive wifely action in Penelope's nightly weaving in order to stall the suitors.

Enion's separation, like that of Ahania, is violent: Tharmas sends her crashing down. Would these be yet another "Miltonic" solution to the too-present wife!

Where art thou Enion ah too near to cunning too far off
And yet too near. Dashd down I send thee into distant darkness
Far as my strength can hurl thee wander there & laugh & play
Among the frozen arrows they will tear thy tender flesh
Fall off afar from Tharmas come not too near my strong fury
Scream & fall off & laugh at Tharmas lovely summer beauty
Till winter rends thee into Shivers as thou hast rended me
(FZ III, p. 45:2-8, E. 330)

Hardly could there be a better passage for demonstrating existent patriarchal opinions that woman should not be seen, should not be heard, should not be known or shown to possess any learning or knowledge and should shoulder all the blame for the failure of the relationship. However, the fact that Blake puts this speech into the mouth of the now-fallen Zoa is an indication that it is to be read ironically as implicitly demonstrating the validity of Enion's insights.

It is only as Tharmas sees Los and Enitharmon together that he is reminded that man is not complete without his feminine portion, and in love and pity he cries out for Enion (FZ IV, p.

47:1 - p. 48:10, E. 331-32). Such a heart-rending call disturbs even the sleeping Albion who senses that there is an anguished fear of woman's domination associated with the sound (FZ III, p. 41:11-12, E. 328; Jerusalem 43:59, E. 192).

It is only as Tharmas is able to overcome these irrational fears and quiet his emotions that it is possible for Enion to return and for both to be renewed together. "Arise O Enion arise for Lo I have calmd my seas" is the appeal of Tharmas (FZ IX, p. 129:27, E. 398).

It may then be asked what manner of wife was Enion that she incurred such wrath, provoked such treatment and aroused such longing.

Apart from a brief association with the Spectre (FZ I, pp. 6 and 7, E. 303-04 and VIII, p. 109:26, E. 384), Enion is early portrayed as weaving, not "... Garments woven subservient to her hands" but an animated woof "having a will of its own perverse & wayward" (FZ I, p. 5:20-22, E. 302). Adjectivally, that is exactly how Tharmas perceives Enion herself - perverse and wayward.

In the opening passage of The Four Zoas Tharmas laments the loss of his Emanations and accuses Enion of jealously coming between him and Jerusalem. Perhaps there is some cause for this suspicion for their children, Los and Enitharmon, are to exhibit possessive tendencies as they drive possible rivals away from each other (FZ I, p. 9: 30-31, E. 305). However, in the reply of Enion to this accusation it becomes clear that it is Tharmas who has offended: Enion's love, therefore, has turned to hatred. Demands of Right and Duty have been made upon her rather than the

allowing of Liberty; her admiration for him has become terror of him:

I have lookd into the secret soul of him I lovd
And in the Dark recesses found Sin & cannot return
(FZ I, p. 4:25-26, E. 301)

Enion is capable of playing a role of sisterly comfort for she speaks in terms of hope to Ahanian, the cast-out one, the "poor forsaken one" (FZ VIII, p. 109:14, E. 384); this is not an office which Tharmas, who sees himself as the refuge of Emanations, can appreciate (FZ I, p. 4:16, E. 301). Enion foretells the return of the Lamb of God who has rent the Veil of Mystery and of the Eternal Man resuming his ancient bliss (FZ VII, p. 110:1-28, E. 385), an apocalyptic insight which Tharmas does not share until later (FZ IX, p. 129:23, E. 398).

As Enion, together with Tharmas, re-enters Eternal Childhood through the good graces of Vala (FZ IX, p. 130:7 - p. 131:19, E. 398-400) and Zoa and Emanation are reconciled (and despite Enion's initial reluctance to follow Tharmas), it is evident that she is capable of perceiving and enacting the roles of assertive wife, of sympathetic mother (FZ I, p. 9:2-6, E. 304) and of complaisant infant. In exercising such role change she surrenders the judgmental attitude that has Tharmas roaring: "Why wilt thou Examine every little fibre of my soul" (FZ I, p. 4:29, E. 302). Enion puts off the clothes of death, embracing again her Zoa - and Tharmas is encouraged to take up the Winnowing Fan and usher in the Morning of Judgment and of freedom (FZ IX, p. 132:22; p. 134:2-4, E. 401, 402).

Enion as a wife with a will of her own, with motherly over-

concern in her analysis of Tharmas yet with the capacity to enter, in line with the scriptural injunction of Matthew 18:3, once more into childhood, has produced action that has resulted in ultimate good. The Tharmas of the apocalypse is marvellously changed from the parent power darkening in the West which Blake had described in the First Night. Enion may comfortably take her place with the other Emanations at the Golden Loom (FZ IX, p. 137:11-15, E. 405).

Enion, like Ahanian, has suffered sanctions from her Zoa in his efforts to bring about her conformity to his expectations of the role of wife: namely, open acceptance, without jealousy and possessiveness, of the "norm" that he would be desolate without a multiplicity of female contacts (FZ I, p. 4:8-16, E. 301). Her perception of her role is not congruent with his. For her, death would be preferable to a marriage where Right and Duty are the raison d'être rather than Love (FZ I, p. 4:17-19; p. 5:5, E. 301, 302).

Despite this role conflict caused by the role expectations, observations and reactions of Tharmas, Enion enacts a series of roles which effectively display her as a power for good - and:

Joy thrilld thro all the Furious forms of Tharmas humanizing
Mild he Embracd her whom he sought he raisd her thro the heavens
(FZ IX, p. 132:36-37, E. 401)

V. Vala: sweet wanderer.

Vala, wife or Emanation of Luvah, is not seized by the hair or sent crashing down in violent separation from her Zoa. There

is no precipitating factor to force her into autonomy: she moves away from him of her own accord. In fact, she is often called "sweet wanderer" (FZ II, p. 27:20, E. 318; III, p. 42:1, E. 328; IX, p. 129:35, E. 398):

... in vain his love
Brought him in various forms before her still she knew him not
(FZ II, p. 31:19, E. 321)

Still she despisd him, calling on his name & knowing him not
Still hating him still professing love
(FZ II, p. 32:1-2, E. 321)

A partial connotation of the verb "to know" may be a usage in the Biblical relationship of "having sexual relationships", and this context adds a further dimension to Vala's deliberate maintaining of division.

46

In her separation, Vala assumes many forms: from earth worm to scaled serpent; from dragon, winged bright and poisonous to weeping infant hidden in soft gardens (FZ II, p. 26:6 - p. 27:8, E. 317). There are also negative descriptions of Vala: delusive vision, Jerusalem's contrary, antagonism to spiritual perceptions, secrecy and shame in love, hatred and war, natural religion and natural morality - and a recent writer stresses, additionally, the representation by Vala of the outer world of nature.

47

48

Although, in this chapter, Vala is discussed principally as Luvah's Emanation and wife, she has a close connection with Albion. She herself speaks of being Albion's Bride and Wife in great Eternity (Jerusalem 29:39-40, E. 175) although Albion refutes her : "In Eternity they neither marry nor are given in

marriage" (Jerusalem 30:15, E. 176). There is a hint of some kind of compromise agreement in Vala's response to Jerusalem's assertion that she cannot be the wife of Albion: "...Albion is mine! Luvah gave me to Albion... / And now recieves reproach & hate", cries Vala (Jerusalem 45:50, E. 195). There has certainly been a sense of struggle over Vala, and Luvah has left Albion prostrate and covered with boils from head to foot (FZ III, p. 41:13-17. E. 328). In delightfully anticlimactic phrasing Blake writes of the consequence: "Then frownd the Fallen Man & put forth Luvah from his presence" (1.17).

Albion may faint in sweet bliss upon Vala's bosom but it will be the unconsciousness associated elsewhere with soft deluding slumber and the quiet of the Tabernacle and Temple of Vala not that of the Most High (FZ VII, p. 83:9, E. 358; III, p. 39:15-16; E. 327); Jerusalem 30:29-30, E. 176). As with the Maiden in "The Crystal Cabinet" there is an air of illusion about Vala (E. 488-89).

Yet there is an evil substantiality, like that of Rahab, about Vala, also. She is not to be trusted: "... my Father gave me command to murder Albion" - for Luvah is to Vala father, lover and husband (Jerusalem 80:27, E. 236); FZ II, p. 27:14, p. 318; IX, p. 137:28, E. 405) - and the contemplation of such a course of action disturbs the sleep of Brittannia (Jerusalem 80:16-18, E.236; 94:20-25, E. 254).

As Jean Hagstrum points out, there is a great shift in emphasis from love as joy in nature and as a force for revolution in the early works of Blake to love as torment and jealousy - and

murder.⁴⁹ Vala as an evil force is often connected with images of death (Jerusalem 68:65 - 69:5, E. 222-23); 81:7, E. 238; 64:18-24, E. 215; 89:52-62, E. 249), an association having an antecedent in the description of Vala sacrificed to Urizen's furnaces in the Second Night:

... last she fell a heap of Ashes
Beneath the furnaces a woful heap in living death
(FZ II, p. 28:5-6, E. 318)

However, Albion calls Vala the loveliest - "the Divine vision/ Is nothing before thee", an opinion echoed by Vala herself: "I alone am Beauty/ The Imaginative Human Form is but a breathing of Vala" (Jerusalem 29:33-34, 48-49, E. 175), and it is written into the Divine scheme that when Jesus takes Jerusalem as His Bride, Vala is given to Albion for his wife (Jerusalem 20:40; 63:7; 64:19; 65:71, E. 166, 214, 215, 219).

Although Luvah complains that, having borne his sons and daughters, Vala has been taken away and hidden from sight, her actions live on, for her essence is female sovereignty and the Female Will; her manifestation, Reasoning, Doubt, Despair and Death; and, in her association with Rahab, sexual dominion.⁵⁰ Jerusalem Plate 51 (I.B. 330) pictures her in the unsavoury company of Hyle and Skofield, replete with symbols of power, the sceptre, crown and throne, yet in a posture of despair.

When Luvah and Vala consort together their relationship is described in terms of jealous fears, fury and rage, shrinking and falling, and the serpent form of unregenerate Nature (FZ III, p. 42:10-17, E. 328; Jerusalem 43:73-76, E. 192). They are bound together by some unwanted mutual attraction which carried with it

an element of the desolate, the forsaken (FZ I, p. 13:4-7, E. 308). "... the Human form is no more" rings out the song at the Nuptial Feast as they ride together "triumphant in the bloody sky" (FZ I, p. 15:7-8, E. 309).

Although Los speaks of Vala as weeping for Luvah and refusing to be comforted, when Luvah is cast into Urizen's fires, it is Vala who feeds the furnaces with cruel delight and while hidden - an eminence grise - presides at and encourages war.⁵¹ She is the lovely form which draws Man from heaven into the Abyss, the Vala whose bow twangs from the depths of hell, the wife who (professing love) calls her Zoa "Tempter" (in a Freudian projection of her own tendencies).

Credit must be given to Vala for her attempt to withdraw from an alliance which is destructive to the self and to mankind: the symbol "wife" may, on occasion, be related to the state of "Conjugal Love", or the false and Generating Love that seeks to destroy the spiritual life and love of man⁵² (Jerusalem 17:25-28, E. 161-62).

Vala, however, then insinuates herself into a position of individual power: when Urizen summons the Synagogue of Satan to condemn Jesus as a transgressor, Vala is among its numbers, beaming - as Blake pointedly writes in an alteration from the unemotive "stood":

...amidst them [stood del.] beam'd
A False Feminine Counterpart of Lovely Delusive Beauty
Dividing & Uniting at will in the Cruelties of Holiness,
Vala, drawn down into a Vegetated body, now triumphant.

11.277-89, K. 348

(FZ VIII, p. 105:11-16, E. 378)

When Jerusalem declines to assume a position of excessive influence over Albion, stating: "... thine own Minute Particulars, / Belong to God alone...", Vala has no hesitation in asserting her right to be the possessive wife (Jerusalem 45:44-45, 50, E. 195): "Albion is mine!".

Whereas Ahania had exhibited a belief in and a capacity for personal judgment while active in the role of wife, Vala exercises the right of self-determination, a separateness of action outside of the position. Vala has, thus, a yet more controversial conception of possibilities for a wife, but this is not set at nought, for she is shown to take her place, also, with the other Emanations at the final day. This is an appropriate reward for the Vala who, with Luvah, is accepted as a Servant of the Immortal, who is led among the flocks to seek her Maker, who is called "Sinless Soul", from whose bosom a new Song arises and who (as mentioned above) was the agent of reconciliation for Enion and Tharmas (FZ IX, p. 126:6-8, E. 395; pp. 127, 128, 129 and 130, E. 396-99). Vala has needed to develop in her own strength before greater tasks can be laid upon her, be her exploratory way perverse or perfect, a power for good or a force for evil: In an analogous situation Brittannia may perceive herself as "jealous wife" yet she has acquired the capacity to awaken Albion: "Her voice piercd Albions clay cold ear. he moved upon the Rock" (Jerusalem 94:21-27; 95:1-2, E. 254).

In contrast to Ahania and Enion, Vala takes little cognisance of the attitude, the expectations, the observations or the role of her Zoa. There are recorded instances when she is

forced to labour for others (FZ II, p. 31:1-16, E. 320-21); Milton 19:43, E. 113) but generally she decides on and proceeds in, her own course of action; she shrinks into herself "like the dark sea that leaves its slimy banks" (FZ III, p. 42:16, E. 328), she turns the iron spindle of destruction (Jerusalem 66:10, E. 218). She manifests her own forms, that of Mystery, for example (FZ VIII, p. 105:14-15, E. 378); she establishes her own norms - she will survive:

Rise sluggish Soul why sitst thou here why dost thou sit and weep
Yon Sun shall was old & decay but thou shalt ever flourish
The fruit shall ripen & fall down & the flowers consume away
But thou shalt still survive...

(FZ IX, p. 127:24-27, E. 396)

She selects her own weapons: Druid Knife of Revenge and Poison Cup of Jealousy (Jerusalem 63:39-40, E. 214); Satanic Holiness and Religion of Chastity and Selfishness of head, heart and loins - and moral pride (Jerusalem 60:45-49, E. 210). She defines her own role and it is well delineated in the song of the Spectre Sons of Albion (Jerusalem 65:29-55, E. 216-217)) and recognised by Tharmas and again by Los:

Tharmas replied Vala thy Sins have lost us heaven & bliss
Thou art our Curse and till I can bring love into the light
I never will depart from my great wrath

(FZ VIII, p. 94:24-26, E. 366)

...Vala! O that thou wert pure! (Jerusalem 21:12, E. 166).

For good or ill, Vala is her own person.

She is a force for evil, for instance, in the following passage:

... she her dark threads cast over the trembling River:
And over the valleys; from the hills of Hertfordshire to the
hills

Of Surrey across Middlesex & across Albions House
Of Eternity!...

(Jerusalem 45:67-70, E. 195)

Moreover, Enitharmon is perceptive when she associates her Song of Death, a recollection of man's fall, with a Song of Vala (FZ I, p. 10 and p. 11, E. 305-06).

Conversely, Vala may be a power for good, as it is her qualities of independence, even dominance, which enable her to exert a leadership role and to facilitate the Enion/Tharmas reconciliation without which the re-integration of Man in apocalyptic times would be incomplete. Vala's personality (although extended to selfish and destructive ends) has nevertheless been developed by such autonomy - to an extent that has produced in her a capability to cope with the fallen world.

Her role performance has given credibility to her role perception and she will be able to sustain an active role until she and Luvah are gathered up by the Eternal Man from the world of shadows when winter is over (FZ IX, p. 137:28-31, E. 405).

VI . Enitharmon: Eternal Female (M.H.H. 25:1, E. 44).

Vala, Enion and Ahania, although conceptualised as wives for the purpose of textual examination are, nevertheless, spoken of mainly as Emanations, as evanescent shades (Jerusalem 14:122, E. 158). Enitharmon has a unique status: she is the "vegetated mortal Wife of Los: / His Emanation, yet his Wife till the sleep of Death is past." (Jerusalem 14:13-14, E. 158) - in fact, it is reported that Los (Poet, man of Imagination, creator, Jesus figure) encircles her with fires of prophecy (Jerusalem 92:8, E.

252; Jerusalem 12 and 13, E. 155-57; FZ V, pp. 59 and 60, E. 340-41). The Book of Urizen shows Urizen pursuing a dividing course of action until the first female separates out from Los (Plates 13, 15, 18, 19, E. 76-79) and other references tell of Enitharmon growing away from Los (BU VII, E. 80-81; FZ IV, p. 55 [2]: 11.24-27 insertion, E. 338, 833; Milton 3:30, E. 97; Jerusalem 17:51, E. 162; 86:50-54, E. 245).

Enitharmon degenerates further: her Nuptial Song is virtually a song of war (FZ I, p. 14:6 - p. 16:13, E. 308-10); her desires and appetites fill Los with ambitious fury (FZ VII, p. 80:25-26, E. 356), and S. Foster Damon reads into one line of Night One (1.259 in K. 271; p. 10:7-8, E. 305) that Catherine Blake "sees the world's great struggle, and reproves William for not flinging himself into it",⁵³ although an "indolent" Blake is hardly to be imagined!

Enitharmon is very likely modelled in part on Blake's wife Catherine; Blake draws allusions from wife to created character in the text mentioning, for example, Felpham as Enitharmon's bower, (Letter 40, Blake to Thomas Butts, 22 November, 1802, L. 44). He also depicts the wife of Los colouring the poet's designs, work shared by husband and wife analogous to those instances mentioned in Blake Records in relation to William and Catherine.⁵⁴

Enitharmon is not without faults: timidity, willingness to conform and disobedience have been noted⁵⁵ and, on occasion, she is of cold temperament: "Why can I not Enjoy thy beauty Lovely Enitharmon" cries Los (FZ VII, p. 81:23, E. 357). She is also

jealous and possessive as the dialogue between her and Los indicates, and her actions in driving away rival females (including her allusions to Jerusalem and Vala, the very good and the very evil) parallel the exclusiveness shown by Ahania and Urizen (FZ II, p. 34: 16-46, E. 322-23; I, p. 9:30, E. 305; II, p. 30:52-53, E. 320; Jerusalem 87: 12-24, E. 246). It will be remembered that Blake preferred the ideal of mutual sharing expressed in the passage from Milton set in the context of the Divine Voice speaking on the ideal practices of Beulah, Land of Marriage:

... seeing all his loves by her cut off: he leaves
Her also: intirely abstracting himself from Female loves
She shall relent in fear of death: She shall begin to give
Her maidens to her husband: delighting in his delight
And then & then alone begins the happy Female joy
As it is done in Beulah...

(Milton 33:15-20, E. 133)

Moreover, although, in various contexts, Enitharmon is regarded as fertile, bearing an enormous race and exhibiting a "mothers tenderness", no Enitharmon is particularly heedful of suggestions for the future welfare of her Sons and Daughters: "No! I will sieze thy fibres & weave / Them: not as thou wilt but as I will" is a representative utterance! (BU 20:45, E. 81; FZ V, p. 59:25-26, E.340; VIII, p. 115:29-30, E. 380-81; Jerusalem 87:10-18, E. 246). In both accounts of the relations between child Orc and parents, Enitharmon's closeness to an obviously adolescent Orc provokes Los to a jealous reaction (FZ V, pp. 59 and 60, E. 340-41; BU Plate 21, I.B. 203 and this will be discussed again in the context of the next chapter on the "mother" role.

In The Four Zoas, Enitharmon is scornful of her own parents: "To make us happy let them weary their immortal powers / While we draw in their sweet delights while we return them scorn / On scorn to feed our discontent; for if we grateful prove / They will withhold sweet love..." (I, p. 10:3-6, E. 305).

In Night the Second, Enitharmon is the initiator of action as she invites Los to delight in the woes of Vala and Luvah and as she plots to cause division between Urizen and Ahaniah (II, p. 30:53-55; p. 32:5-6, E. 320-21). She has a unique sense of the fragility of husband and wife relationships and a complete confidence in her ability to maintain her own individuality. Los may have felt that they were a husband/wife team for Blake writes that "Los & Enitharmon walkd forth on the dewy Earth / Contracting or expanding their all flexible senses / At will..." (II, p. 34:9-11, E. 322). This would have been illusory. Enitharmon uses such phrases as "Secure now from the smittings of thy Power", "My spirit still pursues thy false love over rocks & valleys", "I deciev'd thee & will still decieve", and "thou art mine / Created for my will my slave" (II, p.34:23, 31, 42, 46, E. 323). Enitharmon further exerts her power as she sings over Los, reviving him, but as he reaches for her, she disappears from him (II, p. 34:47-96, E. 324-25). (This virtual whore role will be discussed in chapter six below).

This sense of self-sufficiency is general on every occasion in which Blake describes Enitharmon: it permeates the personality. The Enitharmon of Europe chuckles in her sleep to think of woman's triumph: "every house a den, every man bound"

(Europe 12: 25-26, E. 64); the Enitharmon of Jerusalem has a secret life: secret places, secret amorous glances (16:60-61, E. 161; 88:16-21, E. 246-47); the Enitharmon of Milton plays lulling cadences on the wind but it is by her Looms that Albion is slain (Milton 6:5-6, E. 99; 3:1, E. 96). In response to Los' question about why she is resisting his Fibres of dominion, Enitharmon in Jerusalem 88 (12-17, E. 246) speaks for them all: "This is Womans World ..." - two Wills and two Intellects are evident (Jerusalem 86:61, E. 245).

That these are attributes and characteristics that Blake would not appreciate in a wife may be safely inferred from the text: they are hardly lineaments of Gratified Desire (E. 474). Even a Poet may be driven to exasperation: "Then Los smote her upon the Earth twas long eer she revivd" (FZ I, p. 11:3, E. 306), although separation is always painful as the contorted figures in Milton 3 (I.B. 219) imply. Moreover, the gnawing pain of Los is aggravated by the Spectre's insinuation that Enitharmon has been stolen away (Jerusalem 5:66, E. 148; 12:7-8, E. 155; 53:6, E. 202; 7:9-17, E. 149).

Although Los endeavours to restore Enitharmon to her children, and she finds this a gesture of comfort, she "still divided away". Yet again Los infolded her in his garments and hid her from the Spectre as in Milton he had sheltered her in a patriarchal closing out of reality - but it is not until towards the end of Jerusalem (87, I.B. 366) that Enitharmon will be illustrated as reaching towards Los as she steps out of Enion's grasp (Jerusalem 44:2-3, E. 193; 17:17-18, 39-40, 48-50, 52-53, E. 161-62; Milton 9:18, E. 103).

Catherine Blake is known to have assisted her husband in printing and colouring his illustrations; Enitharmon, also, is depicted as supportive and in her individuality is her talent. Enitharmon weaves three classes of men; she labours as a fellow artist with Los to produce redemptive effects and she creates spaces for Satan and for other "poor infected".⁵⁶

This positive creative role should negate Enitharmon's apprehension that her own personality will be annihilated and that she will be replaced in the affections of Los, fears which she expresses when she flees to Urizen (FZ VII, p. 87: 1-7, E. 368; Jerusalem 92:8-12, E. 252) and when she maintains her separation from Los despite his willingness to forgive her⁵⁷ (Jerusalem 86: 9-40, 50-61, E. 244-45).

The reunion of Los and the "portion of his life" is implicit rather than detailed - on his Watch, although he smiles with joy when he thinks of Enitharmon (Jerusalem 85:3; 86:1, 19, E. 243, 244), he looks more to Jerusalem and to the new Jerusalem except possibly⁵⁸ in Plate 89 when Damon sees them as reaching towards each other. Certainly the Divine Hand is known to look after both poet and wife: in Night IX Jesus appears to Los and Enitharmon; as time draws to a close they are seen to build together; and the wife of Dark Urthona (the name of regenerate Los) ascends with the other Emanations to the Golden Loom (FZ VIII, p. 100 [1]:6-7, E. 372; IX, p.117:4, E. 386; VII, p. 90, E. 370-71; IX, p. 137:11-12, E. 405).

In The Four Zoas, in Jerusalem and even in Milton, Enitharmon has a particular role to play: wife of poet-prophet.

As with the other Emanations she enacts a certain exclusiveness in this role and, while fostering in Los the ideal of continual intimacy, purposively pursues her own way, dissociating herself when possible from his expectations for a "wife". She is an excellent, if over-zealous mother (the Orc relationship seems a trifle unhealthy), an abysmal daughter and throughout most of the prophetic story is an indifferent wife if complaisance be set as the standard for the "good" helpmeet. At the heart of these attitudes is the fear of being held to be of no account: she will have her sons and daughters pattern themselves on her own personality (Jerusalem 87:10-18, E. 246); she will force Enion to add soulful search to physical chase (FZ I, p. 10:3-6, E. 305; p.9:2-8, E. 304); she will insist on the right of a wife to a separate intellect (Jerusalem 86:61, E. 245).

The power for good in Enitharmon lies in the energy with which she pursues independence and the search for identity. Her role perception and her role performance are congruent; she merits being given charge of the Spirits till the Great Judgment Day and to rise with Los at the time of the Harvest and Vintage (Milton 29:51-53, E. 128; 42:28-31, E. 143-44).

VII. Jerusalem, the holy (FZ VIII, p. 104 [1]:1, E. 376).

Jerusalem is called Liberty; she is the Emanation of Albion and is also known as the Wife and the Bride of Jesus; her sacrificial role is evident in the following lines from Night

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Eight:

And Enitharmon namd the Female Jerusa[le]m the holy
Wondring she saw the Lamb of God within Jerusalems Veil
The fair Vision seen within the inmost deep recess
Of fair Jerusalems bosom in a gently beaming fire
(FZ VIII, p. 104 [1]:1-4, E. 376)

She walks side by side with the Lamb of God - a tribute to an equal wife - and perhaps even, as Wicksteed feels, that Jerusalem is in the heart of Blake's own wife (Jerusalem 27:16-17, E. 172).⁶⁰

Jerusalem 86:43-44 (E. 245) speaks of the Emanations weaving the loves of Beulah for Jerusalem; that is, she is hidden, absorbed in marriage and thus absent from the wholeness of Eternity and the struggles of Generation. Nevertheless, Jerusalem takes action and leaves that lovely land, Beulah, and this initiative is used by Los as a point of time by Los: "Till sweet Jerusalem emanates again into Eternity" (83:60, E. 242), a line which may be coupled with the preceding one ("Place the tribes of Llewellyn in America for a hiding place! / Till sweet Jerusalem emanates again into Eternity") or the succeeding one ("Till sweet Jerusalem emanates again into Eternity / The night falls thick: ...") (Jerusalem 83:59-61, E. 242) (Jerusalem 37:15-22, E. 183; 48:18-25, E. 196-97).

In Plate 48, Jerusalem is associated with Maternal Love, one attribute of the good wife, and there are numerous references to her anguish over her lost children. Jerusalem 83:7 (E. 241) in which Los speaks of Jerusalem as hungering in the desert may be an identification with biblical figures who have retired in meditation and soul-searching before engaging in prophetic action. Known for her affection to her children (Blake supplies

the emphasising exclamation mark, 1.7, E. 241), she leans towards them even when the Sons are identified as Starry Wheels, a term connoting materialistic thought and the Newtonian mechanistic universe (Jerusalem 14:31-34, E. 158).⁶¹

For Albion's sake, Jerusalem stands willing to enter an Eternal Death, this for him who had hidden her from her Lord and Saviour, from the Divine Vision and who has admitted that he has been seeking to annihilate her (Jerusalem 22:19 - 23:19, E. 167-68). Jerusalem's close connection with the divine - she is called His joy - is the essence of her ability to recommend Forgiveness rather than Punishment and in a recapitulation of the sentiments of Tharmas towards Enion, Jerusalem pleads for a measure of recognition and autonomy (Jerusalem 43:8, E. 191; 22:34-35, E. 168; FZ I, p.4:29-30, E. 301; Jerusalem 22:20-21, E. 167).

Jerusalem suffers interference, rather than support, from that other "wife", Vala (Jerusalem 17:24-25, E. 161; 45:60-66, 49, E. 195). Plate 23 (I.B. 302) shows her caught up in Vala's Veil, while Plate 45 (I.B. 324) depicts her enshrouded in Vala's iron threads. When the dichotomy between the material and the spiritual is made manifest, it is Jerusalem who is said to give the souls while Vala produces, as in an assembly line, the bodies (Jerusalem 18:7, E. 163).

Jerusalem in Eternity is in every Man; Jerusalem in times of old overspread all the Nations and they wait for her, looking up for the Bride (Jerusalem 54:3, E. 203; 72:35-37, E. 227). Her wifely action will be a unique power for good.

Nevertheless, at times Jerusalem loses confidence in her own

destiny. As Urizen puts it: "...I remaining in the porches of the brain / Will lay my scepter on Jerusalem the Emanation" (FZ I, p. 21:29-30, E. 311). Then Jerusalem is spoken of as wandering from house to house, as in ruins; then Jerusalem is impelled to offer up her own children upon the bloody Altar; then Jerusalem is shown to turn from the upward way; then Jerusalem is liable to envy; then her groans are heard. When she neglects to act as a power for good, she is used as a force for evil by those who play an observer's role and recognise her temporary weakness (Jerusalem 81:13-14, E. 239; 74:17, E. 229; FZ VIII, p. 111:1-2, E. 385; Plate 45 (I.B. 325); Jerusalem 82:53-54, E. 240; 82:1, E. 239).

The Song of the Lamb, however, reminds Jerusalem that He gave her liberty and life and confirms her in her path of positive action, reassuring her that those who have persuaded her to rend herself apart in indecision will meet their end:

And I will lead thee thro the Wilderness in shadow of my cloud
 And in my love I will lead thee, lovely Shadow of Sleeping Albion
 (Jerusalem 60:36-37, E. 210)

Although in despair - the Dungeons, as Blake describes this - Jerusalem faintly perceives the Divine One and, acknowledging His pity, His presence and His perception, recognises that she has been deluded by the ways of the world. To sustain her spirits and to inspire her to a return to her former vision and role, the Divine Voice reminds her of Mary's confidence that Joseph did not cast forth what the world would have regarded as a polluted wife - far less would the Resurrection and the Life abandon Jerusalem who had, in fact, merely regarded herself as a Magdalen

(Jerusalem 60-62, E. 209-13). This wife receives strength from the outward symbols of Child, Cross and Sepulchre and inward assurance in the line "Repose on me till the morning..." (62:16-17, 61:47-50, 62:1, E. 212-13).

More is expected of Jerusalem as wife than of even Enitharmon, the Poet's wife, for this is the Emanation of total Man and the Bride of the Lamb. Expecting that Albion will respect her Minute Particulars, she is disappointed and bursts forth from his bosom to be received by the Daughters of Beulah (Jerusalem 48:48-49, E. 197) - a fall into Marriage! ⁶² Her separation is not so much the result of her actions but an outcome of the personality variables and capabilities of others: of Albion, of Vala, of Rahab impinging upon her and corrupting her appropriate role.

The giant form of Jerusalem in Plate 92 (I.B.371) foretells her rise above the reactions, roles and observations of others and her open-handedness denotes an acceptance of the expectations of the Divine One for her: ideal wife. This she acknowledges ("... I know thee O Lord..." Jerusalem 60:18-19, E. 210); she is awakened by the redeemed Albion and to the role of all Emanations is given her name: Jerusalem (Jerusalem 97:1-5; 99:5, E. 256, 259).

A selection of the illustrations to Jerusalem may be read serially as a study in role theory: ⁶³ Plate 2 (I.B. 281) shows Jerusalem asleep in peaceful unawareness of any role, with the following plate an indication of initial role perception as the eyes open and the wings point upwards (I.B. 282 and commentary 283). The concept of the woman ready to undertake an active role

occurs in the flight of the females in Plate 4 in the top left (I.B. 282). There is a sense of role confusion, or role ambiguity in Plate 5 as the five females represent a scattered Jerusalem (I.B. commentary p. 284), a multitudinous self (cf. Walt Whitman's "Song of Myself" in his Leaves of Grass). Vala in her role of force for evil may be seen as triumphant over a fallen Jerusalem in Plate 47 (I.B. 326), yet Jerusalem's continuing effort to enact a generative role is implied in the Jerusalem 57 figures (I.B. 336). This role conflict is to be resolved as the suppliant figure of Plate 60 seeks role clarification (I.B. 339).

Finally, Jerusalem effects a role reversal from uncertainty to conformity as the work concludes (Plates 96 and 99, I.B. 375, 378). The expectations, the reactions, the observations of the Other have modified the role performance of Jerusalem and, according to one critic, achieved the union of a constellation of characters: the male, Albion/ Jehovah/ Universal Father and the female, Britannia/Vala/Jerusalem/forgiven harlot/virgin bride.⁶⁴

On reflection about this chapter, I am aware that I may have been overconcerned to justify the fallen roles of the Emanations as tending ultimately to strengthen (and their consorts); this is a special pleading for my thesis that Blake created for wives fallen roles which are as involved and active as would be the idyllic, Edenic ones without which mingling (activity) there would be no harmony in Eternity (Jerusalem 88:5-11, E. 246).

Feminists argue that the eighteenth century was the beginning of the movement for women's liberation but, although notable exceptions and personalities may be cited, many literary

documents of that period imply a general acceptance of the ideal of the submissive wife. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, herself a woman of individuality, recognises this in one of her letters:

... contrary to the Generality of my Sex, I am of the opinion that both good & ill Husbands are their Wives' makeing. ⁶⁵

Blake's early emphasis in keeping with the satirical thrust of An Island in the Moon is on the wife of matrimony's "Golden cage" or on the absurd wife: the tipsy Mrs. Gimblet, thinking only of the shape of her eyes and mouth; Mrs. Sigtagatist, Mrs. Nannicantipot and Mrs. Sinagain of pious platitude or argumentative trivia who give the lie to Scopprell's assurance that ladies' discourses are improving and an aid to knowledge (E. 460, 449, 452, 457).

On other occasions, Blake has no hesitation in portraying the typically jealous wife, an Elynittria whose arrows of Jealousy aimed at true inspiration have been likened to Blake's perceiving a less tolerable side of Catherine Blake's ⁶⁶ nature. In Milton, it is noticeable that the illustration to Plate 19 (I.B. 235) shows the wives turned virtuously away from the dancing and free daughters.

On the other hand, Blake also portrayed the Mary, of Jerusalem 61 (E. 211-12), as figuratively turning towards freedom when she upbraids Joseph for thinking of putting her away. It is the wife who is the recipient here of marital jealousy. In this passage, Blake shows how ridiculous are the judgmental attitudes of such as a Urizen and a Tharmas, even an unredeemed Los, in relation to the casting off of a wife who

fails to come up to arbitrary role expectations. Blake may have fantasised about the Zoas violently freeing themselves from conjugal restraints, but he shows, in Joseph, an attitude which goes beyond husbandly justice. Joseph (ultimately) models the appropriate response: unconditional acceptance and equality for a wife. Blake's Miltonic Muse is safely subordinated!

The reverse is seen in the colour print, Lamech and His Two Wives (Butlin II, Plate 391) which is based on the textual reference to the Lamech who enjoins his wives to hearken to him and the picture itself shows the two females huddled together in a stooped posture indicative of a lack of status and a sense of alienation from the husband.

Nevertheless, the opportunities presented in Blake's works for a wife of action are numerous. Oothoon perceives and enacts the role of the ideal wife. She gives of herself energetically and refuses to submit without protest to Theotormon's attempt at emotional domination.

The Emanations are permitted great scope for entry into husband/wife relationships and, while they often fail to grasp these opportunities, they do pursue a level of activity (for good or for ill) far in excess of the stereotype of the century. Each establishes her own norms in accordance with her perception of the role of wife, an active commitment to individuality. That this is intentional on the part of Blake may be inferred from such deletions and additions as that of The Four Zoas III, p. 37:3 (E. 326; textual commentary, 830) where Ahania uses the personal "me" to replace the generalization "thy wife".

While the wife may have regard for the expectations, be

influenced by his reactions, and attend to his observations, she exerts her own personality to ensure that in Generation man's sweet Shadow is not the overshadowed. In fact, if Vala were to prevail, the Human Divine would be Woman's Shadow (Jerusalem 64:14, E. 215)! It is only in Eternity that there is no Will necessary for the female, only in Regeneration that she is to learn obedience (VLJ, p. 85, E. 562; FZ IX, p. 122:11-20, E. 391).

There is, admittedly, some sense of conflict in Blake's devotion to, respectively, Muse, wife and woman with the "Lineaments of Gratified Desire" ("To the Muses", E. 417; "I've a Wife I love" from "I Rose up", E. 481; "When a Man has Married a Wife", E. 516; "What is it men in women do require", and "In a Wife...", E. 474).

Stronger, however, than this sense of duality within Blake, and overriding expressed fears of times when man may hardly dare to embrace his Emanation (Jerusalem 32:45-48, E. 179) is Blake's concept of the active bonding function of the wife: Jerusalem 39:38 (E. 187) speaks of Man "adjoind to Man by his Emanative portion", be that Jerusalem or Vala (ll. 38-40), and Jerusalem 69:14-25 (E. 223) recounts the mutual sharing possible for man and wife.

Finally, although Eternity is said to shudder at the creation of the separate female (BU, Plate 18:9:9-12, E. 78), Blake presents with tenderness the archetypal wife, Eve (as may be seen in the supplement to this chapter, Appendix 4).

In the husband's pride, mistrust and domination, the wife is

lost: Enion says to Tharmas: "I ... cannot return"; Los speaks in pride, and Enitharmon is made vulnerable to Tharmas (FZ I, p.4:27, E. 301; FZ IV, p. 48:11 - p. 49:5, E. 332; FZ VII, p. 81:6-22, E. 356-57). In this last passage Blake deleted the more contentious lines in which Enitharmon feeds on Los' Despair and considers herself avenged for past sufferings in favour of a more positive construct of the wife (K. 324; textual commentary, E. 837).

When Blake's "wife" is accepted as an active partner in the marital relationship, seen to take her place in a working situation, at the Loom, for example, then she functions as a power for good. The apocalypse is heralded and she may be truly called "Jerusalem", for liberty is at hand.

Thou'rt my Mother from the Womb
Wife, Sister, Daughter to the Tomb
(For the Sexes: The Gates of Paradise: The Keys, E. 269)

In mythology there are two remembered images of the mother: the incarnation of the promise of perfection, the comforting, nourishing beautiful, "good" mother; and the absent, unattainable, hampering, punishing and forbidding mother.¹ Within the mother, the maternal good and the maternal evil are in conflict as to which will predominate in the attitudes and behaviours towards the child, and this tension, like that of the contrary states, is a necessary climate for spiritual progression and energetic existence.

Generally, however, from scriptural injunction to behavioural prescription, from literary allusion to scientific pronouncement, from primitive superstition to modern myth, man has tended to, even delighted in, polarising two images of the maternal feminine,² Neumann's "good mother" and the "evil mother",³ aspects which together with the good-bad union form a cohesive archetypal group⁴ - Jung's "loving and terrible mother".⁵

This chapter will examine differing expectations for the mother figure: those of the eighteenth century, those of Blake in so far as these can be inferred from the roles played out in the text, and those of the author's characters - for themselves and for others in the narrative action. It will be argued that the basic opposition of the good mother role and the evil mother role works, in Blake, like the concept of contraries. The roles will be ultimately harmonized.

In the poetry of the Romantics there is this same

ambivalence in images of the mother: the idealized goddess or the devouring witch; cradling Nature or frozen wasteland - a dichotomy finding its psychological roots in the infant's attitude to the mother as a source of both love and loss.⁶

Qualities associated with the positive expression of motherhood include: maternal solicitude and sympathy; the magic authority of the female; the wisdom and spiritual exaltation that transcend reason; any helpful instinct or impulse; all that is benign; all⁷ that cherishes and sustains, that fosters growth and fertility. For example, the goddess Diane at Ephesus,⁸ and Até and Eris (respectively figures of nourishment and discord) are multiple-breasted:⁹ for the child at the breast, the mother does indeed represent good or evil.

Negative connotations of the maternal embrace the secret, the hidden, the dark; the world of the dead, the abyss, that which devours, seduces and poisons, that is terrifying and inescapable like fate.¹⁰ Not all mythologies, admittedly, have the evil mother form: in Egyptian story the mother is always a positive figure and sometimes feelings inspired by the mother can flow into attachments to the landscape and transform conceptions¹¹ - the mother may be visualised, for example, as the sea.

Sometimes the mother will disappear altogether: Carolyn Heilbrun points out that in the saga of Troy, Aeneas leaves the burning city with his aging father on his shoulders and leads his son by the hand. Both Aeneas and Virgil seem to have lost account of the mother!¹²

On other occasions, a maternal role will emerge in some

surrogate figure: antiquarians, working from Pylos tablets and Mycenae ivory groups, have established as important the worship of two mothers, or nurse substitutes - although depictions of contentment in family life may more honour the dead than reflect the reality of ancient times, comments one researcher.¹³

Rousseau's mother died in childbirth but his later relationship with Mme de Warens, "Mamam", is held to have had an element of "Caresses maternelles" in it¹⁴ - those of a good mother. Conversely, Mrs. Duval in Fanny Burney's Evelina is the wicked grandmother.¹⁵ Current sociological and feminist theory has pointed to the need for male mothering practices;¹⁶ recent scholarship in theology has presented the concept of God the Mother.¹⁷

Freud, even though working from clinical notes and in the context of a conventional patriarchal society,¹⁸ also provided insights into dichotomies of good and evil perceptions and the mother figure. He gives an account of what he termed "decomposition", the process whereby a person may, on occasion, designate another as a "good" figure or "bad" character and is unable to perceive these aspects combined in a single identity. Better known are Freud's essays on the effects of an early attachment to the mother on a child's development.¹⁹ Although Freud does not attribute to woman some a priori maternal instinct, nurturing tendencies are seen to emerge as the outcome of female experience in the "Oedipus" process.²⁰

The social anthropologist, Briffault, altogether dismissed the concept of the "unconscious mind" yet he concluded from his study of early matriarchal societies that the socially developed

and socially transmitted mind is moulded by the instincts of the mothers.²¹ Similarly, Engels, who examined Bachofen's Mutterrecht, argued that man lived early in a state of sexual promiscuity and therefore descent was reckoned by the certain female line - according to the mother-right - and consequently mothers were in a position of respect and honour. When this situation was superseded by father-right (to ensure the paternal law of inheritance) woman's status was reduced. Engels also notes the change in the use of the Roman term "familia" from meaning the local number of slaves to embracing the social organism of blood-kindred (including mothers).²² What this did for maternal status is open to question!

There is thus some conflict in the myth of the "mother": a recent study of female heroes in literature speaks of mothers as "embodying selflessness and nurturance" or as possessing "whatever qualities are out of favour".²³ This duality may be perceived as an affirming maternal self hidden beneath a facade appropriate for survival in such a patriarchy as Blake's century, or depicted as a contrast in potential as between the foolish woman in Proverbs and the Whore of Babylon.²⁴

In addition to the mode of submission and obedience discussed as common to daughter and mother in an earlier chapter,²⁵ the eighteenth century expected of the "good" mother the increase of children: the wealth of a country was said to be in its population!²⁶ Defoe, earlier, had even written that some persons of judgment and learning were of the opinion that when there was no room to expect children it was not lawful to marry.²⁷

Both the Jewish and the Gentile world of ancient days had held as the prime object of marriage the begetting of children - as a means of propagating the Holy People and for the production of legitimate offspring of citizen caste, in the respective instances.²⁸

The office of holy matrimony in the Book of Common Prayer (1549) and in use in Blake's day set forth the first object of marriage: "procreation of children". "Relief of concupiscence" and "mutual society, help and comfort" were but secondary aims,²⁹ although Milton had written of the apt and cheerful conversation of man with woman to comfort and refresh him" being above procreation as an end in marriage.³⁰ Samuel Johnson, similarly, spoke of "perpetual and indissoluble friendship", "amongst equals" and "with the good", aims concerned more with reciprocal esteem and affection.³¹ Roman Catholicism also taught proles ("proles", f. [Latin], offspring, descendants, children) as the first ideal of marriage, with fides ("fides", f, [Latin], faith, fidelity) and sacramentum as additionally desirable.³² Puritans had arrived at the same primary goal: they stated four distinct objections to birth control: it violated God's injunction to be fruitful and multiply; children were a blessing of God and fecundity was God's will; birth control, if practised, would reduce the number of the Elect in the next generation; and childbirth brought honour to women and assisted them to achieve salvation.³³

Eighteenth-century writers in support of women were likely to extol the virtues of the procreative women of the Bible: Samson's mother and the mothers of the Kings of Judah, for

example.³⁴ Furthermore, as a counter to possible disenchantment with male-oriented Judaism or Christianity, to the biological and social ideals of motherhood was added an ideological component,³⁵ a redemptive purpose: the woman shall be saved through child-bearing as I Timothy 2:15 may be interpreted.³⁶ At the very least, it was held that woman could "become good" through suffering and through the agency of children.³⁷

The idealization of the "good mother", in art as well as in literature, emphasised chastity.³⁸ The rejection of the unchaste as "damaged goods" had at its root the fear that the mother's bringing a bastard into the family would upset legitimate property expectations.³⁹ As Samuel Johnson remarked: "The man imposes no bastards on his wife".⁴⁰ Often great pains were taken to have such children born abroad and kept in ignorance of their parentage; the pure image of the good mother was to be preserved.⁴¹

A good mother's responsibility was not simply to bear the child but also to see it through the life stages.⁴² In the fifteenth century it is recorded that the Paston children were educated by their mothers,⁴³ while in the seventeenth century Richard Braithwaite wrote that no tutoresses are more suitable than a mother and that in turn the young lady must then grow up to educate her own children.⁴⁴ A century later the courtesy manual, The Whole Duty of Woman,⁴⁵ included advice on governing the self and the dependants.⁴⁵ Mary Wollstonecraft wrote in praise of the woman with five children whose achievement was to raise her children alone and whose dedication to motherhood was summed thus: "Thou gavest me a talent - and here are five talents"⁴⁶ - an

accomplishment not of active production but of reproduction, as a recent writer points out! ⁴⁷ Vindication also describes the good mother as having sense and independence and as exercising mutual sympathy to form the mind and temper - women must be better themselves to be better mothers. ⁴⁸ Richardson implies that the credit for Pamela's successful defence of her virtue ought to be given to her parents for the religious education she received from them, ⁴⁹ while Pamela itself concludes with a note to the effect that the heroine's seven children "were being educated in every respect by the rules of their inimitable mother" (II, 472). In a similar thought, Hannah More at the turn of the nineteenth century advocated the development of an ability to be a companion to the husband and an educator of his children, in preference to the acquisition of a "phrenzy of accomplishments". ⁵⁰

About the same time, Lady Pennington outlined principles of good mothering which are still current today: avoidance of birth trauma arising from exposure of the baby to sudden light, loud noises, swaddling clothing - and she added instructions about the importance of treating each child as an individual, not to be ⁵¹ beaten or spoken to in a shrill voice.

Rousseau held condescendingly that women "void of reflection" would be incapable of educating children ⁵² - perhaps this was the French sensibility against which the mother of Maria Edgeworth's Leonora warned her! ⁵³ However, Defoe (speaking of the situation of an English tradesman), believed that the honest, affectionate mother should make herself acquainted with the trade of the father so that in case of family tragedy she could "breed ⁵⁴ her son up to it".

Olwen Hufton, researching the position of the late eighteenth-century woman in France, points out women could participate in bread riots with impunity - an implication that the State⁵⁵ recognised that good mothers may be driven to desperate measures to succour their children in times of need.

Beyond merely producing, providing for and training the child, the good mother should be prepared to give up her child if called upon to do so. This ethic has a scriptural parallel in the special (and somewhat different) story of Solomon preparing to "divide" the disputed child to settle the claims of the two "mothers" (I Kings 3:16-27). The mother heroine of the French Revolution proudly carried her banner: " I have given a citizen (or two or three) to the Republic!";⁵⁶ the wives of France's itinerant farm hands of the same period hired out their children to beg or led them to wealthier farms where they would be fed.⁵⁷ They gave up their mother rights for greater causes.

In sum, the good mother was to be the passive recipient of seminal issue, the proponent of holy procreation, the chaste wife lest her family suffer through her and one who would see her children through their life stages, guiding, educating or training them according to her natural abilities, temporal inclinations and perceptual apprehensions. Theoretically the good mother was to be present from birth to death: a Sophia held captive by those whom she had generated,⁵⁸ a Demeter seeking beyond death for her Persephone, the Hebrew azar helpmate become the Jewish mother image, the support and refuge;⁵⁹ Mary, mother of Christ, present at cradle and crucifixion⁶⁰ (Milton 5:3, E. 98).

Conversely, in a foreshadowing of the dichotomy of the dark angel and the fair angel of the following century, the evil mother of the eighteenth century exemplified none of the above virtues. She interfered with the lives of her children, stifling their development in one of two ways: by direct negative action or by deliberate neglect.

Similarly the evil mother was present from birth to death: from the moment of conception the mother's imagination was held to affect both the appearance and the personality, "marvelously altering the infant".⁶¹ Although a mother could be of great benefit to the child, she could also be of considerable harm to it. From her strength came personal advantages but from her feebleness ensued ill effects.⁶² "Bad" mothers, "for fear of their shapes",⁶³ put their babies out to nurse and this practice was condemned by enlightened minds:⁶⁴ the infant was held to take in the nurse's temper, infirmities and irregular passions with the milk.⁶⁵ It was held, additionally, that in fostering out children, the parents risked the child's adopting the vices of those to whose care it was remitted.⁶⁶

There were, admittedly, many reasons for mothers of the eighteenth century to assume callous attitudes towards their children, particularly infants. Mortality rates were high; young children represented grave financial burdens and made the prospect of security remote. High prices meant sick children whose food was simply coarse bread made from stale flour.⁶⁷ Few women on their own could earn enough to support themselves, far less a family of young children. Although laws were passed to force parents to support their illegitimate children, the

administration of the Poor Laws was left to ineffective small
local units.⁶⁸ If no-one could be found to provide maintenance for
the child, settlement could fall on the parish and consequently
local authorities did all they could to keep pregnant women on
the move.⁶⁹ Unmarried mothers could be flogged for violating the
sexual rules and thus posing the threat of higher poor rates.⁷⁰

Not surprisingly, infanticide has been found to be the
most common category of murder committed by the eighteenth-
century woman. It was made a capital offence merely to conceal a
birth or a bastard, but it has been argued that judges and juries
went out of their way to find enough evidence to justify an
acquittal.⁷¹ Alternatively, the infant poor were boarded out with
women on relief themselves - many of these young starved; or they
were nursed carelessly in the parish workhouse - few survived.
Furthermore, children were bound out to be trained in the habits
of industry⁷² - not the joys of existence.

The evil mother reflected the evils of society.

Medieval theories had presented the womb itself as an evil,
or at the very least rampant and associated with inferiority, an
organism hungry for intercourse and reproduction,⁷³ an animal
within an animal.⁷⁴ These attitudes were still to be found in the
eighteenth century; Diderot, for example, wrote of women as
greatly subject to sexual hysteria.⁷⁵ Jonathan Swift had referred
satirically to parts of the body associated with the reproduction
of children: the pimpled nursing breast in Brobdingnag (ch.1);
the pendulous breasts of the Yahoos (ch.1) and the monkey holding
Gulliver in a suckling position (cf. also the constitution of

Lilliput in which parents were the last to be entrusted with the
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child's education.

John Cleland's Fanny Hill and Samuel Richardson's Pamela reflect the two current yet contradictory theories about woman's sexual nature (appetite and delicacy) and similarly two discrete images of the mother existed: the overbearing, ignorant, enfeebling mother, alternately indulging her offspring and remitting to the care of others its proper nurture and education; or the instructing, strengthening virtuous mother. "If ever a mother, when you feel your own inability to direct and assist the pursuits of your children, you will then find ignorance a severe mortification and a real evil", wrote Hester Chapone in 1773.⁷⁷

Blake's "mother" is very concerned with action. She prefers an extended role: she not only possesses the potential for choices of behaviour, but she also exercises them. The role prescriptions or proscriptions of others may define her role as a "good" mother or an "evil" mother but her own expectations of the mother role permeate the narrative thread.

This chapter will examine a number of mother figures from the Songs of Innocence and of Experience, and from the Pickering manuscript before discussing Enion, Enitharmon and Jerusalem as three representative "mothers" from the later works.

Other critics have placed these female characters in the the context of Freudian or Jungian theory,⁷⁸ but this present study will, alternatively, concentrate upon their potential, realised or otherwise, to be powers for good or forces for evil as they perform roles within the narrative action. While each may be seen as enacting "the good mother" and/or "the bad

mother", these roles may work against each other as contraries so that there is an ultimate sense of the opposing tensions within the "mother" harmonized.

The chapter will continue with a further section on Blake's portrayal of the mother figure in his graphic art and it will conclude with some comments on Blake's demonstrated interest in multiple roles.

I. Mothers in the Songs and in the Pickering Manuscript.

The title-page of the Songs of Innocence (T. 3) depicts a mother figure showing a book to two children and this same positive image relates well to the following poem, "Introduction", in which the piper at the request of the child writes down the song that all may share in it. In Innocence, knowledge is the prerogative of all ages. This is an ideal which Blake would portray again in one of his engravings for Night the Second of Young's Night Thoughts (NT 64, [E 20, Dover 35]).

Although this engraving is to be discussed in relation to the teaching figure in the subsequent chapter on the servant role, mention should be made here of the mother who appears to lean forward in anticipation, an eager participant in the learning process. Essick and La Belle read this as a Vala figure and admittedly she is an aged mother, but the asterisked line ("Teaching, we learn", Dover xxi) could imply that this is the "good mother" of Blake's time who takes an active role in her

child's education: she permits learning but also encourages it. The forthcoming commentary (to the Designs edition) makes the comment that there is a possibility that the woman is learning through the medium of her children. This engraving could thus be seen also a commendation of the good mother who, having given her children the freedom to learn, herself benefits: Blake's tranquil blue background lends itself to positive connotations.

The good mother also has a sense of the spirituality of motherhood: the mother of "A Cradle Song" (T. 16, 17), from Innocence, speaks first of her hopes for her own infant and then of the role of reconciliation effected by the Holy Infant.

The maternal figures in the first plate of "The Ecchoing Green" (T. 6) are shown with their arms about the little children and their faces turned down towards them. Blake used the same elements to illustrate Gray's line from his "Elegy": "Slow thro' the churchway path" (Keynes III, 10/156/114/28; Butlin I, 335. 114; cf. also Keynes, III, 4/150/108/28, Butlin I, 335.108.) - each plate shows mothers with their children under the spreading tree.⁷⁹ In Innocence the good mother is seen to offer companionship to her children in times of joy; in times of grief they may then turn readily to her for comfort, as the funeral procession in the background of the tenth Gray illustration implies.

The mother figure in "Spring" (T. 22) supports her baby's limbs as he reaches towards the grazing sheep. Good mothers remain physically loving towards their children.

A similar mother/child posture occurs in one of Blake's engravings for Young's *Night the First* (NT 27 [E 7, Dover 12, vii]) in which a child on the mother's lap attempts to reach for

a bird, while it goes unnoticed that the father on the other side has been fatally bitten by a serpent. While commentary of Blake's day merely spoke of the blessings of this life (Dover vii), today the picture is often interpreted as portraying man's bondage to the world: the mother attempts to restrain the child who would in turn capture the free-flying bird, and certainly there is a dark foreboding background. Mothers may set the pattern for their children's behaviour. The Designs commentary suggests that the mother's restraint is a well-meant act of ignorance although Blake's point, with Young's, is that joy "must not be tainted by appropriation". It seems significant, to me, that Blake's following engraving in the same series, although showing the mother in the traditionally virtuous position of fond love towards the child, illustrates the line of Young which suggests that too close a bond between the two may hamper awareness of other issues ("The present moment terminates our sight;"). Death and his dart are poised to strike either, or both (NT 31, [E. 8, Dover 14, vii-viii]). Moreover, the fair mother and her fair child are in contrast to the dark surrounds and thus are further indicative of a close, mother/child relationship.

There is this same sense of potentially-suffocating closeness in the poem from Experience, "Infant Sorrow" (T. 48),⁸⁰ which parodies the eighteenth-century practice of wrapping the infant in swaddling bands, and is in direct contrast to the illustration to the poem of Innocence, "Infant Joy" (T. 25), in which the child's limbs are most evidently free, and the mother merely protective. Blake keeps the over-restrictive mother and the neglectful mother in tension.

The opposing forces of good mother and bad mother can be seen in the two counterpart poems concerning the chimney sweep:

The Chimney Sweeper

When my mother died I was very young,
And my father sold me while yet my tongue,
Could scarcely cry weep weep weep weep
So your chimneys I sweep & in soot I sleep

Theres little Tom Dacre, who cried when his head
That curl'd like a lambs back, was shav'd, so I said,
Hush Tom never mind it, for when your head's bare,
You know that the soot cannot spoil your white hair.

And so he was quiet, & that very night,
As Tom was a sleeping he had such a sight,
That thousands of sweepers Dick, Joe, Ned & Jack
Were all of them lock'd up in coffins of black,

And by came an Angel who had a bright key,
And he open'd the coffins & set them all free.
Then down a green plain leaping laughing they run
And wash in a river and shine in the Sun.

Then naked & white, all their bags left behind,
They rise upon clouds, and sport in the wind.
And the Angel told Tom, if he'd be a good boy,
He'd have God for his father & never want joy.

And so Tom awoke and we rose in the dark
And got with our bags & our brushes to work.
Tho' the morning was cold, Tom was happy & warm.
So if all do their duty, they need not fear harm.
(Songs of Innocence, T. 12)

This poem is found in Innocence as a protest against the cruel practice of sending children up narrow chimneys. There has been good critical comment on the poem, the best of this concerned with the irony of the poem, the differentiation of Blake and speaker, and the tradition of protest within which such a work stands.

The poem must be seen as employing Blakean irony, for on the surface it encapsulates eighteenth-century expectations which

Blake could in no way countenance. Blake makes it obvious that the advice to submit quietly to the loss of his curls does not come from the sweep's mother. In one sense she is the absent mother and, therefore, the bad mother. The Angel can be viewed as a substitute mother, one who offers the alternative of faith as a counter to the irony of the last line - that Tom's hope lies in duty (or in works, as pre-Reformation theologians had insisted).

Tom has already had one father failure and is offered an alternative Father; what is needed is a good mother - although admittedly "God" embraces both parental roles.

The irony of the poem of Innocence is better seen in the context of the poem of Experience. In Experience, both father and mother are again absent - but by intention. Blake again reveals his expectations: the mothering role requires more than strict adherence to duty, more than affiliation with religion, or empty patriotism. If the "bad" mother is merely the absent mother - taken in death in Innocence - there is a possibility of amelioration by such as the Angel. The mother simply cannot fulfil her role of good mother. In Experience, the mother will not do so. The "bad mother" is so because she is conforming to the expectations of her own society, not responding to the true feelings of her child. The sweep of Innocence finds the comfort and protection which are his due. The sweep's mother of Innocence is absent, yet present in the Angel figure. The mother of Experience, in place of protective warmth and clothing, attempts to envelop him in the robes of church authority.

Moreover, she will keep him out of such hallowed precincts. History, as well as Blake, tells us that sweeps were not welcome there! There is no chance that the sweep of Experience will come to think of the Church as kindly mother and father. The sweep's evil mother of Experience is present in fact, yet absent in good effect.

The Chimney Sweeper

A little black thing among the snow
Crying weep, weep, in notes of woe!
Where are thy father & mother? say?
They are both gone up to the church to pray.

Because I was happy upon the heath,
And smil'd among the winters snow:
They clothed me in the clothes of death,
And taught me to sing the notes of woe.

And because I am happy, & dance & sing,
They think they have done me no injury:
And are gone to praise God & his Priest & King
Who make up a heaven of our misery.
(Songs of Experience, T.37)

The two poems above are in the same tradition of awareness of society's ills as are "The Little Black Boy", from Innocence (T. 9, 10),⁸² and "The Little Vagabond", from Experience (T. 45). In the former, three of the seven stanzas are the words of the "good mother" and the text is therefore given below:

The Little Black Boy

My mother bore me in the southern wild,
And I am black, but O! my soul is white,
White as an angel is the English child:
But I am black as if bereav'd of light.

My mother taught me underneath a tree
And sitting down before the heat of day,
She took me on her lap and kissed me,
And pointing to the east began to say.

Look on the rising sun: there God does live
And gives his light, and gives his heat away.
And flowers and trees and beasts and men receive
Comfort in morning joy in the noon day.

And we are put on earth a little space,
That we may learn to bear the beams of love,
And these black bodies and this sun-burnt face
Is but a cloud, and like a shady grove.

For when our souls have learn'd the heat to bear
The cloud will vanish we shall hear his voice,
Saying: come out from the grove my love & care,
And round my golden tent like lambs rejoice.

Thus did my mother say and kissed me.
And thus I say to little English boy.
When I from black and he from white cloud free,
And round the tent of God like lambs we joy:

Ill shade him from the heat till he can bear,
To lean in joy upon our fathers knee.
And then I'll stand and stroke his silver hair,
And be like him and he will then love me.

(Songs of Innocence, T. 9, 10)

The mother of the little black boy takes him on her knee, as the illustration of the second stanza shows, and in fairy-tale, yet archetypal, fashion shares his heritage with him. She is such a successful "good mother" role model that the black child himself is able, in turn, to adopt a mothering role towards the white child. The second plate shows that the image of the mother has been transformed into that of the Good Shepherd (pictorially) but also into that of the Great Mother, as the figure

metaphorically is seen to embrace all mankind.

This is one of Blake's most comprehensive statements about the good mother. The first stanza must be seen as the mother's teaching, equally with her words in the later stanzas. Blake gives the eighteenth century its due in that the role of procreation is acknowledged in the first line. However, the sense of the individual worth of each child, black and white as mere genetic circumstance, would not be a widely accepted understanding in Blake's time - and thus the mother's words become a sub-text of protest against discriminatory attitudes. These words are the boy's only solace in the present world.

Other aspects of the good mother manifest themselves: the mother is physically affectionate towards the child; she teaches him to look beyond material concerns to a sense of the eternal; she gives him pride in his own origins and tolerance for those of others.

There is no need in "The Little Vagabond" for Blake's "bad mother" to utter a word in response to the plea of the first line: "Dear Mother, dear Mother". The child has an excellent perception that he is not "us'd well". Modesty was a prized virtue of the eighteenth century: Blake ironically describes Dame Lurch as such. External religious observance was an expectation of the time: Dame Lurch is always at Church as the sing-song internal rhyme proclaims. Blake is parodying the outwardly good woman but the inwardly bad mother, for the fruits of such are very evident: bandy-legged children - a sign of physical neglect or even abuse; practices of fasting, which may be interpreted as

deliberate starvation; and the application of the birch rod, the imposition of harsh discipline.

The allusion to the fasting of children and the malpractices of the bad mother may be related, additionally, to the poem of Experience, "Holy Thursday" (T. 33) and its images of such poverty and neglect that England's babes die of hunger.

Before leaving consideration of the mother figure in the Songs, a brief study of three other poems is in order. The illustration to "Little Boy Found", from Innocence (T. 14), shows two possible good mothers: the figure on the right of the two stanzas may relate to the natural mother who, in weeping, had sought her little boy. She is shown with arms outstretched to receive him. The more interesting figure is the one leading the boy out of the forest. The text reads that this is God, in the semblance of the boy's father, who kisses the child and returns him to his waiting mother. The illustration has attributes of both a Christ figure and a female rescuer. Without entering an earlier debate on this controversial "adult",⁸³ in the context of this chapter, I read this as a deliberate Blakean paradox. Blake allows that children may have to be rescued by a Saviour figure but that this often comes in the form of a good mother!

This same sense of mothers (and fathers and the Divine) entering into the experience of the child is evident in the poem from Innocence, "On Another's Sorrow" (T. 27): the good mother cannot help but try to allay the pains and fears of her child.

Such a bad mother as the one in "To Tirzah", from Experience (T. 52), uses feigned tears to limit man's freedom by exploiting his senses. Blake recognises that a mother's insights may be

limited by her affinity with the mortal world. He writes in Jerusalem that Christ's "Maternal Humanity must be put off Eternally / Lest the Sexual Generation swallow up Regeneration" (Jerusalem 90:36-37, E. 250). There are Gospel incidents in which Christ's mother tried to turn Him from his chosen way (Luke 2:43-52; John 2:1-4; Matthew 12:46-50; Mark 3:31-35) and Crabb Robinson understood Blake to say that "Christ took much after his mother (the law) and in that respect was one of the worst of men".⁸⁵

Tirzah, "Mother of my Mortal part", exemplifies the mother of Experience, seen by Susan Fox to be repressive, neglectful and judgmental, and the antithesis of the positive maternal powers of Innocence.⁸⁶ In the Songs, Blake has kept the two mother roles in tension by separating the powers for good and the forces for evil into Innocence and Experience. In the later works, both aspects are often embodied within one mother figure and for the outcome of the mother's action to be beneficent each contrary must work against the other.

Of the ten handwritten poems of what is known as "the Pickering Manuscript, two in particular throw light on the expectations for the mother role: "The Land of Dreams" and "The Mental Traveller".⁸⁷ In addition, "The Grey Monk" opens with lines which recall the introductory section of this chapter where it was suggested that the good mother should legitimately take up the cause of her starving children (see text, p. 7-8, and note 55). In the first two lines the mother is heard to cry that since her children die she dies also; the third line ("What more has

the merciless Tyrant said", E. 489) implies that, beyond these momentous issues, whatever else the tyrant could say is redundant. The version in the Pickering manuscript which may be taken as more than a working draft specifically refers to the efficacy of "the widows tear" (1.27) which would set the issues of pacifism and the use of force within context of the grieving woman and of the good mother (cf. Bentley, II, 1311, 929; I, 529).

The Land of Dreams

Awake awake my little Boy
Thou was thy Mothers only joy
Why dost thou weep in thy gentle sleep
Awake thy Father does thee keep

O what Land is the Land of Dreams
What are its Mountains & what are its Streams
O Father I saw my Mother there
Among the Lillies by the waters fair

Among the Lambs clothed in white
She walkd with her Thomas in sweet delight
I wept for joy like a dove I mourn
O when shall I again return

Dear Child I also by pleasant Streams
Have wanderd all Night in the Land of Dreams
But tho calm & warm the waters wide
I could not get to the other side

Father O Father what do we here
In this Land of unbelief & fear
The Land of Dreams is better far
Above the light of the Morning Star
[The Pickering Manuscript, E. 489-90)

"The Land of Dreams" may be seen as another of Blake's poems concerned with the absent mother. The narrative voice is that of the father as he wakes the child from a fretful sleep with a reassurance about the love in which the boy had been held by the

mother. Blake has cast the father into the mothering role but this poem is an inversion of "The Chimney Sweeper" (Innocence) because the boy will accept neither a role in generation (he prefers the land above the light of the Morning Star, l. 20) nor a substitute mother (he wants a Land where the mother is associated with Lillies and Lambs). The poem is closer to "The Little Boy Found" (Innocence) in that there is a sense of a necessary return to the mother - but an additional suggestion of the impossibility of such (the father speaks of "waters wide", l.15). In stanza three, Blake presents an imagined good mother, walking "with her Thomas in sweet delight" but, inadvertently, she also enacts the evil mother for here is an inaccessible figure - this is a land of dreams! Moreover, with such a dichotomy of worlds, there can be no resolution into active, present, good mother. The child suffers anew the loss of the breast and experiences the world, without the good mother, as one of unbelief and fear (l.17).

This same sense of the mother as a source of both loss and love is evident in "The Mental Traveller" (E. 483-86). Moreover, there is an opening allusion to a land separated from reality, as was the Land of Dreams. Apart from other suggested allegorical meanings, the poem may be viewed as the struggle, internal and external, of the good mother against the bad mother for possession of the child. In this sense it is thematically reminiscent of Blake's colour print of 1795, "The Good and Evil Angels" (Butlin, II, Plates 323-24; cf. MHH, Plate 4), in which two forces fight over the child. The Marriage plate of course

course argues that evil is the active contrary - but this is the voice of the Devil, though it may be also Blake's expectation for the age!

The first stanza sets out the binaries of Men and Woman, and of cold Earth and another Land. The following lines introduce the contrasts of sowing and reaping, and of begetting in sorrow and bringing forth in joy. The maternal image is associated with a Woman Old, but this is more in contrast to the new Babe than an indictment of age. Blake presents the epitome of the evil mother in the same imagery he uses in the longer prophetic works to describe the practices of the wicked Females of Amalek (FZ VIII, p. 105:31-53, E. 378-79; Jerusalem 67:44 - 68:9, E. 220-21) and verbs which are associated also with the Crucifixion of Christ: binding, piercing, cutting out the heart at the side. The fifth stanza also likens this mother to such as Enion (discussed below) who would examine and number every part of Nerve and Soul.

The generative process is then shown to be cyclical for as the babe grows into manhood, the woman herself reverts to youth whence it is possible for her to perform the good mother function of "Garden fruitful" (l. 28) - and her lover fades away as an aged Shadow.

The bad mother and the good mother are harmonized in the first half of this poem, for the former loses her evil will in submission to the husband's "mould" (l.26) (cf. Milton 33:1-23, E. 133) and the latter gains hers in the form of the Female Babe whom none dare wrap in a swaddling band (l. 48). The restrictive power of evil is supplanted by the good of energy.

It would be very convenient to leave the analogy there - in the context of mother roles - but Blake makes this a poem of multiple roles for the female. The daughter who has sprung forth is endowed with a "roving Eye" which seduces the man, grown old, back to youth and to infancy. A period of regeneration occurs and this can be seen as a presentation of Mother Earth and her bounty but, cyclically, the woman is reduced again to Woman Old, as "all is done as I have told".

II. Enion, Enitharmon and Jerusalem: three mothers resolve their roles.

The Four Zoas begins with the statement that this is the "Song of the Aged Mother", an Aged Mother drawn, in the accompanying sketch, as a voluptuous young woman. ⁸⁸ Moreover, the erasures and deletions open this line to more than adjectival debate. The phrase and the figure could be set against the preceding subtitle, "The torments of Love & Jealousy" and read in the context of the scriptural allusion to the fact that life is lived within the framework of darkness and wickedness: there are aspects of the Terrible Mother which are timeless.

Enion early is seen enacting the role of the evil mother and murdering the "secret loves & Graces" of Tharmas, not recognising that they are her own "Childrens Souls" (FZ I, p. 7:1-3, E. 304). She is manifesting aspects of the world of the dead and the "terrible mother", mentioned above. Moreover, on her loom are woven a frowning continent and a wayward Spectre (FZ I, p. 5 - p. 6:2, E. 302-303; I, p.22:27-28, E. 312; FZ IV,

p. 50:21-23, E333-34; VII, p. 84:23-25, E. 359). There is here a thought related to that expressed on p. 2 of this chapter (footnote No. 11); it is not the mother image which is transferred to the landscape, however, but that of her child. The product of a perverse Enion is a frowning continent! It may be taken from the reference to a nine-day gestation period that the weaving in this passage is to be interpreted as a procreative activity: the term, "days", is a dramatic substitution for the fact of the nine months of the human reproductive cycle.

A short passage will demonstrate, nevertheless, that this negative mother role does not rest easily upon Enion:

... among her filmy Woof
 His Spectre issuing from his feet in flames of fire
 In gnawing pain drawn out by her lovd fingers every nerve
 She counted, every vein & lacteal threading them among
 Her woof of terror. Terrified & drinking tears of wo
 Shuddring she wove - nine days & nights Sleepless her food
was tears
 Wondring she saw her woof begin to animate, & not
 As Garments woven subservient to her hands but having a will
 Of its own perverse & wayward Enion lovd & wept

Nine days she labourd at her work. & nine dark sleepless
nights
 But on the tenth trembling morn the Circle of Destiny Complete
 Round rolld the Sea Englobing in a watry Globe self balancd
 A Frowning Continent appeard Where Enion in the Desart
 Terrified in her own Creation viewing her woven shadow
 Sat in a dread intoxication of Repentance & Contrition
 (The Four Zoas I, p.5:14-28, E. 302-03)

Milton Percival describes the nature that Enion has created as ⁸⁹
 "feminine, outward, passive, self-righteous, chaste and cruel.

It is in all these respects in accord with the inner spirit which begot it". Another view of this same passage is that here the "child" reflects the inadequacies of the mother, one of the expectations of the eighteenth century.

Enion has been self-centred and absorbed with the husband/wife relationship and this has affected her ability to sustain a positive second role: that of good mother. She is procreative, which to the eighteenth century would be creditable, but she is also divisive which would be, to Blake, reprehensible.

Enion, however, is given a third opportunity to engage in a maternal role, neither destroying her little ones nor producing a spectral and natural aberration. The opening lines of the account of her ultimate creation are not promising: in pain, sorrow and woe, and into a desolate environment, Los and Enitharmon are brought forth.

It is now that Blake reverses the role of Enion, for the reader is told that it is her strength that raises the infants from their helplessness. Here Enion is the loving mother who sustains and fosters growth. It is her expectations for herself in her new mothering role that actually drive Enion to extreme lengths of self-sacrifice for the ingrates. Enion weeping, blind, age-bent and white-haired is one of Blake's most vivid verbal and pictorial images (FZ I, p. 8:10 - p. 9:4, E. 304; Jerusalem 87, I.B. 366).

With the birth of her two children, and in her loving pursuit of them, Enion finds her sense of purpose. The role of evil mother, at the very least an unsatisfactory beginning to Enion's procreative and creative potential, is superseded. The spectrous element, the fallen world, had issued from the evil maternal: the promise of the world in the form of the generated and subsequently regenerated Los and Enitharmon is the product of

Enion's self-sacrificing "good" motherhood. Enion's mother role may be read in linear mode, using the terms suggested in the introductory section of this chapter. As punishing mother, Enion has treated Tharmas as an infant to be analysed minutely; as devouring mother, she has reduced him to being a lesser part of himself; as hampering mother, she has confined or restricted life to the fallen wasteland. As the epitome of the evil mother, Enion consigns her own infants to the abyss as she destroys the secret loves of Tharmas.

Enion, however, experiences a role change; in her concern for Los and Enitharmon, the elements of the good mother proliferate: maternal solicitude and sympathy, helpful instincts and impulses. There is no need at all for the Los of Jerusalem to protest against his birth (Jerusalem 83:5, E. 241), against Enion! Fallen Urthona has needed a good mother to become redeemable Los!

Although Enitharmon as the Emanation who is designated "wife" has also been discussed in a previous chapter, the Enitharmon who enacts the mother role with Orc deserves special mention in this examination of mother roles.

In The Book of Urizen (VI:1-20, E. 79-80), Blake dwells more on intimate details and gives an air of passivity to this account: Enitharmon is sick, the foetus is described as a helpless worm, the womb and the bosom wait in anticipation. Even in the metaphorical description of the worm growing into a serpent, Blake captures the pre-natal imagery of the child coiled or folded within the womb. The grating cry of the infant and the groans of Enitharmon are magnified in the shriek of the Eternals

at the birth of the "Human shadow". This mother is further cast into the role of the passive mother as Blake writes that Los seized the infant and give him to Enitharmon, "in springs of sorrow".

There is a similar sense of passivity as Blake writes that Orc is fed by the milk of Enitharmon (in contrast to an active grammatical construction which would state that Enitharmon fed Orc). It is Los who awakens Enitharmon and it is she who weeps as Orc is chained to the rock. Blake phrases the action of imprisonment as a mutual responsibility: "they" took, "they chain'd his young limbs" but in Enitharmon's lack of energy and protest Blake makes it clear that he is satirizing the passive mother who permits ill to her child.

It is not until Enitharmon is touched by prophetic fire that the role of the Great Mother becomes available to her: "And she bore an enormous race" (BU VII.10.45, E. 81). Enitharmon no longer needs to subdue the maternal nor does she conspire to imprison potential energy. She is more like the figure of the Preludium (BU, Plate 2, I.B. 184) in which mother and child are shown as virtually independent of each other but the mother's gentle cradling hand is an enabling, rather than a restricting gesture. Here Blake's expectations for the good mother are revealed. Her role is actively supportive yet she allows both independence and interdependence.

There is no such sense of autonomy in Plate 21 (I.B. 203) in which the figure of Enitharmon seems to be absorbed into that of Los, to the detriment of the clinging, demanding Orc for whom

she has but a mild caress.

Blake's contemporary, John Flaxman, in his series of Italian Drawings, 1784-94, portrays in one sketch ("Mother embracing child") a child in virtually the same pose as the child Orc (although Flaxman's child is admittedly younger) but the mother's response to the child's encircling arms and upraised face is to bend down with a kiss. The affective dimension of the eighteenth century, mentioned earlier, is more evident in the Flaxman illustration and more deliberately omitted in this instance by Blake.

In Night the Fifth of The Four Zoas where the story is recapitulated, Blake makes more of the energy of Orc and the jealousy of Los, but he also does allocate to Enitharmon an active "nursing" role (FZ V, p. 59:25, E. 340). The ultimate binding down of Orc must, therefore, have been the more painful and indeed Blake writes that Enitharmon howled and cried over her "loved Joy" (p.60:29-30, E. 341). Blake writes of parental love as an appetite and a craving but allows a positive mother role to emerge as he admits that Enitharmon's tears prevailed and both she and Los hastened back to release Orc - in vain.

In these two accounts of the same incident, there is thus an inversion and a consequent resolution. The positive expectation for the mother, illustrated graphically in The Book of Urizen, Plate 2, but not realised in the story of Orc, is what concludes Blake's Night the Fifth - the good mother pursues, like an Enion, the good of her child; she prevails, like an Enitharmon, until his good eventuates - but she never utterly possesses another's Minute Particulars.

The Enitharmon of Europe, however, uses her role as a mother in an appeal to her sons to assist her in maintaining her domineering position. In an active, evil mother role, she teaches her daughters to practise hypocrisy; she assumes a controlling stance as she hovers over the supine, grown Orc (Europe 4, I.B. 162), in the same way that the Orc of Urizen (Plate 21) nestles into the bosom of Enitharmon (in essence, a Venus, Vulcan and Cupid group), claiming from Enitharmon the mother role.

In Jerusalem, Enitharmon voices the fear that she will be replaced and her own maternal contribution will be forgotten (Jerusalem 93:3-4, E. 253). Her fear of giving up the self (a little Death in the Divine Image, Jerusalem 96:27-28, E. 256) is ⁹² part of all maternal care, as Michael J. Tolley has pointed out, and an attribute of the Clod of Clay from which Thel recoils. Enitharmon displays a determination to influence the sons and daughters of Los "as I will" (Jerusalem 93:11-12; 87:12-15, E. 253, 246), although her sense of loss is understandable: the maternal is much on her mind. In the same lament she has spoken of Reuben's giving Mandrakes to his mother (1.8); these symbols of birth and fertility recall Old Testament stories of jealousies and duplicities, of barrenness and of coveted child-bearing (Genesis 29 and 30). Enitharmon has in her time adopted both positive and negative roles of motherhood; she has had a creative career of her own which returns when her "bosom in milky Love / Flowd into the aching fibres of Los ..." (Jerusalem 99:28-29, E. 247).

Nevertheless, this is the domination of the generative principle against which Albion cries out in his sleep and Blake in his work (FZ III, p. 41:10-12, E. 328). This is manipulation, the textual equivalent of the snaky loops of Jerusalem, Plate 25 (I.B. 304) - man tied by and to the umbilical cord - or the threatening reaction of the mother pulling up mandrakes, as one recent writer reads into Emblem I of The Gates of Paradise (I.B. 269). This is not the energy which sweeps the woman who is giving birth (The Marriage of Heaven and Hell, Plate 3, I.B. 100); this is not holy maternal action. This is Vala, Mother Nature, whose claims to maternal omnipotence are rejected by Los (Jerusalem 29:36-52, E. 175-76); this is the evil mother who, in psychological projection, sees the children of Jerusalem ("Mother of pity", 18:12, E. 163) as those of whoredom (Jerusalem 45: 58, 63-64, E. 195). This is the Aged Virgin form of Ulro (39:25, E. 187).

Blake has created for his various Enitharmons many roles: not only is she wife and daughter, but in a another sense she is earthly mother and Earth mother. Within her "mother" role, she has yet another choice: to enact the bad mother or the good mother - sometimes both within one continuing context. As "bad" mother, she responds to the expectations of Blake's time and allows the actions of others to define her role as that of passive mother, or she enacts the role of Female Will, expected by Blake to "divide and conquer". As "good" mother, she reflects Blake's expectations for the ideal mother, a sense of energy and determination not currently acceptable. However, it is the "evil" storgous "mothers tenderness" that has given Enitharmon the

capacity for compassion towards Orc (naturally) but also towards Ahania, Vala and even towards Satan and the spectres - and this shows the unified mother (EZ V, p. 63:9-16, E. 343; VIII, p. 115, E. 366). By enacting all the roles available to her, the two contraries in essence, Enitharmon may well be called the "Eternal Female", the "great" mother. (M.H.H. 25:1).

Paradoxically, when maternal love acts as less than a
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rehumanizing force, the children pursue erring ways. Enitharmon, herself scornful of her parents, produces an id-like howling Orc. Vala, who wields the Druid knife and offers the poison cup, who is vegetated into a hungry stomach and a devouring tongue and who weaves death (Jerusalem 63:39; 64:8; 62:13, E. 214, 215, 213) brings forth Urizen, embodiment of pride, ambition and self-deceit. Enion, dominating and jealous as The Four Zoas opens (the prototype of an obsessive, single-minded maternal instinct that manipulates and controls her offspring, yet who, in Eternity, performs the mother function of integrating the fibres of the soul) is delivered of Los and Enitharmon: differentiation where there had once been unity. Ahania manipulates her children and the result is separation from
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her consort and alienation from her offspring.

By virtue of association with religion, reason, moral virtue, with symbols such as snakes and nets, with drawing the infant back into the womb to disintegration and death, and with the dominating Female Will, Blake acknowledges the possibility of negative action in the mother.

Conversely, although the mother may be the epitome of what

is considered the bad mother, when she adopts the maternal role as a positive power for good, the outcome is beneficial. The dichotomy between good and evil has vanished.

Jerusalem incorporates many images of the evil mother: for example, the sterile Mother of War (Jerusalem 50:16, E. 200) in whom bloody battle has replaced the birth of the babe (67:2-34, E. 220). Such negative imagery is sustained in the following plate which speaks of breeding women whose food is the blood of captives, whose delight is in the sacrifice of the young. Their "virtues" are a parody of the accomplishments of the "good" woman of the eighteenth century: they are taught to touch the harp, to dance - yet cruelty is their pleasure, the joys of love they refuse, jealousies they raise, spies they bring in, and infant limbs they examine, not embrace.

Nevertheless, the presence of the positive maternal is pervasive in Jerusalem: the frontispiece opens with the void englobing itself and becoming a womb and the poem concludes with the Human Form waking into the Saviour's bosom, a new birth into Immortality. England gives her nursing mothers for the time to come, an image redolent of the expectations that mothers will release their children in times of national need; a globe of blood is torn from Los's body - birth in a prophetic sense is not gender-specific (Jerusalem 1:1-2; 99:1-4, 16:22; 17:49-55, E. 44, 258, 160; 162). Jerusalem in the desert hungers for her children and active Oothoon seeks hers out (Plates 83 and 84, E. 241-43).

The persona of the good mother is represented in the figure of Jerusalem: she enacts the role of the ideal mother. She calls

for her beloved Albion to awaken, just as Goethe's "mothers" 97
would have the power to recall figures from the dead or the past.
She pursues a creative role: it is Jerusalem who gives the souls;
she laments in maternal anguish over her children, pleading for
her little ones, harking back to the innocence of infant joys,
resting occasionally in Beulah, lovely land of marriage, and
looking ever to Jesus for assistance and comfort. The good
mother is the spur to action in the husband, she willingly
undertakes the generative role, she pleads the worth of innocence
over experience, she draws strength both from the marriage and
from the spiritual realm (Jerusalem 18:7; 5:47, 62-65;
14:32-33; 22:22; 48:18; 80:2, 9-10; 20:27-28; 48:18-20; 37:14;
60:10-65, 29; 78:23; 80:33-34, E. 163, 148, 158, 167, 196-97,
183, 210-11, 234, 237).

Jerusalem, at times sunk into despair, brings her grief to
the Crucifixion, the Entombment and the Sepulchre (FZ I, p. 20:7-
8, E. 308; VIII, p. 106:1-16, E. 366). She may feel that God has
forsaken her, as Christ had felt so (Mark 15.34; Jerusalem
78:31-33, E. 234), but as a good mother she follows after her
children (80:1-2, 9-10, E. 236) as had Enion. Moreover, she
still stands as mother to the fifty-two counties of England,
despite their hardened hearts (Jerusalem 79:20-21, E. 234).

As the Poet's Song draws to a close, Jerusalem is shown
seated among her sleeping sons. The very size of the figure in
Plate 92 (I.B. 371) foreshadows the absorption by the now
dominant Jerusalem of the other mother figures, and reflects
Blake's interest in the resolution of the conflict between the

concepts of the good and the bad mother.

Role expectations for the good mother are more absolute in Jerusalem than in the early Songs: Jerusalem 69 may be interpreted in various ways, but the implication is always that the woman should delight to compensate the man for any lack - of love, of child. In Jerusalem 82, Cambel gives herself in the furnace and then gains love; Erin, looking beyond her own maternal potentialities, exhibits a concern for the little ones (Jerusalem 48: 58-60, E. 197) which is akin to that of Ololon for the children of Jerusalem (Milton 40:15, E. 141). All have perceived aspects of the role expectation for the good mother: the Eternal Mother of whom Los sings on his Watch: she who encompasses time and space and all tribes (Jerusalem 85:22 - Jerusalem 86:32, E. 244-45).

III. Blake's "mother" in Art.

This section makes no attempt to duplicate or even to draw upon the excellent reference works available on the topic of the mother and child in art. ⁹⁸ It looks instead at a number of Blake's graphic representations of the maternal figure and comments on these in the context of a good or an evil, an active or a passive mother.

In Western Christian art one of the most popular traditional images is that of the newly-born Holy Infant, emitting light, surrounded by the adoring shepherds or the Magi or cradled in the Madonna's arms. Some similar elements are to be found among Blake's biblical illustrations; Raymond Lister, in discussing

Blake's art techniques, mentions the tempera, The Virgin and Child, of 1825, (Butlin, II, Plate 963) in which the heads of both figures are surrounded by gold nimbuses and the tears of the Virgin highlighted in gold.⁹⁹ This may be seen as one of Blake's rare conventional portrayals of the Holy Mother and Child, but it is significant that both figures have their hands raised creating a sense of a separated mother and foreshadowing, perhaps, the injunction of the risen Christ to the Magdalen: "Touch me not" (John 20:17). Another mother and child study, The Virgin Hushing the Young Baptist Who Approaches the Sleeping Infant Jesus, (Butlin II, Plate 491), also in one sense creates an air of isolation about the Christ Child (although many mothers will identify with the feelings of Mary!).

Blake's view that the "maternal humanity" is to be put off is further suggested in the placing of some of the Mary figures in his Illustrations to the Bible. In Christ in the House of the Carpenter, or the Humility of the Saviour (Butlin, II, Plate 558), the bond between father and son is evident in the proximity and the hand gestures of Joseph and Jesus, while Mary has been depicted as almost a Vala figure to the one side. In The Holy Family or, Christ in the Lap of Truth (Butlin, II, Plate 556), both Mary and Joseph are relegated to a supplementary position; in The Christ Child Asleep on a Cross Laid on the Ground (Butlin, II, Plates 495, 496), Mary is shown drawing back from the vision of the Cross set in juxtaposition to the everyday life of the young Christ in Joseph's workshop.

In the fourteenth century there was a movement away from the

immobility and stiffness of Egyptian and Byzantine painting towards not so much a deification of motherhood as to a representation of maternal tenderness,¹⁰⁰ or at least a living human relationship between mother and child. One of the stained glass windows of the Middle Ages even shows a Mother Mary¹⁰¹ dragging along a seeming reluctant Jesus!

This "humanized" component would have been what Margaret Bottrall meant when she wrote that Blake's reverence for the Holy Family is evident in the Tempera Series for Thomas Butts: Mary is given loving support by Joseph in The Nativity (Butlin, II, Plate 502) and in The Flight into Egypt (Butlin, II, Plate 504). In The Repose on the Flight into Egypt (Butlin, II, Plate 543), while the donkey grazes and the Child nurses, Joseph is seen to one side in a gesture of supplication, his folded hands¹⁰² reminiscent of the engraved "Praying Hands" of Durer,¹⁰³ for whom Blake had expressed great admiration (Public Address, E. 572; Descriptive Catalogue, E. 528).

Two works of Durer, Adoration of the Magi and The Feast of the Rose Garlands (1504 and 1506) show an active infant Jesus, reaching out towards the Kings and even playing with one¹⁰⁴ of their crowns; Blake and Durer portray Jesus as Man.

Leo Steinberg has recently moved beyond consideration of the "human" in pictures of the Incarnation to a discussion of erotic elements in the Madonna and Child pictures of Renaissance art. Among other points, he argues that the iconic type of the nursing¹⁰⁵ Madonna could be held to attest to the truth of the Incarnation.¹⁰⁶

Artistic taste up until Blake's time was dominated by two

factors: the cult of the Old Masters (and Blake himself expressed admiration for Raphael, Michelangelo and Poussin), and the "readability" of the painting - pictures should have a subject. ¹⁰⁷ This is in line with the eighteenth-century view that imitation and illustration were legitimate, indeed valuable, modes of illumination and elucidation. ¹⁰⁸ Blake displays a range of approximations to this ideal, from the quite literal biblical illustrations, through his interpretations of Comus to the more symbolic mode of art in the "Nativity Ode" series. ¹⁰⁹

Milton's Comus concludes with the safe return of the Lady to, among others, her mother. Both versions of Blake's eighth illustration ("The Lady Restored to her Parents") portray the mother as aged and careworn, a veiled, or even Vala figure, clutching at the daughter's wrist and waist. Pamela Dunbar suggests, reasonably, that in this Blake has substituted for Milton's joyful finality an ironical ending suggesting that "earthly travails are by no means ended"; ¹¹⁰ Blake has moved from pictorial to symbolic illustration.

Blake's first illustration of Milton's "Ode on the Morning of Christ's Nativity" ("The Descent of Peace") demonstrates the possibility of a bipartite approach: literal or interpretative.

The Whitworth plate depicts the manger with oxen, and the loving Holy Family: within the confines of the stable frame there is a conventional presentation of the Incarnation scene.

The version which is now in the Huntington Library is thematically close to the Butts "Nativity" tempera mentioned above in that the infant Jesus flies from Mary (who is leaning backwards on to Joseph) into another's waiting hands (held to be,

probably, those of Elizabeth) and this has implications of the "Infant Sorrow" of the Songs of Experience "Into the dangerous world I leapt:" (T. 48, 1.2). This reflects what Wittreich sees as Blake's departure from the usual iconography of the Nativity, from the descriptive to a celebration of the effect on human history of the Incarnation.

Blake's colour print, Pity, which Frederick Tatham relates to the speech in Shakespeare's Macbeth I. vii ("And pity, like a naked new-born babe; striding the blast") or which may be understood to depict the divisive emotion of The Book of Urizen (13:51-53, E. 77) incorporates a similar theme of the babe leaving behind the mortal restraining body of the mother (Butlin I, 310-14; II, Plates 395, 410, 411, 12, 413, 414).

There are fewer radical differences in the two versions of the last illustration in the "Nativity Ode" series ("The Star of Bethlehem"); perhaps the interdependence of the three principal figures as all lean on one another in sleep is of symbolic significance. The child is necessarily dependent on the mother, but here the mother may seem to derive reciprocal comfort from her son, and both are protected by the overshadowing father figure. In one way, the father is mother to the wife.

The need of the mother and child for a father figure is seen also in the watercolour, Malevolence, which Blake describes as "A Father, taking leave of his Wife & Child, Is watch'd by Two Fiends incarnate, with intention that when his back is turned they will murder the mother & her infant." (Letter 6, Blake to Dr. Trusler, 16 August, 1799, L. 6-8; Butlin, II, 345).

Mary, without Joseph, seems particularly at a loss in one of

Blake's illustrations to Milton's Paradise Regained. In Plate IV ("Mary Lamenting Christ's Absence"), Mary is alone within the stylized dwelling with her hands upraised. The child of The Virgin and Child (mentioned above) is no longer on her lap; this time, therefore, her gesture is more one of appeal for his return than a disconfirmation of maternal involvement.

The counterpart illustration, Plate XII ("Christ Returning Home"), is symbolically significant in relation to this chapter. Mary, the mother, must move out of the confines of the sheltering home to be successful in sustaining a mother/son relationship. Plate XII, in contrast to Plate IV, shows Mary free of the confining frame of the gabled structure.

The vulnerability of the solitary mother is another aspect of the Night Thoughts engraving mentioned above (NT 27 [E 7, Dover 12]; contemporary commentary noted: "The frailty of the blessings of this life demonstrated, by a representation in which the happiness of a little family is suddenly destroyed by the accident of the husband's death from the death of a serpent." (Dover vii).

Conversely, another engraving from the same series may be read as the father's over-spanning hand as a protection for the child (although the usual interpretation is that the father is limiting the child to a mortal term) (NT 44, II, [E 13, Dover 23]. The Designs commentary points out that this engraving recalls the nativity scene The Christ Child Asleep on a Cross in which Mary and Joseph indulge in a playful exercise of power (Butlin, II, Plates 495 and 496) and, also, that the grouping can

be seen as a Los-Enitharmon-Orc or an Adam-Eve-Cain family. Note should be taken of the ominous dark areas around and between the figures in contrast to the shining mother, suggesting that the world is impinging on the potential "good" maternal and paternal figures.

In his Night Thoughts designs Blake often incorporates images of mothers cradling their children; for example, in the engraving 16 (NT 49, II, Dover 26) there is a mother figure among the crowd, one infant in arms and another in a young Orc position at her knee, and in the engraving 38 (NT 143, IV, Dover 87) mothers are bringing their children to Christ. The Designs commentary suggests that Blake is making it evident that the love of God is seen as extending to the whole human family.

Another water colour (NT 239, VI, p. 18) which illustrates the line: "Milk, and a Swathe, at first, his whole Demand," expresses one of the expectations for the good mother in Blake's depiction of the mother nursing her infant at the breast. The water colour of another good mother, the gently supportive mother and her free floating infant, is reminiscent of the Preludium plate of The Book of Urizen (NT 268, VII, verso of title page) while a more active mother, possibly on behalf of her children, reaches up to a tree (NT 111, IV, verso title page). The Designs commentary notes that Mary Lynn Johnson suggests that the leaves of the tree may be for the cure of the mother's ill children - again, a good mother? The colouring of this design certainly lends itself to the impression that all are bathed in a beneficent heavenly light.

In times of judgment and trouble, both mothers and fathers

are seen to shelter their children (NT 430. IX, p. 12; NT 464, IX, p. 94); when Christ is viewed as the Vine, mother and nursing infant (although engrossed in themselves, as the Designs commentary notes) are part of the "Filial cluster" (NT 512, IX, p. 94). Although Blake is confined to some extent by Young's text, there can be no hesitation in reading these figures as good, loving, protective mothers with the best interests of their children evident. In the Night Thoughts designs Blake, on occasion, manages to keep the good mother and the evil mother in tension: the active mother is personified as a Wisdom figure, a sower of seed (NT 176), while the passive one is seen as a sybil figure (NT 180).

It is generally thought that Blake remains closer to the actual content of the poetry of Thomas Gray in his series of watercolours commissioned by John Flaxman, and therefore there is less comment to be made on Blake's mother figure. A child is shown to play at mothering with her doll in Plate 6 of the design for Gray's "Ode on a Distant Prospect of Eton College" - mothers have evidently modelled maternal behaviour. The second watercolour for "Ode to Adversity" includes a mother figure offering a nursing breast to a dead child, a reflection on mothers and death as is the mourning mother and her three children seen in Plate 4 of "Elegy in a Country Churchyard". One other watercolour in this series could perhaps be mentioned: design 9 for Gray's "The Progress of Poesy: a Pindaric Ode", a poem which deals with the rise of Shakespearean poetry, illustrates the line "To him the mighty Mother did unveil/Her

awful Face". Blake is very close to a literal interpretation as he depicts a giant face pulling back a veil and showing forth the "dauntless child" stretching forth his arms.

Blake not only moved along a continuum from literal to symbolic interpretation of the works he was illustrating but he also held dualistic views on "form". Rose observes that Blake equates "form" with "outline"¹¹³ but Blake also held in tension the twin concepts of closed form (or the imposition of Urizenic limitations)¹¹⁴ and open form (energy-releasing Poetic Genius). There is a very comprehensive discussion on the constructs of Blake's open and closed, atectonic and tectonic forms in Anne Mellor's book, The Human Form Divine,¹¹⁵ but the point should be made that because of the consequent tension between Blake's content and style, the good mother is not necessarily open-armed, upward-looking and white-robed.

The eighteenth century, however, tended to stereotype females according to presentations in art: the standard expression of praise for the ideal in art was "as beautiful as a Madonna of Raphael"¹¹⁶ - it is held that Raphael's¹¹⁷ Madonna "Esterhazy" combines a sense of inward strength and peace but still expresses the human tenderness of the earthly mother, while Titian art would be perhaps seen as sensual and a "Correggio", sweet and refined.

The dichotomy between Blake's Eve and Blake's Ahania may well have posed a semantic problem (The Temptation of Eve, Butlin, II, Plate 379); Book of Ahania, frontispiece, I.B. 211)!

In literature there was a parallel shift from Augustan moral judgment to a standard of energy,¹¹⁸ a conception in no way

appreciated by Joshua Reynolds whose mode was one of imitation rather than of imagination and who produced combination pieces of portraiture and history. Blake wrote of Reynolds: "This man was hired to depress art" (Annotations to the Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds, E. 635).

Reynolds, however, is well regarded in art circles as a professional portrait painter, perhaps thought to be a contradiction in terms since portrait painting ranked very low in the hierarchy of art genres of the eighteenth century, the highest category being "history painter". Reynolds studied the appropriateness of movement or gesture in the Old Masters and his maternal figures follow a standard formula: a pose taken from an ancient statue and swathed in peeress's robes or in pseudo-classical drapery. Horace Walpole commented that although "Mr. Reynolds seldom succeeds in women, Mr. [Allan] Ramsay is formed to paint them".

Until about 1730 family portraits were formally posed groups but after this decade children are shown playing or reading or sketching or picnicking with their parents - family scenes of mutual enjoyment which the parents wanted recorded; for example, Romney's The Stafford Family .

Whereas the portrayal of women had often suggested their strengths - rational moral judgment and robust sexuality as in the series in the Lady's Magazine series, "The Female History of Britain" (1770's) - the women's magazines of the 1790's and the following decade resorted to a codification of the woman according to the images found in current novels. The emotionally

charged illustrations of Thomas Stothard (of which Blake spoke in terms of "blundering blurs", Public Address, p. 51, E. 572) presented women as fragile of constitution, delicate of feeling, obsessively concerned with innocence, virtue and prudery in addition to being helpless, passive and sexually repressed and prone to self annihilation and destruction by a man.¹²²

Generally, Blake rejected such fashion plate and drawing-room models of femininity for energetic and even ecstatic daughters, wives and mothers.¹²³ However, his more conventional subjects may have some of these social elements. In the earlier series for Butts (1799-1800), the tempera The Hiding of Moses (Butlin, II, Plate 533) shows the mother falling back upon the comforting husband¹²⁴ - although Blake's two "mother" portrayals in his series to accompany Blair's "The Grave" show mother and child lying in equal state with King and Counsellor or mother united in obvious equality and joy in heaven with her husband (Bindman, Graphic Works, Plates 467, 468).

IV. Blake's mother, one of woman's multiple roles: a conclusion

Blake's "mother" has some of the characteristics of the Romantic mother described by Barbara Schapiro when she discusses the poetry of Shelley, Keats, Coleridge and Wordsworth: she may be at once loving and destructive, the source of both love and loss.¹²⁵ Blake, however, does not fall into the trap of using verbal or graphic conventions to implement value judgments.¹²⁶ Mothers are not labelled "bad" simply because they do not look or

act as mothers in the eighteenth century ought (by society's rules) to have acted, nor are they called "good" just because they follow behaviours thought appropriate to the time or culture. Morton D. Paley makes this point about those who weave: there are both positive and negative possibilities for women who weave.¹²⁷

Blake does not push the Terrible Mother aspect into the unconscious as Neumann claims patriarchal society does; he gives utterance to both good and evil concepts and thus allows a resolution into a wholeness of the mother image which allows for and approves of an active component in her total role.¹²⁸

This is rare in the eighteenth century which followed the literary device of balancing for purposes of contrast. A virtuous woman was matched with a faulty one; women were furies or angels¹²⁹ - but not the two within the one:

The Ill are employed in communicating Scandal, Infamy, and Disease like Furies: the Good distribute Benevolence, Friendship, and Health, like Angels. The Ill are damped with Pain and Anguish at the Sight of all that is laudable, lovely, or happy. The Virtuous are touched with Commiseration towards the Guilty, the Disagreeable, and the Wretched ... Such is the destroying fiend, such is the Guardian Angel, Woman.

(Tatler, No.201, July 22, 1710)

Action that was enabling rather than enfeebling to her children, that was strengthening instead of suffocating in its effect, that was enlightened not ignorant, was the mode for Blake's "good mother". Blake refused to accept the absolute dichotomy of these contraries: the good mother and the bad mother cannot be kept apart in rigid eighteenth-century mode for they

work between, within and against one another, in tension, in opposition, in duality, in reversal and in ultimate resolution to inform both the mythological life within the poetry and the form of the poem itself.

The Mother of War, the Mother of the Body of Death, the Mother of Harlots is also the mother of myriads (FZ IX, p. 122:19, E. 391), the redeeming Jerusalem.

The earthly mother may limit the soul, but she walks freely with Jesus and she has (in Jungian terms) the potential for initiating all possible relations to the feminine (cf. Jerusalem 88:3-15, E. 246).

At one point in Jerusalem 67 a positive maternal role is possible for the Daughters of Albion but they neither perceive it nor perform it. The Daughters weave Fibres of Life (1.33, E.220), but from Rocky Stones (1l. 3-4): "they call the Rocks Parents of Men" (1.15, E.220). In Plate 66, the Daughters assume the role of creator: "The Human form began to be altered by the Daughters of Albion" (1. 46, E. 219) but this is a constricting not liberating force. For, as the passage continues, Blake employs the imagery of shrinking and withering (1l. 50, 51, 83). To the role of aberrant daughter has been added that of usurping creative force, the evil mother.

Conversely, the negative roles of Gwendolen and Cambel are muted by their maternity as they weep over the winding Worm which was the actuality of their wish for the infants Hand and Hyle. Los is comforted to see the beginnings of repentance and an intention to pursue a "good mother" role and transform the Worm into a form of love.

Thel is blamed for rejecting motherhood; Oothoon for embracing it. In Europe the mother initiates repression; in America the female spirits of the dead who pine in the bonds of religion, until they are rescued by the male, ¹³⁰ run from their fetters and youth is renewed (America 15:19-22, E. 57). A shriek rings through Eternity when Enitharmon bears the first Man child (BU 19:VI:8, E. 79), yet Milton must embrace his wife and daughters. Blake's Job shows the mother figure steadfastly at his side, yet maternal passive love comes between Los and Orc. The cocooned embryo is watched over by the clinging caterpillar emblem of the mother (Frontispiece, For the Sexes, E. 259) - a ¹³¹ Tirzah who is to be put off ("To Tirzah", T. 52).

Abrams sees all contraries in Blake operating as "opposing yet complementary male-female powers which in their energetic love-hate relationship are necessary to all modes of ¹³² organisation and creativity and procreativity".

Blake's "mother" has the potential for greater good and the power for wider action than current society would allow. In her role performance, more is demanded of her, less is determined by those around her; in her personality and capability variables, passivity and negativity are more than balanced by benevolent role enactment.

Man need not fear to be "Woman-born/ And woman-nourishd & woman-educated..." (Jerusalem 64:16-17, E. 215), for in the Great Mother he will never be "scorn'd".

Every Harlot was once a Virgin:
(Jerusalem 61:52, E. 212)

If a woman could not, or would not, fit into the role of daughter, sister, mother or wife, she might be forced into that of whore, or she might adopt this as a supplementary life choice.

There have been guarded attempts to rationalise approaches to prostitution; often these reflect the attitude of the writer or indicate the biases of a particular study. The type of prostitution existing in any given society is partly a reflection of the marital and familial institutions of that society. In pagan Greek society the high status of the hetaira was the mirror image of the inferior position of the Greek wife. ¹ The importance of the mother who produced the citizens for early Rome (a point considered in the "mother" chapter above) meant that the courtesan class was regarded with contempt. ² Furthermore, in the early literatures the prostitute is spoken of less in moral terms than as a fact of life: the Greek Hetaira, the Roman Meretrix, the temple girls described by Herodotus, the mistresses and concubines mentioned in the same breath by Demosthenes, and those whom Hayward called "the women of loose-living noted in Christ's genealogy". ³ This last is a doubtful example as Blake's use of the Maternal Line shows (Jerusalem 62:8-13, E. 212-13). In The Everlasting Gospel, Blake implies that there is virtue in Jesus coming from a genealogy which could be regarded as very human in the sense of deviating from conventional morality (EG [d], Notebook p. 120, Erdman note, p. 877): "If he intended to

take on Sin / The Mother should an Harlot been".

In a search for occurrences of prostitute characterization in literary works, M. Seymour-Smith argues that the notion of the morally "fallen woman" (as opposed to an outcast class) arose with Christianity,⁴ although this is ignoring the incidence of such in the Old Testament. Augustine had early written: "Remove prostitutes from human affairs and you would pollute the world with lust",⁵ but later Christian penitential legislation laid down that mothers who made their daughters courtesans were perpetually excluded from communion.⁶ Prostitutes themselves could not receive the rites of the Church, but the Church in the fourteenth century profited from "stews".⁷ In 1541, Bullinger writing on Christian marriage gave as the second "cause" of marriage the avoidance of whoredom and uncleanness, citing Biblical examples of troubles brought about by harlots "borrowed and lent for a tyme".⁸ Other sixteenth-century literature abounded in examples of the Devil winning the Wanton Woman through the new luxuries and freedom of the age and using her to lure man to his fate.⁹ These stories, however, were often funny and the women full of life and energy as they sought to prevail over men.¹⁰

The image of the insatiably lusty woman occurs in Medieval fabliaux, again in such figures as Doll Tearsheet and Mistress Overdone in Shakespearean drama, and in Restoration comedy. Defoe's Roxana and Moll Flanders represent a type of defensive prostitution magnificent as such until female innocence achieved a new dramatic and didactic emphasis later in the eighteenth

century.¹¹ Seduction would then be spoken of in terms of ruin and death. Mary Astell wrote in 1730 of the "inexpressible danger of seeking Consolation and Relief in any-thing but Innocence and Vertue",¹² mild declamation in comparison with the authorial indignation of Mary Wollstonecraft at the exploitation of Jemima's mother.¹³

Illustratively, Hogarth portrays the "sad end" in the series of engravings The Harlot's Progress (1732), while George Morland's Laetitia series, The Fair Penitent (1789), depicts, conversely, a later better life for the reformed errant one.

The sordid death for the harlot demanded by the moral literature of Blake's day and reported as fact some decades later in the Westminster Review (1850)¹⁴ has been seen as both myth and reality.¹⁵

Art historians see an eighteenth-century change of emphasis in graphic art, a movement from a sensual representation of the woman of the world to a sentimental view that is more concerned with the actions and qualities in the subject.¹⁶ The Romantics had dual views of woman: admission of the power of sexual passion as it related to imagination,¹⁷ and apprehension about the evil power associated with the Salome image of the female¹⁸ (this latter theme was associated most notoriously with the later Oscar Wilde).

Although the Act of 1650 had imposed the death penalty for adultery, it also exempted women whose husbands had been missing for three years. In reporting this, Quaife draws the conclusion that for the seventeenth century the only unforgivable element in wanton encounters was one of economic loss.¹⁹

There is some evidence that this same ambivalence towards the issue of prostitution existed in the eighteenth century: ²⁰ it was a necessary evil.

Bernard Mandeville, presumably taking Augustine's point, presented a case for State-regulated brothels, an argument which would be advanced also in 1732 in The Fable of the Bees:

how is it to be suppos'd that honest Women should walk the streets unmolested if there were no Harlots to be had at reasonable Prices? (Fable of the Bees, Remark H)

In support of the prevailing social solution (institutionalization) Mandeville quoted Sixtus V (Pope from 1585 to 1590), who had separated the clean and the unclean ²¹ "sheep", confining courtesans to one quarter of the town. (Cf. Shakespeare's Measure for Measure (1604-05) in which the bawd, Mistress Overdone, speaks of the proclamation whereby all the "houses of resort" in the suburbs were to be pulled down - although those in the city were, by intercession of a "wise burgher", to stand (I.2). This would have the same consolidating effect as today's zoning of "red light" districts!

Personal opinions on the subject also varied.

Daniel Defoe, while attacking pre-marital intercourse ²² (which the Marriage Act of 1754 was supposed to combat), and ²³ advocating that prostitutes should be swept from the streets, also wrote "he that lyes with a woman on a promise of matrimony is a knave if he does not perform his promise, and a fool if he ²⁴ does".

Henry Fielding proposed a plan to absorb reformed

prostitutes into public laundries, and thence into service with
"inferior families"²⁵ (some reservations here, too!). A pamphlet
of the times described the establishment of the Magdalen Hospital
"for the Reception of Penitent Prostitutes" and included a group
of sermons by Dr. William Dodd on relevant texts; for example "I
am not come to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance"
(Matthew 9.13).²⁶ The Society for the Reformation of Manners,
which had its inception in the late seventeenth century, achieved
some success in enforcing laws against whores, but was denounced
as hypocritical by Defoe and Swift.²⁷ Swift was known for his
moral disgust at contrasts between expectations of purity and
virginity, and the fact of fact.²⁸

With nineteenth-century publications such as Pierce Egan's
Tom and Jerry: Life in London (1821), issued as a book and in
monthly parts, and Walter's My Secret Life (c. 1806-15 or c.
1815-20), a sexual biography of a pre-Victorian Englishman,
the acceptance of prostitution in the popular mind become
evident.²⁹

There were, therefore, in Blake's time many currents of
opinion about prostitution: Christian denunciation and Christian
justification; debate about doctrine and public practice;
legislation against adultery, but differentiation in legal
measures according to the person involved; social usage which
instead of avenging the cause of an abused woman proclaimed her
dishonour;³⁰ Evangelical, High Church and Non-Conformist teaching
that redemption is possible for the fallen woman, yet John
Bunyan's Faithful casting off Wanton.

Blake himself wrote on the back of the title-page of a copy

of Bishop Watson's An Apology for the Bible: " To defend the Bible in this year 1798 would cost a man his life / The Beast & the Whore rule without controls" (E. 611), an indication that Blake felt that his age was prostituting itself, and that he was applying biblical terms to his own social context.

It should then be asked what conclusions may be drawn about the role of the whore in Blake's work. An initial division may be made: in the works may be found representations of harlots per se, but there are also female figures who are perceived as whores by others and even by themselves yet who pursue a nobler role. The very magnificence of Blake's depiction of The Whore of Babylon, in the biblical illustrations, and in the title page to Night VIII of Young's Night Thoughts calls for an initial response in this chapter to Blake's designs which are relevant to the topic of harlotry. I then explore the position of Oothoon and Jerusalem at the point when both are perceived as harlots although they enact no such role. Mention will also be made of Mary, Mother of Jesus, and of the Mary of the Pickering manuscript. Varying aspects of Rahab, Whore of Babylon, and the actions of Vala, Melancholy Magdalen, will then be examined and the chapter will conclude with some comment upon multiple roles and on occasions when minor characters assume or are assigned the role of harlot.

One cannot argue that Blake fashioned a whore role that was good in its active energy (a case which may be argued for daughter, sister, wife and mother) particularly as Blake uses the harlot figure as the embodiment of evil to further the

dramatic action of the prophetic works. Whores are forces for evil but their initiatives may bring about not only the expected ill but in some circumstances also effect fortuitous good: a duality of effectual action.

I. Blake's illustrations of the "whore".

Edward J. Rose has noted that in Medieval, Renaissance and Baroque art there are many madonnas but few whores.³¹ In Blake's art there are fewer madonnas (some of these New Testament illustrations were discussed in the "mother" chapter), but there is no lack of whores, be they actually performing such a role or only perceived as such.³²

In one of Blake's early historical pictures, The Penance of Jane Shore,³³ Blake seems to be eliciting sympathy for Jane Shore as she is surrounded by a phalanx of very solid, fierce-looking guards who tower over and crowd her. This note of appeal is accentuated by the shrinking back of the female figure on the right of the drawing. Blake himself in the Descriptive Catalogue makes no comment at all about the subject matter - merely about the state of his talent. Seymour-Smith in his study of the fallen woman discusses another "Jane Shore" picture, after W.S. Lethbridge, held in the British Museum. A sense of judgement is evident: the bare-breasted figure clutches a flaming torch, her eyes are turned miserably to heaven.³⁴ The artistic presentation in both Blake and Lethbridge lacks the sense of pathos inherent in the ballad of Nicholas Rowe (1714) of a Jane Shore, the exploited woman of the lower class.³⁵

Blake's depiction of the intrusive crowd occurs again in The Woman Taken in Adultery, one of the Bible illustrations which Blake painted for Thomas Butts between 1799-1805 (Butlin, II, 565). The dark, overwhelming crowd has, however, turned its back on the figure of the adulteress, shown in similar fashion to Jane Shore as slight and stooped, eyes again downcast. Blake has carefully followed the scriptural account where Jesus is spoken of as writing on the ground and has shown Him with eyes averted from the woman (John 8:1-11). It could be argued that Blake is implying that he, as artist, is not going to depict an evil where Christ would call none. A recent critic, in discussing Blake's design for this watercolour, maintains that Jesus responded to the adulteress in words that returned people to their true

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selves. As Blake's picture shows, Jesus engages the good in the woman; the crowd is forced to turn its back on the evil. Blake illustrated three other Magdalen themes: Mary Magdalen Washing the Feet of Christ (Butlin, II, 562) in which, once again, the Saviour's eyes are carefully fixed on the group of figures around the table rather than on the woman; The Three Maries at the Sepulchre (the traditional title used by Blake in a letter to Butts on 6 July 1803, Letter 46, L.56-59; Butlin I, 503; II, 606), where the "good" and the "bad" huddle together, with no discrimination, in their grief; The Magdalene at the Sepulchre where the woman looks upward to the risen Christ and he (in his new form) can meet her gaze (Butlin, II, 604).

In one Night Thoughts design there is the obverse of this, where Blake responds to the line: "Thou God, and Mortal! Thence

more God to Man!" (N.T. 533, p. 115, IX, line 2381) and illustrates a Pieta theme, with a veiled Magdalene figure gazing down at a Christ whose eyes seem to be closed in death, the whole enclosed in a circle of irradiating light. The Designs commentary mentions a theme of faith and love, for this is not a dead Christ - he is immortal. The light around the central group is, to me, also suggestive of the third complementary attribute: hope.

Blake illustrated two themes from the Old Testament in which women play the role of seductress: one subject concerns Delilah, Samson's downfall. Samson Subdued, (Butlin, II, 530) in which the woman is very much active with the scissors as a force for evil, presents a Delilah with long free-falling hair. Perhaps this may be seen as a reflection of the symbolically long locks of Samson's power or as part of the tradition of sacred art wherein the Mary Magdalene stereotype is conventionally portrayed with flowing locks.

Another example of this conception of the stylized prostitute occurs in Blake's design for the Night Thoughts page in which Praise is spoken of as an apostate, a vagabond, and a prostitute (N.T. 131, p. 22, l.363), and the personification is depicted as a an attractive woman with long curling tresses, leaves in her hair, and with a flowing sleeveless garb with plunging neckline. The Designs commentary likens this Praise figure to a redeemed Magdalen, noting the New Testament allusion to Mary Magdalene praising Jesus with her hair (Luke 7: 36-50).

Conversely, in Samson Breaking his Bonds (Butlin, II, 529), the woman is drawn with neatly styled hair. The other picture is

of David's temptation, Bathsheba at the Bath Seen by David (Butlin, II, 498). Bindman makes the point that the latter topic is unexpected in the context of a biblical cycle except that the very seductive form of Bathsheba may have been intended to reveal the sensuality of the prophetic king, David.³⁸ However, in Blake's picture, Bathsheba's tender caresses of the two children on either side of her add a maternal dimension to the concept - perhaps this image of a potential mother and loving companion catches the eye of the distant David. Blake's picture is suggestive of multiple roles for Bathsheba: the wife of Uriah the Hittite (the present role), the potential mother of Solomon (the implied role), and the future target of David's seduction (the desired role).

Karl Kiralis examined Blake's Chaucers Canterbury Pilgrims engraving (Bindman, Graphic Works, Plates 477-78) and concluded that in the unusually long tresses given to the Prioress and in the Wife of Bath's cup of wine and tiara (a veritable bejewelled Great Whore)³⁹ could be read Tirzah and Rahab, although not all long tresses can be held to be Magdalenic or whorish.

Blake in the Descriptive Catalogue speaks merely of the wife of Bath's "morning's draught of comfort" (E.532) but later writes caustically:

..."the Wife of Bath ... is a scourge and a blight. I shall say no more of her, nor expose what Chaucer has left hidden; let the young reader study what he has said of her; it is useful as a scarecrow. There are of such characters born too many for the peace of the world (E. 537).

This correlates well with Kiralis's Great Whore analogy.

However, Blake says of the Prioress only that:

This Lady is described also of the first rank; rich and honoured. She has certain peculiarities and little delicate affectations, not unbecoming in her, being accompanied with what is truly grand and really polite; her person and face... is very elegant, and was the beauty of our ancestors, till after Elizabeth's time, when voluptuousness and folly began to be accounted beautiful.(E. 533)

It seems, therefore, that Blake is making a statement of differentiation rather than a comparison of similarities, a gesture of acknowledgement that good and evil do exist.

The Wife is the force for evil and Blake likens the bawd image to folly and depicts it as the Great Whore. The Prioress, the power for good, he positions close to the other end (the head) of the procession, with the knight as appropriate company; the Merchant (symbol of money) may ride with the Wife.

In suggesting that in Plate 3 of the engravings for The Book of Job the female figure at the base of the design is a concubine, Milton Klonsky may have too readily stereotyped an ambiguous figure.⁴⁰ The flowing locks, the tambourine upon which her feet are resting and her air of being abandoned when the wind strikes the brothers lend some weight to this interpretation, yet other critics are more cautious. Wicksteed, for example, uses the phrase "beautiful ruined sister"⁴¹ of this female, but this girl with the tambourine and the small lyre could well be labelled a daughter. The daughters in Plates 1, 20 and 21 have similarly long hair and there is a tambourine on the tree in Plate 1.⁴² Furthermore, in Plates 1 and 21 when the illustrations are concerned with the righteous Job and his nuclear family, the

pictorial details in that position of the total design are unequivocally "good" - the pastoral imagery of peaceful sheep.

Perhaps it must be said that Blake generally leaves a response to the transgressing woman (if any) to the reader who may attribute or withhold judgment, in the same way that Blake will not definitively dichotomise good and evil. Again, in the drawings for the Book of Enoch either watchers or daughters (or both, or neither) are "falling"⁴³ - who is good and who is evil?

Critics have found differing elements in the serpent-driving females in Blake's illustrations to Comus (Comus 4); these affect the degree to which the female may be identified with a goddess of wantonness. J. Karl Franson suggests a Cotytto association for the H series (acknowledging Irene Tayler's Cynthia ((Moon Goddess)) or Medea - niece of Circe ((temptress)) - possibilities) and a more ambiguous Hecate for the B series. Pamela Dunbar writes, "by a compact and ironical device Blake has the same figure (a spectral female figure) stand both for abstinence and for licence, for the values of the Lady and for those of Comus"⁴⁴.

The last three years of Blake's life were devoted to the vast project of illustrating Dante's Divine Comedy, for which Blake made more than a hundred watercolours, of which he had at least partly engraved seven at the time of his death. Blake made it clear that he did not agree with some of Dante's emphases, particularly the concept of retribution rather than divine forgiveness.⁴⁵ On design No. 7, HELL Canto 4, he noted:

Every thing in Dantes Comedia shews That for Tyrannical Purposes he has made This World the foundation of All & the Goddess Nature [Memory] [is his Inspirer] & not [Imagination] the Holy Ghost (E. 689)

It has been suggested that the "whirlwind of lovers" [Roe, 10] escapes the condemnation of the world by being swept out of the Sea of Time and space. ⁴⁶ This is arguably a Blakean resolution to the problem of this world's judgment of good and evil, but eternal condemnation to the Circle of the lustful would be the solution of Dante's God, not Blake's God.

This same concept of the "whore", if Francesca can be so called, being carried off is illustrated by Blake in the Night Thoughts: NT 327, p. 55, where the text speaks of Egypt and her menaces swept to Hell (ll. 1105-13) and Blake draws a face with a spiked crown floating away on the billows given into the charge of Providence. Of course, this can be read as Pharaoh but also metonymically as an Egypt used analogously to the personification of Babylon.

In the unengraved Dante illustrations, another of note in the context of this chapter is Plate 89, The Harlot and the Giant. Morton D. Paley points out that in Purgatorio xxxii Dante sees the harlot of corrupt religion in the arms of a giant who represents the French monarchy. ⁴⁷ In Blake's Plate 89, on the lap of a serpent-like beast sits the Whore of Babylon who bends forward to kiss the giant; in her hand is the cup of abominations, which is running over. Roe comments that a crown, earrings and rings on her left hand suggest the rich raiment of biblical account. He answers his own question about why Blake

illustrated this topic with two comments: the Whore of Babylon has special significance for Blake for in *Mystery*, Babylon the Great, the selfhood has supreme control ⁴⁸ - "When Passions transgress their bounds", writes Young in a page replete with images of whores, hags, harlots and adulterers (NT 374, VIII, p. 28, ll. 447-57).

The poetic description of Rahab or *Mystery* found in Blake's works (Jerusalem 75; The Four Zoas VIII, p. 111:1-24; IX, p. 134:5-29; Milton 40:17-22; VLJ p. 80; DLJ, 1.14 (E. 230-31; 385-86; 402-03; 141-42; 558; 552) is associated with the biblical imagery of Revelation 17:3-7. Moreover, Blake depicts in the title-page for Young's *Night the Eighth* (NT 345, VIII, title-page) a glorious scarlet woman found again in Blake's The Whore of Babylon (Butlin, II, 584). She sits astride a many-headed beast and clutches a parody of the cup of communion, which conceals, yet emphasises, her décolletage. John E. Grant has written extensively on the symbolism of this design, ⁴⁹ and the Designs commentary draws together other critical thought on this same seductress, but perhaps I could just add a note on the physical details as relevant to the theme of the whore. Her hair gestures towards the curling ringlets of Milton's Eve, yet she has the rouged cheeks, the scarlet robes, and the ringed fingers, of the whore stereotype. The cup is evidence of the harlot-priest association yet there is a suggestion in the yoked jewellery of her necklet that she herself is held fast in bondage. Butlin cites an early critic (Scott) as calling her ⁵⁰ "The Queen of Evil", and indeed there is a splendour in Blake's colouring of this plate, despite an inevitable tawdriness, for

she is surrounded by the grotesque. Her gesture is defensive; she seems to be warding off criticism with her left hand, or admitting of guilt. Her gaze is downward turned: not upward to the realm of a traditional heaven; her expression may be interpreted as a parody of the downward gaze of Blake's Madonna described in the "mother" chapter above - or merely sad and reflective. As with The Woman taken in Adultery, she can meet the gaze of no man. She is the inversion of the phrase of Terry Eagleton's that the madonna is the only response to the whore:⁵¹ The Great Whore is the reaction to the cult of the madonna figure.

The Great Whore is seen as the "Oppression" described in Night the First of Night Thoughts (NT 22, I, p. 17, l. 241) and drawn in the top right hand corner as a woman scaly or "her heart wrapt up in triple Brass ..." (l.242) "to besiege mankind" as Young puts it and Helmstadter notes, in "ecclesiastical⁵² appurtenances" connoting a religious tyranny. This is the same whore-priest nexus fully displayed in Blake's title-page illustration for Young's Night Thoughts (VIII) mentioned above. In illustrative context, Blake has cast such a figure into the role of Great Whore, but has deliberately refrained from portraying Oppression's rapturous enjoyment of such a position.

Roe, in a note on the Dante illustrations, points out that sexual repression (the converse of obsession) by the whore is analogous to religious systems which enslave mankind (Note 6, pp. 173-74). In a further article, he identifies the Beatrice of Plate 88, Beatrice Addressing Dante from the Car, with Vala (p.

174), Dante being the poetic genius subject to the female will. 53
David Bindman also mentions the "thrall of Beatrice" and sees
Plates 88 and 89 as related. The vision of delight in the Car by
whom Dante is seduced, the Beatrice to whom he makes a gesture of
submission, becomes the eternal Whore of Babylon "in a lascivious
embrace with a Giant Warrior",⁵⁴ the warrior akin to one seduced
into war by the Whore of Babylon.

Other representations of the Whore of Babylon have captured
the imagination of artists for many centuries: one portion of a
fourteenth-century tapestry held in the Angers Musée de
Tapisseries shows a gem-studded female before a looking-glass -⁵⁵
and the temptress in Blake's Paradise Regained illustrations
is similarly bejewelled (PR, Plate VI: "Christ Rejecting Satan's
Banquet", Dunbar, Plate 85).⁵⁶

Jerusalem 70:30 reminds us that there is another aspect to
Rahab: "Her name is Vala in Eternity; in Time her name is Rahab"
(E. 224).

In 1947 a large watercolour was found at Arlington Court and
entitled by Geoffrey Keynes The Circle of the Life of Man (Butlin
II, 969, The Sea of Time and Space). Although there is some
difference of opinion about the veiled female,⁵⁷ she may be seen
in the context of this chapter as making an approach to the man;
whether for good or for evil is open to question, for she has the
decolletage of the Great Whore described above and the flowing
locks and the declined head of the Jerusalem, illustrated in
Jerusalem 46 (I.B. 325).

Perhaps Digby finds an acceptable compromise of
interpretation when he sees in her both the destructive aspect of

the Great Mother, mirroring man's conflicts, yet in regeneration possessing the possibility for reintegration with the radiant ⁵⁸
anima, Blake's Jerusalem.

Although Blake's most obvious allusions to and illustrations of the whore are in relation to the apocalyptic harlot of Revelation's working for the downfall of mankind, there are other representations in Blake's works of the alluring, deserting, compelling and entrapping female. Some may be perceived as "whore" unjustifiably, yet many adopt such a role by choice; a few make an initial offer and then refuse, while others again reverse roles at will. The following four sections consider these variations in harlotry.

II. The "whore" as a perceived not a performed role

Sometimes the role enactment of Blake's characters is misconstrued by others: "whores" are seen to be what they are not.

For example, Oothoon, in Visions of the Daughters of Albion, is called "harlot" by Bromion although it is his rape which is the initiating action. Oothoon herself perceives that to Theotormon she is a "whore" (VDA 2:1; 6:18-19, E. 46, 50) since her physical self is possessed, albeit unwillingly, by another. Oothoon is cast by Blake into the initial role of maiden with her love to bestow freely. She is perceived as chaste virgin by Theotormon; and she is stigmatized as harlot by Bromion. She herself, although holding to the innocence of her love, recognises the exploitative sexual attitudes held by such as the

Father of Jealousy, and it is evident from her use of the jargon of prostitution ("drag the chain / Of life, in weary lust!", 5:22-23, E. 49) that her perception of her own image has undergone some change. Moreover, as she describes the progress from fearless, lustful infancy to womanhood in Theotormon's world of puritanical hypocrisy, it is clear that the sanctions (the punishment of silence) imposed upon her by her erstwhile lover may yet affect her view that all life is holy. It would be tempting, The1-like, to withhold herself further from the world.

Oothoon, however, pursues the pure sexual element within herself and while confident of her own power for good risks being viewed by Theotormon as a force for evil. Her behaviour is not a submission to, nor a separation from, a moral code, but an enactment of holy desire and energy.

Joseph, spouse of Mary, does not sulk in silence as does Theotormon; he is more vocal in his protestations upon discovering the condition of Mary: "Should I / Marry a Harlot & an Adulteress?" (Jerusalem 61:3-52, E. 209-10).

Joseph's initial reaction is that of the uninformed observer, attributing a role according to his first perception. The text of Joseph's reply is reproduced below at length because here Blake uses the change of heart in Joseph to set forth his views on the quality of Christian forgiveness as opposed to the merely just practices of those outside such a belief system. The passage is important, moreover, since it shows that Mary's refusal to accept the wrongly assigned role of whore is the factor which brings about Joseph's enlightened acceptance of Mary as wife and mother. For the protagonist of "Mary", as will be

seen below, the reverse is true: she allows the judgments of others to pervert her own sense of appropriate role and in conforming to their expectations, she loses the sense of the Human Divine - "Proud Marys gone Mad said the Child in the Street" (1.34, E. 487).

Although Joseph initially casts Mary into the role of whore, the Miltonic echo in her reminder that she hears the voice of God in the voice of her Husband (Paradise Lost IV:289, "Hee for God only, shee for God in him:") brings him to the point of forgiveness and renewed trust as he takes her again as Wife (1.27).

She [Jerusalem] looked and saw Joseph the Carpenter in
Nazareth & Mary
His espoused Wife. And Mary said, If thou put me away from thee
Dost thou not murder me? Joseph spoke in anger & fury. Should I
Marry a Harlot & an Adulteress? Mary answerd, Art thou more pure
Than thy Maker who forgiveth Sins & calls Her that is Lost
Tho She hates. he calls me again in love. I love my dear Joseph
But he driveth me away from his presence. yet I hear the voice
of God
In the voice of my Husband. tho he is angry for a moment, he
will not
Utterly cast me away. if I were pure, never could I taste the
sweets
Of the Forgive[ne]ss of Sins! if I were holy! I never could
behold the tears
Of love! of him who loves me in the midst of his anger in
furnace of fire.

Ah my Mary: said Joseph: weeping over & embracing her closely in
His arms: Doth he forgive Jerusalem & not exact Purity fromn
her who is
Polluted. I heard his voice in my sleep & his Angel in my dream:
Saying, Doth Jehovah Forgive a Debt only on condition that it
shall
Be Payed? Doth he Forgive Pollution only on conditions of Purity
That Debt is not Forgiven! That Pollution is not Forgiven
Such is the Forgiveness of the Gods, the Moral Virtues of the
Heathen, whose tender Mercies are Cruelty. But Jehovahs
Salvation
Is without Money & without Price, in the Continual Forgiveness
of Sins

In the Perpetual Mutual Sacrifice in Great Eternity! for behold!
There is none that liveth & Sinneth not! And this is the
Covenant
Of Jehovah: If you Forgive one-another, so shall Jehovah Forgive
You:
That He Himself may Dwell among You. Fear not then to take
To thee Mary thy Wife, for she is with Child by the Holy Ghost
(Jerusalem 61:3-27, E. 211-12)

Additionally, Mary's reply recalls the incident from the New Testament when Jesus was confronted by the crowd with the woman taken in adultery (John 8.3-11). There is only one pure enough to be able to condemn and He will forgive.

In Jerusalem 61 and 62 there is an identification of the Mary figure with that of Jerusalem. Jerusalem 61 begins with an exhortation to Jerusalem, who is suffering under a mantle of self-condemnation, to take comfort from the story of Mary and Joseph. Jerusalem is called Harlot by the Sons of Albion, by Vala and by herself (Jerusalem 18:12, E. 163; 45:58, 63-64, E. 195; 62:4, E. 212).

Blake blends the two female elements in Mary's song where she uses the imagery of the Holy Land, the setting of Jerusalem. As Mary leans upon Jerusalem, the two figures physically merge.

However, Jerusalem's perception of her true role is not as clear as that of Mary, for Jerusalem takes at face value the fact that she is called Harlot. She sees herself as sold from street to street, as defaced, and as a Magdalen. This juxtaposition of the two characters enables Blake to comment strongly on the whore role: in Mary's rejection of the whore label and the harlot role, she is the one enabling trust and belief to prevail. Conversely, Jerusalem's acceptance that she is indeed the

Magdalen that others believe her to be obscures, as in the clouds of Vala and the fires of Luvah, the fact that the Divine Presence is always with her (Jerusalem 62:1-29, E. 213).

Vala's sensual world is properly a nurturing shadow to Jerusalem's spirituality,⁶⁰ and Blake calls for an improvement of sensual enjoyment as a means of freeing the individual from the merely vegetative.⁶¹ Paradoxically, however, Jerusalem (subordinated to the role expectations of others) takes on the form of Vala, the temptress, constricting further into Rahab and Tirzah.

In the related stories of Mary, mother of Jesus, and Jerusalem, mother of all men, Blake shows that roles should be accepted, developed, or modified with reference to the Eternal dimension. Where forgiveness reigns, Jerusalem may be seen as lost adulteress or Babylon, yet she will be pure through the Pity and Mercy of the Lord. She may present herself to the Divine Wisdom as a Magdalen and yet be without fault. Mary may be cast into the role of harlot yet be still as a virgin by the love of God.

Similarly, it is the perceptions (and the jealousies) of others which also prevent the Mary of the Pickering manuscript from retaining an understanding that her own role perception and performance may be entirely apt. Four stanzas from the poem, "Mary" (E. 487-88), are reproduced below to demonstrate that Blake believed that one's own sense of worth and one's innate appreciation of an appropriate role were to be prized above those of surrounding society. "Mary" begins in a conscious delight that

life is holy and enjoyable; Mary herself lapses into cold and blight as she fails to reject the observations of others that she is proud, and that she is a whore. Mary does not perceive that the judgments of others are no firm criteria for what is truth. In this poem, Blake reverts to the theme of the Visions: no-one is a whore simply on the voices of others.

Mary

Mary moves in soft beauty & conscious delight
To augment with sweet smiles all the joys of the Night
Nor once blushes to own to the rest of the Fair
That sweet Love & Beauty are worthy our care

In the Morning the Villagers rose with delight
And repeated with pleasure the joys of the night
And Mary rose among Friends to be free
But no Friend from henceforward thou Mary shall see

Some said she was proud some call'd her a whore
And some when she passed by shut to the door
A damp cold come oer her her blushes all fled
Her lillies & roses are blighted & shed

O why was I born with a different Face
Why was I not born like this Envious Race
Why did Heaven adorn me with bountiful hand
And then set me down in an envious Land
(The Pickering Manuscript, E. 487)

III. The whore: a role choice

When Blake does create a harlot character who functions as such, there are still two modes of action which she may adopt: there is the whore who sells for money what she should give for love, as William Acton put it; ⁶² and there is the provocative face of mock chastity which promises but does not deliver and thus encourages misdirected unfulfilled desire as much as active

harlotry does.

In his study of sexuality in Blake's works, John Sutherland finds that throughout his life the poet maintained a preoccupation with the relationship between the sexes, but that from the end of the Lambeth book period and beginning with The Four Zoas there is a different emphasis to be found in his writings. In his early poems Blake celebrates elements of immediate physical sensation but hopes for transcendence of the material and of entrapment through sexual love. In the later prophetic works, sexuality is seen as part of no higher realm than Beulah and the key to freedom and eternity is found in mutual forgiveness of sins.

However, this analysis should be complemented: some poems stress the joy, others the sorrow or pain of love. There are incidental references to silken nets, golden cages, to false love and to woman's art but these are still within the context of the game of love, and in the Notebook poem, "A cradle song" (E. 468), there are hints of "cunning wiles" and "secret desires" even in the babe.

The trilogy of love poems from Experience, "My Pretty Rose Tree", "Ah! Sunflower" and "The Lilly" (T. 43), incorporate the acceptable responses of the eighteenth century: the rejection of the harlot; wifely jealousy; frigid maidenhood and lusty youth, all set in the context of reactions arising in the world of experience. However, Blake's attitude to these is rooted in the world of forgiveness, verbalised in the Marriage as Christ's turning away the law from the woman taken in adultery (M.H.H.,

"A Memorable Fancy" (T. 23, E. 43).

In the "London" of Experience, the street girl's actions bring evil but Blake uses this poem as a vehicle for condemning not the harlot but the society which has produced her (E. 26-27).

LONDON

I wander thro' each charter'd street,
Near where the charter'd Thames does flow.
And mark in every face I meet
Marks of weakness, marks of woe.

In every cry of every Man,
In every Infants cry of fear,
In every voice: in every ban,
The mind-forg'd manacles I hear

How the Chimney-sweepers cry
Every blackning Church appalls,
And the hapless Soldiers sigh
Runs in blood down Palace walls

But most thro' midnight streets I hear
How the youthful Harlots curse
Blasts the new-born Infants tear
And blights with plagues the Marriage hearse
(Songs of Experience, E. 26-27)

In this poem Blake sees beneath the surface of the venial city and into the lives of its people where he finds not the chartered liberty constitutionally guaranteed to its occupants but weakness and woe. Conversely, man is enslaved by his own fears, by his fellow-man, by the church, by the monarchy and by the army.

The last stanza takes the reader back to the initial theme of London's streets where the young are caught in the evil of prostitution. Evil cannot be viewed here as a private matter; it is an ill of society, for prostitution has ramifications beyond personal need and private act. There is wider cause and effect

for disease is transmitted from whore to rake, from rake to marriage partner (she being innocent) but thence to her child.

"Love" which in this situation is merely a commodity to be bought and sold on a physical level has the force of an evil plague which may destroy indiscriminately.

Blake shows an awareness in generated life of a participatory "prostitute" role but suggests that it is the circumstances which create the whore rather than the harlot who controls human life.

The anonymous 1797 comment on one of Blake's illustrations to the Night Thoughts of Edward Young (NT 81, III, E 25, Dover 46, "Sense breaking away from Reason") illustrates the contemporary more polarised attitudes to the young woman of energy:

The folly and danger of pursuing the pleasures of sense as the chief objects of life illustrated by the figure of Death just ready to throw his pall over a young and wanton female
"Explanation of the Engravings" (Dover, xii)

Blake, however, in the frontispiece to America, has depicted a naked female, often identified as Oothoon, the "soul of America", alive yet, Blake's spirit of sexual freedom, in the following plate (America, title page) evidently liberated (I.B. 137, 138).

In Blake's creation of the Rahab figure and her entry into the role of whore, there is a progression of events. While neither accuser nor advocate, Blake explores the role of harlot as she is part of the generated life: there is a sequence of mercy in her downfall. Blake presents a Rahab who can be

redeemed (as in the Joshua story, 2.1-24; 6.17-25):

... Rahab beholds the Lamb of God
... She destroys her own work ...
(FZ VIII, p. 113(1):32-33, E. 377)

Pitying the Lamb of God descended thro Jerusalems gates
To put off Mystery time after time ...
(FZ VIII, p. 104(2):33-34, E. 378)

... then was hidden within
The bosom of Satan The false Female as in an ark & veil
Which christ must rend & her reveal ...
(FZ VIII, p. 105:24-27, E. 378)

Rahab & Tirzah wail aloud in the wild flames they give up
themselves to Consummation
(FZ IX, p. 118:7, E. 387)

Error can never be redeemd in all Eternity
But Sin Even Rahab is redeemd in blood & fury & jealousy
(FZ IX, p. 120:48-49, E. 390)

Los wipd the sweat from his red brow & thus began
To the delusive female forms shining among his furnaces

...
O Rahab I behold thee I was once like thee a Son
Of Pride and I also have piercd the Lamb of God in pride &
wrath

...
Rahab burning with pride & revenge departed from Los
Los dropd a tear at her departure but he wipd it away in hope
(FZ VIII, p. 113(2):46-47, E. 380;
FZ VIII, p. 116:3-4, E. 381)

O Mystery Fierce Tharmas cries Behold thy end is come
Art thou she that made the nations drunk with the cup of
Religion

...
The good of all the Land is before you for Mystery is no more
(FZ IX, p. 134:5-6, 29, E. 402-03)

A sub-textual interpretation may allow that while Blake
does not sanction the concept of prostitution he does provide for
positive outcomes from evil energies.

The Four Zoas, originally to be entitled Vala, draws attention to "the Torments of Love and Jealousy", emotions often associated with aspects of a prostituted relationship - in fact Vala herself is known as Urizen's harlot, the harlot of Los and the deluded harlot of the Kings of the Earth (FZ VII, p. 91(2):14-15, E. 363) in the same sense that Israel when she fell away from God was referred to as "whore".

Drawings of nude women are dispersed throughout the manuscript, some more explicitly erotic in orientation than the reader would expect from reading the text, although seduction and copulation contribute significantly to the fall of Man and of the Zoas.

The work early applies itself to the theme of the wayward woman as Tharmas accuses the Emanations of harlotry (FZ I, p. 4:36, E. 302). Urizen's daughters are called to arise but are shown appropriately as plunging downward in the drawing (FZ VII, p. 79:24, E. 348), while Vala is addressed in the same Night as the "Melancholy Magdalen" who seduces the Eternal Man (VII, p. 93:2, E. 365; VII, p. 83:7-12, E. 358).

In Milton, Milton's descent leads him directly into a temptation posed by Rahab and Tirzah as they try to lure him away from his prophetic task and into taking up with them a cult of Natural Religion in which Jerusalem is to be offered up as a sacrifice (Milton 19:44-56, E. 113). In a Blakean variation on a theme, the poet is to prostitute himself to false beliefs.

The Shadowy Female, at once jealous and beautiful (18:42, 44, E. 112), resolves any sense of role conflict by resisting the

appeal of Orc for her to resume the beneficent role of the Vala of old who would be clad in compassion, the Garment of God (Milton 18:34-36, E. 112). The dire consequences of her choice are listed in the two following plates: earthquakes move the foundations of the earth, Urizen emerges, youth is bound by the Chain of Jealousy, Ahanian is rent apart, Enion wanders weeping, Vala labours for her bread and water and Tirzah triumphs. Nevertheless, just two plates later - as Ololon announces she will descend - it will be the turn of the Shadowy Female to shudder in torment inexpressible (Plate 22:36, E. 117).

Rahab is also associated with Satan and conforms to the generally held expectations of the demonic role: the destruction in flames of the individual, the introduction of war among mankind, and the prolongation of corporeal strife (37:8-24; 41:17-22; 31:18-20, E. 137, 142, 130). Rahab's Babylon image is here recapitulated - a "Mystery Babylon" and a Jerusalem bound in the trappings of harlotry, associated with the pestilence of diseased and displaced sexuality and bearing in her hand the poisonous cup, the antithesis of the Cup of Communion (Milton 38:24-27, E. 139). (Cf. the title page illustration to Night VIII of Young's Night Thoughts mentioned above and also NT 185, V, p. 30 as the "illustrious stranger" (the Soul) rejects ("light-touching", ll. 463-64) "Earth's enchanted Cup" held by a crowned bare-breasted Vala figure.

In Milton, a further role is evident in the instance of Leutha who plays out "the siren", stupefying the "masculine perceptions" of Satan, indeed a "sign portentous" as Sin before her had been called (Milton 12:38, E. 106; Paradise Lost II:760-

61). She is, additionally, brought to the bed of Palamabron by Elynittria and from this latter union Death and Rahab are born (Milton 12:4-7; 13:37-41, E. 105, 107).

However, Leutha's role is modified in the light of the observations and actions of others. In an act of self-giving rather than a seduction of self-offering she volunteers to ransom Satan, taking on herself his sin in like manner to the sacrifice of Christ for the erring race (Milton 11:28-30, E. 105).

IV. The whore displays the cold face of "chastity".

The Enitharmon of Europe is seen in a different harlot aspect: the self righteous dominating female crying that "Womans Love is Sin!" (Europe 5:3-4, E. 62). Blake objected to those who would attempt to create a climate in which women were brought under moral condemnation unless their union was legitimized by Priest and King (Annotations to Lavater, E. 601).⁶⁴ Here is seen the consequence of such repression: woman, in turn, is exultant that man is bound (Europe: 12:25-31, E. 64).

Blake fashions for the Enitharmon of The Four Zoas a role of coy mistress who twice kindles the hopes of Los - and flees:

Created for my will my slave tho strong tho I am weak
Farewell the God calls me away I depart in my sweet bliss
She fled vanishing on the wind ...

(FZ II, p. 34:45-47, E. 323)

The ostensible call of God is very hard to refute!

O I am weary lay thine hand upon me or I faint
I faint beneath these beams of thine

For thou hast touchd my five senses & they answerd thee
Now I am nothing & I sink
And on the bed of silence sleep till thou awakest me

Thus sang the Lovely one in Rapturous delusive trance
Los heard reviving he siezd her in his arms delusive hopes
Kindling She led him into Shadows & thence fled outstretchd
Upon the immense like a bright rainbow weeping & smiling &
fading

(FZ II, p. 34:87-96, E. 324)

In Enitharmon's refusals and her flight from Los there is an element of what Irene Tayler calls the withholding of supply which allows the entry of prostitution ⁶⁵ (VDA I, 18, E. 46; BU, VI, 1:11-13, E. 79; I.B. 201) - "A Religion of Chastity, forming a Commerce to sell Loves", Jerusalem 69:34, E. 223). However, as Los continues his pursuit of her, there is a role reversal and temptress and wife give way to the mothering of Orc.

The Rahab figure may be manifest as Vala, temptress, once-benign nature, ⁶⁶ now fallen (Jerusalem, Plates 53, 75, I.B. 332, 354; FZ VIII, p. 106:23-31, E. 381-82), or as Tirzah, imagination imprisoned in will, "the shrouding womb of the physical universe" ⁶⁷ - all cold, repelling, suffocating aspects of love.

The Females of Amalek enact a more vicious Tirzah role as they sing of binding man down (FZ VIII, p. 105:47, E. 378), but Rahab/Tirzah often expresses her harlotry in passive ways:

Rahab triumphs over all she took Jerusalem
 Captive A Willing Captive by delusive arts impell'd
 To worship Urizens Dragon form to offer her own Children
 Upon the bloody Altar. John Saw these things Reveald in Heaven
 On Patmos Isle & heard the Souls cry out to be deliverd
 He saw the Harlot of the Kings of Earth & saw her Cup
 Of fornication food of Orc & Satan pressd from the fruit of
 Mystery

She commund with Orc in secret She hid him with the flax
 That Enitharmon had numberd away from the Heavens
 She gatherd it together to consume her Harlot Robes
 In bitterest Contrition sometimes Self condemning repentant
 And Sometimes kissing her Robes & Jewels and weeping over them
 (FZ VIII, p. 111: 1-15, E. 385-86)

No sooner she had spoke but Rahab Babylon appeard
 Eastward upon the Paved work across Europe & Asia
 Glórious as the midday Sun in Satans bosom glowing:
 A Female hidden in a Male, Religion hidden in War
 Namd Moral Virtue; cruel two-fold Monster shining bright
 A Dragon red & hidden Harlot which John in Patmos saw
 (Milton 40:16-22, E. 141)

... all
 The Jealousies become Murderous: uniting together in Rahab
 A Religion of Chastity, forming a Commerce to sell Loves
 With Moral Law, an Equal Balance...
 (Jerusalem 69:32-35, E. 223)

In Milton, this Virgin Babylon, Mother of Whoredoms, is rebuked by the Divine Voice for conforming to the role of jealous wife rather than meeting the expectations for the unselfish woman; she has turned Jerusalem as Liberty out into the streets to wander as a common harlot rather than given her to God (Milton 33, E. 132-33) - an ironic touch for Babylon herself will be seen in the streets of London (Jerusalem 74:16, E. 229).

Northrop Frye in his chapter "Beyond Good and Evil", after discussing the concept of "Mental Fight" (the visionaries against the champions of tyranny), looks at such a Rational Morality figure, an independent nourishing force in nature, a maternal principle beyond Mother Nature, a feminine principle which Man,

fallen into natural religion, may worship - Blake's female will. Frye argues that Blake's two great symbols of the female will are the Madonna and Child, the infant imagination wrapped in the arms of a mother, and the Court of Love code in which the coy, shy, modest, jealous, teasing, luring mistress is "lord" (cf. Europe 5:1-5, E. 62).

This Rahab/Tirzah figure has been seen as an element of the Antichrist and, alternatively, the female and social counterpart of the Antichrist; but she is certainly one of the evil female Powers which may govern human life.

Conversely, there is a relationship between Jesus and Jerusalem as complementary principles working as powers for good in generative existence. There is here an interdependence of male and female principles. Jerusalem as wife and Emanation is reassured by the Lamb: Christ, who has bestowed Liberty upon Jerusalem, has expectations that she will turn away Idols (Jerusalem 60:10-37, E. 210) and be led by Him away from the "turning mills" (1.63), and will subsequently fulfil her role to "Awake and overspread all Nations" (97:2, E. 256). Significantly, Blake writes in support of this reciprocity that "the Divine Lamb stood beside Jerusalem" (1.50).

Thus far, it may be seen that Blake has created for the whore occasions when she may perform a role congruent with her being a force for evil, in either passive or active mode. She typifies, as Frye comments, nearly every aspect of the life of fallen man.

However, some of the ambiguity of attitude towards the prostitute discussed in the opening section of this chapter is

reflected in the fact that Blake also finds for the harlot roles in which she may perform as a power for good.

V. Multiple roles for the harlot: a conclusion.

Blake questions society's expectations, its conventions which stereotype any one woman into a single role; his understanding is that roles are seldom exclusive:

Every Harlot was once a Virgin:
(Jerusalem 61:52, E. 212)

Every Harlot was a Virgin once
(For the Sexes: the Gates of Paradise: Epilogue, 1.3, E. 269)

What is a Wife & what is a Harlot? (Jerusalem 57:8, E. 207)

In a wife I would desire
What in whores is always found (E. 474)

An old maid early eer I knew
...
...
And wish that I had been a Whore (E. 474)

Evil Mystery who would never loose her captives is herself confined in Caves (FZ IX, p. 134:10, E. 402); this is reminiscent of the answer to society's "problem" - institutionalization.

Although Vala was the prime cause of Albion's fall as he⁷¹ gave preference to the sexual rather than to the Eternal, yet it is exactly that same kind of role, in its proper perspective, that Vala will ultimately be called upon to perform by the Immortal:

Among the Flowers of Beulah walkd the Eternal Man & Saw
Vala the lilly of the desart. melting in high noon
Upon her bosom in sweet bliss he fainted...
(FZ VII, p. 83:8-10, E. 358)

Luvah & Vala henceforth you are Servants obey & live
You shall forget your former state return O Love in peace
Into your place the place of seed not in the brain or heart
(FZ IX, p. 126:6-9, E. 395)

Vala is given a new self by Regenerate Man as she enacts a role in the renewal of Tharmas and Enion; in fact, as Vala's New Song rises, the hand of the woman is gently touching that of the male and this may be interpreted as the harlot looking beyond the self to the Lord and to his children, anticipating the union of Eternity. (This is very different from the Vala-type figure suggested in the drawing of page 41 in the Bentley edition where the woman of pendulous breasts and enormous vulva may seem to be worshipping the penis or chasing a phallus-like creature.)⁷²

As the apocalypse draws near, Enitharmon, the elusive, is found a new task: she labours alongside Los although it is unclear from the illustration whether the woman with her head in her hands is enabled or shamed by the two males standing nearby (VII, p. 90:25-43, E. 370-71; VII, p. 85(1):E. 360 and the illustration to this page in Bentley, Vala).

Almost as quickly as she weaves a fallen Tharmas, Enion repents (FZ I, p. 5:14, 44, E, 302, 303) and is thus ready for the later reunion (FZ IX, p. 131:16-20, E. 400).

Rahab is likewise brought to contrition and repentance and, with Tirzah, gives up the self to be consumed in the flames of God's will (FZ VIII, p. 111: 14, E. 386; IX, p.118(1):7, E.

387). Even Rahab is able to be redeemed and is reassured by Los that he was (even as she had been) fallen from his station in the Eternal bosom (FZ IX, p. 120:49-51, E. 390; VIII, p. 113(2):49-52, E. 380). The sketch of the lovely woman accompanying the text of p. 120 may be interpreted as Rahab with her head cradled in her arms in implied sorrow (Bentley, Vala, p. 27).

In Milton, Blake creates a backdrop of wanton daughters, delusive virgins and adulterous sirens against which the role of the virgin Ololon is clearly foregrounded as she takes part in the redemption of Milton and of Man. Roles are polarised into the forces of evil against the power of good.

Susan Fox identifies this contrast as Rahab's power to corrupt opposing Ololon's sweet submissiveness. ⁷² This would seem to be conformity to the standards of the age: the active as evil and the passive as good. However, it will be remembered that in the previous "daughter" chapter, Fox also pointed out that Ololon confesses to an attempt to vanquish Milton. Her role as power for good is consequent upon her confronting the error in herself (the force for evil) and actively dividing from the aberrant sexual element, the innate Rahab/Moral element (Milton 40:17-23; 41; 42, E. 141-43). Blake provides for the possibility of good being generated by evil transformed by energy.

Blake had an ambivalent attitude to the human body as such, denouncing it when the body triumphs over the spiritual (the Harlot of the Kings of the Earth is seen to be also Satan's whore: FZ VIII, p. 111:6-7, E. 386) but calling Generation "holy" though it served the purpose of the Incarnation (Jerusalem 7:65-67, E. 150). Eventually, however, it must destroy itself and the

harlot Mystery with it (VLJ, p. 80, E. 558):

[Blake] distrusted the fallen natural body closed by, in and away from fully creative faculties; but he as deeply trusted that aspect ⁷⁴ of the body which he saw as 'a portion of soul'.

According to Paley, "Blake follows Boehme, the Kabbala and the tale of Aristophanes in The Symposium in presenting the androgynous human body as a symbol of libidinal freedom". ⁷⁵ In addition, he joins the Proverbs-derived tradition of Spenser and Milton in contrasting the Harlot and Virtuqus Wisdom ⁷⁶ and, with Shelley, he distinguishes the actualities of marriage, prostitution and lust from passion. ⁷⁷ It is only when there is a divorce of two aspects - spirituality and sensuality - ⁷⁸ that Vala views her own physical delights as sins, that Jerusalem is branded harlot, that Babylon is elevated to power, and that there is terror in Eternity over a separate, sexual Feminine Portion.

However, Blake will once again provide for the possibility of good being generated by an evil source in the grip of transforming energy.

Certainly Rahab and Tirzah pervert the mild influences of Enitharmon (Milton 29:53-54, E. 128) but this does not negate the Web of Life she weaves in contrast to Cathedron's Looms of Death (6:28; 24:35, E. 100, 120). Book I concludes with a reminder of the protecting Seven Eyes of God (29:54; E. 128, 24:7, E. 119) as in biblical terms Enitharmon and her Daughters are given charge until the Day, a phrase well-known to those of Blake's era ⁷⁹ familiar with the hymns of Charles Wesley.

As Los sings, in Jerusalem, he reflects Blake's sense of

ambivalence over the fallen woman, the Female Will, whether she be identified with Vala, Babylon, Mother Nature or Jerusalem separated from Eternity (30:23-29; 56:3-24, E. 176, 206). Within both text and illustrations Blake attempts to answer "What may Woman be?": she may be Albion's companion in the Fall (Jerusalem 43:34, E. 191; FZ III, p. 39:15-16, E. 327); she may be known as Rahab, one of the Eternal States through which Man must pass on the way to Redemption (52, E. 200).

Jerusalem includes a siren-like Vala involved in a lovely jealous stupefaction of the body (Jerusalem 80:26-27, E. 236); it alludes to a love which has become a ravening eating Cancer, which devours Jerusalem (69:2-5, E. 223); it describes the Hidden Harlot at her most deadly, when she refuses to take on definite form, even calling the definite, "sin" (80:51-53; 89:52, E. 237, 249). When Rahab is forced into revealing herself Jesus is shown as breaking through death and hell, triumphant in mercy, opening Eternity to Man (75:18-22, E. 231). Blake, no doubt aware of the biblical account of the true love of Dinah and Shechem (Genesis 34), precedes this unveiling of Rahab by describing the struggles of the youthful Erin (Dinah) to take on a form of beauty (74:52-54, E. 230).

Separation into an identity is not, however, without pain. Los calls for Jerusalem to come away from her association with Babylon, a Babylon who holds Rahab's poisonous cup (85:21-32, E. 244; 75:1-3, E. 230). Nevertheless, only three plates later Jerusalem in a role identification will be prepared to accept

that same Cup from Vala who is a negation of Jerusalem (88:56, E.
81
247).

Blake's "whore" is assigned many roles: she takes Jerusalem captive and compels her to worship Urizen, to offer up to him the children of Jerusalem; she meets in secret with Orc; and she promotes war, repression, religion and alienating chastity - to summarise but a few (FZ VIII, p. 111:1-15, E. 385-86; Milton 40:16-22, E. 141-42; Jerusalem 69:33-35, E. 223).

Blake's "whore" has many names, as has been seen. She may play a major role in the prophecies as do Vala, Rahab, Tirzah; she may enact the harlot role on occasion, as does Enitharmon; or she may simply be part of the background against which powers of good meet forces of evil. She has many titles: Mystery, Babylon the Great, the Abomination of Desolation, Religion hidden in War or Hidden Harlot; but she has one nature with two aspects - fallen sexuality manifested as blazing lust or chilly chastity. Her roles are unattractive: she withholds or uses sex in order to obtain dominion,⁸² and she joins one of Romanticism's most persistent symbols: the fallen woman.⁸³

Blake would have considered restrictive the view that there are only two poles of femininity, the mother and the prostitute,⁸⁴ and that women have a predisposition towards the latter. For women he created a multiplicity of roles and within the role of "whore" he created a variety of behaviours. She is both force for evil and power for good. He bitterly attacked the prevailing Protestant Puritanism that the most immoral behaviours were those which offended against the strict code of sexual relations - he puts the utterance "Womans love is Sin" in the mouth of a

perverse Enitharmon, for example (Europe 5:5, E. 62).

In the light of the examples given in this chapter, Blake's ultimate conclusion must be read as the body having been accepted and accorded a proper place within the intellectual and artistic life (Jerusalem 32:49, E. 179). The sexual belongs to our everyday humanity (Jerusalem 79:73-74, E. 236); Jesus in a forgiving if not desiring sense may have entered into the
85
Magdalen's "dark Hell" (TEG, f, 1.77, E. 522).

Alexander Pope earlier in the century had seen bad literature as a form of whoring and condemned those who prostituted their work.
86
Blake extended this concept to relate integrated sexuality to the right exercise of the Imagination.

Blake neither condemned the prostitute nor accepted her as a necessary evil. He went beyond these two prevailing attitudes of his day. One of the labours of the Daughters of Los is to ensure that Rahab and Tirzah may exist and live and breathe and love (Jerusalem 59:34-44, E. 209). The Daughters' delight in this work obliterates every other evil; they labour for life and for love - and ultimately their labours are rewarded. The harlot destroys her own work, giving herself up to the flames; as symbolical veil she is rent by Christ; she is wept over in hope by Los; in contrition she weeps over her robes and jewels, "Self-
87
condemning".

Blake looks to the day when the role of harlot will be redundant. Meanwhile, her actions may in fact effect an awareness in her fellows and thus maximise the re-integration of man. When the role of the whore thus brings closer the realm of

Eternity, she is a power for good; when she acts for dominion and division, she is a force for evil.

I must Create a System, or be enslav'd by another Mans
[Los] Jerusalem 10:20, E. 153

While a woman is daughter, sister, wife and mother by reason of her family position, and may be whore by social circumstances, often she casts herself into the additional role of servant. Although she was not of any formal slave class such as existed in ancient Greece or Rome, or in America until emancipation, an eighteenth-century woman was regarded by the society woman with scorn. Some notable exceptions are, of course, evident in recent discussions by Muriel Jaeger, Katherine B. Clinton, and Miriam Benkovitz as well as in inferences drawn¹ from contemporary women of recorded enterprise.

In fact, William Thompson, writing just before Blake's death, declared that the civilised wife lacked the social liberty of even a West India slave and that daughters were actual, though not legal, slaves of their fathers.² This nineteenth-century view was reiterated later by Friedrich Engels who, writing on the origin of the family, supported current theory which had attributed a state of virtual slavery for the woman to the prehistoric overthrow of mother-right and the consequent degrading of the status of woman.³ Germaine Greer was to display boldly some words of Engels in her chapter on the family: "The modern individual family is founded on the open or concealed slavery of the wife".⁴

This sense of woman enslaved exists in the rhetoric of both eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: Trollope's authorial voice is heard as Lady Scatcherd watches beside the ailing Sir Roger:

"Would not her life be much more blessed when this cause of all her troubles should be removed from her? Would she not then be a free woman instead of a slave?"⁵, while in a study of Victorian sexuality, Fraser Harrison explores the phenomenon of "the enslaved angel"⁶.

George Bernard Shaw - quoted by a recent feminist writer in an introduction to a chapter on the place of woman in society - encapsulates this sense of expected servitude:

If we have come to think that the nursery and the kitchen are the natural sphere of woman, we have done so exactly as English children come to think that a cage is the natural sphere of a parrot ⁷ because they have never seen one anywhere else.

Mary Wollstonecraft in her final and unfinished novel has Jemima speak of having to attend to her younger half-sister "with the servility of a slave"⁸, an echo of Mary Astell's rhetorical question: "If all Men are born Free, how is it that all Women are born Slaves? As they must be, if the being subjected to the inconstant, uncertain, unknown, arbitrary Will of Men, be the perfect Condition of Slavery?"⁹

This is the same emotive language put into the mouth of Defoe's Roxana when she objects to being thought of as a "Slave, a Servant, and the like"¹⁰ and, as mentioned in a previous chapter, it is against just such an attitude towards her that Clarissa, as sister, cries out, "my mind is not that of a slave".¹¹ In contrast to the seeming lack of interest in the sister figure in literature, on the subject of servant there has been comprehensive factual examination and there is a fictional

proliferation of a serving role. Studies have touched on the role of nursemaid, the duties of the teacher, including the advocacy of "ignorant bliss" for the poor,¹² the responsibilities of the governess, and the general drudgery of the eighteenth-century household.¹³

The usual process of women's education was conducive to this self-effacing attitude: Myra Reynolds has investigated the kinds of education available in the century preceding 1760 and discussed areas of need; Jean Hunter has supplied an extensive bibliography of and interesting quotations from eighteenth-century magazines to extend the period of coverage, while A. R. Humphreys has examined notable exceptions.¹⁴ The consensus is, however, that little but subservience was expected of the female, be she pupil or teacher.

Moll Flanders begins her life education when put in the charge of a nurse who had a little school which she kept to teach children to read and to work.¹⁵ Defoe does extend our knowledge of current curricula for girls a little for he refers to "Their Youth [which] is spent to teach them to Stitch and Sew, or make Bawbles"¹⁶ and to a general training of the intelligence in addition to Moll Flanders allusions to dancing, French, writing and music.¹⁷

Hannah More, while lamenting the inadequacies in the education of women of the day, was forced to defend her own plans: "they learn of week days such coarse works as may fit them for servants". Moreover, she felt, character, not considerations of ability or patois should be the criterion for employment of French governesses.¹⁸

Perhaps this is a reflection of the age: social historians have felt that a playful eighteenth century was merging (although reluctantly) into a nineteenth century of work and earnestness.¹⁹

There were, however, spirited defences against this trivialisation of women; for example, Elizabeth Wilson's scriptural rebuttal of the idea of domestic slavery professing to have its charter in Leviticus 25, Genesis 9 and the New Testament²⁰ (Matthew 10:24 and Ephesians 6:5 being but two references). Such protests had to acknowledge, nevertheless, that there was current theological support for the role of servant, as exemplified in the well-known hymn of George Herbert,²¹ "The Elixir", and in the hymns of Charles Wesley. The context was that of Christ the servant, or servants of the Lord and of mankind (Mark 10:24, 43; Luke 19:17; Mark 10:45).²²

Catherine Macaulay's Letters on Education offer at one point a criticism of Rousseau's facile rationalisation: "The superiority of address peculiar to the female sex, says Rousseau, is a very equitable indemnification for their inferiority in point of strength. Without this, woman would not be the companion, but his slave; it is by her superior art and ingenuity she preserves her equality, and governs him, whilst she affects to obey". Macaulay writes that Rousseau was blinded by his own sensuality and consequently attracted by the idea of women "playing off the arts of coquetry". She, herself, roundly condemns such feigned role-playing as "intrigues" which would fill the world with violence and injury.²³

Aside from their common concern with the servant or the "slave", the selections above have implications in common. The eighteenth century carried the expectation that its wives and daughters fulfil a servant role. This may be one adopted as a vocational choice, as in the case of a girls placed out into domestic service, or impoverished women undertaking sewing or teaching. In a broader sense a serving role was an attitudinal expectation imposed by a patriarchal society.

Educational practice (and indeed Pamela-type fiction) maintained such roles by stressing the importance (and the efficacy) of the caring duties of the female, while the religious teaching and the tracts of the day advocated the adopting of the "helpmeet" aspects of wifely behaviour.

A few exceptional writers took up their pens and cried out that subservience was a role imposed on the female and resisted, in emotive terms, the assumption of a serving predisposition in the "sisterhood".

An examination of some of the active servant roles which Blake assigned to his fictional characters will show, in this chapter, that his works formed part of this literature of protest. For Blake, society's "slave" expectations were to be cast out. Imposed roles of fruitless submission were to be subsumed in adopted roles of autonomous energy and the equation of the ideal heroine, Jerusalem, with Liberty was to be ratified.

It must be admitted that in Blake's time, the term "slave" was certainly widely used, often without due thought - perhaps simply as a vogue word arising from the slavery issue of the times. For instance, an early letter from Frederick Tatham to

the engraver, John Pye, on behalf of Blake's widow writes of Catherine as a wife who "obeyed, [and] as a willing slave²⁴ incessantly laboured", not a true description of the generally harmonious relationship between the Blakes known to the chronicler of Blake's time, J.T. Smith.²⁵

Blake's life span and that of the reformer William Wilberforce almost coincided but the age was divided on the issue of slavery. Even enlightened men and women demonstrated some acceptance of the practice: "Godwin and his wife were content to point out that in their society woman was man's slave" writes one Blake critic.²⁶

However, Blake himself was very careful in his use of the term "slave" and was evidently moved by the plight of these unfortunate and powerless individuals, as his illustrations to the Narrative of John G. Stedman reveal.²⁷

David Erdman has discussed comprehensively Blake's attitudes to, and provided textual references in connection with, the slave issue of the day; he alludes, for example, to Blake's awareness of the final passage of the Slave Trade Bill in 1807 (Jerusalem (40)); to his accusation that the Empire was stultifying the lives of its slaves (FZ VII , p.92:21-31); to his confidence that the African slave would inevitably revolt ("A Song of Liberty", 11, 12); and to his assertion that America did not wish to be cultivated by slaves or slave-drivers (VDA 7:26)[E. 187-188; 364; 44; 50].²⁸

This chapter, therefore, will examine a range of passages in which the servant figure appears in Blake's works, from the early

Songs to the later prophetic works, and will use the framework of role theory to draw conclusions from each context about four aspects relevant to this thesis: the character's own expectations of her role; the expectations, in the same context, of others; Blake's own expectations of the role of the woman as far as can be inferred from the dramatic plot; and the correlation of each of these first three expectations with those of eighteenth-century society. It will be argued, as in preceding chapters of this dissertation, that Blake is concerned to create an active role for his female protagonists and that there is, additionally, textual evidence of his concern for those in bondage, conclusions which may be drawn by reference to the roles he created for them.

This chapter will look first at the serving role of the Nurse of the Songs of Innocence and of Experience, although the actual term of "nurse" may be applied generally to those who carry the responsibility of a caring function. The roles of Vala and of Ololon as they fulfil an "obedience" function will then be considered: the lament of Vala as she labours in the Brick Kilns when Urizen is building the Mundane Shell, and the position of Ololon as she responds to the injunction to obey the words of the Inspired Man. The third concern of this chapter is to examine a number of passages presented as songs associated with slaves: for example, the song "composed by an African Black from the little Earth of Sotha", from Night the Ninth of The Four Zoas. Fourthly, there will be a brief description of some illuminated images of servitude, drawing on Blake's designs for Young's Night Thoughts and on Blake's engravings for Stedman's Narrative. This

discussion of Blake's illustrations to Stedman's work is located in Appendix 7, pp. 337-46. As minor references to servant and/or slaves roles are not accessible through a Concordance approach (all synonyms may not be considered), this Appendix may be used as a tool for further research on this particular role.

I. A serving role with children: the nurse

Blake speaks in Jerusalem 79:76 (E. 236) of Beulah as a place where the masculine and the feminine are nursed into youth and maiden by Beulah's Daughters, a caring function anticipated in the story of Enitharmon nursing her fiery child (The Four Zoas V, p. 59:25, E. 340), and in Jerusalem 16:21 when England gives, for Albion's sake, her nursing mothers (E. 160).

However, when he wrote in his early poetry of "ignorance as Folly's leeing nurse ("An Imitation of Spenser" 1:13, E. 420), Blake was supplementing the imagery of the words of vice - ignorance and folly - and in fact anticipating a role differentiation: caring or careless nurse. Among the meanings given in the Oxford English Dictionary for "leeking", many instances give the pejorative sense of "getting rid of", or "a depriving of benefit". Blake would write two "Nurse's Songs", that of Experience in which the nurse is absorbed in her own understanding to the neglect of the children's needs, and that of Innocence in which the role of the nurse involves a focus on others. The poem from Songs of Innocence first appeared as the

mother's song in An Island in the Moon, with a few minor alterations to word or phrase (E. 15, 23, 463, 850), three concerned with natural phenomena and one with the replacement of "tongues of children" by the less rhetorical "voices of children".

Blake would on occasion couple the concept of nurses with that of other family members when the issue of service was the context; for example, "Be thou our mother, and our nurse" is said of Albion's shore ("Edward the Third" 6:15, E. 437) and Albion himself is called to awaken by father, son, nurse, mother, sister and daughter (Jerusalem 4:11-12, E. 146). There are both Nursing Fathers and Nursing mothers "described in A Vision of the Last Judgment, p. 85 - "they have Crowns the Spectator may suppose them to be the good Kings & Queens of England" runs a deleted passage (E. 562). It will be recalled that Isaiah 49:23 reads "kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and their queens thy nursing mothers" in a biblical passage which outlines the servant's task and which implies that there are no gender or status parameters for service.

Nurse's Song

When the voices of children are heard on the green
And laughing is heard on the hill,
My heart is at rest within my breast
And every thing else is still

Then come home my children, the sun is gone down
And the dews of night arise
Come come leave off play, and let us away
Till the morning appears in the skies

No no let us play, for it is yet day
And we cannot go to sleep
Besides in the sky, the little birds fly
And the hills are all covered with sheep

Well well go & play till the light fades away
And then go home to bed
The little ones leaped & shouted & laugh'd
And all the hills ecchoed
(Songs of Innocence, E. 15)

In the state of Innocence, the nurse is at peace although activity surrounds her. There is an air of welcome in the verb "come" and an evocation of warmth in the noun "home" which follows. The children are secure enough in the relationship to be able to respond with gentle disagreement and in their reply of pastoral description maintain the placid atmosphere created in part by the illustration of the nurse incorporated into the circle of linked hands of the boys and girls as she sits beneath the tree. The last stanza reveals that not only does the good nurse encourage independent action but in her "go home" implies that she is willing to leave them to do this without rigid supervision. The good nurse may stand apart from her charges but when she does engage in conversation with them she is essentially an Innocent with them.

This is not so in the role depicted in Experience: the two stanzas are a monologue. The nurse has little sense of relationship to her charges: she speaks less to them than of them: "Your spring and your day are wasted in play" are words spoken forth in accusation rather than as the embracing unity suggested in the first person plural of "let us away" and "let us play" of the former poem.

NURSES Song

When the voices of children, are heard on the green
And whisprings are in the dale:
The days of my youth rise fresh in my mind,
My face turns green and pale.

Then come home my children, the sun is gone down
And dews of night arise
Your spring & your day , are wasted in play
And your winter and night in disguise.

(Songs of Experience, E. 23)

There is no feeling of inner calm in this nurse: overtly she hears the children's voices; covertly, whisperings intrude. Her role is neither active participation for the children's welfare, nor healthy disengagement that they may develop. The days of her own youth preclude both; her face is the colour associated with envy and jealousy. Although she also uses the phrase "come home", it is followed not by a joyous look towards the new day to come as in Innocence but by a reminder that time is being wasted. Critics are generally agreed that the illustration of the nurse bending over the boy suggests female domination and the passivity of the sister in the background is worthy of note.

The role for the nurse of Innocence involves a movement from the internal, from the self, to the external, towards others. Blake places the nurse of Experience in sharp juxtaposition: she is in charge of the children but centred upon herself.

If the nurse of Innocence is seen as carrying out an imposed role, it may be seen that she has her own expectations about her responsibilities and her responses to her charges. She refuses the hierarchical assumptions of her society and is governed not so much by inherited experience or societal expectations as by

the immediate context - the demands of her charges. Blake's own expectations are evident in that he has placed in Innocence a nurse who sees as legitimate the need to expend spontaneous energy.

Her companions of the moment have expectations of her that she is prepared to meet. When they argue that "the little birds fly ... the hills are all covered with sheep" (11.11-12), they recognise that her role incorporates an element of listening to, and consideration of, requests. Because she feels secure about her own role perception, she is capable of meeting the similar expectations of those around her. She states, in fact, that her heart is at rest, as she responds with complaisance and trust. In examining her behaviour from the viewpoint of role theory, the reader becomes aware that Blake's expectations for the ideal servant, whom the nurse of Innocence represents are congruent with those of nurse, and child - involvement in the servant role but freedom from external restriction.

The nurse of Innocence perceives her role as supportive rather than restrictive and her seated stance, rather than implying passivity, can be interpreted as allowing both for individual freedom and a sense of her own identity. She sits, they play; they ask, she agrees. In this there is no fear of misplaying her role or exceeding her authority, nor any thought of any but intrinsic reward for her compliance. Paradoxically, she appears to be exemplifying passive good, but in reality she assents with her heart - and this is energy in action.

Conversely, it will be found that the role performance of

the nurse of Experience is governed, not by the needs of those around her, but by the practices of her own youth, by the furtive whisperings of suspect Nature, and by her own desires, revealed too obviously in her face. She turns enviously green, or furiously white. Ironically, she could use some of the very disguise for which she upbraids her charges.

Moreover, some of the expectations of the eighteenth century are evident in the allusion to the time wasted in play: "work for the night is coming" exhorted the church.³⁰ The nurse of Experience pretends to a caring role, but imposes on others her own expectations. By placing these two stanzas in Experience, Blake implies criticism of a servant who serves but herself and, as an examination of her role has revealed, action that is self-serving is outside of Innocence.

In the illustration to Experience, the youth has his hand across his body, a gesture which modern sociologists tell us is a barrier or protective device;³¹ the young girl is withdrawn in the background. The expectations of these others have shaped the role perception of the nurse: she is actively engaged in the manipulation of an older male child to the neglect of the female.

Any discussion of the colouring in the Songs is necessarily tentative because of the variations in extant copies, but it may be said that the tints in the garb of the nurse of Experience tend towards the impure, perhaps unhealthy, mauves and lavenders, (of similar hue, in fact, to the face of the nurse figure of "The Fly" of Experience). It may be suggested here Blake has created a subtle personality variable for the nurse's counterpart

of Innocence is clothed in a dark colour implying solidity.

Although the text is brief, it may be concluded by the manner in which the nurse of Experience harkens back to her own childhood that she is aware of, yet governed by, authoritarian eighteenth-century attitudes which insist on conformity to a set role - in this instance, the overweening nurse. Certainly, this is an active nurse; that is evident from both text and illustration but hers is an energy that takes its source not from an inner calm but from a restless mind and a dominating body.

In summary, Blake, in the light of his own expectations that a servant role should be more than superficially active, has examined the roles of two nurse figures and has found the good servant to be she who, discounting herself, allows freedom and gives support to those within her care. The nurse who properly belongs in Innocence delights in action yet has the capacity to achieve a still centre within herself, as lines 13, 3-4, and the internal rhyme of "rest/breast" suggest. She has a true understanding of the creative force of energy and is in control both of her role and the ensuing action. Her counterpart, the nurse of Experience, is still under the control of the action and expectations of her own youth and she disregards, as a waste of time, the playful energies of her charges.

II. To Vala and to Ololon, a role of obedience

In the early lines of The Four Zoas, Enion is perceived by the very Spectre whom she had drawn forth from her shining loom

to be his slave. In a deleted passage, the Spectre threatens
Enion:

Art thou not my slave & shalt thou dare
To smite me with thy tongue beware lest I sting also thee
(The Four Zoas I, p. 6:9, E. 821 textual note;
Bentley, Writings, II, 1082)

Blake replaced these lines with the Spectre's asking the more
open question, "Who art thou, Diminutive husk & shell..." - Enion
may well be seen in the serving role. She has woven a tabernacle
for Jerusalem and she has laboured over the Circle of Destiny ³² (FZ
I, p. 5:6-7, 23-25, E. 302). Moreover, in her lament at the end
of Night the Second, it is evident that she is in sympathy with
those in subjection: the slave grinding at the mill, the captive
in chains, the poor in prison and the soldier in the field (FZ
II, p. 336:9-10, E. 325).

Vala also manifests sympathy for the female slave who is
constrained to take part in the building of the Mundane Shell.

Then rose the Builders; First the Architect divine his plan
Unfolds, The wondrous scaffold reard all round the infinite
Quadrangular the building rose the heavens squared by a line
Trigon & cubes divine the elements in finite bonds
Multitudes without number work incessant: the hewn stone
Is placd in beds of mortar mingled with the ashes of Vala
Severe the labour, female slaves the mortar trod oppressed
(The Four Zoas II, p. 30:8-14, E. 319)

In particular, she laments the plight of one in particular:
herself, as she labours in the Brick Kilns for Urizen to the will
of whom (as the Shadowy Female elsewhere avers) all are servants
(FZ VIII, p. 103:13, E. 375):

her in his love, although in vain at this point (FZ II, p. 30:53-55; 31:18-19, E. 320-21).

In the silent night and when the labourers take their rest, Vala continues her identification with the servant role. Although her present enslavement is a consequence of her fall away from Luvah (pp. 26, 27, 28, E. 317-18), now that she is cast into this role the expectations laid upon the others who labour incessantly are accepted by her also. She cries out against our sore afflictions, our hard masters, our sorrow. In his use of the plural first person, Blake makes Vala the focus of his own sympathy for all who serve in wretchedness.

The story of Vala's involvement in the servant role does not, however, end in Night the Second. Here she sees only the physical restrictions of service, the cruelty, the frustration. In Night the Ninth, Vala receives final enlightenment from Regenerate Man. In union with Luvah, she is to adopt a new servant role, not labouring in sorrow, but obeying in love, co-operating in the bliss of Man, servant to the infinite and the Eternal:

... the Immortal frownd Saying

Luvah & Vala henceforth you are Servants obey & live
You shall forget your former state return O Love in peace
Into your place the place of seed not in the brain or heart
If Gods combine against against Man Setting their Dominion above
The Human form Divine. Thrown down from their high Station
In the Eternal heavens of Human Imagination: buried beneath
In dark oblivion with incessant pangs ages on ages
In Enmity & war first weakend then in stern repentance
They must renew their brightness & their disorganizd functions
Again reorganize till they resume the image of the human
Cooperating in the bliss of Man obeying his Will
Servants to the infinite & Eternal of the Human form
(FZ IX, p. 126:6-17, E. 395)

This is a very significant statement for, while it is directed to Vala and Luvah, it is also an indication of Blake's sense of eternal roles. Vala's unfallen role was concerned with "the place of seed", the sexual, the procreative, the loins, and this is an unusual insight on Blake's part, for these are aspects most usually thought of as beneath immortal consideration. The eighteenth century believed that life should be lived and that the body should be discounted in the light of the hope of eternal life.

This may be seen as "virtue" taken to the extreme, an ethic against which Edmund Spenser (mentioned above in connection with Blake's "Imitation" from the Poetical Sketches) warned and the monastic chastity and the courtly code of love against Blake himself spoke out:

For thy she gaue him warning euery day,
The loue of women not to entertaine;
A lesson too too hard for liuing clay,
From loue in course of nature to refraine: 33
(The Faerie Queene, Book III.iv.26 (p. 162))

When Britomart beholds the beauty of Artegall in the mirror of Merlin, she is assured by the sorcerer that such love is a positive virtue, to be enjoyed and to culminate, ideally, in both friendship and marriage:

For she was pure from blame of sinfull blot,
Yet wist her life at last must lincke in that same knot.
(FQ III.ii.23 ,p. 150)

Britomart is further reassured as Merlin reveals to her "the famous Progeny / which from them springen shall" (III.iii, p.153),

(an additional role). With love as her "lewd Pilot" (III.iiii.9, p. 160) Britomart follows, as the Platonists would have it, the yearning of the soul after true beauty (Smith ed. p. xlv) - a Vala-like immortal concern for the body. Spenser's sense of the holiness of the body is further dramatized as he contrasts Malecasta's "shamelesse beauty" (st. 48) and the Bower of Bliss to the Gardens of Adonis from which Belphoebe of "stedfast chastity" sprang (III.i.31-60, pp. 144-46; III.xi, pp. 200-05; III.vi, pp. 171-76; III.v.1.1, p. 171). Moreover, Britomart's "chastity", a pure physical instinct with the potential for good, prevails against the enchanter of the castle of Busyrane where Amoret is held in thrall to such idolatrous love as the masque of Cupid reveals - and a "hermaphroditic" rescue is commenced.

The lines from Blake quoted four paragraphs above (FZ IX) rather than advocating a denial of physical love carry the same Spenserian sense of an eternal dimension to the concept of earthly love. Vala is encouraged to see that her immortal role is to involve a sense of love. The implication of the passage is that once it was so, and the grammatical imperative "obey & live" confirms that it will be so again.

From this new sense of an active role, a role beyond physical labour, an imposed role - yet one demonstrating the infinite importance of love - a new song arises in the bosom of Vala. Her own expectations of a role beyond work in Urizen's kilns are confirmed by the Immortal.

The most substantial and relevant passage in Milton in regard to Blake's juxtaposition of woman and servitude occurs towards the end of the work when Ololon receives the reply of

Milton "... Obey thou the words of the Inspired Man ... / That the Children of Jerusalem may be saved from slavery" (Milton 40:28, 30, E. 142).

Blake prepares for this confrontation in Plate 39: the seven Angels trumpet in the new Age; Satan trembles, but howls and thunders in futile opposition; Los mounts guard; Albion stirs on his couch and weeps; Urizen faints as Milton strives against him; and Rahab exerts the pressures of beauty, war and religion (Milton 39:2 - 40:22, E. 140-42).

Ololon comes to some sense of a role of self-denying compassion, although this is in accord with her original expectations that she must give up herself even to death. This expression of sympathy is an extension of her earlier awareness of the piteous role played by the Female forms who must weave the Woof of Death (Milton 21:45-46; 35:7-8, E. 116, 135).

How, it may be asked, does Ololon respond to this call to assume the role of obedient one? Blake has Ololon take the consent to obedience beyond the simply human level into that of acceptance of the words of the Inspired Man. She comes to the conclusion that any element which may enslave the human race, personified here as the Children of Jerusalem, must be annihilated. The term self-annihilation - that is, the elimination of the generated self, the simply human - is all-embracing as is the "Not Human". Both encompass Rational Demonstration (Bacon, Locke, Newton), Memory, Poetry as opposed to Inspiration, and Sexual Garments when these lead to a reduced spiritual awareness.

Ololon's response to the call for servitude on her part

embodies the realisation that Human Power can sustain the merging role which a lesser, merely sexual, understanding would repudiate (Milton 41: 30-33, E. 143).

As Jesus had not held himself above a sacrifice of the self, so Ololon becomes identified with One obedient unto death (42: 11-12, E. 143). She consents to be subsumed (42:2).

Milton concludes not with hierarchical ordering, nor recapitulation of the importance of serving, nor with obedience, but with equality: Blake with his sweet Shadow of Delight, not before him, but at his side; Los and Enitharmon rising together; Oothoon, voice of the enslaved, weeping in compassion, the cry of the Poor heard, and all Animals sporting and playing together.

III. To the slaves, a song

Night the Ninth of The Four Zoas opens with the reversal of expectations: the oppressor is smitten and trembles before the slaves who have been set at liberty (FZ IX, p. 117:19-21, E. 387). The imagery continues with the pre-apocalyptic congregating of father, friend, mother, infant, king, warrior, priest and chained captive (FZ IX, p. 122:39-42, E. 392). The dead appear in the roles which they had lived out in former times and the trappings of enslavement are made manifest and accuse the oppressor:

And all the marks remain of the slaves scourge & tyrants Crown
And of the Priests oergorged Abdomen & of the merchants thin
Sinewy deception & of the warriors ou[t]braving &

thoughtlessness
In lineaments too extended & in bones too strait & long

They shew their wounds they accuse they sieze the opressor ...
(FZ IX, p. 123:1-5, E. 392)

Night IX of The Four Zoas, named The Last Judgment, culminates
in the release of the captives:

Then All the Slaves from every Earth in the wide Universe
Sing A New Song drowning confusion in its happy notes
While the flail of Urizen sounded loud & the winnowing wind of
Tharmas

So loud so clear in the wide heavens & the song that they sung
was this

Composd by an African Black from the little Earth of Sotha

Aha Aha how came I here so soon in my sweet native land
How came I here Methinks I am as I was in my youth
When in my fathers house I sat & heard his chearing voice
Methinks I see his flocks & herds & feel my limbs renewd
And Lo my brethren in their tents & their little ones around
them

(FZ IX, p. 134:30 - p. 135:3, E. 403)

Having received the promise of a renewed role, a
regenerated Vala had sung a new song (IX, p. 128, E. 396-97).
The passage directly above also has echoes of the biblical "new
song" as in Psalm 33:3 where mention of a new song and playing
skilfully with a loud noise suggests Blake's New Song of the
Slaves where confusion is drowned in its happy notes. This same
psalm also has other references to "the earth" and discounts the
role of might by custom associated with kings. It may thus be
compared with Isaiah 42:7 where it is the Lord who will "bring
out the prisoners from the prison, and them that sit in darkness
out of the prison house", one of the redemptive roles expected of

"the suffering servant", for whom this passage is the classic locus.

Isaiah 42:10 continues with an exhortation to the nation to sing a new song from the "end of the earth", a phrase phonologically similar to Blake's "every earth". The concept of a personal role has broadened to embrace a national role.

Blake's imagery of the little ones, his father's voice, his brethren and his land echoes Revelation 5:9: "And they sung a new song, saying, Thou ... hast redeemed us to God by thy blood out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation". Blake has expectations similar to that of Old and New Testament prophecy - that all will participate both in an individual serving role and in a corporate one.

Moreover, each of these biblical new songs looks to a time of freedom when the works of the Lord are accomplished (Psalm 33:4), when the Lord shall prevail against his enemies (Isaiah 42:13) and when the people shall reign on the earth (Revelation 5:10), or in Blake's terms:

And who shall mourn Mystery who never loosed her Captives
Let the slave grinding at the mill run out into the field
Let him look up into the heavens & laugh in the bright air
Let the inchaind soul shut up in darkness & in sighing
Whose face has never seen a smile in thirty weary years
Rise & look out his chains are loose his dungeon doors are
open

And let his wife & children return from the oppressors
scourge

(FZ IX p. 134:17-23, E. 402)

Although the New Song is composed by an African Black from the little Earth of Sotha, the word "Sotha" is not to be associated with a Code of War as when it occurs in "Africa" 3:30,

(The Song of Los, E.67). In the context of the apocalyptic Night IX, the song is one of renewal. Blake has given not only a new song, but a new role, the proclamation of hope, to one whose country was associated in the eighteenth-century mind with anything but light and liberty. The theme, conveyed in similar pastoral imagery to that of Vala's new song, is however completely devoid of the connotations of the Negro spiritual of captivity: passive acceptance of one's present lot. Here Blake's vision is of the slave now gloriously free to sing a NEW song.

The slave himself has expectations of freedom; he is at one with Blake and with eighteenth-century enlightened opinion which upheld such policies. Blake, in his Songs, had taken up the cause of the chimney sweeper, and had reversed the roles of little black boy and little English boy (T. 12, 9-10, 37). Jerusalem he called Liberty.

Little wonder that as the New Song arises to the Golden feast, the Eternal Man rejoices and precipitates the final role of holy action: "... the Vintage is ripe arise" (FZ IX, p. 135:5, E. 403).

In the passage from Night the Ninth, the song is composed by one slave from a "little Earth", and it is sung by all the slaves from "every Earth". In Jerusalem, there is another song sung by many slaves, yet it is the Song of the Lamb:

I gave thee liberty and life O lovely Jerusalem
And thou hast bound me down upon the Stems of Vegetation
I gave thee Sheep-walks upon the Spanish Mountains Jerusalem
I gave thee Priams City and the Isles of Grecia lovely!
I gave thee Hand & Scofield & the Counties of Albion:
They were spread forth like a lovely root into the Garden of
God:

They were as Adam before me: united into One Man,
They stood in innocence & their skiey tent reachd over Asia
To Nimrods Tower to Ham & Canaan walking with Mizraim
Upon the Egyptian Nile, with solemn songs to Grecia
And sweet Hesperia even to Great Chaldea & Teshshina
Following thee as a Shepherd by the Four Rivers of Eden
Why wilt thou rend thyself apart, Jerusalem?
And build this Babylon & sacrifice in secret Groves,
Among the Gods of Asia: among the fountains of pitch & nitre
Therefore thy Mountains are become barren Jerusalem!
Thy Valleys, Plains of burning sand. thy Rivers: waters of
death

Thy Villages die of the Famine and thy cities
Beg bread from house to house, lovely Jerusalem
Why wilt thou deface thy beauty & the beauty of thy little-ones
To please thy Idols, in the pretended chastities of
Uncircumcision[?]

Thy Sons are lovelier than Egypt or Assyria; wherefore
Dost thou blacken their beauty by a Secluded place of rest.
And a peculiar Tabernacle, to cut the integuments of beauty
Into a veil of tears and sorrows O lovely Jerusalem!
They have perswaded thee to this, therefore their end shall
come

And I will lead thee thro the Wilderness in shadow of my cloud
And in my love I will lead thee, lovely Shadow of Sleeping
Albion.

This is the Song of the Lamb, sung by Slaves in evening time.
(Jerusalem 60:10-38, E. 210)

Line 39 which follows indicates that Jerusalem is only dimly aware of the song and the singer for she is held in the "Dungeons of Babylon", yet the expectations must be that the song will reach her.

The Song of the Lamb sung by the Slaves in the evening incorporates three levels of involvement: the Lamb of the higher status mediates his appeal to Jerusalem through those of lowlier degree and thus it is the more accessible to her. It is not as if she were being reprimanded but rather that she is the

recipient of a request from those dependent on her - an appeal difficult to resist. At the same time, the Song is evidence that the status of slave has been raised to that of Son; Jerusalem is sought by two extremes: they who are pressed to service and He who became Servant voluntarily, and both are merged in this layered Song.

The mention of evening time has two connotations: it is the time when the slave is most free; the day's labour is at an end and he has a moment to think creatively. Secondly, evening suggests that Time is drawing to a close and serving roles are coming to an end. The Mundane shell is completed, the Daughters of Los weave towards an eternal end, Jerusalem's children are gathered up (Jerusalem 59, E. 208-09).

The song explores expectations about freedom, about bondage and about relationships and as such it is an introduction to the story of Mary and Joseph and the expectations of each for the wife role (see chapter 4 above). The Lamb is concerned with, and able to give, liberty. Jerusalem, on the other hand, is accused of dispensing bondage. (lines 10 and 11). The Lamb reminds Jerusalem that he did, in effect, give her access to all the ideal places of the generated world - much as Adam and Eve were placed in the loveliest Garden. She was cared for as lovingly as any shepherd ever tended his sheep. The expectations of the Lamb are quite clear: Jerusalem is surrounded by light and love; she is to make the best use of this liberty.

The Lamb points to Jerusalem's inappropriate expectations and, based on these, her aberrant behaviours. She has

misunderstood her role as Bride of the Lamb. She has preferred unholy places (Babylon); she has indulged in forbidden rites; she has precipitated famine and ruin for those under her care. The Lamb has been in the position of master, yet he has imposed no restrictions. Jerusalem, properly in the role of servant, has reversed his expectations for her and abused her freedom.

The passage is redolent with the imagery of slavery: burning sands and waters of death, beauty defaced and children led into ruin (ll. 26, 29), yet the song concludes with a resumption of emphasis on the role of the Lamb, rather than on Jerusalem's role performance.

Blake concludes the song with an acknowledgement that it is others who have imposed their expectations, their behaviour, their role confusion on Jerusalem.

The Lamb maintains and the Slaves sing "therefore their end shall come", in the emphatic grammatical construction ("shall come", 1.36). Analogously, the end of the profiteering of the slave traders is heralded.

The last line of the Song incorporates the biblical sense of the oppressed being led into safety. God had led the Israelites out of slavery, had guided them throughout their wanderings in the Wilderness. Jerusalem will be similarly delivered but not before times of "infernial bondage", herself (Jerusalem 69:9, E. 223). Dimensions of consent, refusal and permission will replace the "delight" of giving and serving.

Wicksteed follows the thread of enslavement to the following plate 70, then back to Plate 25 in which the three

women are manipulating a hapless Albion (a reversal of conventional roles) and on again to the full page illustration which concludes chapter one. In this it is written in large lettering that Jerusalem is "Liberty" and she is shown as fending off an aggressive Hand (Jerusalem 25, 26, I.B. 304, 305):

... a deeply irresistible charm in Womanhood and a deeply feminine instinct to fulfil the feminine function of Generation finds a feminine ally in Man's own heart. This leads the Male into abject slavery until we learn to distinguish between Individuals and the States they pass through, to do which is the glory of JERUSALEM, Bride of the Lamb.³⁴

In Jerusalem 45 Los hears Jerusalem protesting that she cannot enter the intimate relationship demanded of her by Albion: "...thine own Minute Particulars, / Belong to God alone" (11.44-45, E. 195). In a sense, this is a rejection of the principle of one marriage partner exerting complete control over the other. It is Vala who replies, asserting: "Albion is mine! Luvah gave me to Albion" (1.50), by implication condoning the barter or exchange of individuals as if they were mere objects. Her opening remarks set the context of the following passage in which common patterns of enslavement are explored :

Set your Son before a man & he shall take you & your sons
For slaves: but set your Daughter before a man & She
Shall make him & his sons & daughters your slaves for ever!
(11.52-54)

This appears as if Blake is admitting that the role of woman is that of bringing man into subjection, but it must be noted that the passage is couched in the terminology of Fallen Man and

enslavement and is placed in the context of Vala's defending her own position as possessing Albion in contrast to Jerusalem's refusal to maintain an all-absorbing or an all-absorbed relationship.

Jerusalem senses the love, the jealousy and the despair of a Vala who emphasises the "mine", the "me", and the "my" (11.50, 57), for in Jerusalem's own life experience she has had to give up both child and parent as they were carried into slavery (Jerusalem 5:15, E. 147; Jerusalem 18:34-35, E. 163).

Moreover, although a superficial reading will suggest that it is daughters who have a negative manipulative role, an understanding of the importance of slaves to those families within such a sociological system will admit of the worth of the female.

Jerusalem 69:38 (E. 223) may seem to speak strongly for submission: here the disobedient Female is associated with the infernal Veil, a repetition of the adjective applied to the bondage into which Jerusalem is drawn. However, when Jesus comes to rend the Veil, he creates, not an obedient Female, as Ololon was commanded to be, but a relationship in which there is a sense of Comingling (1.43). This is the ideal of harmony for which Los strives in Jerusalem 87.

Putting aside his obligations as son to Enion, Los replaces these with a sense of unity with Enitharmon and he " began to utter his love" (Jerusalem 87:1-2, E. 246) in an entreaty which is both a request and proposition for tangible integration. Enitharmon, however, interprets this as a search for domination and she denies him this by taking the offensive: certainly she

will seize his Fibres - but will create what she wishes: "I will never be thy slave", she cries, interpreting subjection as doing what another wishes. Moreover, she broadens the argument by accusing Los of concern for Jerusalem and protection for Vala (11. 15-22) and implies that she herself wishes to be in total control.

In rebuttal, Los looks to the broader issue: "I care not! the swing of my Hammer shall measure the starry round" (88:2, E. 246). Nevertheless, he sighs deeply, as the simile "like the Bellows of his furnaces" (1.1) indicates, and he posits a new model of reciprocal love, that of "mutual interchange" (1.5), within the context of the behaviour of Eternity. The Female has a legitimate helping, serving function - that of assisting the integration of Man with Man. The Fibres of dominion so dreaded by Enitharmon are in essence Souls mingling, the fourfold embracing, and in no way related to the fibres of Vala which she fears will shut her in the Grave (87:23).

Unfortunately, Enitharmon cannot perceive this cooperative role as an apt one for her: she feels no need for anyone else, she will create trouble, she will seek domination, until God Himself is in subjection.

Blake pointedly sums up the reactions of the observing one:

A sullen smile broke from the Spectre in mockery & scorn
Knowing himself the author of their divisions &
shrinkings, gratified
At their contentions, ...

(88:34-36, E. 247)

Unrepentant man is behind divisions, hierarchies, orderings and

possessiveness. The Spectre, in a joy admittedly biased against the female, lists punishments and sanctions which are liable to be applied to those males engaged in a role reversal and who deviate from the conformative male tradition of domination:

The Man who respects Woman shall be despised by Woman

For I will make their places of joy & love, excrementitious[.]
Continually building, continually destroying in Family feuds
While you are under the dominion of a jealous Female
Unpermanent for ever because of love & jealousy.
You shall want all the Minute Particulars of Life
(88:37-43, E. 247)

The Spectre herself speaks in the grammatical terms of tyranny: Man shall be despised. If Enitharmon persists in her drive towards domination, the Spectre will be "eyeing Enitharmon" (88:44, E. 247) even though she insists that she does not need any Spectre to defend her from Man (88:16-17, E. 247), for it will not be until several plates further on in Jerusalem that the Spectre herself is brought under complete subjugation: "Los beheld undaunted furious / His heavd hammer, he swung it round & at one blow ... Smiting the Spectre (91:41-44, E. 251-52), "self-subduing" (1.46).

This is the Los who had cried out in a spirit of prophecy and irony against division or the part (the Male or the Female) claiming to be the whole; against hypocrisy such as that of worshippers of a God of cruelty compelling those in their power (the Slave & Captives) to worship the God of Mercy whom they have never seen mirrored in the lives of their oppressors (Jerusalem 90: 52-56, E. 250). This will be the Los who encourages Enitharmon as she realises that differential statuses,

I, p. 20, 1.292).

In his designs for the Night Thoughts, Blake illustrates one of Young's lines: "Teaching, we learn; and giving we retain", from Night the Second, p. 35 (NT 64, [E 20, Dover 35]). In this there are sets of figures apart from secondary figures at the top and right side. There is a woman with her arm gently over the shoulder of a child, an obvious mother figure in an observing role and I would suggest in an attentive, encouraging stance. There is to the front of her a quite large and striking teacher figure, counting off points on his fingers to two other children who duplicate his gesture to some extent. The total picture gives an impression of a harmony of roles and good relationships between teacher and learner and among teacher, children and mother figure (the Designs commentary puts it another way: "the process of education rather than the imposition of learning"). The expectations of all appear congruent: the mother is supportive of, not jealous of, or intrusive into, the teaching function. This group may be said to reflect Blake's expectations for the element of service in the teacher role. I would suggest that the tutor is seated so that he is closer to his pupils and less threatening to them as he leans forward. More important, the eyes of all the bottom group are turned in calm absorption towards the teacher. Contrary to many eighteenth-century instructing situations, there is a sense of a father/teacher role.

Conversely, in the engraving [E 10, Dover 16] with which Night the First ends (NT 35, p. 16), there are repressive elements

despite man's best intention to move beyond life's usual experiences (to soar intellectually, perhaps). Blake's design really goes beyond Young's line: "Oft bursts my song beyond the bounds of life;" for the ankle manacle and the potentially entangling briars recall elements of enslavement (albeit mental) and repression common in Blake's other works. The Designs commentary suggests that this engraving is close in spirit to Visions 4, in which Oothoon, chained by a leg, rises over Theotormon. In Blake's representation of Young's Socrates and of man "chain'd down to Pangs, and Death" there is a similar sense of the expectations of others hampering essential freedom (NT 270-71, VII, pp. vi-vii; NT 307, VII, p. 35, particularly 1. 698; NT 331, VII, p. 59, particularly 11. 200, 201).

The parable of the Good Samaritan (Luke 10:29-37) makes it evident that man is often enslaved by inner constraints or moral systems. Blake uses the elements of this biblical story in an illustration and consequent engraving for Young's Night the Second, p. 37 (NT 68, [E 21, Dover 37]). He is addressing himself to Young's line on the power of love which leads to a further line on friendship. Blake's choice of theme and consequent design could not be more apt, for the story told by Jesus was to demonstrate that man's true worth becomes evident only in his actions of loving service.

Blake also depicts the elements of imposed service, as opposed to adopted caring, in his designs for the Night Thoughts. Two further designs may be considered at this time, for they deal with occupations or areas of service into which men fall but not often by choice.

One design for *Night the First* has been the subject of much critical comment, and the figure of "Oppression", in the top right-hand corner was mentioned in the previous chapter on the role of the whore (NT 22, I, p. 17).³⁶ I wish to look here at the illustrations in the lower portion of the design. Blake depicts the agonies of the life of the miner, described by Young as "GOD's image", "plunged in mines", who "forgets a sun is made". One cannot help remembering again the plight of the chimney sweeper children of whom Blake wrote, similarly confined in cramped dark conditions. Blake shows the men in this design as bent over, hewing out ore, or carrying it out of the tunnel. The two figures with pickaxes are almost prostrate, or at least in an extreme kneeling posture, with an anguished look of concentration. The man leaving the mining site has leg muscles distended, left foot thrust out and back as an aid to balancing his heavy load. There is an implication that they are naked, as they may well be in the stifling underground conditions. All are shown as reduced from any sense of human relationship to a single intent - to work for the mine master.

Blake captures Young's despairing line that all are "sure heirs of pain" (l. 239) and it is very apt that the figure of Oppression, with heart of triple brass, is the "overseer" by virtue of Blake's sense of design.

The following water-colour (NT 23, I, p. 18) is keyed to Young's opening line on p. 18 that other serving figures "Are hammer'd to the galling oar for life" (l.246), and this sense of a dark destiny is emphasised in Blake's use of dark clouds, black

manacles, and a threatening turbid sea. Blake depicts two rowers manacled to their oars, as if they had been galley slaves. Once again there is a sense of semi-nakedness, as though the figures had lost, firstly, the external trappings of civilised (or truly Human) man. Their bent posture as they are doubled over their oars is in ironical contrast to the free flight of the birds in the background and, like the miners, their gaze is downwards and vacant. The more shadowy figure in the rear seems to have his head resting on an arm in utter despair, or in sheer weariness.

In each instance, Blake's illustration implies that the enslaved have no expectations for a role other than work: they have consequently lost their sense of relationship to all other Humanity. Blake may be suggesting that, when man does not look up, he is entrapped forever. Here it seems to me that Blake is expressing the expectations of the eighteenth century for working men in these occupations: no time of freedom is at hand. These are they for whom Vala laments in *Night the Second of The Four Zoas*: those who carry the heavy basket on scorched shoulders, those who turn the wheel for water (see above, or E. 320).

Although I have mentioned only these few designs, it must be acknowledged that Blake used imagery of enchainment on other occasions as he worked on Young's *Night Thoughts*; for example, NT 34 [E 9, Dover 15] shows the author "bound down" by thorns emblematical of grief, as the commentary says [Dover viii], while the mourner in NT 96 [E 28, Dover 55] sits among the grave mounds similarly enwrapped in the briars. Blake must have lamented that it was not for him to break forth into the

glorious poetry of love and hope that he, himself, would write on behalf of the enslaved. Young's idea of the slave who forgets his chains is merely one of a delusive fancy:

What Slave, unblest, who from to-morrow's dawn
Expects an Empire? He forgets his Chain,
And thron'd in Thought, his absent scepter waves.
(NT 252 - 253, VI, pp. 31-32, lines 610-12)

Blake was more able to express in design his sympathy for the plight of the enslaved in his series of engravings for Stedman's Narrative, and these illustrations are discussed in the supplement to this chapter, pp. 337 - 46 .

V. A Conclusion about servant roles

If role theory is applied to the concept of servitude, it will be seen that submission is, by definition, the one function and task expected of those cast into the position of servant, slave or serving one. Such a role may be undertaken willingly or involuntarily, but the role perception and enactment will most certainly be affected by the actions and expectations of others and by the situational context. Moreover, there is a great likelihood that rewards and punishments will be applied to ensure conformity to what is considered the appropriate role performance: service.

Some enslavement is societal fact - differential status in established cultures over the span of history. Indications of less tangible repressions are educed by thinkers of particular

ages who have observed and recorded patterns of dominance in their era.

Writers carry such observations into fictional and non-fictional discourses, sometimes as parallel representations and at other times as role reversals and thus forms of protest. That is, from oppressed slave to humble nursemaid; from dutiful female to woman freeing herself from conventional attitudes, the roles are captured in the written word.

Blake is no exception. Blake lived in an age in which there was ferment against the enslavement of man to man and his works, textual and illustrative, depicted on occasion the role of one subservient to another. I admit that this chapter has gone beyond considering only the female as servant or slave, but Blake's roles of submission may, nevertheless, be read as an advocacy for the ultimate abolition of the selfish will of one imposed on another.

The serving roles which Blake allocates to his prophetic characters are, furthermore, more active and self-fulfilling than current expectations would have been. The Nurse from Innocence is fulfilled, not frustrated, in her service.

When Blake wrote the Lambeth books he used textual interconnection as well as overt titling of the four continents to create a sense of world fellowship: Plate 3 of America begins with reference to Europe in the phrase "The Guardian Prince of Albion", George III; "Africa" ends with the same line. The kings of Asia are roused by the howl from Europe ("Asia", Plate 6:1-2, SL, E. 68), and the shadowy daughter who serves Orc in

America sees in him the image of a God who dwells in the darkness of Africa (America 2:7-8, E. 52). Woman and child sit helpless before a manacled Orc in the frontispiece to America (I.B. 137); she is rescued from servitude by the Los of Europe (I.B. 173). Spirits are enslaved to the Elements ("Africa", 3:14, SL, E. 67) and "forests of oppression are flattened over a youth and maiden" (I.B. 179, on "Asia", Plate 6, SL), yet the last plate of America depicts a world of activity set above and around the figure bowed in humility. The servant is set against a background of activity - servitude may be the foreground to an abundant life.

Jerusalem, Plate 25, (I.B. p. 304), although viewed by Blake scholars as describing Albion's fall and entrapment, shows indeed a role reversal, while Ololon's role conflict culminates in an active acceptance completely congruent with her initial intention: "... terrified at my Act / In Great Eternity which thou knowest! I come him to seek" (Milton 37:2-3, E. 137). Jerusalem, enlightened by the Song of the Lamb, ultimately overcomes her role confusion and it is her song which brings Jerusalem to its conclusion. "Cold Enitharmon" of The Four Zoas, fearful of having to obey a vengeful God, turns to Los and spurs him into action: "I pour my voice in roarings / ... Lift up O Los awake my watchman for he sleepeth" (FZ VII, p. 81:7, E. 356; VII, p. 98:1-6, E. 362).

In each instance obedience is related not to passive good but to active decision, to energy. While slavery is not acceptable, service is productive: there is good to come out of the evils of subordination.

A TRIPARTITE CONCLUSION: an extension, an examination and a re-affirmation.

I DISCRETE ROLES AND ROLE CHANGE

It will be remembered that the opening chapter spoke of the multiplicity of roles available to the woman in the course of her lifetime. It was mentioned that roles may overlap or may change according to the expectations of a given situation, that roles may be adopted or modified in the light of the observations or actions of onlookers, and that roles may vary with personality and capability factors.

This section deals not with particular roles -- daughter, mother and sister, for example, but examines passages in Blake's works where a female character participates in a multiplicity of roles within one given situation. It is also a response to a suggestion given after a Seminar paper, in which I discussed discrete roles, that an examination from a macroperspective would be fruitful.

Role change in Blake's works, with particular relevance to this dissertation, may often be clarified if three questions are asked: which roles are of an active nature, or contain the component of energy; which resultant action is a power for good and which a force for evil; which roles conform to societal expectations current in Blake's day for the woman.

Thel has been seen as enacting a daughter role (chapter 2, pp. 39-44) choosing not to participate in other alternative roles. However, a close examination of the text will reveal that she did, imaginatively at least, enter into other roles.

In Plates 1 and 2, the Lilly addresses Thel who responds with the salutation, "O thou little virgin of the peaceful valley" (2:3, E. 4). This is quite clearly a recognition by Thel of a sister feeling and also of the existence of a servant role: "Giving to those who cannot crave, the voiceless, the o'ertired. o'ertired. / Thy breath doth nourish the innocent lamb" (11. 4-5), Thel continues. In the following five lines Thel further acknowledges the absorbing, purifying, reviving, and taming possibilities inherent in the servant role. Nevertheless, although Thel is willing to walk through the vales of Har, as she tells the Cloud, and to smell the flowers, to hear the birds, she will expend no energy on active care and nurture (3:17-19, E. 5).

The most tempting role reversal for Thel is from that of daughter to mother, for the Clod of Clay speaks of being given a crown that none can take away, an allusion to an eternal dimension to motherhood (cf. Revelation 2:10; 1 Peter 5:4). In Thel's admission that she had not realised the lengths to which the love of God may go and in her timid entry into the lands of sorrows and tears, Thel moves from virgin role to perception of a maternal possibility.

The Book of Thel began with the daughter of Mne Seraphim "hearing", a passive activity. As such, it did not prevent her from evaluating the more active roles available, those of servant and of mother. The work concludes with Thel both hearing and listening, the latter a more active position (6:10, 6, E. 6). It is at this point that Thel's choice of roles is maximised: she may go forward into Experience with its implied variety of roles.

However, her energy is not utilised in a choice that will result in what Blake would consider the highest good. TheI flees from the multiplicity of potential roles and is accorded by Blake the epithet (with connotations of non-use) significant for the eighteenth century: Virgin (6:21, E. 6).

The Daughters of Albion, whose primary role is defined by their title, are also exposed to multiple role choices. In chapter 2 (p. 52) it was argued that they are situationally "incorrigible", operating as forces for evil while they are enacting the collective daughter role. For example, in Plate 64 of Jerusalem (E. 215), the Daughters extend their power to the utmost corners of the earth, and beyond, as they weave the Web of Generation, spreading a Veil over all (E. 215).

Blake, however, in the following plate, while foregrounding the person of Vala, the essence of all the Daughters, depicts the Daughters sporting with their Victims, prostituting themselves in "soft deluding odours", in "feminine indefinite cruel delusion" (Jerusalem 65:64-66, E. 217). Their role is the counterpart of the mocking behaviour modelled by the Spectre Sons of Albion (11. 56-57, E. 217). The Daughters add the role of harlot to that of daughter.

In Plate 66, the Daughters are shown as adopting the multiple roles of judge, jury and executioner, as they cry in like tones to Pilate (John 19:14): "Behold / the King of Canaan..." (11. 24-25, E. 218), and in similar stance to the mocking soldiers of Matthew 27:29. In the same plate they assume the role of creator: "The Human form began to be alterd by the Daughters of Albion ... the Heavens are shrunk ... the Trees &

Mountains witherd ... the Senses of Men shrink together" (11. 46, 50, 51, 83, E. 219). These roles are active as the verbs indicate: the Daughters alter, shrink, and wither, but these multiple roles are evil for they constrict not liberate. At one point in Plate 67, a positive maternal role is possible, but not perceived or performed. The Daughters weave Fibres of Life (1.33, E. 220), but from Rocky Stones (11. 3-4): "they call the Rocks Parents of Men" (1. 15, E. 220).

However, Blake offers yet one more role to the Daughters, for he writes that "The Twelve Daughters in Rahab & Tirzah have circumscribd the Brain" (67:41, E. 220). The brain and mind are under the influence of the teacher, but this is a vicious instructor who binds down her pupils, who threatens to put out the eyes, to silence the tongue, to capture, not captivate, the ear (67: 45, 46-47; 68:5,6, E. 220-21).

The multiplicity of evil roles available to, and adopted by, the Daughters is summarised in the cries of the Warriors:

Look: the beautiful Daughter of Albion sits naked upon the Stone
Her panting Victim beside her: her heart drunk with blood

...

... the beautiful Daughter
Of Albion, delights the eyes of the Kings...

...

...condensing to rocks & into the Ribs of a Man
Lo they shoot forth in tender Nerves across Europe & Asia
Lo they rest upon the Tribes, where their panting Victims lie
Molech rushes into the Kings in love to the beautiful Daughters
But they frown & delight in cruelty, refusing all other joy
Bring your Offerings, your first begotten: pamperd with milk &

blood

Your first born of seven years old: be they Males or Females:
To the beautiful Daughters of Albion! they sport before the

Kings

Clothed in the skin of the Victim!

...

If you dare rend their Veil with your Spear; you are healed of
Love!

...
O beautiful Daughter of Albion: cruelty is thy delight
O Virgin of terrible eyes...

...
Taught to touch the harp: to dance in the Circle of Warriors
Before the Kings of Canaan: to cut the flesh from the Victim
To roast the flesh in fire: to examine Infants limbs
In cruelties of holiness: to refuse the joys of love: to bring
The Spies from Egypt, to raise jealousy in the bosoms of the
Twelve

Kings of Canaan...

...
I am drunk with unsatiated love
I must rush again to War: for the Virgin has frownd & refusd
Sometimes I curse & sometimes I bless thy fascinating beauty
Once Man was occupied in intellectual pleasures & energies
But now my soul is harrowd with grief & fear & love & desire
And now I hate & now I love & Intellect is no more:
There is no time for any thing but the torments of love & desire
(Jerusalem 68:10-70, E. 221-22)

The Daughters adopt the traditionally male role of victor and wed to it the role conventionally assigned to female - delight of the Kings of all nations. Psalm 45:9,13 speaks of the daughters of kings using the terms "honourable" and "glorious", in the sense of an internal and external congruence.

Conversely, when the Daughters of Albion display a role ambiguity or a role confusion there is a consequent hardening of their nature, a widening of their contaminating influence, a concentrating of their cruelty. This is portrayed in the passage as a Molech-type of motherhood: not a giving to the infant but a demanding of the sacrifice of the child. The conventional graces of the archetypal virgin - dancing and touching the harp - are perverted. Treason is enacted; jealousy, grief, fear and the torments of love and desire are the concomitants of the role choices of the Daughters.

The Daughters have enacted a variety of roles, described

vividly in active verbs, but they are passive roles in the sense that they are pirated roles. Their role expectations are drawn from those of the Warriors whom they have admired - their role models. It will be remembered that in Milton, Satan's usurping of the role of Palamabron resulted in havoc (Milton 7:4-28, E. 100-01) - Palamabron cries "How should he [,] know the duties of another?" (l. 28). Well may Blake insert a line of scorn in the Warriors' description: "O beautiful Daughter of Albion ... O Virgin of terrible eyes" (Jerusalem 68: 53-54, E. 222; cf. Song of Solomon 4:6). The Daughters have seen another's role and taken it unto themselves. These Daughters, although enacting an energetic role, parallel the daughters of Blake's society in drawing upon others for their identity. They exhibit internal conflict about their role in life and Blake's disapproval of this may be inferred by the ambivalence with which he views these representative "daughters".

The Daughters considered as sisters (see chapter 3, pp. 67-74) also admire the Warrior role. In Jerusalem 81:1-2, (E. 238) Gwendolen admits to her sister that she has admired the image of the cruel Warrior. Preferring war to love, she lends support to another's harlotry, boasting at the same time of her dominion over Merlin, Reuben and Joseph (ll. 3-11, E. 239). If the role of one of the sisters shades, then, into a covert acceptance of a prostitute role, the behaviour of both is muted by maternity. As the sisters weep over the winding Worm which was the actuality of their wish for the infants Hand and Hyle, Los is comforted to see the beginnings of repentance and an intention to pursue a

"good mother" role and transform the Worm into a form of love.

Jerusalem 80 (E. 237) begins this example of the intermingling of roles by describing Cambel of "the delusive light" who utterly controls Hand. It continues with a depiction of the sister Gwendolen "glowing with loveliness" before Hyle yet impressing him into a form congruent with her expectations. The two roles, temptress and tyrant, give way to that of sisterly envy and jealousy and this merges with an absorbing and absorbed "mother" behaviour.

It is Los who is to resolve this role confusion and role conflict as he assigns to the sisters a creating, serving function: the sisters may weave the Fluctuating Earth (83:39, E. 241).

A careful reading of The Four Zoas will reveal that it is in the penultimate night that role ambiguities are most evident. This is logical, for in the apocalyptic Night the Ninth ultimate roles will be debated, reversed, and accepted and performed.

Enitharmon, whom Blake specifically designated "vegetated mortal Wife of Los" (Jerusalem 14:13, E. 158) in a definite role allocation, is also seen in the role of daughter in her scornful response to her parents (FZ I, p. 10: 3-6, E. 305). In Night the Eighth she is seen in a confirmation of her maternal role as she weaves bodies for the spectres calling them her sons and daughters. She also lends credence to the concept of a loving family serving one another as she employs these daughters in her looms. Enitharmon herself mediates a role of service as "a Vast family", in essence a Holy Family, with the Lamb mediated through Jerusalem, are enabled to appear (FZ VIII, p.

103:32 - p. 104:4, E. 376).

It is significant that it is Enitharmon, of all the females in the prophetic works, who most exhibits the capacity for multiple roles. Without drawing too heavily on biographical references (E. 370-371), it is known (and has been recorded, and mentioned above) that Catherine Blake laboured alongside her husband. Bridget Hill, British social historian, and guest lecturer for the Departments of English and History of the University of Adelaide, said in a recent seminar (April 24th, 1987) entitled "Women in Eighteenth-Century England" that apprenticeships were declining in the 1700s, with even fewer females employed as such by the second half of the eighteenth century. She mentioned that craftsmen of that time often employed family members rather than trained apprentices, this being a cost saving. Blake himself cast his "sweet Shadow of Delight" into the active role of vocational partner and this is reflected in the figure of Enitharmon and her ability to absorb and carry out multiple roles.

She is wife, yet takes on the forms of her sisters, Enion and Ahania (FZ II, p. 34:38, E. 323); she is wife, but the mother role engrosses her (FZ V, p. 60:7-8, E. 340; Jerusalem 93, E. 253); she is the wife who is temptress (VII, p. 82:23-36; p. 87:15-23, E. 358, 369); she is the wife who assumes an independent role (Jerusalem 87:11-15, E. 246). Nevertheless, as Blake makes most obvious, although her mind may wander to her sisters and to her children, and her body lead her into perverse ways, it is the heart which will return her to the major role of

wife:

... if that Los had not built me a tower on a rock
I must have died in the dark desert among noxious worms
How shall I flee how shall I flee into the tower of Los

...
Lift up Lift up O Los awake my watchman for he sleepeth
Lift up Lift up Shine forth O light watchman thy light is out
O Los unless thou keep my tower the Watchman will be slain
(FZ VII, p. 97:31 - p. 98:6, E. 362)

In times of most trouble, it is to Los that Enitharmon cries and, because the regenerate Los is ultimately to be conflated with Eternal Man, her role model, in contrast to the Daughters, Enitharmon may receive approbation and good may result.

In Night the Eighth, two other "wives" in a dialogue reveal a sense of alternating roles. Ahania cries that she is the nourisher, that in her bosom is milk and that to her come "all multitudes", an obvious recognition of an innate maternal role. On the other hand, in her following reference to the fact that all also obey and worship her as goddess and queen is a misapprehension of the function of a nurturing mother. This had been obvious in Night the Second when, in the absence of her Lord, she encouraged her Sons and Daughters in practices of ritual sacrifice which "Revivd her Soul" (p. 30:31-39, E. 320). Her role perception is not congruent with the norms of Blake's century whose expectations for mothers were hardly couched in these terms. Ahania, in a sense, remains consistently in a passive role for she continually looks for Urizen, although in vain (VIII, p. 108:5-22, E. 383). It is from her "sister", Enion, that a reply comes.

Enion, however, replies in motherly tones of comfort, rather than in sisterly exhortation or wifely concern. She reminds

than in sisterly exhortation or wifely concern. She reminds Ahanah of times when she, Enion - wife and mother - had felt similarly deserted. Adopting a teaching role, Enion reveals that as the Lamb of God has rent the Veil of Mystery, Man will in time reassume "his ancient bliss" (FZ VIII, p. 110 (1): 1-28, E. 385). This passage is followed, significantly, by lines in which Rahab is shown as moving in and out of the Harlot role, alternately self-condemning and returning to Satan, first compelling Jerusalem to sacrifice her children then weeping in humility and repentance (VIII, p. 111: 1-21, E. 386-87). It is in pre-apocalyptic times, before the resumption of eternal roles, that times of indecision arise, and role resolution is commenced.

Enion, herself, has faced times of role confusion as her perception of Tharmas has altered (FZ I, p. 4, E. 301-01), fearing him, yet missing him (III, p. 45: 16-26, E. 330). The most vivid descriptions of Ahanah involve an active search - for her Zoa and for her children. Who does not recall Enion in weeping blindness stumbling over rocks and mountains, white-haired, age-bent and blind! (I, p.8; p.17, E. 304, 310). Late eighteenth-century readers (had they existed!) might have understood this role, since many women of the time found their identity in husband and children.

Although the fourth chapter of Jerusalem opens with reference to the Sons of Albion crowning their Mother Vala and naming her Rahab, it is Jerusalem who most consistently enacts the mother role. There are numerous references to her children being carried off into captivity and in Plate 78 she is spoken of as being in chains herself (1.24, E. 234). At the same time she

retains her role of wife, for mention is made of Beulah, land associated with marriage (1.25). From her cry that her brother and father are no more, and that God has forsaken her, it is evident that she has, in times past, perceived herself in the roles of sister, daughter and servant-of-the-Lord (78:31). In her continuing lament, it is evident that she is now primarily concerned with her mother role and in despair at the sanctions imposed upon her: "The Fifty-two Counties of England are hardend against me / As if I was not their Mother, they despise me & cast me out" (79:20-21, E. 234). She reflects on the times when she had held the sons and daughters of England to her breast and at her knee. She had been, indeed, teacher, foster mother and mother to mothers (11. 38, 25-28, E. 235). In contrast to Ahanias' self-absorption in the elements of homage potentially due to the mother, Jerusalem is aware that the joys of such a role are dependent on the presence of the Lamb of God. Ahanias, as mother, may expect worship; Jerusalem cries that her Altars run with blood, her fires are corrupt and her incense but a cloudy pestilence (79: 55-56). Maternal love has become "a Mothers torment for her children" (80:2, E. 236) and, to Vala, she is become a Harlot daughter (1.12).

The varying roles of Vala are discussed below, but in her reply to Jerusalem, it may be seen that Vala also demonstrates a multiplicity of roles within one short speech. She is wife and daughter to Luvah; she is mother, in a reviving function; she is harlot (by projection) in her naming Jerusalem thus, and in stupefying the senses by attention to the moral law; and she is servant of the Warriors as her Spindle catches up Jerusalem and

her children (80:6-36, E. 236-37).

In discussing the role of the servant (chapter 6), it was argued that Ololon in agreeing to obey the Words of the Inspired Man takes the concept of service beyond the merely human dimension: she is in effect going with Jesus. This is, however, her ultimate role. In Eden she is "a sweet River, of milk & liquid pearl", and she has many sons and daughters (Milton 21:15; 30:34, E. 115, 129) - Ololon has a maternal role. Her Clouds contain the coming Saviour (21:60; 31:15-16; 35:41, E. 116, 130, 136) - she has a sacrificial and redemptive role which was evident from her first statement of "Let us descend also..." (21:45, E. 116). Ololon also performs the roles of wife and daughter as Plates 19 and 48 illustrate (I.B. 235, 265; Easson Plates 16, 43). In each, the six figures are accepted as representing Milton's three wives and three daughters, made one in Ololon. A corollary of the role of daughter exists in the lines in which Ololon is addressed as "Virgin" and "Daughter of Beulah"; for example when the figure of Los is conflated with that of Blake himself and the appearance of Ololon is set in the garden of Felpham (Milton 36:21-32, E. 137).

One other passage in Milton illustrates how roles may be differently perceived and consequently enacted. The Divine Voice laments about the changing roles in a marriage:

When I first Married you, I gave you all my whole Soul
I thought that you would love my loves & joy in my delights
Seeking for pleasures in my pleasures, O Daughter of Babylon
Then thou wast lovely, mild & gentle. now thou art terrible
In jealousy & unlovely in my sight, because thou hast cruelly
Cut off my loves in fury till I have no love left for thee
Thy love depends on him thou lovest & on his dear loves
Depend thy pleasures which thou hast cut off by jealousy
Therefore I shew my Jealousy & set before you Death.
(Milton 33:1-8, E. 132)

The second half of this lament is concerned with the repentance necessary in the female, a scarcely veiled threat that she may be abandoned unless she fulfils the wishes of the male, and a rhapsodic proclamation of the joys inherent in the role of dutiful wife and the perils incumbent upon the harlot role.

These first eight lines are particularly interesting in the light of role theory and may be interpreted in that terminology. The woman has been assigned a particular, exclusive role and the accompanying role expectations are that she will fulfil this absolutely. This is in accord with eighteenth-century thought and legislation that the husband generally establishes the norms for the marriage. When the wife does not conform to the role stereotype, sanctions (rewards and/or punishments) are imposed to eliminate role conflict and to ensure appropriate role performance. Although this speech is put into the mouth of the Divine Voice, it must be seen that its context is Beulah, not Eden and therefore threefold, not fourfold, vision as Blake used the term in his letter of 22 November, 1802, to Thomas Butts (Letter 40, L. 43-46).

It has been shown that Daughters may usurp the roles of their brothers; that sisters and wives may develop maternal love; that mothers may be perceived as harlot daughters, and that

shaking off the dust from the garments, the sun rising on men marching to battle.

There is thus here initially a conflict of role: a downcast Vala descending into a sepulchre or an embattled Vala feigning terror. There is another role ambiguity. Vala is to gird on a "flaming Zone" which may be a reference to her harlot role although in reading Psalm 45 mentioned just above the same verb (gird) is used of an unknown king, or possibly the Messianic King, as Hastings in his Dictionary of the Bible allows (p. 773). In reflecting back on The Four Zoas II, there is a case to be made for Vala's usurping the role of Luvah, her King, for in page 26, line 5 of Blake's manuscript Luvah calls himself Vala's King (E. 317).

However, Vala is also to gird herself as Sower, which is certainly a more positive, procreative role and, as she is requested to bring the bow of Urizen and his arrows of light, alternatively a servant role. Not only are there multiple roles suggested in this short passage but there are choices between roles for evil and roles for good. Blake in his illustrations has depicted both crowned whore (cf. The Whore of Babylon) and the Sower (cf. NT 176, V, p. 21).

It may be seen from Jerusalem that Vala is capable of holding dual roles: she stands in sisterly and motherly relationship to Jerusalem (Jerusalem 20:19, E. 165); she is a City and a Temple (29:36, E. 175). Vala is also at once Luvah's consort and Albion's Bride (19:40; 29:36; 45:50, E. 166, 175, 195). However, Vala also chooses between these latter pair of

roles when she recounts that she believes that Luvah has commanded her to murder Albion (Jerusalem 80:16, E. 236).

It will have been noticed that in discussing multiple roles, examples have been related to some major characters in the prophetic works. Perhaps more interesting role changes are evident in some of the minor female figures.

One example from each of the longer prophetic works will demonstrate this point.

Given that the nameless shadowy Vortex is an expression of Vala, under her former name in Night the Seventh she is cast by the Spectre into the dual roles of mother and servant to the infant howling Orc (E. 360, 363). Jealous that she is at once Urizen's harlot, the Harlot of Los and the harlot of the Kings of Earth, as Blake puts it in evocative repetition (VII, p. 91:5, 14-15, E. 363) Orc, come of age, rends her (E. 395). She has in effect performed a catalytic role as the forces of revolution are let loose.

The Shadowy Female appears again in Milton engaging in three roles. This time it is she (not Orc) who howls - but she is articulate. Her sighs over Milton may be interpreted as maternal anguish; her determination to weave a Garment of sorrow and her awareness of the misery of enslavement indicate a semblance of the servant role while her form of address from Orc implies a harlot role. She is a shadow of delight who is "seeking for the prey" (Milton 18:2-38, E. 111-12).

Finally, in Jerusalem 54, Albion is shown as drawing England into his bosom. England is traditionally known as Mother England, but here she is cast into the role of either wife or daughter in

Albion's protective gesture. She is described, however, as reacting against him "like a long Serpent", an allusion to the role of seductress, a role which forces the appearance of Jerusalem and Vala and which causes the Divine Vision to weep clouds of blood (Jerusalem 54:27-32, E. 204).

A change of role may serve a dramatic purpose. Blake's new Eternal roles for his female characters may be accompanied by some physical change of form: Enion's regression to "bright Girl" is a necessity for her reconciliation with Tharmas (FZ IX, p. 130:8, E. 398). Alternatively the change of role may be evident in some change of heart: Vala responds to the mild voice of Luvah and as the "Sinless Soul" stretches herself out on the downy fleece (FZ IX, p. 128:25-26, E. 397), Mystery's diminution of influence and Rahab's redemption is confirmed (E. 390). Ahania's ultimate role is confirmed as she changes state, "casting off her death clothes" (FZ IX, p. 125:26, E. 394), an echo of Brittania's awakening on Albion's bosom (Jerusalem 94:20, E. 254). Enitharmon, who walked in the visions of Vala with the Fallen One, builds with Los (FZ I, p. 10:15, E. 305; FZ IX, p. 117:1, E. 386), a change of activity. Finally, Jerusalem who was enclosed in the Dungeons of Babylon (Jerusalem 60:39, E. 210) overspreads all nations (97:2, E. 256).

II AN EXAMINATION: a balance of roles.

In the introduction it was mentioned that an issue of concern to writers working within the framework of feminist

criticism is that extent to which an author offers a female component within the work. It was argued that Blake, because of the multiple female characters created in the prophetic works, is very accessible to this approach.

Although The Four Zoas poses complex questions about format, history, intended sequence of parts and about fundamental purpose, and the title itself argues for a change of emphasis away from the female, "Vala", the introductory lines, despite erasures, are still concerned with some female personage, be it an Aged Mother, an Eno, an Enitharmon (see note in the Erdman edition, p. 819) or a Vala. Despite the fact that page four of the manuscript states "Begin with Tharmas Parent power", a substantial 139 lines are then concerned with the question of Enion's ambivalence, an issue considered in the chapter on the "wife" role. The initial relationship is portrayed from Enion's point of view and her lamentation is a complement to the Nuptial song filtered through the Demons of the Deep. Enitharmon, additionally, is more than a match for Los - and for Urizen - in her "threaten not me" speech (E. 306).

Admittedly, Night the First concludes with Jerusalem in ruins, or in silent rest, the Daughters of Beulah weeping in sympathy, and Enitharmon refusing the role of marriage but very shortly into Night the Second the Daughters of Albion are seen binding Jerusalem and Vala is circling the furnaces in which her lover is enclosed. Luvah indeed tells how the power of Vala grew, then waned but always his need of her remains evident.

In Night the Second there are also the lines detailing the reciprocal exclusive relationship between Ahania and Urizen

as well as the implication of two separate, equal intellects (E. 320).

Mention should be made of two groups of lines showing the initiative of Enitharmon, even though she is accompanied by Los; firstly, it is she who suggests that this pair go and view the sorrows of Vala and Luvah; secondly, although both delight in this woe, it is Enitharmon who is said to rejoice in plotting to bring about division between Urizen and Ahanian (E. 321). Night the Second concludes with two lengthy "songs", each by a female. Enitharmon sings over Los, reviving him; Enion laments the price of Experience.

Night the Third begins with Ahanian at Urizen's feet - hardly behaviour likely to please the feminist critic. Nevertheless, it will be remembered that Ahanian is insistent in dictating Urizen's role to him, occasioning, of course, the literal "downfall" of Ahanian. Apart from one speech of repentance from Urizen, it is left once again to the despairing voice of Enion to conclude the Night, and it is with Enion's voice on his lips that Tharmas begins Night the Fourth.

This promise of extended feminine involvement in the plot is not fulfilled in this middle Night: a nadir for feminist readers, in effect. There is a thread of longing for Enion, a rape of Enitharmon, and the passage which recalls the biblical story of appeal by the sisters of Lazarus but it will not be until Night the Fifth that Blake again gives attention wholeheartedly to the feminine aspect.

Night the Fifth is well known for the absorbing description

of the emotional involvement of Enitharmon with her child, Orc (see pp. 161-63 above for previous discussion of this relationship).

Night the Sixth must be owned as Urizen's book but, in one way, here is a balance to the previous story. One parent carries the relationship to her child to extremes: a second parent recognises his daughters virtually not at all.

In conclusion, Night the Seventh is of particular interest for it is interwoven with allusions to the feminine. It contains the reference to Enitharmon's wish for a conjoining with Los, the account of the nameless shadowy Vortex ministering to Orc, and the appeal by the demons of the deep for Vala to "Arise" (all incidents invoked in discussing multiple roles). Additionally, this version recalls the days when Tharmas and Enion lived in harmony - and gives the words of Eternal Promise associated with the biblical sisters: "If ye believe, your B[r]other shall rise again" (K. 340)

The story of Milton is the story of man in search of the completeness of the "comingling" of male and female. It is not permeated by incidents involving the feminine, as The Four Zoas has been shown to be, but the need for the female is the rationale behind Milton's search and Blake's work. Blake has his protagonist question why this should be:

[Milton] was silent
Viewing his Sixfold Emanation scatter'd thro' the deep
In torment! To go into the deep her to redeem & himself perish?
What cause at length mov'd Milton to this unexampled deed[?]
(Milton 2:18-21, E. 96)

He is answered by the Bard who has been moved by the inspiration

jealous, murderous, cruel and enslaving (17:7, 9; 18: 5-20, E. 110).

Ololon may sense this as she complements Blake's briefer gestures towards the active female in Milton and sets forth on a journey of her own (Milton 21:45, E. 116; see also chapter above, pp. 44-50). The strength of the female role is not so evident in Blake's beginning to Book the Second in which Beulah, as representative of the married state, is portrayed as a place of no disputes, a haven for the weak and weary women and children. However, Plate 31 also speaks of Beulah as a place of respite for all travellers on the way to Eternity and so the feminine element may be read as providing a sustaining role - although the extent of the expected support implied in Plate 33 (E. 133-34) may be questioned.

Milton begins with an invocation to the Daughters of Beulah: they are to inspire and to record: two active roles. The narrative action moves from the female to the male. Similarly in Plate 3, the scene opens with Enitharmon's Looms but moves to Albion and on to Urizen (2:1-2; 3:1-6, E. 96). Milton concludes with the Poet's vision and the narrative moves then to his Shadow of Delight at his side - the narrative action moves from male to female. Symbolically, then, Los and Enitharmon are seen rising together. Milton begins in separation and ends in union: for both male and female have pursued an active quest for each other.

The Four Zoas is episodic in its emphasis on the active female role, while Milton presents the dual threads of man's quest for woman and woman's reciprocal quest for man (external

quests, in essence). Jerusalem may be viewed, in relation to this thesis, as Albion's renunciation of, reproach of, recoil from, reduction of, request for yet restriction of, reaching for, recovery of ... Jerusalem. The cause of Woman is central and her presence is pervasive.

Jerusalem opens with the imagery of the Womb and the mention of Albion's Emanation: Man is reliant on the mother for existence, and on Jerusalem for support (Frontispiece, plate 1:2, 6, E. 144). Man's need for the feminine is recapitulated in Plate 4 as the Saviour calls upon Albion to reveal where Jerusalem has been hidden: the Eternal view is that Jerusalem is part of His vision and will be brought to fruition in Him. Albion decries any such possibility and denies any knowledge of Jerusalem or her daughters: "Jerusalem is not! her daughters are indefinite:" (4:27, E. 147). Los works at the Furnaces to make the Sons and Daughters of Jerusalem his own and to protect them from Albion's Spectre; the sisterhood of Erin and the Daughters of Beulah ask what they may do for Jerusalem (10: 1-4; 11:7-9, 17, E. 152, 154), but Albion continues with a reproach of Jerusalem: "O Jerusalem / Would thou wert not ..."; "I came here with intention to annihilate thee!" (22:27-28; 23:3. E. 167. 168). At Jerusalem's loving reply, Albion - filled with Love and Pity and dark despair - recoils from her (23:7-20, E. 168).

The second chapter ("To the Jews") shows Jerusalem further "reduced" (37:4) and Albion even endeavouring to destroy the Emanations of others (37:31, E. 183). Los himself sees Jerusalem: "... driven in terror / Away from Albions mountains..." (38:69-70, E. 186) and it is feared that Albion may succeed in

slaying her (40:27, E. 188).

Albion, however, in his dream state, while denouncing Los as a false friend and denigrating his own sons and daughters does demand back his Emanations (42:13, E. 189) and in the following plate the time of repentance is heralded by the Voice Divine, a time when Albion will rise from the Sleep of Death (43:11-12, 26, E. 191).

However, Jerusalem herself senses that Albion is not yet ready to accept her as Wife (45:44-45, E. 195) and shortly after is seen to burst forth from Albion's bosom (48:47-51; 49:8, 50:9, E. 197, 198, 199).

Chapter Three ("To the Deists") begins more hopefully with Albion reaching for England (54:27, E. 204), but Jerusalem is inaccessible. She is seen enclosed in the Dungeons of Babylon (60:39, E. 210) in self-reproach, sensing that she is an outcast and that Albion is dead (62:3, E. 212). (See pp. 127-28 above for Jerusalem's response to the Song of the Lamb in Jerusalem 60.)

Well may it be written that "Albion is darkened & Jerusalem lies in ruins" (71:54, E. 226).

Chapter Four ("To the Christians") opens with Jerusalem sitting in sackcloth, and enchained (78:10-11, 24, E. 233, 234). Los, however, prophetically sees Jerusalem as the soft reflected image of Albion (85:24, E. 244) and moreover sees the New Jerusalem descending out of Heaven (86:19, E. 244).

Plate 94 begins with an image of Albion lying cold on his Rock, enwrapped in the weeds of Death with his female Shadow

lying inert on his bosom. As the Breath Divine breathes into Albion the England/Brittannia/Jerusalem figure wakes and as she cries out about her nightmare of having slain Albion, he awakens also and "England who is Britannia entered Albions bosom rejoicing" (96:2, E. 255).

Jerusalem concludes with the repentance of Albion, (Plate 96), with the recovery of his desire of Jerusalem, with his recall of her ("Awake Jerusalem, and come away" (97:4), and with her restoration to him. The end of The Song of Jerusalem may now well be written (99:6).

III A re-affirmation

In the Introduction, I began by asserting that a woman may play many roles but that these are rarely exclusive. The following chapters examined six particular roles: daughter, sister, wife, mother, whore and servant, as they are seen to be enacted in the works of Blake. It has also been shown that Blake's fictional female characters enact a multiplicity of roles and that they take a major part in the narrative action.

Although current role theory provides the framework for my critical analysis of Blake's "female", each chapter is set in the context of Blake's time by a brief introductory section examining societal expectations of the eighteenth century.

In investigating the roles which Blake assigns to his feminine characters, no impression of reductionism has been intended, nor any holistic concept of Blake's "woman" attempted. Rather the text is considered from the viewpoint of action.

Roles may be perceived differently by writer and by reader and roles may overlap or merge - as in the case of the sister role, particularly.

However, a working hypothesis has been sustained: Blake's created "heroines" play out assigned roles which may be the single role perceptions of the Songs or the continuous movement in and out of "poetical personifications" of the prophetic works. Furthermore, with the multiplicity of roles enacted throughout his works, it may be argued that Blake transcends the stereotyping of the passive "good" female of his day and stresses the importance of energy and action in the woman, be she manifested as a power for good or as a force for evil.

In the preceding chapters it has been demonstrated that Blake had a good sense of variable roles for his female characters. In this he differs from many in his time in that he displays willingness to allocate active roles to the female, believing that the contraries of good and evil, active and passive, positive and negative find resolution at the Last Days.

It must be admitted that Role Theory has not yet gained the recognition of Freudian, or Jungian approaches or the popularity of Marxist or Feminist Theory but it should be seen as a useful interdisciplinary tool to facilitate a new understanding of Blake's works. When I began research for this thesis, I first tried to define good and evil roles in Blake's works, but concluded that Blake himself had moved beyond such absolute distinctions. I therefore looked further at the context of Blake's time and pursued roles as they are seen to be positive

and negative, passive and active. Blake's society saw roles in terms of character whereas Blake saw roles as related to behaviour - his was a situational, not a stereotypical ethic. Blake's "females" proved to be active, be it for good or ill purposes!

Although each of the six chapters on specific roles closes with a summarising statement, a few further general comments are in order.

Daughters in Blake's time were very often circumscribed by the expectations held for them. Moreover, the increasingly affective ties and the increasing economic stability of the eighteenth-century family tended to reduce the importance of the daughter since it was not imperative for her to contribute to either. Blake's "daughters" enact active roles, by comparison, rather than hold restricted positions; they place themselves outside their conventional nurturing environment and venture towards personal fulfilment.

Credit must be given to Thel for her investigative nature - this phase Blake portrays as active good. The flight back to the vales of Har is the passive evil. In this early work, Blake is experimenting with the active daughter role - and brings Thel a significant way along the road to emancipation. It will be for Lyca and Ona of the Songs to complete the act of self-determination. Ololon will initiate a female gesture towards the male, and on his behalf - and the Daughters collective will move boldly against him. Blake has displayed a leap of imagination beyond most eighteenth-century comprehension.

The role of daughter is often indistinguishable from that of

sister but Blake presents two daughters (Cambel and Gwendolen) who move beyond their major role as Daughters of Albion and undertake a dynamic sisterly relationship. Similarly, Blake depicts two wives (Vala and Jerusalem) who engage in dialogue which is sisterly in its interaction. The sister role of the Lady in his Comus illustrations is not so easily identified, but then the brother/sister relationship is a tenuous one, in both real and fictional life. (In Clarissa, for example, it is crucial that it be redefined). The Lady, however, by her own action in setting forth, may be seen to facilitate the brothers' recognition of fraternal responsibility towards a sister and she, in turn, is pictured by Blake as responding, in stance, to them. She is the rescued, in a courtly code sense, but she is also a rescuer as she forces the brothers and parents towards an acceptance of her separate identity.

The wives of the Zoas are also engaged in warfare against a system: not the Wars of Eternity (Milton 30:19, E. 129), nor the wars of the Warriors (Jerusalem 68:10-70, E. 221-222) but in a struggle for an identity apart from their Zoas. That there will be a comingling in Eternity is set at nought in Generation!

It will be remembered from chapter four that the wife of Blake's time had no legal identity (see p. 91); the husband or the father, even the brother, was all-powerful. The Zoas similarly present the appearance of forceful men of action; it is not against mere flesh and blood that the Emanations must "wrestle" but against "principalities", if the epigraph may be extended a little.

Ahania's active role is the most difficult to sustain, for Urizen is vocal and ubiquitous. Enion, as wife, gains strength from her motherly role which supplies her with the ethic that Love should be placed above Right and Duty. In this, she is another Oothoon, although Enion's vision - and hence her role - is more limited. Vala, in contrast with these two other "wives" is a positive sunburst of energy and initiative, although her wifely role goes a little unrecognised as Blake uses her to indicate his abhorrence of the undisciplined Female Will.

However, although Oothoon was forced into a dual wife role, Vala claims such an honour. She is Emanation to Luvah and in her eyes the Bride of Albion. At one point, she deals with this role ambiguity by adopting the role of daughter to Luvah, whom she claims has commanded her to murder Albion - a radical resolution of the role conflict inherent in polygamy!

Enitharmon is more interactive with Los in her wifely role and many times just as decided as he in manner. She is the model of the good wife as she works, on occasion, beside her spouse. In this, the eighteenth century would be proud of her. However, she is also Blake's active force for evil, the Female Will who opposes Los. Blake's society was less fond of the wife who was her own person. Enitharmon is a worthy match for the blacksmith, the builder, the Poet. In her energy is her excellence.

Enitharmon, together with Jerusalem who is called Liberty and who is evidently Blake's ultimate word on the ideal wife, and Mary, wife of Joseph who calls for forgiveness instead of judgment, form a trio of active powers for good. Their passive

digressions and their wilful transgressions are overshadowed by their active roles.

Wives of initiative are more likely to go on to become energetic mothers. In chapter five it was argued that the good mother role and the evil mother role may exist as a duality of energy but work as contraries against each other so that the diverse roles will be ultimately harmonised.

This eventual resolution is described in Jerusalem 88:5-6, (E. 246) when the Emanations are imaged as being surrounded by their children. All is loving unity. The beginning of this process whereby harmony of roles is achieved is encapsulated in the Songs where Blake demonstrates the sorrows afforded by the evil mother and the joys associated with her contrary, the good mother (see pp. 147-54).

In the prophetic works, Enion, Enitharmon, and Jerusalem enact within themselves a dual mother role. Contraries may be worked out within one person, and the Eternal Mother is foreshadowed - in essence, the archetypal Great Mother in whom the good mother and the bad mother co-exist. When the evil mother role is permitted to emerge, there is a subsequent ill effect on the children. Blake and his century were one in recognising this, but Blake did not consequently restrict his energetic female. He allowed his characters to experiment with an active role so that the energy thus released might realise its better potential.

The first four roles, those of daughter, sister, wife and mother, are perceived in relation to family position. The last

two roles considered are determined more by the self, although society may influence the taking up of each.

Much has been written on Blake's attitude towards "free love" and much has been misunderstood. Blake would place equal emphasis on the "FREE" and therefore it is not to be expected that he would labour the point of "the sad end" when casting his characters into the role of whore. "Redemption", "reconciliation", and "restoration" are appropriate words for the fallen - not "retribution". Moreover, Blake differentiates between those who deliberately set out on a path of harlotry - the Great Whore/Rahab/Tirzah figures who enact the temptress role - and those who are cast into the role by the MISperception of others: Oothoon, Jerusalem, Mary the Madonna.

Blake is reluctant to divide good and evil into absolutes; with the same depth of vision, he perceives in the harlot the loveliness that was or may be. The role is scarcely definable as one whole - in Gestalt terms it is more than the sum of its parts. Similarly, when I began research towards the servant role I found that it contained "multitudes" to use a Walt Whitman phrase.

I began with the thought of the "suffering servant" and found female counterparts in Blake's biblical illustrations, Mary Magdalene Washing the Feet of Christ (Butlin, II, 562) and Christ in the House of Mary and Martha (Butlin II, 563) where "Martha was cumbered about much serving". Mary as servant of the Lord and Joseph, in fact, as servant of Mary, finds expression in Jerusalem 61 and 62 (see pp. 200- 02), a passage introduced by the image of Jerusalem suffering in the Dungeons of Babylon

(Jerusalem 60:39, E. 210).

Leutha as she offered herself for Satan, Ololon as she set off on her quest for Milton, and Oothoon as she suffered the sulks of Theotormon fitted very well into the role of suffering servant, additionally.

However, because Blake's lines on and illustrations of the slave or impressed individual (for example, the chimney sweep) form an important part of the literature of protest of his century, I extended this chapter to examine these additional areas. Blake acknowledged that the body may have to submit, but held that the spirit is eternally free. He was not content to rest at this. He speaks of the days when the slave will arise and cast off her chains. It must be concluded that Blake's advocacy of the servant role is presented in the context of the free, or freed, individual joyfully ministering unto others.

Daughter, sister, wife, mother, whore, or servant: these are but a few of the roles that a woman may perform in a lifetime.

Finally, two graphic representations may be appropriate: the occurrence of role-related key words in Blake; and Blake and his century's perception of role.

THE OCCURRENCE OF ROLE-RELATED KEY WORDS IN BLAKE'S WORKS.

WORKS	Early/Middle Prophecies	Songs	Later Prophecies	Other
ROLE				
Daughter	28	-	216	30
Sister	-	1	32	27
Wife	5	-	28	105
Mother	25	18	31	37
Whore	3	-	2	7
Harlot	6	1	32	15

The following statistical comments may be made:

1. Mention of the role term "wife" in the "Other" column reflects the position of Blake's own wife, for it is very often his greeting phrase on behalf of Catherine and himself at the conclusion of his letters.

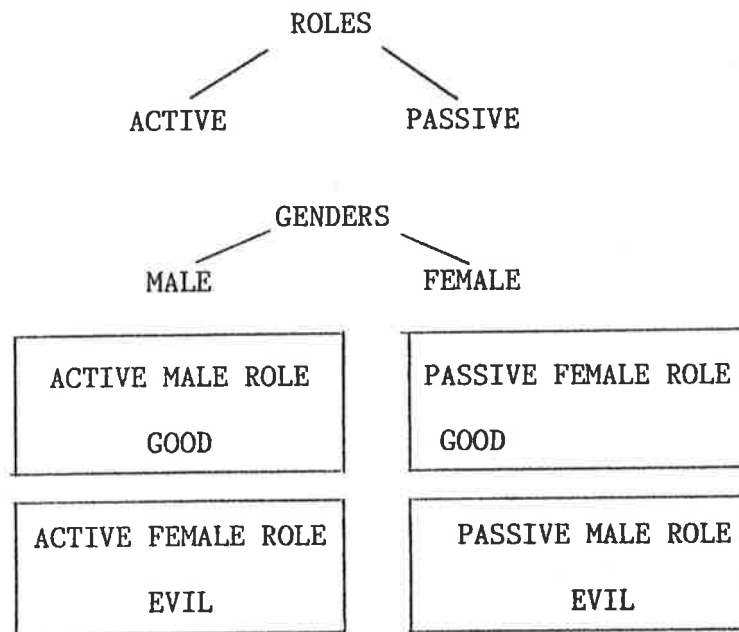
2. In Blake's early works, the two primary roles of Daughter and Mother predominate, but the "daughter" position is not named in the Songs.

3. In the later works, despite a preponderance of "daughter" keywords, Blake demonstrated his awareness of many possible roles for the female by his use of a spread of keywords relating to the role of the women of his narrative fiction.

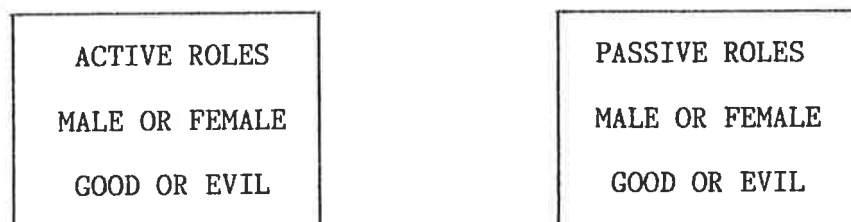
Thus, my conclusions are well supported by textual reference.

One further schematic representation will clarify the argument that Blake's century perceived two broad types of roles: active and passive roles. It matched these very neatly to the two perceived genders: male and female. The century also saw good and evil as two discrete concepts. When it had cast its women into the passive role and its men into the active role, it labelled such categorisations as "good". Deviations from the stereotypical role were "evil".

a. THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY and its PERCEPTION OF ROLE



b. BLAKE'S PERCEPTION OF ROLE



Blake's vision may be contrasted with that of his time for his perceptive powers allowed of the energetic woman, his imaginative insight cast them into multiple roles and his creative genius gave them to succeeding generations.

Blake gave his fictional female characters a "charge" to keep, a holy office or duty in the same sense that the Lord had spoken to Joshua (Zechariah 3:7); they were to be active daughters, sisters, wives, mothers, and servants.

Blake's Eye perceived more roles than the Heart knows (cf. Visions of the Daughters of Albion, The Motto, E. 45) ... and his female characters enacted them.

Appendix 1.

ROLE THEORY TERMINOLOGY

"Role", originally a French word [rôle] which came into English, is derived from the Latin rotula (the little wheel, or round log, the diminutive of rota-wheel). In antiquity it was used, originally, to designate a round (wooden) roll on which sheets of parchment were fastened so as to roll them around it. From this came the word for an assemblage of such leaves into a scroll or book. In ancient Greece and Rome the parts in the theatre were written on these "rolls" and read by the prompters to the actors. Towards the end of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the parts of the theatrical characters were read from "roles". Thus each part becomes a role.

[Biddle and Thomas, p. 6, as summarised in J. L. Moreno (ed.), The Sociometry Reader. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1960].

The term "role" first came into use in the behavioural sciences in the decade of the 1930s but it was not until after World War II that extensive use of role-related terms appeared. Since then there has been a diffusion of role concepts (Biddle, pp. 6-9.)

<u>TERM</u>	<u>SELECTED MEANINGS IN ROLE THEORY</u>
ROLE ADOPTION	a role taken up by an individual.
ROLE ALLOCATION OR ASSIGNMENT	a role suggested for or ascribed to an individual by another agency.
ROLE AMBIGUITY	uncertainty as to which is the appropriate role to enact.
ROLE CHANGE	a movement from one adopted role to a different one.
ROLE CONFLICT	Inconsistent prescriptions of what is the appropriate role at a specific time and the consequent feelings of unease.
ROLE CONFORMITY	Correspondence between behaviour and the suggested role.
ROLE CONFUSION	An inability to distinguish the appropriate role for the context.

Appendix 1: Role Theory Terminology (cont.)

ROLE	DESCRIPTION	A statement of what a role involves.
ROLE	ENACTMENT OR PERFORMANCE	The carrying out a particular role.
ROLE	EXPECTATIONS	A concept held by the self or another about the behaviour likely to be exhibited.
ROLE	FAMILIARIZATION	A process of working towards becoming acquainted with a given role.
ROLE	PERCEPTION	The way in which the individual senses how the role is to be performed.
ROLE	PERFORMANCE	See Role Enactment; goal-directed behaviour.
ROLE	PRESCRIPTION	Overt or covert concepts of which behaviour should be enacted.
ROLE	PRESSURE	Pressure towards the enactment of a particular role.
ROLE	SET	All the roles an individual may enact.
ROLE	REVERSAL	The abandoning of one role for the adoption of another.
ROLE	SHARING	Roles held in common.
ROLE	SPECIALIZATION	The fact that persons display behaviours differentiated from those of others.
ROLE	STRAIN	Feelings of unease concerned with the enactment of a role or the conflict of roles.

CONSENSUS	Commonly-held ideas or standards based on acceptance by the group under consideration.
NORMS	A description of a behaviour pattern likely to be exhibited by a person or group.
PERSONALITY CAPABILITY VARIABLES	Differences in a person's behaviour according to individual psychological patterns.
ROLE	A behavioural repertoire characteristic of a person.
SANCTIONS	Behaviour which rewards or punishes contingent upon conformity by a role performer to norms or rules.

Appendix 2.

Daughters and Virgins: a supplement on the daughter role
(pp. 23-60).

An early commentary on Blake's text raised the point that there were indications that Blake had re-interpreted the doctrine of the Virgin Birth, as exemplified in The Everlasting Gospel, (textual note (d), p. 877), The Four Zoas (VIII, p. 113:32, E. 377), and Jerusalem (61:7, E. 211).¹ Jerusalem marvels that Jesus should be born of Nature (Vala), calling the Maternal Line "The Daughters of Vala, Mother of the Body of Death"² (Jerusalem 62:8-13, E. 213), in a repetition of the essence of the lines from The Four Zoas VIII, p. 104 [2]: 11-13, E. 377, wherein the Sons of Eden sing of the dark Satanic body in the Virgin's womb.

Margaret Bottrall sees Jerusalem 61 as an illustration of Blake's message of forgiveness, unconditional and perpetual and an answer to the Roman Catholic dogma of the Virgin Birth and the Immaculate Conception,³ much in the mood of a recent theologian who writes as a reaction against the "perfection thing".⁴

Blake himself wrote: "How can the Female be Chaste ... Without the Forgiveness of Sins ..." (Jerusalem 63: 26-27),

1. William Blake, Prophetic Writings, ed. D. J. Sloss and J. P. R. Wallis, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926), II, 178.

2. Damon, Dictionary, p. 266.

3. Bottrall, Divine Image, p. 105.

4. John A. T. Robinson, The Human Face of God (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1973), p. 74.

Appendix 2 (cont.): Daughters and Virgins.

and in his description of A Vision of the Last Judgment Blake put Mary in the special category of those ignorant of crime in the midst of a corrupted Age (p. 81, E. 559), a classification much removed from adherence to any cult of the Virgin. In the Middle Ages this cult had produced the ubiquitous "Mary lyrics" and in the secular world was related to another of Blake's anathemas - courtly love.⁵

Even today some influences of this absorption with the unattainable may still linger in the daughter; "she measures herself against the ideal of feminine beauty, selflessness, and chastity", write two recent authors.⁶ It is not only the virgin body but the virgin mind that may be seen as a most crucial female attraction.⁷ This is not always so, of course, even in Blake's day; for example, the virgin imagination of the heroine of Charlotte Lennox's eighteenth-century novel The Female Quixote was a source of exasperation not elation to her suitor.

In art,⁸ the pure virginal daughter represented all moral universals - very popular with illustrators of Thomson's Seasons

5. Sibylle Harksen, Women in the Middle Ages (New York: Abner Schram, 1975), p. 99.

6. Carol Pearson and Katherine Pope, The Female Hero in American and British Literature (New York: Bowker, 1981), p. 104.

7. Spacks, pp. 29-30.

8. Dijkstra, p. 65, for this comment: "a pure virginal woman represented all humanistic and moral universals the male needed to prove his value before God ... only virginity presented a guarantee that woman's redemptive power was intact."

Appendix 2 (cont.): Daughters and Virgins.

was the scene of a maiden killed by lightning in her lover's
9
arms. It is presumably this quality of virginity - of mind and
of body - which Franson sees as opposing the threat to the Lady
10
in Blake's Comus illustrations.

Blake uses the phrase "the virgin mind" in the context of the unmarried woman who feels that she has let life in its richness pass her by: "O I cannot find / The undaunted courage of a Virgin Mind" (Notebook 1793, "An old maid eer I knew", E. 474). He chooses similar words in the lament of fallen Albion as he is casting around for someone or for some factor to blame: "All is Eternal Death unless you can weave a chaste / Body over an unchaste Mind!" (Jerusalem 21: 11-12, E. 166). Blake shows that conventional moral law, especially the ideal of virginity and chastity, limits man, narrows his perceptions and restricts his creativity.

At times, Blake may be read as accepting the doctrine of the Virgin Birth. Riede argues that as Jesus rent the Veil in birth Mary must have been a virgin (Jerusalem 55:16, E. 204); on the other hand, he points out that to couple her name with that of Johanna Southcott casts serious reflections on her status (Satiric Verses, E. 501); he concludes that perhaps resolution may be found in the passage from Jerusalem 61 as Mary is accepted

9. G. E. Bentley, Jr., "A Jewel in an Ethiop's Ear", pp. 213-40, p. 238.

10. J. Karl Franson, "The Serpent-Driving Females in Blake's Comus 4," Blake, 12 (1979), 164-77.

Appendix 2 (cont.): Daughters and Virgins.

as Virgin by the love of God.¹¹

Jung gives the historical example of the dual nature of the mother as Mary: not only is she the Lord's mother, but she is also, according to medieval allegories, his cross.¹² This is not directly a Blakean idea; Blake speaks merely of Jesus having to put off his "Maternal Humanity", (his mother-derived body), a concept which will be discussed in a later chapter in relation to Mary, perceived harlot (Jerusalem 90:35, 65, E. 250; 61:6, E. 211).

Finally, mention should be made of the paradoxical activities of some of Blake's virgin figures. Irene Chayes examines some of these in the context of the Cupid and Psyche myth and finds that there are the pursued and the pursuers.¹³ The Gates of Paradise, plate 7 (E. 263), illustrates the hunt; "How Sweet I roam'd" demonstrates the entrapment (E. 412); "The Angel" recounts the approach and the escape (E. 24). In a reversal of genders from the Gates of Paradise plate, the girl in "The Fly" is after her shuttlecock (T. 40); the maiden in "The Crystal Cabinet" (E. 488-89) begins by chasing and locking away until

11. David G. Riede, "The Symbolism of the Loins in Blake's Jerusalem," Studies in English Literature 1500-1900, 21 (1981), 547-63.

12. Carl G. Jung, "Psychological Aspects of the Mother Archetype," in The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious, being vol. 9 of The Collected Works, trans. R. F. C. Hull, 2nd ed. (Princeton University Press, 1969), pp. 82-83.

13. Chayes, "Cupid and Psyche", pp. 214-43.

Appendix 2 (cont.) : Daughters and Virgins.

the process is reversed. The three women depicted in Jerusalem 25 (I.B. 304) have evidently caught Albion, while in Europe Enitharmon and archetypal woman seek with nets for dominion. TheI intends to pursue an active quest for meaning in life and anticipates being earnestly sought in return, but ultimately takes refuge in flight.

On occasion, Blake produces conventional art; he would have been aware of iconographic tradition wherein the virgin is usually drawn with covered head,¹⁴ and his tempera panel The Virgin and Child (1825) is complete with headshawl, nimbus and gold tears,¹⁵ more stylised than Michelangelo's simple The Virgin at Prayer,¹⁶ and less everyday than such art as the fifteenth-century panel Virgin Knitting and Child.¹⁷ However, more often Blake's virgins are women of action, recognised not so much for their virtue and chastity as for their valour and energy as Ololon has shown, or for the courage of such a virgin mind as that of Oothoon.

For Blake, virginity may be a special aspect of his "daughter"; a prerequisite of the good daughter, never.

14. J. M. Q. Davies, "Embraces Are Cominglings", p. 92.

15. Raymond Lister, Infernal Methods (London: Bell, 1975), Pl. 47.

16. Portraits and Studies of Women, ed. J. Mathey (London: Faber, 1937), p. 10.

17. Harksen, p. 100, shows a panel of the Buxtahude altar, from the workshop of Master Bertram, c. 1400, entitled "Virgin Knitting and Child".

Appendix 3

Sisters - not altogether evil: a supplement on the sister role (pp. 61-89).

In Milton there are a number of references to Tirzah and her sisters, never in a positive context: Leutha dreams of bearing Rahab who, Blake reminds the reader, is the mother of Tirzah and her sisters, symbolically associated with the prude,¹ the pure woman, the false ideal which leads men astray (Milton 13:41, E. 107), a mental attitude which parallels the "Venus Pudica" stance of Cambel in Jerusalem Plate 81 (I.B. 360). However, as was mentioned in the previous chapter, Leutha is not without redeemer-like features for she is that daughter of Beulah who is prepared to descend to offer herself as a ransom for Satan's sin (Milton 11:32 - 13:13, E. 105-07). Furthermore, Leutha makes the admission that she loved Palamabron and in the power of love, be it whatever quality or of whatsoever motivation, is the potential for good (Milton 11:36, E. 105).

In misguided action, Tirzah's shadowy sisters (identified in Milton 19 with Natural Religion) chorus, siren-like, to tempt Milton away from his set course; they form the bones of Horeb, a name associated with Sinai and the Written Law of Moses² (Milton 19:36-58, E. 113); and they "weave the black Woof of Death". In The Four Zoas, Night VIII, p. 105:47-51 (E. 379) as in Jerusalem 68:3, 7 (E. 221) the cruel sisters bind man down on

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1. Damon, Dictionary, p. 407.
 2. Damon, Dictionary, pp. 189, 374.

Appendix 3 (cont.): Sisters - not altogether evil.

Mount Ebal, a mountain also associated with the Written Law, the place where Joshua erected a monument bearing the Law of Moses, and announced the curses that would follow the breaking of it.³ Multiple roles are allocated to these sisters; they are diversified forces for evil but their actions may be seen to be the contrary to the charge given to Enitharmon and her Daughters to preserve the Vegetated Spirits unto the Judgment Day (Milton 29: 51-56, E. 128), and their negative roles thus maximise the possibility of good as well as advancing the dramatic action of the narrative.

In Night VIII, also, it is the Daughters of Urizen, the "iron hearted sisters" who are shown as compelling the shadowy female to minister to Orc (p. 101 [1] 20-23, E. 373), a nurturing role mentioned in the previous chapter. In this context, they dictate for good, although David Erdman discussing Urizen exploring "the Hell of his own kingdom" likens the "three terrific women" he encounters (and who are revealed to be the Daughters of Urizen) to the weird sisters in Macbeth, and thus suggestive of a theme of inordinate ambition (FZ VI, p. 67:1-⁴ p.68:4, E. 344-45).

It should be mentioned, in conclusion, that occasionally Blake used the term "sister" in a merely metaphorical sense:

3. Dictionary of the Bible, ed. James Hastings, p. 201.

4. Erdman, Prophet against Empire, p. 344.

Appendix 3 (cont.): Sisters - not altogether evil.

false hope as sister of despair, for example (FZ IV, p. 51:6, E. 334), and, in three passages designated as "song", sister is used in this way. During the Song sung at the Nuptial Feast of Los and Enitharmon, Brother Mountain is called upon to awaken and Sister City, in cruelty, is to plait a scourge (FZ IV, p. 14:7, 20, E. 308-09); Vala's New Song, in a Francis of Assisi mode, calls the birds who sing and adorn the sky her sisters - her brethren, the flocks, are more earthbound (FZ IX, p. 128:13-14, E. 397); The Song of Los makes mention of the brethren and sisters of Har and Heva, siblings who had lived in war and lust (The Song of Los 4:6. E. 68).

Each woman is Eve throughout the ages: a supplement to the wife role (pp. 90-133).

In a postlude to this chapter on the role of "wife" in Blake, a few passages for thought - rather than conclusions - should be offered on the archetypal wife, Eve. It must be acknowledged at the outset of this section that there are other notable "Eve" images (my supervisor, Michael J. Tolley, points to "Sense", where Adam is "Reason" in the Night Thoughts engraving, E 33, Dover 72, xv, as just one further example). My choice of examples is arbitrary but the principle of selection is, broadly, perceived relevance to the enactment of a role.

There are relatively few textual references to Eve in comparison with the extended treatment of the other "wives" in Blake's works. Many of them occur in The Ghost of Abel (E. 270-72) in which Byron's vindictive Eve is transformed into a grieving and perceptive mother who defends her remaining son against the cry of the Ghost - "Life for Life!". She senses that this is not Abel at all for she can see her son alive in her mind's eye. Blake has effected a role change in a stereotyped character: the Eve who would have functioned as a force for evil and destruction attains a role reversal and is cast as a power

1. George Meredith, The Ordeal of Richard Feverel (London: Constable, 1922), p. 328.

Thomas Nashe, Christs Teares ouer Ierusalem (1593), in the Works, ed. R. B. McKerrow, 4 vols. (rpt. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1966), II, 136, ll. 30-35: "Euer since Euah was tempted, and the Serpent preuailed wither, weomen haue tooke ypon them both the person of the tempted and the tempter ... Vnto the greatnesse of theyr great Grand-mother Euah, they seeke to aspire, in being tempted and tempting." The passage is quoted by DeBruyn, p. 71

Appendix 4 (cont.): Eve throughout the ages.

for good in her appeal for life and mercy.

Another glimpse of the primal "wife" occurs when Adam and Eve appear before the Judgment Seat. Twice Blake implies an alienation between them (a fiery gulph or a veil drawn in place by Satan; VLJ, p. 76, E. 556). Perhaps Adam's role expectations did not encompass an Eve who might choose her "hell fire spark" ("When Klopstock England Defied", E. 500)!

The Eve of Innocence, the ingenuous Heva of Tiriel² and the "first Eve",³ Thel, may be regarded as adopting a role conformity while David M. Wyatt in discussing Jerusalem concludes that she, as a woman, like Eve, can only be comprehended through an oxymoron: she is a saving imperfection⁴ (that is, about her position there is a role ambivalence).

In Jerusalem the illustration to Plate 31 (I.B.310) shows a division into the two sexes, a work performed by Jesus that He in due time may be born to redeem mankind (Jerusalem 42:34, E. 189). A wife is given an active merciful role although this is a regrettable necessity, for "A Vegetated Christ & a Virgin Eve are the Hermaphroditic Blasphemy;..." - the name "Mary", second

2. William Blake, Tiriel, commentary by G. Bentley, Jr. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), pp. 3, 4, 16. Although an Edenic association is posited by Bentley for Har and Heva, Northrop Frye in Fearful Symmetry, p. 242, distinguishes Har from Adam. Frye also notes that the separation of Eve from Adam and her becoming allied with the reasoning serpent approximates closely Blake's account of the fall of Albion and his surrender to Vala: "... the vast form of Nature like a Serpent roll'd betwen" (FZ III, p. 42:17, E. 328) in Fearful Symmetry, p. 352.

3. Waxler, "The Virgin Mantle Displaced", pp. 46, 49.

4. David M. Wyatt, "The Woman Jerusalem: Pictura versus Poesis," Blake Studies, 7, No.2 (1975), p. 124.

Appendix 4 (cont.): Eve throughout the ages.

Eve, being replaced by Blake in this line.⁵ Wicksteed takes the concept of a given separate role for the wife back to Edenic times when he comments on Blake's Paradise Lost illustration, The Creation of Eve, - a scene "terrible and stormy".⁶

Los himself recognises the problems of Universality and Individuality and issues a warning against an imitative role -⁷ naming, amongst other possible role models, an Eve (Jerusalem 90:30, E. 250). This is despite the fact that he and Enitharmon have at times cast themselves into the Paradisial roles, eating of "ruddy fruit" or associating with serpent forms in a garden of the fallen world⁸ (FZ VII, p. 87:1-29, E. 368-69; BU VI, E. 79). Perhaps mention could be made here of the story attributed by Gilchrist to Butts of Blake and Catherine naked in the garden reading from Paradise Lost.⁹

Critics have tried to establish Blake's attitude to the concept of Eve: J. G. Davies' early work on Blake's theology

5. Damon, Dictionary, p. 449.

6. Wicksteed, Jerusalem, pp. 64-65.

7. J. Middleton Murry, William Blake (London: Jonathan Cape, 1936), pp. 280-84, for a discussion of the passage from Jerusalem 90.

8. Robert E. Simmons, "Urizen: the Symmetry of Fear," in Blake's Visionary Forms Dramatic, pp. 150-51.

9. Bentley, Blake Records, pp. 53-54, quoting A. Gilchrist, Life, (1941, pp. 96-97; 1863, p. 110): "At the end of the little garden in Hercules Buildings there was a summer house. Mr. Butts calling one day found Mr. and Mrs. Blake, sitting in this summer-house freed from 'those troublesome disguises' which have prevailed since the Fall. 'Come in!' cried Blake; 'it's only Adam and Eve'. Husband and wife had been reciting passages from Paradise Lost, in character and the garden ... had to represent the Garden of Eden."

Appendix 4 (cont.): Eve throughout the ages.

gives but the briefest mention of Eve in relation to a premundane
10
Fall; John Sutherland in a comment on Night Seven of The Four
Zoas conflates the figures of Catherine Blake, Enitharmon and
11
Eve; Anthony Blunt looks at Blake's illustrations in the light
of what is known of Blake's approach to the Bible, to Milton and
12
to Paradise Lost. Northrop Frye, however, warns of the problems
inherent in the language of analogy: for example, the line "Hee
for God only, shee for God in him" (Paradise Lost IV:299) which
is often cited in regard to Edenic relations, is made of the
13
unfallen Adam and Eve, and is thus not a valid source when
arguing for a biblically-based social supremacy of men over
14
women.

Blake himself was careful to speak of the Human Heart,
not the Human Habitation, "where Paradise & its joys abounded"
(Jerusalem 43:74, E. 192). Blake could not concur with the

10. Davies, Theology, pp. 95-96.

11. John Sutherland, "Blake and Urizen," in Blake's Visionary
Forms Dramatic, p. 251.

12. Blunt, William Blake, p. 74: "The effect of the study
[Blake's] of Milton is to be found not only in the poem of that
name but also in the water-colours illustrating the poet's life
disapproval. He loved the creator of Lucifer ... and he admired
the hedonist who described the sensuous delights of Adam and Eve
in the garden of Eden; but he hated the Puritan moralist who
dictated the reproving and repressive speeches of the archangel
Raphael."

13. Northrop Frye, "Revelation to Eve," in his The Stubborn
Structure (London: Methuen, 1970), pp. 135-59.

14. The Spectator, 5 April, 1712.

thought of his times that woman was to blame for the Fall,

15. Many writers have commented upon man's perception of woman as at the root of the Fall; for example:

Murphy, in her "All the Lovely Sex:", p. 273, points out that Blake does not, as the Bible does, blame woman exclusively for the Fall;

Hagstrum, in his Sex and Sensibility: Ideal and Erotic Love from Milton to Mozart (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), p. 44, identifies a fallible Eve who needs a helpmeet;

Sylvia Fishman speaks of an Eve who becomes temporarily "evil" - a reflection on Paradise Lost IX:1008-36, in "The Watered Garden and the Bride of God: Patterns of Biblical Imagery in Poems of Spenser, Milton and Blake," Diss. Washington University, 1980;

Rae Blanchard, investigating Richard Steele's ideal woman describes an Eve "softened into sweetness" over whom Adam claimed superiority in Strength and Wisdom, in her "Richard Steele and the Status of Women," Studies in Philology 26, No.3 (1929), p. 334, pp. 325-55.

Diane Hume George records Blake's objection to the venerable tradition of equating Woman's Love with Sin, in her "Is She Also the Divine Image?: Feminine Form in the Art of William Blake," Centennial Review, 23 (1979), p. 129, pp. 129-40;

Bullough cites Genesis 3:66 (and the document of Innocent III), which declares that women suffer in childbirth as a reminder of kinship with Eve, "Medieval Medical & Scientific Views...", pp. 485-501;

Altizer, The New Apocalypse, reminds the reader of the legacy of ancient Christian teaching that, by woman, man fell - although by her also he is redeemed, p. 97;

A writer in Gentleman's Magazine defends the existing system of subordination being woman's punishment for her role in the fall - and not to be tampered with. This is quoted by Hunter, "The Eighteenth-Century Englishwoman" in Woman in the Eighteenth Century, ed. Fritz, p. 86;

Mary Astell, Some Reflections upon Marriage, 4th ed (1730; rpt. New York: Source Books, 1970), displays the assumptions of her day in her remarks that God's telling after the Fall that the husband should rule over her is a prediction not a COMMAND, p. 108.

Klonsky, p. 79: "Blake accepted as gospel the Gnostic gossip that the temptation and fall of Eve was physical as well as moral and not to mention allegorical and anagogical seduction";

Millett writes: "To blame the evils and sorrows of life - loss of Eden and the rest - on sexuality would all too logically implicate the male, and such implication is hardly the purpose of the story, designed as it is expressly in order to blame all this world's discomfort on the female ... Therefore it is the female who is tempted first ... Thus Adam has "beaten the rap" of sexual guilt...", p. 53 of Sexual Politics.

Appendix 4 (cont.): Eve throughout the ages.

although for Blake the Fall and the fact of sexual division were
synonymous - it is Milton's patriarchy, not the serpent and not
Eve, which destroys Edenic male and female love, writes one
recent Blake critic.¹⁶
¹⁷

If the text is less than explicit about Blake's "Eve"; if
the critics are more than divided about his attitudes to the
first "wife", the illustrations are a richer source for
conjecture about such. The pre-lapsarian Eve has the "wanton
ringlets" of Miltonic fame (Paradise Lost IV:306) - they cascade
down her shoulders in the watercolour She shall be called Woman
and they are tucked away in The Angel of the Divine Presence
Clothing Adam and Eve with Coats of Skin (Butlin, II, Plates 512,
513).¹⁸ With a voluptuousness attributed by Damrosch to Fuseli,
and in keeping with what Hagstrum calls "the erotic core of
sensibility of the eighteenth century",¹⁹ a well-rounded Eve (some
of the roundness was added by overpainting) names the birds, or
whispers in Adam's ear, unhampered by any "troublesome

16. See George, "Is She Also the Divine Image?", for a
reference to the fact that "the division into sexes is Blake's
most consistent metaphor for Fall", p. 130.

See Damrosch, p. 223: "According to Crabb Robinson,
Milton appeared to Blake in a vision and apologised for teaching
in Paradise Lost 'that Sexual Intercourse arose out of the Fall';

Frye, referring to Robinson's alternative version 'the
pleasures of sex', argues that "Milton, of course, said nothing of
the kind, as Blake, who made at least four illustrations of Satan
watching the love-play of the unfallen Adam and Eve, knew well"
(Notes for ... "'Milton'", pp. 101-01).

Cf. Crabb Robinson, in Bentley, Blake Records, pp. 544,
317.

17. Blake, Milton, ed. Easson, p. 161.

18. Damrosch, Symbol and Truth, p. 174.

19. Hagstrum, Sex and Sensibility, p. 282.

Appendix 4 (cont.): Eve throughout the ages.

disguises", a phrase borrowed from Milton by Butts for his anecdote of the Blakean "Adam and Eve" mentioned above (Paradise Lost IV:740; Eve Naming the Birds; Satan watching the Endearments of Adam and Eve - Butlin, II, Plates 636, 648). The skins mentioned and the figleaves of The Judgment of Adam and Eve (Butlin, II, Plate 641) are outward signs of the inward Fall.

Blunt has commented on Blake's adherence to the Miltonic text but points out that the illustrations in the Paradise Lost series are characterised by a precision of detail and an intensity of colour which enabled Blake to portray Adam and Eve with a new sensuousness.²⁰ On the other hand, the same art critic also sees a tendency of Blake's to allow an initial schematic sketch to reduce into a more stylized idiom - for example, The Creation of Eve (Butlin, II, Plates 512, 639, 652).²¹

The same modifying of Miltonic emphasis is expressed by Jean Hagstrum as Blake's softening, humanizing and Christianizing his Puritan mentor in a more Raphaellesque presentation of Adam and Eve partaking of the fruit,²² although Hagstrum writes elsewhere of Milton's Christian (rather than Platonic) emphasis to the

20. Blunt, William Blake, pp. 74-75.

21. Anthony Blunt, "Blake's Pictorial Imagination," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute, 6 (1943), p. 208, pp. of an Eve rising from Adam's rib, the sketch suggesting Christ's hands outstretched towards a female leaning towards Him, her breasts faintly-discernible circles. Butlin lists Blunt's article, and see also Butlin, II, 727 for the sketch, and Butlin, II, 639, 652, 658, for the finished illustration.

22. Hagstrum, Sex and Sensibility, p. 29.

concept of love in Paradise Lost.

In summary, the more perceptive critics find a movement towards a more human Eve, more an appealing woman than an erring wife, perhaps.

Blake reproduces Milton's awareness of the fascination of the serpent figure, although the two versions of Satan Exulting over Eve show the utter passivity of Eve under its dominating enwreathing coils, with what is, possibly, the fruit of temptation lying beneath her limp hand (Butlin, II, Plates 384, 389). Digby sees this as the feminine principle binding the female,²⁴ a contrast to Michelangelo's concept of the Sistine Eve rising into being.²⁵ This same depiction of an Eve withdrawn from the context of action is found in the Paradise Lost illustration "Michael Foretells the Crucifixion" (Butlin, II, Plate 642) although Eve is interpreted there by Wicksteed as an Eve who is but a vision or emblem in her symbolic bower.²⁶ The appeal of the serpent is even more evident in Eve Tempted by the Serpent where Eve adopts a welcoming posture - the traditional Venus stance -²⁷

23. Jean Hagstrum, William Blake: Poet and Painter: an Introduction to the Illuminated Verse (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1978), pp. 126, 42.

24. G. W. Digby, Symbol and Image in William Blake (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), p. 28.

25. J. LaBelle, "Michelangelo's Sistine Frescoes and Blake's Color-Printed Drawings," Blake: an Illustrated Quarterly, 14, No.2 (Fall 1980), 76.

26. Joseph Wicksteed, Blake's Vision of "The Book of Job" (London: Dent, 1924), Appendix F, p. 228.

27. J. A. Warner, "Blake's Use of Gesture," in Blake's Visionary Forms Dramatic, p. 192, pp. 174-95.

Appendix 4 (cont.): Eve throughout the ages.

and raises an inviting right arm to the stranger circled over and above her (Butlin, II, Plate 402). This sense of Eve, lovely wife, held in thrall by an outsider to the marriage is fearfully obvious in the mouth-to-mouth proximity of Eve and serpent in The Temptation and Fall of Eve (Butlin, II, Plate 640), as Eve supports the snake's head and encradles its body (a pre-maternal gesture which will be repeated in the post-lapsarian The Body of Abel Found by Adam and Eve);²⁸ and it is sadly present in the downward gaze of both Adam and Eve towards the reptile as they leave Eden (The Expulsion, from the Butts, not the Thomas, set of illustrations, Butlin, II, Plate 656). Eve's represented passivity in the presence of the serpent changes her role from the power for good she was to be to Adam to the force for evil that she will become as instrument of the Fall.

Milton's perception of the two aspects of the Adam and Eve relationship - they are united by their humanity and divided by their gender - is supplemented by Blake's illustrations. Lister notes that in the Paradise Lost depiction of Raphael's conversing with Adam and Eve Blake uses stippling to define the muscular structure of Adam, showing manly strength and pointing up the feminine grace of Eve,²⁹ an effect strengthened on other occasions by a disproportion in relative size of male and female (cf. She Shall Be Called Woman,³⁰ Butlin, II, Plate 512). However, these

28. Butlin, II, Plate 971.
William Vaughan, William Blake (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978), Plate 32.

29. Lister, Infernal Methods, p. 49, Plate 1.

30. Nanavutty, "She Shall Be Called Woman", pp. 183-89.

Appendix 4 (cont.): Eve throughout the ages.

two Paradise Lost pictures also demonstrate the concept of unity in the created ones; Eve's gaze is for Adam in each case, not for Divine Presence, nor for Raphael in either version (Bindman, Blake as an Artist, places the two side by side for an easy comparison with an engraving of Richard Westall, Raphael with Adam and Eve, 1795: see his Plates 152, 153, 154). They are, indeed, "one Flesh, one Heart, one Soule" (PL 8:499); moreover, there is an intensity of mutual gaze which must present a challenge to the watcher in Satan Spying on Adam and Eve (from the Thomas P.L. series, Butlin Plate 635). If Blake portrays the wife as of slighter stature, he also suggests that this is not of any significance in the total relationship.

Eve's head may fall towards Satan (³¹"squat like a toad, close at the ear of Eve", P.L. IV, 800) in Adam and Eve Asleep for then conscious unity - a power for good- is lost (Butlin, II, Plate 646; Figgis, Plate 16) but in their waking moments Satan and Raphael are merely a backdrop to the human closeness (Satan Spying on Adam and Eve, Butlin, II, Plate 635).

If, therefore, Blake adhered to Miltonic text but exercised artistic licence to enhance or assuage authorial emphases; if he retained Milton's allure of the serpent but highlighted the appeal of the wife; if he reproduced in the primal scene elements of differentiation and of identification, the question of a

31. D. Figgis, The Paintings of William Blake (London: Ernest Benn, 1925), Plate 26;
Vaughan, Plate 25;
Butlin, II, Plate 649.

Appendix 4 (cont.): Eve throughout the ages.

Blakean Eve must arise. This woman of action is best demonstrated by reference to the late illustrated manuscript copy of Genesis (c. 1826-1827 according to Butlin, I, 828:1-11; II, Plates 1087-90, particularly).

The sketches are just clear enough to suggest a pattern for consideration; in "Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden" above the text of Genesis 2:1-13 God, initiating action, appears to be parting Adam and Eve (a Spectre and an Emanation, in a sense), with Satan lurking to the left. Eve in the presence of the two opposing philosophies is in a passive state. Below the next block of text, "The Creation of Eve" depicts an Eve of some independent, but suspended, action, an Eve who floats as a separate presence between God the Father above and a recumbent Adam below. In the next picture "Adam and Eve at the Tree of Knowledge", above the text of Genesis 3:1-14, Eve kneels in the position of the Venus Pudica at the Tree around which is entwined the serpent. Eve in the presence of Adam and of the tempter is inviting action. The following design is open to dispute but Butlin (I, 598) theorises that it represents Adam and Eve cowering in a semblance of the expulsion from Eden: Eve in the presence of Adam and/or the Divine presence withdraws from open action.

Although Blake's portrayal of Eve is on occasion that of a wife intimately close to her husband as in Satan watching the Endearments (Butlin, II, Plate 636) or leaning lovingly against him as shown in Adam and Eve Expelled from Eden (Butlin, II, Plate 1026), it is significant that the sixth Paradise Lost illustration for the Butts collection (1808) replaces an Eve with

Appendix 4 (cont.): Eve throughout the ages.

her hand sensuously reaching over her shoulder to caress Adam's top arm (Thomas set of 1807) by a wife who fingers bunches of grapes and a drinking vessel, an implication of domestic action, albeit of an exotic nature, overshadowing the dimension of passionate feeling (Butlin, II, Plates 637, 650). Eve is now more a woman of action, shown often springing from her right toes, foot arched in anticipation of a leap of energy (Butlin, II, Plates 512, 635, 641, 654): a primal wife whose initial action may be regarded as a force for evil in the context of the Fall, but a wife who continues by Adam's side as an ultimate power for good.

32. Wicksteed in his Job work alludes to Eve's feet as indicating that she is the complement of Adam and to Christ (Appendix F) and in Appendix B he discusses the symbolism of Adam's and Christ's feet (pp. 228, 218);

Nanavutty, in De Pinto, points out that Eve's left foot is forward to stress the physical side of her nature (p. 187); however, the theory of Wicksteed in his Job that the right signifies the good or spiritual and the left the evil or material is dismissed by Irene H. Chayes in her article on the design of Jerusalem 12 ("The Marginal Design of Jerusalem 12," Blake Studies, 7, No.1 (1974), 51-52, 51-76.

Appendix 5

The breeding womb: a supplement on the mother role (pp. 134-82).

"Lo how the heart & brain are formed in the breeding womb" -
(FZ VII, p. 80:22, E. 356)

The "mother" in the early and the shorter poems of Blake cannot be represented categorically in terms of "evil" or "good"; the figures, however, are predominantly unhappy in the role and their opportunity for fruitful action is limited. There is the mournful song of maternal caring in "Love and Harmony Combine" (E. 413-14); there is the weeping mother in "The Prologue to King John" (E. 439), the pale mother who "nourishes her child to the deadly slaughter" in The French Revolution (l. 210, E. 295). In "Gwin, King of Norway" (ll. 9-10, E. 417) wives and children crying for bread are made symbols of a desolate and oppressed land, as occurs also in "The Grey Monk" (ll.1-2, E. 489).

The nameless female in "then She bore Pale desire" (E. 446-48) initiates a generation of vices: sloth, ignorance, ambition, pride, envy and hate. The Protestant may consider Nature as incapable of bearing a child (Annotation to Cellini, E. 670) but She may succour and in man's final days receive back the body of the supplicant ("King Edward the Third", Scene 6:13-16, E. 437). The mother's conventional piety is recounted in "The Couch of Death" (E. 441-42); her identification with the common corruption of mortal flesh evokes no response in the dying son - it is the visionary hand which wipes away tears.

Cynic sings in An Island in the Moon of horrors brought forth and of the babe revenging himself on the mother who would

Appendix 5 (cont.): The breeding womb.

not suckle him (pp. 6-7, E. 454-55), and although "Hail Matrimony" contains lines in praise of the female "Formed to suckle all Mankind" it is nevertheless a golden cage of Matrimony (pp. 11, 12, lines 9, 27, E. 460).

The Woman Old of "The Mental Traveller" (E. 475), when the boy is grown to a youth, is renewed: "when the baby boy grows up and throws off his mental and physical manacles and seizes the object of his desire, the rejuvenated Woman Old (the mother, society or nature) ... can now blossom forth as a vital creative wife or community"¹.

Blake wrote, in the Songs, of Tirzah, our mortal mother, and writes again of the mother of Christ:

How came pride in Man
From Mary it began
(Songs and Ballads, E. 472)

Blake himself, on occasion, saw family love as a selfish extension of one's personality - a man's worst enemies are often those of his own house and family (Jerusalem 41:25-26, E. 189).

Parental guidance can be stifling; Blake agreed with Lavater in finding greatness in not submitting action to parents for (implicit) approval (Lavater, No. 626, E. 599). This same recognition of the right to unique development is acknowledged in "Auguries of Innocence" in the line "The Babe is more than swadling Bands" (l. 62, E. 491), and implied in "Land of Dreams" (E. 486-87).

¹ Mellor, Blake's Human Form Divine, p. 199

Appendix 5:(cont.): The breeding womb.

The symbol of the Tree, associated in myth with the Great
2
Mother or the generative world or womb which can produce or
enslave energy, is often depicted in Innocence as live, budding,
and leafy and in Experience as bare, over-hanging and sinister in
3
shape and colour (cf. The Four Zoas VII, p. 85 [2]:23, E. 367 -
"Then took the tree of Mystery root in the World of Los").

The duality of the mother role - the woman a power for good
or as a force for evil is very obvious in the varying
identifications with Nature: she is the Mother of all, and in her
breathing creates the Imaginative Human Form, yet she is Babylon,
too (Jerusalem 30:6-9, 29:49, E. 176). The infinite mountains
and the hidden things are both reflected in the eyes of Orc (FZ
V, p. 61:19-23, E. 341).

2. Michele L. Stepto, "Mothers and Fathers in Blake's Songs of Innocence", pp. 357-70.

Irene Tayler, Blake's Illustrations to the Poems of Gray (Princeton University Press, 1971), p. 142, as quoted in David Simpson, "Blake's Pastoral: A Genesis for 'The Ecchoing Green'," 116- 38.

3. See also Raine, Blake and Tradition, II, 33, for a discussion of "A Poison Tree" from The Songs of Experience (T. 49).

Appendix 5 (cont.): The breeding womb.

Ahania laments the Fall of Man,⁴ but the Earth Mother replies that Man is the Universe (FZ VII, p. 108:9 - p.110:28, E. 383-85):

I am the nourisher thou the destroyer in my bosom is milk & wine
(FZ VIII, p. 108:16, E. 383)

Nature is not discriminatory: male and female alike are bound down by her (Jerusalem, Plate 74, I.B. 353; Plate 87, I.B. 366; Wicksteed, Jerusalem, p. 235, note 1).

In Blake's early prophetic work, Tiriel, the death groans of the mother, Tiriel's soul, spirit and fire, precipitate the action of the poem and his eventual self-recognition. Tiriel denounces his children "nourishd with mothers tears & cares" (1:26, E.277), an implied praise of an active, nurturing mother repeated in the line "... my wife is dead & all the time of grace is past" (6:11, E.283). Tiriel retreats to the Vales of Har, an Edenic state where, significantly, there is another mother

4. In The Book of Ahania there are also echoes of Oedipal conflict: Urizen like a jealous father seeking to guard the mother from her son casts out Ahania, called now "mother of pestilence", when her memories are yet of babes of bliss, bosoms of milk, eternal births, mothers-joys (Ahania, Plate 5, E. 89-90). (See David W. Lindsay, "The Book of Ahania: an Interpretation of the Text," Durham University Journal, 68, n.s. 37 (1976), p. 144).

Herein is a lamentable condition reminiscent of Enion's regrets for the tents of prosperity (FZ II, p. 35: 12, E. 325) and an incident recalling the separation in Gnostic writings of Mother Sophia from the jealous fashioner of the Universe (R. McQ. Grant, Gnosticism: a Source Book of Heretical Writings from the Early Christian Period (New York:1961), pp. 49-51, as quoted in Clark Emery's introduction to William Blake, The Book of Urizen (Florida: University of Miami Press, 1969, p. 11).

See also K.M. Murphy, "The Emanations of the four Zoas: Ahania, Enion, Vala, Enitharmon," Diss. University of Toledo, 1979, p. 96, in which the author makes the point that Ahania never neglects her Zoa in favour of her children.

Appendix 5 (cont.): The breeding womb.

figure. Mnetha cares for the innocents Har and Heva and she extends her care to the dissembling traveller until he departs with her blessing. The poem concludes with Tiri⁵el's reflections upon, among other ills, the indifferent, inactive, unconcerned mother, unable to circumvent mortality yet unwilling to sustain life:

... the mother idle plays with her dog on her couch
The young bosom is cold for lack of mothers nourishment & milk
(Tiri⁵el 8:13-14, E. 285)

The last line may be an indictment of mothers who, for reasons of vanity, refused to breast-feed their own children - a point made in the introduction to the chapter on the role of the mother (See No. 63 in the Notes to chapter 5, "the mother").

Conversely, The Book of Thel encapsulates the imagery of the caring mother; Thel herself sees the worm as an infant with "none to answer, none to cherish thee with mothers smiles" (4:III, 1.6, E. 5). This is an appeal to Thel's "latent maternity" but a role which Thel, daughter, has been seen to reject. The design of mother and child is then carried over into the next plate to represent not only the Clod and her charges but the more traditional Mother Earth and her stepchildren.⁶⁷

5. William F. Halloran, "Blake's Tiri⁵el: Snakes, Curses and a Blessing," South Atlantic Quarterly, 70 (1971), 161-79.

6. Tolley, "Songs of Spring", p. 116, writes of Thel watching the mother and child below her, the Matron Clay who sets Thel an example of motherhood, rising to breastfeed the infant, an appeal to Thel's "latent maternity", and an echo of Christ's caring for the children (I.B. 39).

7. William Blake, Thel, ed. Bogen, p. 48.

Appendix 5 (cont.): The Breeding Womb.

Moreover, Blake represents Thel as an S-form, an image of
8
crouching contracted maternalism, a foetal shape which will be
used again in The Book of Urizen to depict the bent posture of
the Urizenic skeleton as opposed to the nurturing stance of
9
Jerusalem, the Eternal Mother of Jerusalem 46 (I.B. 325).

The French Revolution in its imagery reflects both the hope
and the despair occasioned to mother and child by times of war
and revolution: infant tears banished, cries heard, women and
children left behind when the man has gone, the pale mother
nourishing the young amid the slaughter (ll.56, 114, 121-23,
210, E. 288. 291, 292) - a progression from hope to despair
paralleled in Visions of the Daughters of Albion. Oothoon is
filled at first with hope in her awakening to potential
motherhood, but is left with child as a result of Bromion's rape;
she is rejected by Theotormon and as she cries in lamentation her
woe is echoed by the Daughters of Albion. The concept of eager
desire being restrained by conventional motherhood was discussed
in relation to the Night Thoughts engraving [E 7, Dover 12], but
this may be mentioned as the development of imagery in There Is
10
No Natural Religion, series a, 5 (I.B. 28).

America and Europe also image the mother, evil in
inactivity: the abhorred birth, the harlot womb (echoing,
perhaps, the medieval theory of the wandering womb) and lips

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8. Frosch, Review of Mitchell, p. 44.
 9. Christian, "The Eternal Body", Diss.
 10. Paley, "Night Thoughts", p. 139.

Appendix 5 (cont.): The breeding womb.

dripping gore instead of breasts oozing mother's milk (America
11
9: 17-25, E. 54-55), or the swaddling bands mentioned in the
Preludium to Europe (1:14, E.61). Swinburne matches the maternal
phraseology in his comment on these two Lambeth books:

11. Sanzo, pp. 105-16: studies of Blake's maternal imagery have shown that symbols associated with the terrible devouring mother include blood, associated with the womb and with menstruation, the onset of potential motherhood, with nets - the principle of entrapment being also allied with maternity. Conversely, symbols reflecting the good other include birds freely flying, flowers opening to bloom, hills and open spaces.

Tannenbaum, p. 141, argues that the erotic and natal imagery of the Preludium to America suggests the Incarnation. Hagstrum, "Babylon Revisited", p. 108, examines Plate 14 of America and finds an early version of the evil mother from whose loins springs a phallic serpent.

George Quasha, "Orc as a fiery paradigm," in Blake's Visionary Forms Dramatic, p. 171, offers a more positive reading of the same plate as the prophetic Orc's being fertilized in the body of America.

Tolley, "Europe", p. 121, presents the Shadowy Female as a kind of personified womb, with the Preludium to Europe concluding with the motherly imagery of the swaddling bands and "milk" of maternal domination and control (p.118), an appropriate preamble to the theme of the Nativity and the secret child.

The mother in Plate 1 of Europe is presented as blameworthy (E. 60) and in the Preludium to Europe she implicitly consents to the restraint of Orc as she silently tends him until she breaks his fetters and she is raped - her womb joyed, it is written. However, in the Marriage Blake points out that inward attitudes may be worse than outright actions of maternal illwill: "Sooner murder an infant in its cradle than nurse unacted desires" (10:68) is one of the Proverbs of Hell.

K.P. Easson and R.R. Easson in their edition of The Book of Urizen elaborate on the imagery of the gestation cycle of the human embryo (London: Thames & Hudson, 1979), p. 71.

Mitchell, Blake's Composite Art, p. 156, dwelling on Plate 17 of the same work, takes cognisance of the idea current in Blake's time that all external and internal structures are present in the human foetus from the first moment of its existence.

Appendix 5 (cont.): The breeding womb.

The spirit of Europe rises revealed in the advent
of revolution, sick of time and travail ... out of her
overlaboured womb arise forms and forces of change ...
[they] bring to their mother no help or profit,
comfort or light; to the virgin daughter of America
freedom has come and fruitful violence of love, but
not to the European mother....¹²

The Shadowy Female may be seen as a kind of personified womb¹³
- a Blakean Lilith - and a visible expression of the cruelty and
fertility of Nature.

The illustrations to Europe add another sombre note. Plate
3 is dominated by a large winged female figure too absorbed by a
child encircled by fire; Plate 4 is the Mother Enitharmon with
the full-grown Orc, while Plate 6 represents women of all classes
who would yet cling to their children beyond death (I.B. 161,
162, 164).

Vala, the Female Will, rampant whore, is yet a maternal
figure to the infant Enion maternal figure to the infant Enion as
Enion and Tharmas re-enter childhood, and effects their
reconciliation (FZ IX, p. 130, E. 398-99).

Milton opens with the story of human genesis - the elements
being repeated from earlier prophetic works: Orc, the Shadowy
Female, all the family of Los and lastly Satan - the generative life
experience. The poem concludes with the same imagery with which
Jerusalem will open: the void outside of existence which if entered¹⁴
into becomes a womb through which beings pass from eternity to time.

12. Swinburne, William Blake, p. 273.

13. Tolley, "Europe", p. 121.

14. Fox, Poetic Form, p. 74.

Appendix 5 (cont.): The breeding womb.

John Milton felt that it was the visionary's right to cut himself
loose from his family when his genius was in mortal danger -
loved ones may function as a body of error. Ironically, the
cruel mothers Rahab and Tirzah head the list of names given by
Blake to Milton's wives and daughters - a matriarchy who try to
tempt Milton away from his quest (Milton 17:10-11; 19:28-31,
E. 110, 113).

Conversely, Ololon who is both daughter and mother,
is the vehicle for salvation and rebirth, the good, sacrificing,
searching, uniting mother. She is the counter to Leutha who
represents the evil mother figure and who is imaged as the
separating Dragon form, jealousy seizing the newborn of the other
mother Elynittria, separating male and female and attempting to
usurp maternal role and function (Milton 12:3-7. E. 105).

Within Ololon, however, there are contrary elements: in a
sense she needs to divide away from herself or she will be
forever estranged from Milton. It is only in her self-giving, as
she enacts the role of the good mother and weeps for the children

15. Frye, Fearful Symmetry, p. 352.

16. Karl Kiralis, "Blake's Criticism of Milton's 'L'Allegro' and 'Il Penseroso'," Salzburg Studies in English Literature: Elizabethan and Renaissance Studies, 49 (1976), 64.

17. Derderian, "Against Patriarchal Pomp", p. 139.

18. Blake, Milton, Easson ed., p. 161, "... in Blake's poem the female becomes what she beholds. She sees a powerful male restricting her; she is jealous and envious; as a result she personifies the tyrannical female will, a matriarchy weaving the web of death..." - a contrast to Enitharmon's Web of Life or the beloved at the mother's bosom of the Land of Beulah, but a correlation with Tirzah and her sisters who stamp upon the treddles of the Loom with feet covered with human gore (Milton 6:27-28; 42:13; 29:51-60; 30:10-12, E. 100, 143, 128, 129).

Appendix 5 (cont.): The breeding womb.

of Jerusalem that she gains new insights into her own attitudes (Milton 40:14-16; 41:30-36, E. 141-42).

In this harmonising of mother roles, Blake has once again refused to countenance an absolute division into the good mother and the evil one. The dreadful image of Book I in which the Daughters of Zelophehad tramp upon the treddles of the Loom with feet covered with human gore (29:51-60, E. 128) gives way to the opening of Book II in which Beulah is seen by its inhabitants as a beloved child at the mother's bosom (30:10-12, E. 129). As Ololon weeps, in maternal anguish for the children of Jerusalem, Rahab and Tirzah appear and the casting off of the false Virgin side of Ololon's nature is accelerated, the resolution of error is achieved (Milton 40:15-17; 42:3-5, E. 141, 143). The good mother in her holy sympathy has become a power for good.

Appendix 6

Rahab has many faces: a supplement on other whore roles

In Songs of Experience, it is the priests who bind "with briars" joys and desires and free love is "with bondage bound" ("The GARDEN of LOVE", E. 26; "EARTH'S ANSWER", 1. 25, E. 19).

Whereas in times of Innocence children of Jesus ran free, now products of the imagination are called children of pollution Jerusalem 27:55, 20, E. 171, 172; 18:30-31, E. 163).

In the Pickering manuscript there are references to virgins who bear a golden net and to a maiden with a golden Key ("The Golden Net", E. 483; "The Crystal Cabinet", stanza 1, E. 488). The harlot in "Auguries of Innocence" (ll. 115-16, E. 492) weaves England's winding sheet and in Europe triumphant laughter is associated with the little female spreading nets (12:25-26, E. 64).

In "Mary", blight is associated with the life which does not spread love; in "London", it was cries and fear, curse and blight which were the consequences of misguided "two-fold" love (cf. Letter to Butts, 22 November, 1802, Letter 40, L.46) - cold face of love, warm face of love, each is self-centred, not self-giving, both are destructive to self and to others.

Sexuality is evil when it is accompanied by an illegitimate use of power: then the harlot, the virgin, the seducer, the rapist, the lecher are condemned. The London prostitute has the power to blight another's marriage; the brothels of France facilitate the spread of Pestilence; the Whore and the Gambler are allowed undue licence; a Dalila oppresses a Samson's soul ("LONDON", E. 27; "Let the Brothels of Paris be opened", E.

Appendix 6 (cont.): Rahab has many faces.

499-500; "Auguries of Innocence", E. 492; "SAMSON", E. 443).

In the Marriage (10:67, Plates 4 and 5, E. 34-36, 38), the Devil's view is that it is reason, not desire, that is ruinous to man:

Sooner murder an infant in its cradle than nurse unacted desires
(Plate 10)

Those who restrain desire, do so because theirs is weak enough to be restrained; (Plate 5)

Prisons are built with stones of Law, Brothels with bricks of Religion. (Proverbs of Hell, Plate 8)

This ironic view of the strength and the worth of desire and energy as opposed to reason and restraint is seen also in the Orc of America as he is given the strength to burst his chains by the patient seduction and care of the Shadowy Daughter (E. 51-52). Similarly, the "other woman" in the poem "William Bond" is shown as "ruddy" and "bright" exemplifying the energetic and the creative (E. 496-98).

In yet another thrust at the standards of a repressive society, Blake describes the Divine Hand as pushing back the sacrificial Mosaic law from the woman taken in adultery ("The

Appendix 6 (cont.): Rahab has many faces.

Everlasting Gospel", (f), E. 521-22).¹

The nameless Vortex, another Shadowy Female, embraces Orc's fire (FZ VII, p. 91(2):1-5, E. 363) and Enion, pictured elsewhere in the role of earnest mother, laments that passion and inspiration are associated with death and disease:² Experience is bought at too dear a price (FZ II, pp. 35, 36, E. 324-26). The drawings complementing these lines from the Second Night show a group of female figures all busily occupied - a suggestion of the same multiplicity of roles for woman.

The Shadow of Enitharmon identified as Mystery (and therefore associated with a Vala/Rahab element) tempts the Spectre of Los/Urthona (FZ VII, pp. 81 and 82, E. 356-58) and triumphant Rahab herself appears in delusive feminine pomp as she deserts Los for Urizen. She and Tirzah preside over the Crucifixion and weave mantles of despair (FZ VIII, p. 116:3-5, E. 382; VIII, p. 115:50, E. 381; VIII, p. 106[1]:1-2, E. 379; VIII, p. 113[1]:19, E. 376).

1. Cf. Michael J. Tolley, "William Blake's Use of the Bible in a Section of 'The Everlasting Gospel'," Notes and Queries, N.S. 9 (1962), 171-76. In referring to the Gospel incident of John viii, the author makes the point that the concluding words of Jesus ("Neither do I condemn thee: go, and sin no more") refer not simply that adultery of the woman but to the sin of turning love into deceit, a hypocritical way of life forced on her in a society advocating a prohibitive moral code of laws.

In a subsequent article the same author writes that Mary's sin is that of Blasphemy in that she has allowed the temple of love to be defiled.

Michael J. Tolley, "'Eden's Flood' Again," Notes and Queries, N.S. 15 (1968), 11-19.

²
Frye, Fearful Symmetry, p. 303.

Appendix 6 (cont.): Rahab has many faces.

In Milton, the Daughters of Albion are spoken of as having loins of fire, unapproachable, yet exhibiting wantonness amongst themselves, while the Daughters of Luvah indulge in the cruel sports of love: collectively whores (Milton 5:8-9. E. 98; 27:35-41, E. 125).

Rahab/Babylon (an aggressive "Sexual Machine" as one critic aptly puts it) is also "reasoning from the loins" (FZ II, p. 28:2, E. 318) a perversion of Beulah where woman is the handmaid of the Lord and of Eternity where there are no divisions into merely male or simply female.

Blake gives voice to his sense of the spiritual desolation of the age and to the denial of true Christianity as men are divided into punisher and punished, into priests and victims. Rahab creates Voltaire, Tirzah creates Rousseau and these two interchangeable feminine symbols of Moral Virtue pervert what is imaginative in Swedenborg's vision (Milton 22:41-52, E. 117-18).

In Milton 40 (E. 141-42; I.B. 46, p. 262; Easson 42), below the lines describing Rahab/Babylon's appearance, Milton is shown as striving against the "impossible absurdity" mentioned in line 13, or what Irene Tayler calls the "spectres of the night forest of his own vision". Erdman, in The Illuminated Blake (p.262), comments that the images of dragon and harlot are reduced to the domestic nuisance of barking dog and squawking fowl. They may be

3. Hagstrum, "Babylon Revisited", p. 111.

4. Lawrence Matthews, "The Value of the Saviour's Blood: the Idea of Atonement in Blake's Milton," Wascana Review, 15 (1980), 72-87, particularly, p. 79.

5. Tayler, "Say First!", p. 256.

Appendix 6 (cont.): Rahab has many faces.

seen as awakeners, just as a vision of the composite Jerusalem/Babylon figure had, in the previous plate, almost awakened Albion (39:46-50, E. 141).

In Milton also (10:3-9, E. 104), Enitharmon is seen playing the role of a harlot, "raving along the Streets", places associated with prostitutes and, weeping, she appears as an aged (mad) Woman. In this description she is reminiscent of an Enion crying that wisdom cannot be bought for a dance in the street and wandering blind and age bent in the deathful infinite, the dark deep (FZ II, p. 35:12; III, p. 46:8; II, p. 34:97, 100, E. 325, 331, 324). The mention of Streets is followed parenthetically by a reminder that the space is named Canaan - the ideal - but two lines (ll. 6-7) are set apart to assert that this Female Space shrinks the vision to the Finite (Milton 10:3-9, E. 104). There is an implied analogy to the "harlot coy" who increases her price by pretending to be a virgin: the Female Space continually retreats from the perceiver and a parallel with the courtly love convention is evident.⁶

Jerusalem shows the fullest development of the prostitute's powers if these be read as the vegetative influence as opposed to visionary aspiration:⁷ the Oppressors of Albion buy his Daughters that they may sell his Sons (Jerusalem 44:33, E. 193); all is governed by the "sweet delights of secret amorous glances" (16:59, E. 161) yet "[true] Humanity is far above sexual

6. Fox, "Female as Metaphor", p. 508, quoting Frye, "Notes for a Commentary on Milton", in de Sola Pinto, pp. 115-16.

7. Sloss and Wallis, Prophetic Writings, I, 441.

Appendix 6 (cont.): Rahab has many faces.

organization" (79:73, E. 236); those under the dominion of a jealous female will lack all the Minute Particulars of Life (88:43, E. 247).

In similar imagery to that used in "The Crystal Cabinet" (E. 488-89), Rahab consumes all who embrace her and in flames Vala is rent asunder from Jerusalem (70:17-31; 80:12-14, E. 224, 236). Plate 71:22-29 (E. 225-26) contains a catalogue of similarly evil women while Plate 75: 10-22, E. 230-31) describes the Female Males and Male Females concluding with mention of Rahab.

The Spectre himself is termed a Male Harlot by Vala and wants to build Babylon in pomp and glory and to people it (64:15, E. 215; 42:63-64, E. 190); reciprocally, Rahab and Tirzah create Kings and Nobles and their glories in Ulro (73:29-40, E. 228-29).

To Albion, obsessed with illusions of mortality, Jerusalem seems to be evil and his own daughters Harlots - and indeed they are seen as united with Rahab and Tirzah (Jerusalem 21:18-27, E. 166-167; 42:14-15., E. 189; 5:37-42, E. 148; 67:2, E. 220; 69:33, E. 223; 80:39-40, E. 237; 84:29-30, E. 243).

Reuben, one of the sons of Los and identified as the average sensual man, is sent constantly to seek Tirzah little realising that soft affections may condense into cruel powers, that disease may form a body of Death and that love may be drawn into infernal bondage (32:1-7; 9:26-27; 9:9-19; 69:9, E. 178; 152, 223).

Reuben, in turn, may be the means of seducing the Daughters of Albion who admire his beauty (74:33-37, E. 230).

Albion, in Generation, is no better a judge of the worth of woman: he is unable to distinguish between the worth of

Appendix 6 (cont.): Rahab has many faces.

Jerusalem, Bride of the Lamb, and Vala of the Scarlet Veil (20:40; 22:32; 21:50, E. 166;168; 167). Consequently, as Plate 25 (I.B. 304) shows, Gwendolen, Tirzah and Rahab have complete dominion over fallen man.⁸

Jerusalem also acknowledges that when harlotry's side of freezing chastity emerges triumphant, sexual gratification may be displaced into generalised aggression - War (7:20; 18:16-20; 21:42-47; 22:34-35; 68:63-64, E. 149; 163; 167; 168; 222). Blake held that "The Moral Virtues are continual Accusers of Sin & promote Eternal Wars and Domineering over others" (Annotations to Berkley's Siris, p. 215, E. 664). Hence, commented Sloss and Wallis, Corporeal War is commonly associated with the feminine and spectrous symbols as the destructive operation of Morality and Empiricism.⁹ Mental or Visionary War, on the contrary, expresses the activities of the perfect visionary state or the imaginative individual's struggle against error. Jerusalem 21:42-47 (E. 167) emphasises the connection between the "False Female": and "Corporeal War". As Fallen Vala and Rahab form an alliance with Urizen he may re-direct the sexual energy so aroused into warfare (FZ VIII, p. 105:5-30, E. 378). Brothers and sisters will verily live in War and Lust (Song of Los, 4:6, E. 68).

Woman may obscure the Divine Vision if there is an emphasis on the physical. Three women clustering around the Cross may

8. Wicksteed, Jerusalem, p. 155.

9. Sloss and Wallis, Prophetic Writings, I, 354.

Appendix 6 (cont.): Rahab has many faces.

obscure the veil-rending significance of the Crucifixion (Jerusalem 56:39-43, E. 206). Within the system of Moral Virtue, woman may weave a tabernacle for Moral Law, a self-righteous code of ethics associated with Mystery's deadly Tree which will annihilate Liberty in shame and jealousy, figuratively embalming Albion's body and shaping his behaviour towards "Virtue" (28:15, 27; 88:19; 80:27; E. 174, 247, 236).

Erdman, speaking on altered passages in Jerusalem, suggests that the design for Plate 28 was changed so that the reader could not assume that the two figures were copulating, and he posits the theory that Blake was responding to his age's disapproval of free love.¹⁰ Plate 75, as Jerusalem draws to a close, shows woman herself entangled in serpent-like surrounds; these Damon calls the "Warfare of moral virtue",¹¹ Tayler calls "the fallen life of the divided sexes",¹² and Erdman views as a scaly Rahab, an erroneous, yet revealed form of creation. (I.B. 354).

The best critics are still searching for words to describe the manysided "whore" which Blake comprehended.

¹⁰ Erdman, "Suppressed Passages", pp. 1-54.

¹¹ Damon, William Blake, p. 473.

¹² Tayler, "Say First!", p. 243,

Appendix 7

Not called servants or slaves: a supplement on roles of service
(pp. 223-261). (John 15:15).

Even in Blake's early poetry the position of servant or slave is used more colourfully than mere description or narrative line demands: in "King Edward the Third", Sir Thomas Dagworth - "a hero to the servants of his house" (3:185, E. 431) - speaks of blood flowing like streams across meadows in the service of his country ("King Edward" 5:54-56, E. 436-37), while in the same work, Sir John Chandos speaks of the spirit of Liberty:

Give but a slave his liberty, he'll shake
Off sloth, and build himself a hut, and hedge
A spot of ground; this he'll defend; 'tis his
By right of nature: thus set in action,
He will still move onward to plan conveniences,
'Till glory fires his breast to enlarge his castle,
While the poor slave drudges all day, in hope
To rest at night.
("King Edward" 3:196-203, E. 431)

Blake argues for the positive ideal that freedom releases creative energy.

Tiriel reflects the futility of imposing one's own expectations on others or casting them into a servant role they do not wish to adopt. Tiriel, approaching death, calls his sons "accursed race" and the sons reciprocate by crying: "Were we not slaves till we rebeld" (I:6, 16, E. 276). In turn Tiriel is used by Ijim: "Ay now thou art discovered I will use thee like a slave" (4:24, E. 280).

Blake strengthens this encapsulation of futile subservience by replacing the word "child" with the word "slave" when Hela, who has been pressed into the service of Tiriel, cries:

Appendix 7 (cont.): Not called servants or slaves.

O Leagued with evil spirits thou accursed man of sin
True I was born thy [child del.] slave...
(6:13-14, E. 283, K. 107)

Other references indicate a sense of man enslaved: under Urizen, the human race is slave to the Elements (The Song of Los 3:14, E. 67); Oothoon, should she adopt Theotormon's hypocritical modesty, would seem to be the "crafty slave of selfish holiness" (VDA 6:20, E. 50) and become as are the powerless Daughters of Albion - enslaved (VDA 1:1, E. 45) either to Moral Virtue or to Transgression (VLJ p. 92, E. 564; "My Spectre O'er me:[Postscript]", 2:7, E. 477).

In critical discussions of Visions of the Daughters of Albion, Bromion is often likened to the slave trader of the day and Oothoon an object for his possession and use. ¹ Moreover, in one broader study, the writer likens the Enitharmon of Night Two of The Four Zoas to an industrial slave who in turn wishes to bind down the male as "slave" to her female will ² (FZ II, p. 30: 30-31, E. 320).

Additionally, a country may be enslaved: in America there are lines which speak of running from fetters and out into fields; of chains loosening and dungeons opening (Plate 6, E. 53, 15:23-25, E. 57); in The French Revolution reference is made to "strength madden'd by slavery" and to spirits "inslav'd" (p. 11: 214, 228, E. 295, 296); these - together with an annotation to an

1. Dennis Welch, "In the Throes of Eros: Blake's Early Career," Mosaic, 11 (1978), 101-13.

2. Aers, "The Dialectics of Sex," p. 509.

Appendix 7 (cont.): Not called servants or slaves.

anti-revolutionary sentiment of Reynolds, and a deleted reference to Lafayette of the "selfish, slavish fears" - are representative of Blake's enthusiasm at the time for change in France (Annotations to Reynolds, p. ciii, E. 641; "Who will exchange his own fire side", E. 500, 862).

Occasionally Blake's references to the serving role occur simply as vocational or occupational terms: in light-hearted fashion, for example, in An Island in the Moon when Miss Gittipin so obviously envies Miss Filligree her maids and her black servants (E. 457); when the servant in the song of Obtuse Angle is sent to Green the Bricklayer (E. 461) or when the maid in the house of Inflammable Gass is loaded with glasses, brass tubes and magic pictures (E. 462). Alternatively the usage is not flippant or ironical but merely situational: Fair Elenor's maids await her ("Fair Elenor", l. 37, E. 412); the Good Parson of the Descriptive Catalogue serves all and is served by none (E. 535); Mary Green offers to be servant to William's wife ("William Bond" ll. 21-24, E. 497); God is the Servant of Man (Annotations to Thornton, E. 669), and a king but His slave (Annotations to Bacon, E. 624).

Some acknowledgements of hierarchical relationships are merely poetical or allegorical: Death as Samson's servant ("Samson", E. 443); Goddess Fortune as the devil's servant (On Blake's Illustrations to Dante, E. 689); man as the slave of each moment ("Contemplation", E. 442); the Philosopher the servant and scholar of inspiration (Descriptive Catalogue, p. 24, E. 537); self-righteousness which does the God which is Satan service (VLJ, p. 92, E. 565).

Appendix 7 (cont.): Not called servants or slaves

tormenting the horses (7:18, 27, 33, 40; 8:3, E. 100-01); Palamabron, however, is hardly successful in the reciprocal task of controlling the servants in the Mills of Satan (8:4, 8,12, E. 101). Satan, conversely, has the strength to compel others to serve him, a trait which Leutha saw also in Elynittria (11:11; 12:14, E. 104, 105).

Milton contains incidental references relating to service: Whitefield and Wesley are called God's servants; Joseph is shown as being in the care of his nurse when he was sold into slavery; Blake's passage on States and Individuals contrasts the tyranny of Satan's chains of imprisonment with the freedom inherent in the concept of Servants of Humanity; Luvah's black and shining harness is kept by black slaves; and the description of Bowlahoola includes the need to ameliorate the sorrows of slavery (22:61, E. 118; 24:17-18, E. 120; 32:16-21, E. 132; 21:21, E.115; 24:60-61, E. 121).

Enion had lamented over the sorrows of the material world (FZ II, p. 35:1 - 36:13, E. 324-25) but the Shadowy Female of Milton howls in fear at the approach of the prophet for this may signal a new order. Although sad in posture in the marginal illustration (I.B.236; Easson, p. 177), her words are not a lament over the world of experience (as were Enion's and Vala's in Jerusalem 20:15, E. 165) but a promise of tribulations in store for Milton:

I will lament over Milton in the lamentations of the afflicted

There shall be the sick Father & his starving Family! there
The Prisoner in the Dungeon & the Slave at the Mill

...

(Milton 18:5-25, E. 111)

Appendix 7 (cont.): Not called servants or slaves.

Enion would have the world freed of enslaving ills; the Shadowy Female would use these to impede Milton.

I will conclude this supplement with some discussion of Blake's illustrations to Stedman's Narrative, mentioned briefly above, for despite the influence of Stedman's own style, tone and drawings, these present a comprehensive depiction by Blake of an enslaved people.

Blake engraved "Group of Negroes, as imported to be sold for Slaves" (XXII, opp. p. 117) after Stedman's own illustration, an eyewitness account of what he saw during a walk around Paramaribo while recovering from a fever:

They were a drove of newly-imported negroes, men and women, with a few children, who were just landed from on board a Guinea ship that lay at anchor in the roads, to be sold for slaves. The whole party was such a set of scarcely animated automations [sic], such a resurrection of skin and bones ... walking skeletons covered with a piece of tanned leather.³

Stedman qualifies this description by citing instances of exceptions to inhumane treatment with the result that those to be sold or, more properly, "bartered" arrive "healthy in the West Indies". In his second volume Stedman reveals that those of whom it could be said "their skin cleaveth to their bones" are put into the care of older negroes until they "become fat and sleek".

In his illustration, Blake has emphasised not the horrors of such an arrival but the alert bearing, the bright not downcast

3. Stedman, pp. 111, 113, 369.

Appendix 7 (cont.): Not called servants or slaves.

eyes, and the affection evident in the mothering stance of the females with children. Blake has looked to the potential evident even in those destined for slavery, and allowed the beauty of their natural state to speak for itself.

This is in contrast to a group of three plates not signed by Blake but thought to be by him. Plate IV, "A Female Negro Slave, with a Weight chained to her Ankle" (opp. p.20), although gesturing towards a gleaming eye and a well-rounded body form, presents not only the external trappings of slavery in the tattered garb and the weighted chain but the traditionally stooped posture of the oppressed. Plate VIII (opp. p. 37), entitled variously "Joanna" or "A Female Mulatto", takes the depiction one step further as the girl's clothing more resembles western style dress with the notable detail of one bared breast. There is a sense of incongruity, not present in Stedman's account of the Joanna who would bear his son, in the merging of the natural with ostensible civilization, and this is more evident again in Plate XXXII (following p. 164) in "Female Quadroon Slave of Surinam" where, apart from the bare feet, the young woman is transformed into a replica of the mode of the day. One interesting feature of these three plates is that in the first, the most natural presentation, the head is covered only by the weight attached to the chain.

Joanna, however, moves closer to western thought about the dangers of the burning sun as she waves a hat before her; the female quadroon holds her head covering firmly in place, mirroring the background detail in which a third female is shaded by an attendant extending a sunshade over her.

Appendix 7 (cont.): Not called servants or slaves.

Blake's sense of sympathy for the plight of the female slave is never more evident than in his "Flagellation of a Female Samboe Slave" (Plate XXXV, opp. p. 181). The hostile gesture of the overseers and the threatening whips of those who are to inflict what Stedman considers in his commentary unmerited and excessive punishment contrast with the helpless beauty of the victim. The passage in Stedman is horrifying as he describes how he had to leave "the detestable monster, like a beast of prey, to enjoy his blood feast".⁴ Blake's engraving is the more evocative of outraged feeling as he catches the beauty of the yet unbroken skin and the attitude of anticipatory anguish, rather than presenting the drooping head and flayed skin conspicuous in Stedman's account.

Although Blake's illustration of "A Surinam Planter in his Morning Dress" (Plate XLIX, opp. p. 252) points to the absurdity of assumed style, the perspective in Blake's engraving of the background figure of a serving female makes a statement about the relative power of the planter and the female quadroon slave from whom he receives the glass of Madeira wine and water to refresh himself during his morning walk.⁵ The female slave is depicted as much smaller than true proportion would suggest and with eyes fixed firmly on the overwhelming figure before her holds his glass at arm's length and drags, in apparent reluctance and reticence, the foot that would next move towards him.

4. Stedman, pp. 177-78.

5. Stedman, pp. 252-53.

Appendix 7 (cont.): Not called servants or slaves.

This representation is in direct contrast to that which occurs in Blake's "Family of Negro Slaves from Loango"(Plate LXVIII, opp. p. 364). Within the context of the family the female, with one infant carried on her back and another clutching at her skirt, with pipe alight in her mouth and left hand pointing towards the male in a calm and open gesture, does not appear to be of lower status or fearing demeanour. Her left foot springs from the ground towards the father figure in a gesture of the mutual sharing of food resources, the female character being of smaller stature but not symbolically diminished. Stedman himself merely mentions the marking of the skin of this tribe,⁶ and thus Blake has the opportunity to create both a sense of family unity and a feeling of male/female equality and consequent lack of status sanctions.

Stedman's comments on his emblematical picture of the continents are applicable to Blake's engraving after Stedman ("Europe supported by, Africa &, America", Plate LXXX, following p. 436):

Going now to take my leave of Surinam, after all the horrors and cruelties with which I must have hurt both the eye and the heart of the feeling reader, I will close the scene with an emblematical picture of Europe supported by Africa and America, accompanied by an ardent wish that in the friendly manner as they are represented, they may henceforth and to all eternity

6. Stedman, p. 360.

Appendix 7 (cont.): Not called servants or slaves.

be the props of each other. I might have included Asia, but this I omitted, as having no connection with the present narrative: we only differ in colour, but are certainly all created equal by the same Hand. Thus if it has not pleased fortune to make us equal in rank and authority, let us at least use the superiority we possess with moderation, and not only proffer that happiness which we have to bestow on our equals, but let us extend it with cheerfulness to the lowest of our deserving dependants. (Narrative, p.435) ⁷

Stedman's biographers concede that his Narrative exemplifies the best thinking of the Rational Man of Blake's day; Blake brings the dimension that Poetic Genius is the true Man (All Religions Are One, E. 1). Both point to the plight of enslaved man.

7. See Erdman in Frye, Blake (20th Century Views), pp. 92-93. Erdman points out that, notwithstanding that roses blooming auspiciously at the feet of the three sisters embracing one another tenderly, there is a difference between this pictured relationship of Europe supported by her darker sisters and the "ardent wish" expressed in Stedman's text for absolute equality. Aside from the differences between the pearls and the slave bracelets, and despite the fact that all three are linked by hand clasp, the gaze of each of the three is turned away from the others.

Social psychologists of today would say that these "Three Graces" are not yet ready for communication!

Appendix 8

Eighteenth-century journal articles of relevance to a consideration of feminine roles in Blake's time.

<u>TITLE</u>	<u>ISSUE</u>	<u>SUBJECT MATTER</u>
<u>The Adventurer</u> , No. 7, Tuesday, November, 1752: an eloping daughter.	No. 25, Tuesday, January 1753: slave/nurse roles. Nos. 77-79, Tuesday, July 31, 1753: orphan daughter put out by an uncle, taken in by a servant. No. 82, Saturday, August 18, 1753: the "good" and the "lovely". No. 134, Saturday, February 16, 1754: the prostitute as the "enslaved".	
<u>The Connoisseur</u> , No. 22, Thursday, June 27, 1754: mothers educate daughters.	No. 25, Thursday, July 18, 1754: women fond of ornament. No. 51, Thursday, January 16, 1755: debauchery of tradesmen's daughters. No. 60, Thursday, March 20, 1755: extension of housewifely education to whist and card-playing. No. 74, Thursday, June 26, 1755: modesty in men and women. No. 85, Thursday, September 11, 1755: scale of virtue. No. 98, Thursday, December 11, 1755: a wife's good nature towards domestics. No. 103, Thursday, January 15, 1756: an over-clean wife. No. 123, Thursday, June 23, 1756: children in the Foundling Hospital.	
<u>The Guardian</u> , No. 4, Monday, March 16, 1713: authoresses.	No. 7, Thursday, March 19, 1713: marriage and importunity. No. 17, Tuesday, March 31, 1713: marriages for a mother's sake. No. 26, Friday April 10, 1713: "the ladies": virtue as a true dowry. No. 45, Saturday, May 2, 1713: Fortune denominates vice and virtue. No. 57, Saturday, May 16, 1713: a daughter's duty to her parents. No. 64, Monday, May 25, 1713: Susan, the "old maid". No. 72: Wednesday, June 3, 1713: women's "often-boisterous passions".	

Appendix 8: Eighteenth-century journals (cont.)

The Guardian, No. 73, Thursday, June 4, 1713: daughter dutiful to father.
No. 87, Saturday, June 20, 1713: maidservant and her love.
No. 100, Monday, July 6, 1713: modesty "reinstates widow in her virginity".
No. 109, Thursday, July 16, 1713: women reply to article on their dress.
No. 113, Tuesday, July 21, 1713: a new wife.
No. 118, Monday, July 27, 1713: on modesty of dress.
No. 132, Wednesday, August 12, 1713: a maidservant.
No. 147, Saturday, August 29, 1713: cost of marriage - and alternatives.
No. 149, Tuesday, September 1, 1713: ladies' "genius" in dress.
No. 150, Wednesday, September 2, 1713: motherhood.
No. 152, Friday, September 4, 1713: an allegory of female beauty.
No. 155, Tuesday, September 8, 1713: women and learning.
No. 159, Saturday, September 12, 1713: the maidservant role.
No. 168, Wednesday, September 23, 1713: Proverbial "mistress", virtuous woman.
No. 174, Wednesday, September 30, 1713: ladies gaming: an emulation of manhood.

The Idler, No. 12, Saturday, July 1, 1758: virtuous sisters.
No. 15, Saturday, July 22, 1758: the employed girl.
No. 29, Saturday, November 4, 1758: the under-maid.
No. 46, Saturday, March 3, 1759: maidservants.
No. 80, Saturday, October 27, 1759: need for a mind.
No. 100, Saturday, March 15, 1760: the good woman: over-orderly and orderly.

The Rambler, No. 12, Saturday, April 28, 1750: servant.
No. 15, Tuesday, May 8, 1750: daughter "sold off" by aunt.
No. 18, Saturday, May 19, 1750: wife.
No. 34, Saturday, July 14, 1750: woman stereotype: mistakes cowardice for elegance, delicacy as refusing to be pleased.
No. 35, Tuesday, July 17, 1750: daughter colludes with parents.
No. 39, Tuesday, July 31, 1750: a marriage of economy.
No. 42, Saturday, August 11, 1750: the boredom of country life.
No. 51, Tuesday, September 11, 1750: daughter and country occupations.
No. 55, Tuesday, September 25, 1750: widow rejects her daughter.

Appendix 8: Eighteenth-century journals (cont.)

The Rambler, No. 62, Saturday, October 20, 1750: a bored country daughter.

No. 84, Saturday, January 5, 1751: peer influence on the daughter's duties.

No. 97, Tuesday, February 19, 1751: days of courtship.

No. 138, Saturday, July 13, 1751: daughter trained by widow to farm tasks.

No. 170-71, Saturday November 2, Tuesday, November 5, 1751: on prostitution.

The Spectator, No. 4, Monday, March 5, 1710-11: chastity and good nature contrasted with "thoughtless creatures".

No. 10, Monday, March 12, 1710-11: women's amusements.

No. 15, Saturday, March 17, 1710-11: conversation of women concerned with outside appearance.

No. 33, Saturday, April 7, 1710-11: daughters categorised.

No. 36, Wednesday, April 11, 1710-11: widow takes in birds to teach them human sounds.

No. 37, Thursday, April 12, 1710-11: widow's love of books.

No. 41, Tuesday, April 17, 1711: features should be enlivened by cheerfulness of mind, not art.

No. 45, Saturday 21, 1711: French fopperies for females.

No. 51, Saturday, April 28, 1711: Theatre too gross for ladies' modesty and delicacy.

No. 66, Wednesday, May 16, 1711: general mistakes in educating daughters.

No. 79, Thursday, May 31, 1711: minds of women more liable to illusion.

No. 81, Saturday, June 2, 1711: "patches" on women's faces.

No. 91, Thursday, June 14, 1711: mother and daughter rivalry.

No. 95, Tuesday, June 19, 1711: females not wanting in wit, judgment but in application of these.

No. 99, Saturday, June 23, 1711: great point of honour: in women, chastity.

No. 104, Friday, June 29, 1711: Riding habit in women deplored.

No. 113, Tuesday, July 10, 1711: slave to a widow.

No. 123, Saturday, July 21, 1711: father unable to raise motherless daughter satisfactorily.

No. 128, Friday July 27, 1711: woman's nature as more gay and joyous.

No. 137, Tuesday, August 7, 1711: slaves and servants.

No. 155, Tuesday, August 28, 1711: house-servant.

No. 156, Wednesday, August 29, 1711: woman wants to be "Dear Deceiver".

Appendix 8: Eighteenth-century journals (cont.)

- The Spectator, No. 163, Thursday, September 6, 1711: having money is in a man being acceptable.
- No. 181, Thursday, September 27, 1711: daughter feels father's displeasure.
- No. 182, Friday, September 28, 1711: female apprentices.
- No. 187, Thursday, October 4, 1711: daughter is a "jilt".
- No. 190, October 8, 1711: girl seduced into a brothel.
- No. 194, Friday, October 12, 1711: wife's behaviour.
- No. 199, Thursday, October 18, 1711: importance of money in a wife.
- No. 204, Wednesday, October 24, 1711: slave.
- No. 205: Thursday, October 25, 1711: "improvements".
- No. 208, Monday, October 29, 1711: apprentices.
- No. 246, Wednesday, December 12, 1711: child put out to nurse.
- No. 252, Wednesday, December 19, 1711: daughter as reluctant bride.
- No. 254, Friday, December 21, 1711: concern to "please the man I love".
- No. 263, Tuesday, January 1, 1711-12: mother.
- No. 266, Friday, January 4, 1711-12: fallen whore.
- No. 276, Wednesday, January 16, 1711-12: wife and daughter read journals.
- No. 278, Friday, January 18, 1711-12: wife as shopkeeper.
- No. 290, Friday, February 1, 1711-12: mother.
- No. 295, Thursday, February 7, 1711-12: slave.
- No. 302, Friday, February 15, 1711-12: virtuous Emilia.
- No. 311, Tuesday, February 26, 1711-12: father of an heiress.
- No. 314, Friday, February 29, 1711-12: father locks up daughter.
- No. 320, Friday, March 7, 1711-12: female governs domestic life.
- No. 326, Friday, March 14, 1711-12: father secures daughter.
- No. 342, Wednesday, April 1, 1712: utmost of woman's life is the domestic.
- No. 366, Wednesday, April 30, 1712: chambermaid.
- No. 431, Tuesday, July 15, 1711-12: governess not to cross the child.
- No. 433, Thursday, July 17, 1712: women and men live in reference to each other.
- No. 437, Tuesday, July 22, 1712: mother sacrifices daughter in marriage.
- No. 448, Monday, August 4, 1712: father of heiress, oversecure.
- No. 449, Tuesday, August 5, 1712: daughter's filial respect.

Appendix 8: Eighteenth-century journals (cont.)

- The Spectator, No. 482, Friday, September 12, 1712: mother cossets son.
No. 492, Wednesday, September 24, 1712: "modest" girls ignored.
No. 506, Friday, October 10, 1712: learning as an advantage which man has over woman.
No. 510, Wednesday, October 15, 1712: slave role.
No. 522, Wednesday, October, 15, 1712: virtuous disposition, good understanding, agreeable person, easy fortune as requirements for marriage.
No. 534, Wednesday, November 12, 1712: "What ought a daughter do?"
No. 539, Tuesday, November 18, 1712: parent/daughter.
No. 561, Wednesday, June 30, 1712: widow's conditions for being a wife.
No. 566, Monday, July 12, 1712: he secures her maid.
No. 605, Monday, October 11, 1712: daughter asks advice about suitors.
No. 607, Friday, October 15, 1712: marriage, discretion, virtue, good nature.
No. 608, Monday, October 18, 1712: housemaid turned away.
No. 609, Wednesday, October 20, 1712: maid.
No. 611, Monday, October 25, 1712: parents will not take daughter back.
No. 614, Monday, November 1, 1712: daughter shut away till widow marries.

- The Tatler, No. 2, Thursday, April 14, 1709: wife as a scold.
No. 7, Tuesday, April 26, 1709: coquets and females of wit.
No. 10, Tuesday, May 3, 1709: beauty as a softening influence.
No. 15, Saturday, May 14, 1709: mothers refuse to suckle children.
No. 23, Thursday, June 2, 1709: a husband and his firm stance with his wife's illness.
No. 27, Saturday, June 11, 1709: the coquette.
No. 30, Saturday, June 18, 1709: woman chooses careless above the constant.
No. 32, Thursday, June 23, 1709: Intellectuals or Platonic ladies.
No.33, Saturday, June 25, 1709: mothers, daughters, sisters, wives.
No. 40, Tuesday, July 12, 1709: triviality of marriage decried.
No. 42, Saturday, July 16, 1709: Shakespeare's woman: free thinkers.
No. 49, Tuesday, August 2, 1709: love and lust.
No. 52, Tuesday, August 9, 1709: women as careful in economy and chaste in affections.

Appendix 8: Eighteenth-century journals (cont.)

- The Tatler, No. 53, Thursday, August 11, 1709: "the civil husband": the rewards of wifely duty.
- No. 61, Tuesday, August 30, 1709: well-bred women as acting their age.
- No. 68, Thursday, September 15, 1709: the fair sex have a more delicate humanity.
- No. 69, Saturday, September 17, 1709: two friends wish to marry the one man.
- No. 75, Saturday, October 1, 1709: prescription for a wife.
- No. 79, Tuesday, October 11, 1709: a wife as above trifles.
- No. 95, Thursday, November 17, 1709: charms transferred to a daughter.
- No. 104, Thursday, December 8, 1709: decent matron-like behaviour.
- No. 107, Thursday, December 15, 1709: the coquette: her imperfections.
- No. 114, Saturday, December 31, 1709: daughters and mothers.
- No. 116, Thursday, January 28, 1709-10: the cause of the petticoat.
- No. 120, Saturday, January 14, 1709-10: a fantasy on love.
- No. 126, Saturday, January 28, 1709-10: women of good sense.
- No. 145, Tuesday, March 14, 1709-10: the coquette.
- No. 147, Saturday, March 18, 1709-10: the good wife.
- No. 149, Thursday, March 23, 1709-10: the ill-treated wife.
- No. 151, Tuesday, March 28, 1710: fashion in women.
- No. 157, Tuesday, April 11, 1710: a "musical" array of women.
- No. 172, Tuesday, May 16, 1710: the prudent woman.
- No. 184, Tuesday, June 13, 1710: sisters and wives.
- No. 188, Thursday, June 22, 1710: education of children.
- No. 192, Saturday, July 1, 1710: marriages which last.
- No. 199, Tuesday, July 18, 1710: on marriages.
- No. 200, Thursday, July 20, 1710: raising the fortunes of ten young ladies.
- No. 201, Saturday, July 22, 1710: the mind of a woman.
- No. 210, Saturday, August 12, 1710: a woman's day.
- No. 212, Thursday, August 17, 1710: a well-dressed woman.
- No. 217, Tuesday, August 29, 1710: "scolds".
- No. 221, Thursday, September 7, 1710: more on scolds.
- No. 223, Tuesday, September 12, 1710: daughters and settlements.
- No. 247, Tuesday, November 7, 1710: a judgment on a lover.

Appendix 8: Eighteenth-century journals (cont.)

The Tatler, No. 248, Thursday, November 9, 1710: ladies - lazy
and busy.

No. 261, Saturday, December 9, 1710: money for
bastards.

Notes

Chapter 1, the Introduction, pp. 1-22.

1. Piloo Nanavutty, "She Shall Be Called Woman," in The Divine Vision, ed. V. de Sola Pinto (London: Gollancz, 1957), pp.185-89.

2. William Blake, The Poetry and Prose, ed. David V. Erdman, with a commentary by Harold Bloom, newly revised ed. (New York: Anchor Books, 1982), is the edition cited throughout, abbreviated as E.

When reference is needed to The Complete Writings of William Blake, ed. Geoffrey Keynes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), this edition is abbreviated as K.

The Letters of William Blake, ed. Geoffrey Keynes, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), is abbreviated as L.

The Illuminated Blake, annotated by David V. Erdman (London: Oxford University Press, 1975), is abbreviated as I.B.

Blake, Songs of Innocence and of Experience, with an introduction and commentary by Geoffrey Keynes (Oxford University Press in association with The Trianon Press, 1972), is abbreviated as T., as is the Trianon edition of The Marriage of Heaven and Hell.

Other editions and selections of Blake's works which have been used are given in the list of abbreviations, (viii-ix), with the short form used in the body of this dissertation.

3. Some readings of Blake and/or the concept of androgyny include:

S. Foster Damon, A Blake Dictionary, with a new index by Morris Eaves (London: Thames & Hudson, 1979), pp. 5, 182, which contains a brief discussion on androgyny and on hermaphroditism.

J. G. Davies, The Theology of William Blake (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948), pp. 96-97, where Davies explores the thought that man was originally androgynous.

Bram Dijkstra, "The Androgyne in 19th-century Art and Literature," Comparative Literature, 26, No. 1 (Winter 1974), 62-73, which includes references to the heroines of Samuel Richardson and proposes the art representations of his times and later as a revolt against the absolute opposites proposed by the middle class.

Thomas Frosch, "Blake's Composite Art," a review of the book of the same title by W. J. T. Mitchell, in Blake: an Illustrated Quarterly, 13, No.1 (Summer 1979), 46 and passim.

Diane L. Hoeveler, "The Erotic Apocalypse: the Androgynous Ideal in Blake and Shelley," Diss. University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign 1976, particularly chapters two and three which deal with Blake and the process of androgynous re-integration.

Carolyn C. Heilbrun, "Androgyny and the Psychology of Sex Differences", in The Future of Difference, ed. Hester Eisenstein (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1980), pp. 256-66, in which the writer comments on transsexualism as a possible answer to stereotypical roles.

Notes to chapter 1, the Introduction, pp. 1-22 (continued).

Kathryn Kremen, The Imagination of the Resurrection (Lewisburg: Bucknell University, 1972), p. 227, who notes that in Blake's Eden male and female were joined in harmony.

June Singer, Androgyny: towards a New Theory of Sexuality (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1977), by the author of a Jungian analysis of Blake; and The Unholy Bible: a Psychological Interpretation of William Blake (New York: G. P. Putnam, 1970).

4. The classic formulation of role concepts comes from the social-anthropological tradition, according to Erving Goffman, in his Encounters: Two Studies in the Sociology of Interaction (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1961), but an early definitive text is that of Bruce J. Biddle and Edwin J. Thomas, Role Theory: Concepts and Research (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1966).

Other references useful in forming an appreciation of the concept of role include:

Australian Frontier: Consultation Report, Adapting to Meet the Changing Role of Women in Society: papers presented, Sydney, 26-27 November, 1975.

Michael F. Banton, Roles: an Introduction to the Study of Social Relations ([London]: Tavistock, 1965).

R. L. Boot et al., Behavioural Sciences for Managers (Melbourne: Edward Arnold, 1979), from which terms applicable to sub-categories of role behaviours may be drawn.

Cary L. Cooper, Psychology and Management (London: Macmillan, 1981), for integration of status, position and role.

Ralph Linton, "Status and Role," in Sociological Theory: a Book of Readings, ed. Lewis A. Coser and Bernard Rosenberg, 2nd ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1964), pp. 358-63, which differentiates the terms "roles" and "positions".

Elizabeth Janeway, Man's World, Woman's Place (New York: William Morrow, 1971), a modern situational commentary.

Personality, Roles and Social Behaviour, ed. William Ickes and Eric S. Knowles (New York: Springer-Verlag, 1982), which builds on the work of Biddle to include an examination of Gemeinschaft (Community or unity) and Gesellschaft (society, separateness or individuality).

Ralph Ruddock, Roles and Relationships (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972), which speaks of "ontological security" and the conflict of role expectations.

Louis A. Zurcher, Social Roles: Conformity, Conflict and Creativity (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1983), which incorporates an introduction to learning and enacting roles.

Florian Znaniecki, Social Relations and Social Roles (San Francisco: Chandler, 1965).

In addition to the list given in Appendix A, an explanation of such terms as role performance, role expectations, role conflict, and role reversal will be incorporated into the thesis when there is a need to clarify their use.

Notes to chapter 1, the Introduction, pp. 1-22 (continued).

5. Lucy de Bruyn, Woman and the Devil in Sixteenth-Century Literature (Wiltshire: Compton Press Bear Book, 1979), p. 151.

6. In addition to Mario Praz, The Romantic Agony, trans. Angus Davidson, 2nd ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), who uses the terms "the Fatal Woman" and "the Persecuted Woman", writers who have apprehended this fragmentation of the essence of woman in the works of the Romantics include:

Humphry House, in his "Kubla Kahn, Christabel and Dejection", writing of Coleridge's enigmatic Geraldine in Romanticism and Consciousness, ed. H. Bloom (New York: Norton, 1970), pp. 305-25.

Thomas MacFarland, Romanticism and the Forms of Ruin (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1981), pp. 20 ff.

Erich Neumann, The Great Mother (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970), p. 34, n. 18, speaking of the Romantics' obsession with the mother archetype who overpowers the anima.

J. J. Spector, "Delacroix's 'Fatal Mother'," Art Magazine, 55 (January 1981), 156, 160, notes 10, 41, which comment on the Romantics' misogyny as the female-dominated Salons of the eighteenth century gave way under the Napoleonic Code Civil of 1804 to a patriarchal trend.

E. Sanzo, "Blake and the Great Mother Archetype," The Nassau Review, 3 (1978), 106, where she discusses Keats' Belle Dame as seductive and deceptive.

Paul Sheats, on the topic of Wordsworth's powerful victim Martha Ray, T. S. Eliot mentioning Byron's Haidée as seducer, and Earl R. Wassermann considering Shelley's tragic, vengeful Beatrice Cecil - all in English Romantic Poets, ed. M.H. Abrams (London: Oxford University Press, 1975), pp. 144, 271, 397 and see also pp. 202-03, 310, 438, 443 for additional reading.

S. McK. Webster, "Circumscription and the Female in the Early Romantics," Philological Quarterly, 61, No. 1 (Winter 1982), 51-70.

On the other hand, Brian Wilkie points to Shelley's heroine Cythna as having been given a separate but equal heroic role: "Epic Irony in Milton," in Blake's Visionary Forms Dramatic, ed. David V. Erdman and John E. Grant (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1970), p. 368.

7. Irene Tayler, "Metamorphoses of a Favorite Cat," in Blake's Visionary Forms Dramatic, ed. D. V. Erdman and John E. Grant, pp. 285-303.

8. The two quotations are from Mary Hays, Letters and Essays: Moral and Miscellaneous (1793; rpt. New York: Garland, 1974), p. 20, and Mary Hays, Appeal to the Men of Great Britain on Behalf of Woman (1798; rpt. New York: Garland, 1974, p.135, respectively.

Notes to chapter 1, the Introduction, pp. 1-22 (continued).

However, similar sentiments were expressed, although with less rhetoric, by Mary Wollstonecraft in her A Vindication of the Rights of Women, ed. Miriam Kramnick (1792; rpt. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978), one feminist evaluation of which is contained in "The Rights and Wrongs of Women: Mary Wollstonecraft, Harriet Martineau, Simone de Beauvoir," in The Rights and Wrongs of Women, ed. Juliet Mitchell and Ann Oakley (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979), ch. 11, pp. 304-78.

9. Elaine Showalter, "Literary Criticism," Signs 1, No. 2 (Winter 1975), 435-50, mentioning among other theories what has followed Kate Millett's pioneering Sexual Politics (New York: Doubleday, 1970).

Josephine Donovan, "Afterword: Critical Re-Vision," in Feminist Literary Criticism (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1975), p. 74, and, in the same collection, p. 2 in the article by Cheri Register, "American Feminist Literary Criticism", which is pp. 1-28 in the collection.

Mary Daly, Beyond God the Father, towards a Philosophy of Women's Liberation (Boston: Beacon, 1973), p. 7.

Terry Eagleton, The Rape of Clarissa (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1982).

10. Patricia Branca, Silent Sisterhood (London: Croom Helm, 1975), p.11.

11. Simone de Beauvoir, The Second Sex (1949; rpt. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1981), p. 9.

12. The Nineteenth-Century Woman, ed. S. Delamont and L. Duffin (London: Croom Helm, 1978), p.11 of their introduction.

13. Germaine Greer, The Obstacle Race (London: Picador, 1979), p.11.

Malcolm I. Thomis and Jennifer Grimmett, Women in Protest: 1800-1850 (London: Croom Helm, 1982), p. 106.

14. Suffer and Be Still, ed. Martha Vicinus (London: Methuen University Paperback, 1980), pp. x, xi, with a bibliography "Women in England in a Century of Social Change, 1815-1914", pp. 173-206, by S. Barbara Kanner.

15. Patricia Branca, Women in Europe since 1750 (London: Croom Helm, 1978).

Peter Gay, The Party of Humanity: Essays in the French Enlightenment (New York: W. W. Norton, 1964).

Notes to chapter 1, the Introduction, pp. 1-22 (continued).

16. Fraya Katz-Stoker, "The Other Criticism: Feminism versus Formalism", and Marcia R. Lieberman, "Sexism and the Double Standard in Literature," both in Images of Women in Fiction: Feminist Perspectives, ed. Susan K. Cornillon (Ohio: University of Bowling Green and Popular Press, 1972), pp. 315-39 and pp. 328-41, respectively.

17. Sheila Rowbotham, Hidden from History: 300 Years of Women's Oppression (London: Pluto Press, 1973), pp. 19-22.

18. Annette Barnes, "Female Criticism," and Marcia Landy, "The Silent Woman," both in The Authority of Experience, ed. Arlyn Diamond and Lee R. Edwards (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1977), pp. 1-15 and pp. 16-27, respectively. Annette Kolodny, "Some Notes on Defining a 'Feminist Literary Criticism'," Critical Inquiry, 2, No.1 (1975-76), 75-92; with William Morgan: a reply to Kolodny in No. 4 (1976-76), 807-16.

19. For example: the authoritative Blake Books by G. E. Bentley, Jnr. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), with the Supplement printed in Blake Newsletter, 11-12 (1977-1979), pp. 137-73, these enlarging A Blake Bibliography by the same author (London: Oxford University Press, 1964). Other checklists and bibliographies are listed in the first part of Twentieth-Century Blake Criticism by J.P. Natoli (New York: Garland, 1982).

Readers are also kept up to date by entries appearing periodically under "Blake and His Circle" in Blake: an Illustrated Quarterly, collected by Thomas Minnick and D. W. Dorrbecker, usually in the Fall issue.

An analysis of dissertation topics has been carried out by G. E. Bentley, Jnr. in "The Eternal Wheels of Intellect," in Blake: an Illustrated Quarterly, 11-12 (1977-79), 224-43, with "Dissertations on Blake: 1963-1975" in the same volume, pp. 54-59 by R. C. Gross and C. M. Henning.

Of recent interest is the comprehensive list compiled by Mary Lynn Johnson, University of Iowa: Some Works pertinent to a study of Blake's ideas of androgyny and of woman, and supplied to me by the author when she was Visiting Scholar to the Department of English of the University of Adelaide, July - August, 1984. This is in effect superseded by her chapter on Blake in The English Romantic Poets, ed. Frank Jordan, 4th ed. (New York: M.L.A., 1985).

Notes to chapter 1, the Introduction, pp. 1-22 (continued).

20. The imagery:

- Paul Miner, "William Blake's 'Divine Analogy,'" Criticism, 3 (Winter 1961), 46-61.
Michael J. Daly, "The Marriage Metaphor and the Romantic Poetry of Blake, Wordsworth and Coleridge," Diss. University of Southern California 1968.
Mary E. White, "Woman's Triumph: a Study of the Changing Symbolic Values of the Female," Diss. University of Washington 1972.
Diane Christian, "The Eternal Body: a Study of the Structural Metaphor," Diss. Johns Hopkins 1973.

The social and theological background (most references to research into the social issues of Blake's day will be given as they arise in the ensuing chapters):

- J. G. Davies, The Theology of William Blake (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948).
Michael Ferber, "Religion and Politics in William Blake," Diss. Harvard University 1976.
Elsie Flatto, "The Social and Political Ideas of William Blake," Diss. New York University 1966.
Seth Kellogg, "Tragic Generation: a Commentary on Some Works of William Blake and the Book of Genesis," Diss. University of Massachusetts 1972.

A definitive text:

- William Blake, The Book of Thel, a critical edition with a new interpretation by Nancy R. Bogen (Providence: Brown University Press, 1971).
William Blake, Visions of the Daughters of Albion, a critical edition by Charles C. Cherry, Diss. North Carolina University 1968.

The androgynous ideal (the term is taken from Hoeveler, Note 3 above):

Apart from the references included in Note 3 above, the typescript list of Mary Lynn Johnson cited in Note 19 above is very useful, section 1 being "On Androgyny and on Contexts for Blake's Ideas".

The Feminine Principle:

Nancy Derderian, "Against Patriarchal Pomp: a study of the Feminine Principle in the Poetry of William Blake," Diss. State University of New York 1975.

Emancipation or Sexual Independence.

James S. Fulbright, "William Blake and the Emancipation of Woman," Diss. University of Missouri 1973.

Notes to chapter 1, the Introduction, pp. 1-22 (continued).

The "woman scaly".

Irene Tayler, "The Woman Scaly," Midwest Modern Language Association - Bulletin, VI (1973), 74-78, reproduced in William Blake, Blake's Poetry and Designs, ed. Mary Lynn Johnson and John E. Grant (New York: Norton, 1979), pp. 538-53.

The divine form:

Diane George, "Is She Also the Divine Image: Feminine Form in the Art of William Blake," The Centennial Review, 23 (1979), 129-40, and her dissertation for State University of New York, Buffalo 1979, "Is She Also the Divine Image? Values for the Feminine in Blake, Milton and Freud".

Pity:

Bronwyn Waldron, "Energy of Choice," Diss. University of Adelaide, South Australia 1976.

Poetic text:

Karleen M. Murphy, "The Emanations of the Four Zoas," Diss. University of Toledo 1979.

Susan Fox, Poetic Form in Blake's 'Milton' (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1976).

The construct of passivity and Blake's possible stances in relation to thought identified today as "feminist":

Robert P. Waxler, "William Blake: the Sexual Dynamics," Diss. State University of New York at Stony Brook 1976.

Susan Fox, "The Female as Metaphor in William Blake's Poetry," Critical Inquiry, 3 (Spring 1977), 507-20.

Anne Mellor, "Blake's Portrayal of Women," Blake: an Illustrated Quarterly, 16, No. 3 (Winter 1982-3), 148-55.

Michael Ferber, "Blake's Idea of Brotherhood," PMLA, 93 (May 1978), 438-47.

K. M. Murphy, "All the Lovely Sex," in Sparks of Fire, ed. J. Bogan and Fred Goss (Richmond, California: North Atlantic Books, 1982), pp. 272-75.

Alicia Ostriker, "Desire Gratified and Ungratified: William Blake and Sensuality," Blake: an Illustrated Quarterly, 16, No. 3 (Winter 1982-83), 156-65.

Blake in the context of his day:

Michael Ackland, "The Embattled Sexes: Blake's Debt to Wollstonecraft in The Four Zoas," Blake: an Illustrated Quarterly, 16, No. 3 (Winter 1982-1982), 172-83.

Notes to chapter 1, the Introduction, pp. 1-22 (continued).

Word play:

Nelson Hilton, "Some Sexual Connotations,"
Blake: an Illustrated Quarterly, 16, No. 3 (Winter 1982-83), 166-71.

21. Men have tended towards, even delighted in, regarding woman in terms of polarities rather than dualities: history has reported her as support or as scourge; religion has seen her as Eve, as Madonna or as Magdalen; literature has portrayed her as a Fanny Hill or as a Pamela; anthropology has classified her as Universal Mother, Divine Woman or Personified Yoni; radical psychology has created two categories: mother and prostitute. See, for example:

Anne Summers, Damned Whores and God's Police: the Colonization of Women in Australia (Hammondsworth: Penguin, 1977).

Eric Trudgill, Madonnas and Magdalenes (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1976).

John Cleland, Fanny Hill: Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure, ed. Peter Wagner (1749; rpt. Hammondsworth: Penguin, 1985).

Samuel Richardson, Pamela, 2 vols. (1740; rpt. London: Dent, 1961).

H.D. Sankalia, "The Nude Goddess or 'Shameless Woman' in Western Asia, India and South-Eastern Asia," Artibus Asiae, 23, No. 2 (1960), 111-23.

M.A. Murray, "Female Fertility Figures," Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 64 (1934), 93-100.

Otto Weininger, Sex and Character (London: Heinemann, 1906), pp. 216-17.

The concept of duality in Blake is not a new idea: writers have pointed to Blake's ability to retain within the work opposing meanings without incoherence, Altizer examining Blake's "revolutionary transformation" of the female, and Damrosch exploring Blake's "dualistic monism". Morton D. Paley is enthusiastic about the spectrum of meanings associated with the figure of the garment, yet the Eassons in their commentary on Milton see duality negatively in relation to the progressive tension of the contraries. Wyatt particularises the dual character of Jerusalem who may be both creative and entrapping, a force to be honoured or to be feared, while Aers rationalises possibly conflicting interpretations of the woman by positing a theory of Blake's evolving dialectic of sexual conflict. Klonsky points to the woman as sexual freedom in America and to the Female Will of the later prophecies and contrasts "Pity" and "Hecate" in the illustrative art. Anne Kostelanetz examines the large colour prints and finds a radical tension between style and meaning, while Carr in an overview states that Blake found multiple ways of relating parts of a design to one another.

Wilkie and Johnson, in a discussion of Night IX of The Four Zoas, make the point that Blake may have regarded false or distracting dualism, such as that which distinguishes this world and another world, an "impediment to human happiness". See also:

Notes to chapter 1, the Introduction, pp. 1-22 (continued).

T. T. J. Altizer, The New Apocalypse: the Radical Christian Vision of William Blake (Michigan: State University Press, 1967), pp. 95-102.

Leopold Damrosch, Jr., Symbol and Truth in Blake's Myth (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1980), pp. 165-243.

Morton D. Paley, "The Figure of the Garment," in Blake's Sublime Allegory, ed. S. Curran and J.A. Wittreich (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1973), p. 129.

William Blake, Milton, ed. K. P. and R. R. Easson (London: Thames & Hudson, 1979), p. 160.

David Wyatt, "Blake's Jerusalem," Blake Studies, 7 (1976), 105-24.

D. R. Aers, "William Blake and the Dialectics of Sex," ELH, 44 (1977), 500.

M. Klonsky, William Blake: the Seer and His Visions (New York: Harmony Books, 1977), 50, 60-61.

Anne Kostelanetz, "Blake's 1795 Colour Prints," in William Blake: Essays for S. Foster Damon, ed. A. H. Rosenfeld (Providence: Brown University Press, 1969), p. 117.

Stephen L. Carr, "Visionary Syntax: Non-tyrannical Coherence in Blake's Visual Art," The Eighteenth Century, 22, No. 3 (1981), 222-48.

Brian Wilkie and Mary Lynn Johnson, Blake's Four Zoas: the Design of a Dream (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978), p. 210.

In this dissertation what will be hypothesized is duality of action and of result: benevolent and/or malevolent action will be highlighted.

22. Martin Price, "The Standard of Energy," in Romanticism and Consciousness, ed. H. Bloom (New York: Norton, 1970), pp. 255-73.

23. Ralph Cohen, The Art of Discrimination (London: Routledge, 1964), pp. 2-5, 441-48, 253.

24. J. A. Wittreich, Jr., "William Blake: Illustrator - Interpreter of Paradise Regained," in Calm of Mind: Tercentenary Essays on 'Paradise Regained' and 'Samson Agonistes', ed. J. A. Wittreich, Jr. (Cleveland: Press of Case Western Reserve University, 1971), pp. 93-132.

25. W. J. T. Mitchell, "Blake's Composite Art," in Blake's Visionary Forms Dramatic, pp. 57-81, particularly p. 59.

Notes to chapter 1, the Introduction, pp. 1-22 (continued).

26. Phases of Blake criticism have been pointed out: the establishment of a definitive text; explication of the myth and symbol; advocacy of the importance of the illustrations; and an approach to Blake's involvement with his century and his contemporaries, their shared interests and mutual problems. Mitchell uses the term "composite art"; Wyatt (p. 107) speaks of illustrations as complement rather than as counterpoint; and Hagstrum locates Blake within the three traditional aims of composite art (the religious, the natural and the subjective) by pointing to his union of the aesthetic and the prophetic. See:

Robert N. Essick, Blake in His Time (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978), pp. xvii-xix.

Donald Pearce, "Blake in the Art of His Time: the Santa Barbara Conference," Soundings: Collections of the University Library, University of California, Santa Barbara, 8 (1976), pp. 25-27.

V. A. DeLuca, "How Are We Reading Blake?," Toronto University Quarterly, 50, No. 2 (Winter 1980-1981), 238-47.

Jean H. Hagstrum, "Blake and the Sister-Arts Tradition," in Blake's Visionary Forms, pp. 90-91, and his book The Sister Arts: the Tradition of Literary Pictorialism and English Poetry from Dryden to Gray (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958).

27. Samuel Johnson, Todd's Johnson's Dictionary of the English Language (London, 1826), pp. 78, 95, defining "evil" as wickedness, calamity and "good" as the contrary to evil, virtue.

Thomas Sheridan, A General Dictionary of the English Language, 2 vols. (1780; rpt. English Linguistics 1500-1800, No. 50:1, ed. R. C. Alston, Menston: Scolar Press, 1967), which lists "evil" as wickedness, a crime, injury, mischief, malignity, corruption; misfortune, calamity, malady, disease; and "good" as that which physically contributes to happiness, the contrary to evil, moral qualities such as are desirable, virtue, righteousness.

John Walker, A Critical Pronouncing Dictionary (1791, rev. ed. 1833; rpt. English Linguistics 1500-1800, No. 117, ed. R. C. Alston, Menston: Scolar Press, 1968) which uses identical terminology to that in Sheridan.

It is interesting to note, in the light of Blake's emphasis on the "contraries", that each of the dictionaries includes "the contrary to evil" as one definition for "good".

28. Thomas Herzing, "Ceaseless Mental Fight: William Blake and the Eighteenth Century," Diss. University of Wisconsin 1972, p. 60, citing Lord Edward Herbert, Baron of Cherbury, De Veritate and de Religione Gentilium, Paris 1624.

Notes to chapter 1, the Introduction, pp. 1-22 (continued).

29. S. A. Swanson, "The Problem of Evil as Reflected in the Pulpit Oratory of the Eighteenth Century in France," Diss. University of Wisconsin 1981.

30. R. A. Tsanoff, The Nature of Evil (1931; rpt. New York: Kraus Reprints, 1971), p. 143. I am indebted to this work for many of these generalisations on the nature of evil, and also to essays of Blake's day on the subject, for example:

Soame Jenyns, "A Free Enquiry into the Nature and Origin of Evil, in 6 letters" in which evil is considered as: natural, moral, political, religious and as imperfection, in his Miscellaneous Pieces, 3rd ed. (London, 1770). The essay was reviewed by Samuel Johnson in The Rambler, 49.

Archbishop William King, De Originale mali: Essay on the Origin of Evil (1721; rpt. New York: Garland, 1978).

31. Tsanoff, Nature of Evil, p. 143.

32. Edward Young, The Complaint: or, Night Thoughts, ed. Robert Essick and Jenijoy La Belle (New York: Dover Publications, 1975), which also contains a useful bibliography, was the edition used, complemented by a London edition of 1827, until the publication of William Blake's Designs for Edward Young's Night Thoughts, ed. D. V. Erdman, J. E. Grant, E. J. Rose, M. J. Tolley, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980); this was consulted for:
(piety) 222/ NT 381, VIII, p. 35, ll. 591-92;
(self-love) 228/ NT 390, VIII, p. 44, ll. 386-88;
(pleasure) 232/ NT 397, VIII, p. 51, l. 927
(ills ... ends) 205/ NT 354, VIII, p. 81, ll. 134-35.
(the revised numbering of Designs is given).

In addition, M. J. Tolley, my supervisor, most kindly made available to me his draft copy of the forthcoming commentary volume for the Designs.

The following articles also contributed generally and helpfully to an understanding of Young, Blake and the century:

John E. Grant, "Envisioning the First Night Thoughts," in Erdman and Grant, Blake's Visionary Forms Dramatic, pp. 304-35.

Thomas H. Helmstadter, "Blake's Night Thoughts: Interpretations of Edward Young," in The Visionary Hand, ed. Robert Essick (Los Angeles: Hennessy & Ingalls, 1973), pp. 381-418.

Thomas H. Helmstadter, "Blake and Religion: Iconographical Themes in the Night Thoughts," Studies in Romanticism, 10 (1971), 199-212.

H. M. Margoliouth, "Blake's Drawings for Young's Night Thoughts," Review of English Studies, N.S. 5 (1954), 47-54.

Morton S. Paley, "Blake's Night Thoughts," in William Blake: Essays for S. Foster Damon, pp. 131-57.

Notes to chapter 1, the Introduction, pp. 1-22 (continued).

Michael J. Tolley, "The Book of Thel and Night Thoughts," New York Public Library Bulletin, 69, No. 6 (June 1965), pp. 375-85.

33. Altizer, New Apocalypse, pp. 133, 136. Refer back to Note 21 for mention of Altizer in connection with "duality".

34. Paul Tillich, Perspectives in 19th and 20th Century Protestant Theology (New York: Harper & Row, 1967), p. 67.

35. Tsanoff, Nature of Evil, pp. 90-93 and pp. 126-27, the latter part of a discussion on Alexander Pope's theodicy.

36. Sir James G. Frazer, The Illustrated Golden Bough, ed. Mary Douglas (London: Macmillan, 1978), pp. 166ff.

37. Damon, Dictionary, pp. 380-81.

38. J. G. Davies, Theology, p. 106

39. A. Blunt, The Art of William Blake (New York: Columbia Press, 1959), p. 58. The title of this work in Blake's account with Thomas Butts of 3 March 1806 (L. 113) is given as God Creating Adam but it is signed WB and inscribed Elohim creating Adam: Martin Butlin, The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake, 2 vols, (New Haven: Yale University, 1981), I, 158-88, item 289; p. 94 for reference to the Notebook sketch 201:54; and II, Pl. 388.

40. Catherine Macaulay, "On the Origin of Evil," in Letters on Education (1790; rpt. London: Garland, 1974), pp. 338-39, 343, 361, 376.

41. Anthony Ashley Cooper Shaftesbury, 3rd earl, An Inquiry concerning Virtue, or Merit (1699; rpt. Bath: Manchester Press, 1977), pp. 338-39, 343, 361, 776.

Francis Hutcheson, An Inquiry concerning Moral Good and Evil, bound with An Inquiry into the Original of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue, 2nd ed. (1726; rpt. English Literary Criticism of the Eighteenth Century, Vol. 88, New York: Garland, 1971), Section III, p. 162.

42. David Hume, A Treatise of Human Nature, ed. L. A. Selby-Bigge, 3 vols. (1739; rpt. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), Book III, "Of Morals", Pt. II, pp. 510ff, "Of Justice ..."; Sect. III, "Of property ...", pp. 511ff. and pp. 522, 625-42, 664-67.

David Hume, Enquiries concerning Human Understanding and concerning the Principles of Morals, introd. and index by L. A. Selby-Bigge (1777; rpt. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), par. 235, p. 286.

Notes to chapter 1, the Introduction, pp. 1-22 (continued).

43. Hester Chapone, [Letters] On the Improvement of the Mind (London, 1773), p. 74.

44. T. Gisborne, An Enquiry into the Duties of the Female Sex, ed. G. Luria, Feminist Controversy in England 1788-1810 (1791; rpt. New York: Garland, 1974), pp. 11-13.

45. Adam Smith, The Theory of Moral Sentiments, ed. D. D. Raphael and A. L. MacFie (1759; rpt. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), III, 5.1, p. 162.

46. Mary Astell, A Serious Proposal to the Ladies for the Advancement of Their True and Greatest Interest, 4th ed. (1701; rpt. New York: Source Book Press, 1977), pp. 17, 27, 66, 68, 73, 93, 96, 123, 141.

47. John Gregory, A Father's Legacy to His Daughters (1774) bound with Hester Chapone's Letters on the Improvement of the Mind and Lady Pennington's A Mother's Advice to Her Absent Daughters (rpt. London: Scott & Webster, 184-), pp. 151, 156-57, 159-60.

48. V. L. Bullough, "Medieval Medical and Scientific Views of Women," Viator, 4 (1973), 485-501.

49. Plain Sermons by Contributors to the Tracts for the Times, vol. VIII (London, 1846).

50. L. D. Hoffeld, "The Servant Heroine in Eighteenth - and Nineteenth-Century British Fiction," Diss. New York University 1975, p. 15.

51. The list below, while by no means exhaustive, gives an indication of some possible resources:

T. T. J. Altizer, The New Apocalypse.

M. F. Bandy, Mind-Forg'd Manacles (University of Alabama Press, 1981), a published edition of her 1971 Dissertation for the University of New Mexico, "The Idea of Evil in the Poetry of Blake and Shelley". Evil is seen as reason, negative accident and lack of action (brooding), among other ideas.

Margaret Bottrall, The Divine Image: a Study of Blake's Interpretation of Christianity (Rome: Edizione de Storae, 1950).

S. Foster Damon, "The Initial Eden," in Twentieth Century Interpretations of the Songs of Innocence and of Experience, ed. M.D. Paley (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1969), pp. 30-35.

Donald Davie, A Gathered Church: the Literature of the Dissenting Interest 1700-1930 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978).

Notes to chapter 1, the Introduction, pp. 1-22 (continued).

- J. G. Davies, The Theology of William Blake.
David V. Erdman, "Blake's Early Swedenborgianism,"
Comparative Literature, 5 (1953), 247-57.
H. N. Fairchild, Religious Trends in English Poetry (New
York: Columbia University Press, 1949), III, 66-137.
Charles Gardner, "The Religion of William Blake," Church
Quarterly Review, 105 (1927), 141-48.
F. C. Gill, The Romantic Movement and Methodism (London:
Epworth Press, 1954).
Jean Hagstrum, "Christ's Body," in William Blake: Essays
in Honour of Sir Geoffrey Keynes, ed. M. D. Paley and Michael
Phillips (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), pp. 129-56.
T. Helmstadter, "Blake and Religion": see also Note 32.
T. W. Herzing, "Ceaseless Mental Fight": see also Note 28.
K. Kremen, The Imagination of the Resurrection.
Paul Miner, "William Blake's 'Divine Analogy'".
Arthur L. Morton, The Everlasting Gospel: a Study in the
Sources of William Blake (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1958).
Morton D. Paley, "A New Heaven is Begun: William Blake
and Swedenborgianism," Blake: an Illustrated Quarterly, 13
(1979), 64-90.
Martin Price, "The Standard of Energy".
Kathleen Raine, "Blake's Christ-Consciousness," Studies
in Comparative Religion, 10 (1976), 213-18.
Kathleen Raine, The Human Face of God: William Blake and
the Book of Job (London: Thames & Hudson), 1982).
William Blake, ed. Rosenfeld, particularly the
section "Philosophical and Religious Transmutations" which
includes Paul Miner's "Visions in the Darksome Air: aspects of
Blake's Biblical Symbolism", pp. 256-92.
Florence Sandler, "The Iconoclastic Enterprise: Blake's
Critique of 'Milton's Religion'," Blake Studies, 5, No.1 (Fall
1972), 13-57.
T.B. Shepherd, Methodism and the Literature of the
Eighteenth Century (London: Epworth Press, 1940).
Arthur Symonds, William Blake (New York: Archibald
Constable, 1907).
L. Tannenbaum, Biblical Tradition in Blake's Early
Prophecies (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1982).
Irene Tayler, "Say First! What Mov'd Blake?," which
includes mention of "the divisive moralities of good and evil,"
in Blake's Sublime Allegory, ed. S. Curran and J. A. Wittreich,
Jnr.
John Theobald, "Blake's Idea of God," Personalist, 37
(1956), 161-67; and his "Blake's Ideas of Good and Evil,"
Personalist, 37 (1956), 264-73.
Donald J. Unruh, "Jerusalem: the Primitive Christian
Vision of William Blake," Diss. University of Southern California
1970.
Helen C. White, The Mysticism of William Blake (Madison:
University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature,
No. 23, 1927).

Notes to chapter 1, the Introduction, pp. 1-22 (continued).

52. Samuel Johnson, Rasselas, ed. J. P. Hardy (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 47.

53. H. Crabb Robinson, On Books and Their Writers, ed. E. J. Morley, 3 vols. (London: Dent, 1938), I, 331, 329, 337.

54. Theophrastus, Characters or Moral Types, trans. R. C. Jebb, ed. J. E. Sandys (London: Macmillan, 1909).

55. Sigmund Freud, Complete Psychological Works, trans. J. Strachey, standard ed., 24 vols. (London: Hogarth, 1958), vol. 12, 49-59.

56. M. H. Abrams, Natural Supernaturalism (New York: Norton, 1971), p. 257. The androgynous whole of unfallen or primal man is also discussed in the references in Footnote 3 above in relation to androgyny. The reference to Boehme is taken from Abrams p. 295.

57. J. G. Davies, Theology, p. 51 citing Swedenborg's Opera, p. 435.

58. S. Foster Damon, William Blake: His Philosophy and Symbols (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1924), p. 380.

59. William Blake, The Notebook, ed. D. V. Erdman (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), p. 16. This page, renumbered 14 instead of 4, with the restored original writing ("Ideas of Good and Evil") could be said to "constitute a title for a series of emblems" and contains below these words "a gentle parody of domestication" after James Gillray's The Morning after Marriage or A Scene on the Continent (5 April 1788) (Notebook, p. 7). The third major element of the page is the Notebook fragment "When a Man has Married a Wife (E. 516).

60. H. Crabb Robinson, On Books, I, 326, 329.

61. Theobald, "Good and Evil", p. 264-65.

62. David V. Erdman, A Concordance to the Writings of William Blake, 2 vols. (New York: Cornell University Press, 1967), I, 824-27.

63. William Law, Selected Mystical Writings of William Law, ed. with notes and 24 studies in the mystical theology of William Law and Jacob Boehme by Stephen Hobhouse (London: Rockliff, 1948), pp. 354, 133-35, "The Will, its Supreme Place" contrasting Boehme's Incarnation III, I.4 with Theologia Germanica (27).

E.R. Rudolph, William Law (Boston: Twayne, 1980), which compares Blake's contraries with Boehme's thesis, antithesis and synthesis - the body, soul and spirit, or good, evil and freewill. "Good can be known only through evil", p. 71.

Notes to chapter 1, the Introduction, pp. 1-22 (continued).

64. Davies, Theology, pp. 45-46, citing Swedenborg's Heaven and Hell, p. 557: "Self-love is to will well to self alone, and not others, except for the sake of self, not even to the Church, one's country or any human society."

65. G. E. Bentley, Jr., Blake Records (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p.301, from A. Gilchrist, Life of William Blake (1863), II, 263.

66. Bentley, Blake Records, p. 460, from John Thomas Smith, Nollekens and his Times (1828).

67. Ann S. Haskell, "The Paston Women on Marriage in Fifteenth-Century England," Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 4 (1978), 458-71.

Careful historians will usually make a statement on methodology, sources and interpretative policies; for example: Stone deals with these problems in his introductory chapter: "Problems, Methods and Definitions", pp. 3-41.

John Leyerle, in his introduction to the Viator, 4 (1973) articles on marriage in the Middle Ages, recognises that in historical research generalization is necessary and in such diversity is limited validity: nevertheless, he argues that the necessity tends to be accepted more readily than the limitation (p.414).

Karl von den Steinen evades any problems of methodology or inference by studying woman's role in eighteenth-century political life "at one remove" - "measured by the actions of the men with whom she was associated". "The Discovery of Women in Eighteenth-Century English Political Life" in The Women of England: from Anglo-Saxon Times to the Present, ed. Barbara Kanner (Hamden, Conn. Archon Books, 1979), pp.229-28.

Barbara B. Schnorrenberg and Jean E. Hunter, in their "The Eighteenth-Century Englishwoman," in Kanner, pp. 183-227, discuss demographic investigations as a prelude to a statement of the traditional view of the role of women in the eighteenth century and provide an extensive source bibliography (pp. 209-27).

Sara Delamont and Lorna Duffin, in their editorial introduction to the collection of essays: The Nineteenth-Century Woman (London: Croom Helm, 1978), pp. 10-11, draw on social anthropology in the use of such terms as "muted models".

Patricia Branca (Women in Europe since 1750) discusses problems of representativeness and perspective, pp. 13-14.

Jean E. Gagen, in her The New Woman: Her Emergence in English Drama: 1600-1730, admits that "the dramatic portraits of the new woman are often highly distorted reflections of the type of woman who was then adopting revolutionary opinions of the rights and capabilities of her sex", p. 12.

Notes to chapter 1, the Introduction, pp. 1-22 (continued).

68. Peter Laslett, "The Wrong Way through the Telescope: a Note on Literary Evidence in Sociology and Historical Sociology," British Journal of Sociology, 27, No.3 (September 1976), 319-42.

69. Muriel Jaeger, Before Victoria (London: Chatto & Windus, 1956), p. 111.

70. Lawrence Stone, The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800 (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1977), ch. 9, pp. 405-80, and pp. 99-101, 106-07, 112, 117, and ch. 6, pp. 221-26 ("The Growth of Affective Individualism"); p. 114 for the phrase "remote and detached" in relation to family characteristics in the period 1450-1630, and p. 117 for "intimacy and involvement" as describing the eighteenth-century family.

Daniel Defoe, The Fortunes and Misfortunes of the Famous Moll Flanders, introd. Mark Schorer (New York: Modern Library, 1950).

The distant mother is evidenced in Moll's words: "my two children were, indeed, taken happily off my hands ..." (p. 51); her union with the gentleman/tradesman produced one child "but it was buried"... (p. 56); her children by the Virginian planter are spoken of by Moll as "not legal children" (p. 80). A maternal softening occurs when, speaking of her liaison with the gentleman from Bath, she recounts that "she was brought to bed of a fine boy" (p. 109), and later that she was greatly perplexed about her little boy, wanting to see him, without the care of providing for him (p. 116); Moll later avows that she "could never be brought to entertain so much as a thought of endeavouring to miscarry" despite "the inexpressible misfortune it was to me to have a child" (pp. 151, 161).

The affective dimension is seen in Moll as she speaks of it as touching the heart to think of parting entirely with the child (p. 163) and in the "violent affection" she expresses on her ultimate reunion with her child born in Virginia (p. 318).

71. Michael Shinagel, Daniel Defoe and Middle Class Gentility (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1968).

72. In the words of one of the sisters at Colchester in an early section of Moll Flanders:

Betty wants but one thing, but she had as good want everything, for the market is against our sex just now; and if a young woman has beauty, birth, breeding, wit, sense, manners, modesty, and all to an extreme, yet if she has not money she's nobody, she had as good want them all; nothing but money now recommends a woman; the men play the game all into their own hands.
(Schorer edition, p. 14).

73. Diane H. George, "Malignant fires and the Chain of Jealousy," Hartford Studies in Literature, 11, No. 3 (1979), 202.

Notes to chapter 1, the Introduction, pp. 1-22 (continued).

74. J. G. Davies, Theology, pp. 32-33.

75. Wyatt, "Blake's Jerusalem", p. 106.

76. Helen McNeil, "The Formal Art of The Four Zoas," in Blake's Visionary Forms Dramatic, pp. 373-90.

77. R. Gleckner, The Piper and the Bard (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1959), pp. 76-77, 265-69.

78. David Bindman, "[A review of] Blake's Visionary Forms Dramatic," Burlington Magazine, 116 (July-December 1974), 482-83, in another context, warns against attending to the "minute particulars" at the expense of the whole, and a consequent danger of mistaking meaning and underestimating Blake's artistic awareness.

Notes

Chapter 2, the role of the Daughter, pp. 23-60.

1. Stone, p. 112.
2. William Blundell, Cavalier: Letters of William Blundell to his Friends (London: Longmans & Green & Co., 1933), p. 44, as quoted in Stone, p. 112.
3. H. J. Habakkuk, "Marriage Settlements in the 18th Century," Transactions of the Royal Historical Society for 1950, 4th series, 32 (1950), 15-30.
Stone, pp.446-47.
4. Sir William Temple, "An Essay on Popular Discontents" (1701) in his Miscellanea: the third part: section II (London:1750), pp. 78-79.
5. G. R. Quaife, Wanton Wenches and Wayward Wives (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1979), p. 46.
6. Quaife, p. 50.
7. The edition cited of the Spectator is that of the reprint of William P. Nimmo (rpt. London: 1877).
Spectator, No. 252, Wednesday, December 19, 1711, p. 360.
8. The edition cited of the Tatler and the Guardian is that of William P. Nimmo (rpt. London:1877).
Guardian, No. 73, Thursday, June 4, 1713, pp. 113-14.
The edition cited of the Rambler, the Idler, the Adventurer, and the Connoisseur is that of William P. Nimmo, (rpt. London:1876).
9. Rambler, No. 15, Tuesday, May 8, 1750, pp. 26-28.
10. Rambler, No. 39, Tuesday, July 31, 1750, p. 69-71.
Spectator, No. 181, Thursday, September 27, 1711, pp. 260-61.
11. Rambler, No. 55, Tuesday, September 25, 1750, pp. 96-98.
Spectator, No. 614, Monday, November 1, 1714, p. 872;
Spectator, No. 437, Tuesday, July 22, 1712, p. 630.
Tatler, No. 114, Saturday, December 31, 1709, pp. 238-39.
12. Adventurer, Nos. 77-79, Tuesday, July 31, 1753;
Saturday, August 4, 1753; Tuesday, August 7, 1753), pp. 152-59.
13. Adventurer, No. 8, Saturday, December 2, 1752, pp. 15-18.

Notes to Chapter 2 (cont.): the Daughter role, pp. 23-60.

14. Connoisseur, No. 51, Tuesday, January 16, 1755, p. 88.
15. Spectator, No. 311, Tuesday, February 26, 1711-12, p. 448; No. 326, Friday, March 11, 1711-12, p. 472; No. 314, Friday, February 29, 1711-12, p. 452.
16. Patricia M. Spacks, "Ev'ry Woman is at Heart a Rake," ECS, 8 (Fall 1974), 19, 32-33.
17. Thomas Carter, Christian Common Wealth (London: 1627) as quoted in What Manner of Woman, ed. Marlene Springer (New York: University Press, 1977), pp. 42-43.
18. Guardian, No. 57, Saturday, May 16, 1713, pp. 88-90.
Tatler, No. 188, Thursday, June 22, 1710, p. 354.
19. Rambler, No. 138, Saturday, July 13, 1751, pp. 238-40.
Spectator, No. 33, Saturday, April 7, 1711, pp. 46-48.
For the report of a correspondent returning from a stay in the country and describing the turning of rose leaves as one female occupation see the Rambler, No. 51, Tuesday, September 11, 1750, pp. 89-91.
20. Rambler, No. 138, Saturday, July 13, 1751, pp. 238-40.
21. Daniel Defoe, The Complete English Tradesman, in the Works, ed. John S. Keltie (London: Nimmo, 1875), p. 572.
22. J.J. Rousseau, Emile, Book 3 and pt. V, being Sophie, trans. B. Foxley (London: Dent, 1966), pp. 357ff., and the comment of Mary Wollstonecraft in her Vindication (New York: Source Book Press, 1971), pp. 99ff.
23. Spectator, No. 66, 16 May 1711, p. 96.
24. Tatler, No. 248, Thursday, November 9, 1710, p. 437.
25. William Hayley, Memoirs of the Life and Writings (London: 1823; rpt. England: Gregg International Publishers, 1971), I, 208.
William Hayley, Triumphs of Temper (1781; rpt. New York, Garland, 1979).
26. Dr. Gregory, Legacy to His Daughters (London: Scott Webster, 1847), pp. 147, 152, 156.
27. R. B. Powell, The English Child in the Eighteenth Century (London: John Murray, 1939), pp. 111-12.
28. The Female Aegis Or, the Duties of Women from Childhood to Old Age (1798; rpt. New York: Garland, 1974), pp. 21, 33, 34.
29. Spectator, No. 123, Saturday, July 21, 1711, p. 176.
30. Spectator, No. 611, Monday, October 25, 1714, p. 868.

Notes to Chapter 2 (cont.): the Daughter role, pp. 23-60.

31. Ivy Pinchbeck and Margaret Hewitt, Children in English Society, 2 vols. (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969), I, 33, 305.

Powell, pp. 3, 7, 28.

Gisborne, p. 104.

Stone, p. 162.

32. J. H. Plumb, "The New World of Children in 18th-Century England," Past and Present, No. 67 (May 1975), pp. 64-95.

33. Powell, p. 21.

34. J. L. Vives, Vives and the Renaissance Education of Women [de Institutione Feminae Christianae], trans. Richard Hyrde, 1540, ed. Foster Watson (1523; rpt. London: Edward Arnold, 1912), c. 10, p. 86, as quoted by Vern Bullough, The Subordinate Sex (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1974), p. 212.

35. Stone, pp. 412; 444-46.

Plumb, p. 67.

Hilda Gamblin, George Romney and His Art (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co, 1894), opp. p. 32 for Mrs. Stables and Daughters in which the mother's arms are lovingly encircling the younger daughter.

William Blake, Illustrations to the Bible, comp. G. Keynes (London: Trianon, 1957), Pl. 113, Christ Raising Jairus' Daughter also depicts the loving concern for, and close attention to, the daughter of Jesus, parent, and onlookers (Butlin, II, Pl. 1193). The selection of topic may be seen as a reflection of Blake's positive attitude to daughters.

Blake wrote to his brother James on 30 January, 1803, of his time at Felpham and his determination to leave there before Hayley was able "to turn me into a Portrait Painter as he did Poor Romney", quite a sympathetic reference to that painter in view of his opinions of other artists of his day (Letter 43, L. 50). Hayley writing to John Flaxman mentions in his letter of 7 August, 1803 (Letter 47, L. 59-61) Blake's "two excellent drawings of Romney one from his own large picture the other from our dear disciple's Medallion". There is a further note by Keynes (L. 107) that Blake's drawing of Romney was in Mrs. Blake's possession and passed from her to Frederick Tatham by whom it was sold at Sotheby's in 1862 and has not been traced since (Butlin, I, 349).

David Bindman, Blake as an Artist (Oxford: Phaidon, 1977), p. 28, quotes Flaxman's comment as implying a warmer admiration on the part of Romney for Blake: "Mr Romney thinks his [Blake's] historical drawings rank with those of Ml. Angelo". Conversely, Bindman writes that Blake's job on his return to London in 1803 was to track down paintings by Romney in London, with the promise that he would be able to engrave some of them for Hayley's book Life of Romney: "This meant that he saw a great many of Romney's History paintings, and his admiration for them was perhaps reflected in some subsequent watercolours made for Butts"(p.140).

Notes to Chapter 2 (cont.): the Daughter role, pp. 23-60.

36. J. Harvey Darton, Children's Books in England (Cambridge: University Press, 1960).
J. Harvey Darton, "Blake and Verse for Children," in William Blake: Songs of Innocence and Experience: a Casebook, ed. Margaret Bottrall (London: Macmillan, 1974), pp. 111-13.
37. Cornelia Meigs et al., A Critical History of Children's Literature (New York: Macmillan, 1953), p. 152.
38. Comparisons of Blake's "Songs" with those of Isaac Watts or with the Children's Hymn may be found in the works of the following, among others:
Damon, William Blake, pp. 41, 269.
Mark Schorer, The Politics of Vision (New York: Henry Holt, 1946), pp. 402-08.
V. de S. Pinto, "William Blake, Isaac Watts and Mrs. Barbauld," in The Divine Vision, ed. Vivian de Sola Pinto (London: Gollancz, 1957), pp. 66-87.
Alicia Ostriker, Vision and Verse in William Blake (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1965), pp. 50-54 for the possible relationship between the form of the Mother Goose genre and Blake's "Songs".
M.W. England, "Blake and the Hymns of Charles Wesley," B.N.Y.P.L., 70 (January 1966), 7-26.
John Holloway, The Lyric Poetry, Studies in English Literature 34 (London: Edward Arnold, 1968), pp. 32-52.
An alternative bibliography is to be found in Holloway, p. 32.
39. Percy Muir, English Children's Books (London: Batsford, 1954), pp. 82-87.
40. Alec Ellis, A History of Children's Reading and Literature (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1969), p. 4.
41. Dennis M. Welch, "Blake's Response to Wollstonecraft's Original Stories," Blake, 13 (1979), 4-15.
42. Michael Phillips in discussing Blake's early poetry and advances in the history of English literature identifies two concepts of time, one being kairos, the moment in which "time is fulfilled" (as in Mark 1:15). In a sense, Blake stood at this point in the history of illustrated literature for children: a time when his innovative engraving techniques and his accessible verse met an evolved receptivity in his society (Michael Phillips, "Blake's Early Poetry," in William Blake, ed. Paley and Phillips, p. 26).
43. Stone, ch. 9, "Parent-Child Relations", pp. 405-80.

Notes to Chapter 2 (cont.): the Daughter role: pp. 23-60.

44. John Locke, On Education, ed. Peter Gay (1683-89; rpt. New York, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1964), section 46, speaks of keeping a child's spirit, easy, active and free; with frequent beating or chiding to be avoided (section 60) and of the obtaining of friendly relationships between parent and child (section 96), pp. 32-33; 38-39; 73-74.

John Locke, Some Thoughts concerning Education, 2nd ed. (1683-89; rpt. Cambridge, University Press, 1889), liv-lvi, editorial comment by the Rev. R.H. Quick on Locke and learning.

45. The phrase is taken from a brief comment on Blake's early themes by Morton D. Paley in his William Blake (Oxford: Phaidon, 1978), p. 19.

W. Moelwyn Merchant, "Blake's Shakespeare," discussing aspects of Blake's art, in The Visionary Hand, ed. Essick, pp. 233-52, reproduces Blake's small, water colour, Lear and Cordelia in Prison, as Plate 64.

John Beer in his Blake's Visionary Universe (Manchester: Manchester University Press; New York: Barnes & Noble, 1969), p. 326, of his Appendix One, "Blake's Interpretation of Shakespeare: a Reconstruction", pp. 319-26, argues that, in the Shakespearean text, Cordelia's speeches are negative. I read Blake's depicting Cordelia at Lear's side in his extremity as a positive action: certainly her refusal to go along mindlessly with her sisters false adulation identifies her as a daughter apart.

46. Paley in William Blake, ed. Rosenfeld, p. 152.

Nelson Hilton, Literal Imagination: Blake's Vision of Words (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), pp. 121 - 123, for a discussion of daughters and weaving.

David V. Erdman, Prophet against Empire, rev. ed. (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1969), refers to the Daughters (the three Terrific women) as arts and industries (among other allusions), pp. vi, 5, 18, 67, 68, 212-13, 234, 306, 323, 345, 371, 372.

47. Joseph Wicksteed, William Blake's "Jerusalem" (London: Trianon Press, 1953), p. 236.

48. Robert F. Gleckner, "Blake and the Four Daughters of God," English Language Notes, December 1977, pp. 110-15.

Samuel C. Chew, The Virtues Reconciled (Toronto: University Press, 1947), pp. 35-36.

49. For comment on the "Little Girl poems" see:

Grevel Lindop, "Blake: 'The Little Girl Lost' and 'The Little Girl Found'," The Critical Survey, 6 (1973), 36-40.

Henry R. Trout, "A Reading of Blake's 'Little Girl Lost' and 'Little Girl Found'," West Virginia University - Bulletin and Philological Papers 23, (1977), 37-46 which argues that these poems belong logically in both Innocence and Experience.

Notes to Chapter 2 (cont.): the Daughter role, pp. 23060.

50. For comment on a Neo-Platonic approach to the poems see: Irene Chayes, "Blake and Tradition: 'The Little Girl Lost'," Blake Newsletter, 4 (1970), pp. 25-28, writes on Kathleen Raine's association of Thomas Taylor and these poems.

Kathleen Raine, "The Little Girl Lost and Found and The Lapsed Soul," in The Divine Vision, ed. V.de S. Pinto, pp. 19-49 and 50-63.

Kathleen Raine, Blake and Tradition, 2 vols. (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969), I, 126-65, discusses "The Myth of Kore".

51. R. Siemens, "Borders in Blake's 'The Little Girl' found," Humanities Association Bulletin, 22 (1971), 35-93.

52. T. R. Dilworth, "Blake's Babe in the Woods," Blake 11, No.1 (Summer 1977), 35-37.

53. Irene Chayes, "Little Girls Lost: Problems of a Romantic Archetype," B.N.Y.P.L., 67 (1963), 579-92.

54. For further critical comment see: Wolf Mankowitz, "The Songs of Experience," in William Blake: Songs of Innocence, ed. Bottrall, pp. 123-35.

J. Ingamells, "An Image Shared by Blake and Henri Rousseau," British Journal of Aesthetics, 3 (1963), 346-52.

J. H. Wicksteed, Blake's Innocence and Experience (London: Dent, 1928), pp. 115-21.

F. W. Bateson, "Notes on Blake's Poems," in William Blake: Songs of Innocence, ed. Bottrall, p. 179.

John Adlard, "The Age of Lyca," Blake Newsletter, 23, 6, No. 3 (Winter 72/72), 73.

The commentary of Geoffrey Keynes in the Trianon edition tends to the view of the human soul as personified in Lyca.

55. Nancy Chodorow, The Reproduction of Mothering (Berkeley: University of California, 1978) as discussed by:

Jane Flax, "Mother-Daughter Relationships: Psychodynamics, Politics and Philosophy," in The Future of Difference, ed. Eisenstein, pp. 20-40.

56. Chayes, p. 587.

57. Pamela Dunbar, William Blake's Illustrations to the Poetry of Milton (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), p.33, Plates 16, 17.

58. Damon, Dictionary, pp. 52, 401.

59. William Blake, The Works, Poetic, Symbolic and Critical, ed. E. J. Ellis and W. B. Yeats, 3 vols. (London: Quaritch, 1893); II, 92.

G. M. Harper, The NeoPlatonism of William Blake (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961), and his "Thomas Taylor and the Drama of Persephone," Philosophical Quarterly, 34 (1955), 378-94.

Notes to Chapter 2 (cont.): the Daughter role, pp. 23-60.

60. H. M. Margoliouth, William Blake (New York: Oxford University Press, 1951), p. 55.
V. E. Lattin, "Blake's Thel and Oothoon: Sexual Awakening in the 18th Century," Literary Criticism, 16, No. 1 (1981), 11-24.
Robert Waxler, "The Virgin Mantle Displaced: Blake's Early Attempt," Modern Language Studies (Northeast Modern Language Association), 12, No. 1 (Winter 1982), 45-53.
Northrop Frye, Fearful Symmetry (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1947), pp. 232-35.
Damon, William Blake, pp. 74-76.
61. Michael J. Tolley, "The Book of Thel and Night Thoughts," Bulletin of the New York Public Library, 69, No. 6 (June 1965), 375-385.
62. Mary Lynn Johnson, "Beulah, 'Mne Seraphim', and Blake's Thel," Journal of English and Germanic Philology, 69, No. 2 (April 1970), 258-77.
63. Michael Ferber, "Blake's Thel and the Bride of Christ," Blake Studies, 9 (1980), 45-56.
Robert Gleckner, "Blake's Thel and the Bible," B.N.Y.P.L., 64 (1960), 573-80.
64. The Book of Thel, Bogen edition.
65. Anne Mellor, "Blake's Designs for The Book of Thel," Philological Quarterly, 50 (1971), 193-207.
66. D. R. Pearce, "Natural Religion and the Plight of Thel," Blake Studies, 8 (1978), 23-35.
67. R. L. Tarr, "'The Eagle' versus 'The Mole': the wisdom of virginity in Comus and The Book of Thel," Blake Studies, 3, No.2 (Spring 1971), 187-96;
A. S. Levitt, "Comus, Cloud and Thel's Unacted Desires," Colby Library Quarterly, 14 (1978), 72-83.
68. Tayler, "Say First!", p. 249.
69. Klonsky, p.86.
70. Raine, Blake and Tradition, I, ch.7, 180-203.
Irene H. Chayes, "'The Presence of Cupid and Psyche,'" in Blake's Visionary Forms Dramatic, ed. Erdman and Grant, pp. 214-43.
71. Jean Hagstrum, "Romney and Blake," in Blake in His Time, pp. 201-12.
72. Alexander S. Gourlay and John E. Grant, "The Melancholy Shepherdess in Prospect of Love and Death in Reynolds and Blake," Bulletin of Research in the Humanities 85, No. ii (Summer 1982), 169-89.

Notes to Chapter 2 (cont.): the Daughter role, pp. 23-60.

73. Two recent writers who have examined the imagery of the Bible in the context of a "God the Mother" aspect are:

J. P. Heimmell, "God Is Our Mother," Diss. St. John's University, New York, 1980.

Elaine Pagels, The Gnostic Gospels (New York: Random House, 1979), ch. 3.

74. E. B. Murray, "Thel, Thelyphthora, and the Daughters of Albion," Studies in Romanticism, 20 (1981), 275-97, reviewed briefly in The English Association: The Year's Work in English Studies, No. 62 (1981), p. 282: "E.B. Murray carefully reconstitutes the concealed historical relations between the Blake poems and Martin Madan's controversial defence of polygamy...".

75. N. L. Munn, Psychology: the Fundamentals of Human Adjustment, 5th ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1966), p. 537, for a summary of the theory of cognitive dissonance of Leon Festinger from his A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance (Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson, 1957): "When an individual is aware of a discrepancy or inconsistency between the roles that he assumes, between a particular role and the situation in which he finds himself, or between opinions, beliefs, or attitudes, he is likely to do something which reduces the inconsistency."

76. Morton D. Paley, Energy and the Imagination (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), p. 34. Paley also refers to Thel's sisters who seem happy in their roles, as they lead round the sunny flocks. He notes Gleckner's plausible suggestion that they are 'higher innocence, who have gone through the state of experience to achieve eternal delight'; Robert Gleckner, The Piper and the Bard (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1959), p. 163.

77. Tayler, "Say First!", p. 258: the phrase is describing Ololon as a "fulfilled version of the lady of Comus ... as Milton's bride, as the Bride of the Lamb and all mankind."

78. Sanzo, "Blake and the Great Mother Archetype", pp. 110-11.

79. Susan Fox, "The Female as Metaphor", pp. 513, 516; reference could also be made to her Poetic Form in Blake's "Milton", pp. 143, 145-60, 176, 180-85, 214-18.

80. John Howard, Blake's Milton, (New Jersey: Associated University Press, 1976), pp. 174, 213-14.

81. Northrop Frye, "Notes for a Commentary on Milton," in The Divine Vision, ed. V. deS. Pinto, p. 157.

Notes to Chapter 2 (cont.): the Daughter role, pp. 23-60.

82. Sandler, pp. 16, 21.
W. J. T. Mitchell, "Blake's Radical Comedy: Dramatic Structure as Meaning in Milton," in Blake's Sublime Allegory, ed. Curran and Wittreich, 300-05.
Wayne Glausser, "Milton and the Pangs of Repentance," Blake 14, No.4 (Spring 1980).
83. Mitchell in Blake's Sublime Allegory, p. 305.
84. John E. Grant, "The Female Awakening at the End of Blake's Milton," Salzburg Studies in English Literature: Elizabethan and Renaissance Studies, 49 (1976): 78-102.
85. Wilkie, "Epic Irony", in Blake's Visionary Forms Dramatic, ed. Erdman and Grant, pp. 364-65.
86. Ross G. Woodman, "Milton's Urania and Her Romantic Descendants," Toronto University Quarterly, 48 (Spring 1978-79), 189-208.
87. Sandler, p. 21.
88. Howard, p. 239, expressing his reading of the article by Peter Alan Taylor, "Providence and the Moment in Milton," Blake Studies, 4 (Fall 1971), 43-60.
89. Blake, Milton, Easson edition, p. 162.
90. D. H. Reiman and C. S. Kraus, "The Derivation and Meaning of 'Ololon'," Blake, 16, No.2 (Fall 1982), 82-85.
91. Paley, Energy and Imagination, p.248.
92. Gamlin, Romney, plate facing 314, with a further reference on p. 252 to "a delightful picture, Milton and His Two Daughters".
93. Grant, "Female Awakening", p. 99.
94. Kremen, p. 202.
95. I.B. p. 267.
96. Tayler, "Say First!", p. 257.
97. Davies, J. Mark Q., "'Embraces Are Cominglings': Passion and Apocalypse in Blake's Paradise Regained Designs," Durham University Journal, 74/1 N.S. 43 No.1 (December 1981), 75-96.
98. Damon, Dictionary, p. 14.
99. Erdman, Prophet Against Empire, p. 213.

Notes to Chapter 2 (cont.): the Daughter role, pp. 23-60.

100. G. E. Bentley, Jr., "A Jewel in an Ethiop's Ear: the Book of Enoch as Inspiration for William Blake," in Blake in His Time, p. 231.
101. D. G. Gillham, "Blake: Visions of the Daughters of Albion," Wascana Review, 3 (1968), 41-59.
102. Paley, "The Figure of the Garment", p. 136.
103. Wicksteed, Jerusalem, pp. 155-56 for an exposition of Jerusalem, Plate 25, which includes an explanation of the relationships between Gwendolen, Vala, Rahab and Tirzah.
104. Sanzo, "Mother Archetype", p. 108.
105. Michael J. Tolley, "Europe 'To those y-chain'd in Sleep'," in Blake's Visionary Forms Dramatic, pp. 115-45; on p. 130, the author points out that although the Miltonic use of "sleep" was of the dead, Blake could, on occasion, apply the term to the living.
106. Damon, Dictionary, p. 125.
107. Henry Lesnick, "The Antithetical Vision of Jerusalem," in Blake's Visionary Forms Dramatic, ed. Erdman and Grant, pp. 391-412; p. 398 includes a discussion of the "Falshood" in Jerusalem 84:31-32, (E. 243), and Jerusalem 81, the illustration, (I.B. 360).
108. Prophetic Writings, ed. Sloss and Wallis, II, 249.
109. William Blake, Vala or The Four Zoas: a Facsimile of the Manuscript ... a study by G. E. Bentley, Jr. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), unpagged, Plate 79.
110. Miner, "Divine Analogy"; p. 45-51.
111. Damon, Dictionary, p. 18.
112. Damon, Dictionary, p. 457.
113. Bottrall, Divine Image, p. 50.
114. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, The Selected Letters, ed. Robert Halsband (London: Longman, 1970), pp. 28, 41.

Notes to Chapter 2 (cont.): the Daughter role, pp. 23-60.

115. Dictionary of the Bible, ed. James Hastings (1909; rpt. Edinburgh: T.Clark, 1950), pp. 431-32, questions the historicity of the story of the sacrifice of the daughter of Jephthah, although admitting that the elements belong to the essentials of the religion of ancient peoples. The commentator feels that it is a compilation from more than one source of two practices: the sacrifice of a human being at times of special stress; and a rite to ensure the re-appearance of fresh vegetation in its time. Jephthah's daughter bewails her virginity; she has no husband or father of a child of hers to claim protection against her father and his intended sacrifice of herself. It is this vulnerability which Blake may have decided bring to the light of day.

116. B. Raven and J. Rubin, Social Psychology: People in Groups (New York: Wiley, 1976), pp. 332-36, for a summary on the research of James A. F. Stoner, 1961: and p. 514: "Risky shift: the tendency for people in groups, under certain circumstances, to make more risky or less conservative decisions than they would as lone individuals".

117. Gagen, The New Woman: Her Emergence in English Drama 1600-1730, particularly ch. 8: "Daughters in Revolt".

Notes

Chapter 3, the role of the sister, pp. 61-89.

1. Jean E. Hunter, "The 18th-Century Englishwoman: according to the Gentleman's Magazine," in Woman in the Eighteenth Century, ed. P. Fritz and R. Morton (Toronto: Samuel Stevens, 1976), p. 81.
2. Gilchrist, Life, I, 411-12.
3. Gilchrist, Life, I, 151.
4. M.E. Mulvihill, "Feminine Portraiture, 1660-1714: Ideologies of Women in English Life and Letters as a Model of the Emergence of Liberal Thought during the Reign of Queen Anne," Diss. University of Wisconsin 1982;
S.S. Barron, "Female Difficulties: Woman's Role and Woman's Fate in 18th-century English Women's Fiction," Diss. Ohio State University 1972.
5. See Winifred Nowotny, The Language Poets Use (London: Athlone Press, 1972), pp. 107-11, for a discussion of "Underneath This Sable Hearse" attributed to William Browne of Tavistock.
6. Idler, No. 12, Saturday, July 1, 1758, p. 13;
Spectator, No. 99, Saturday, June 3, 1711, p. 143.
7. William Kenrick, The Whole Duty of Woman (London: 1753), p. 66
8. Ralph Linton, "Status and Role," in Sociological Theory: A Book of Readings, ed. Lewis A. Coser and Bernard Rosenberg, 2nd ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1964), pp. 358-63.
9. Richardson, Samuel, Clarissa: or The History of a Young Lady, unabridged, in The Novels, Clarissa, being vols. 5-12 of 19 vols. (London, William Heinemann, 1902), I, 102; I, 16.
For a discussion of Richardson's refusal to accept blindly the claims of social and familial hierarchy, and a mention of Sir Charles Grandison's attitude to his sisters as well as acknowledgement of the "sister-excellence" of Harriet and Clementina see C.R. Shookhoff, "Rewards and Punishments in the 18th-Century English Novel," Diss. University of Pennsylvania, 1982, pp. 45-46, 82, 108, 116.

The question of Clarissa's refusing to obey her brother is related to the biblical injunction to "Honour thy father and thy mother..." (Exodus 20:12; Deuteronomy 5:16; Matthew 15:4 and 19:19; Mark 7:10 and 10:19; Luke 18:20; Ephesians 6:2) which excludes brother and sister. Clarissa in perceiving that her father is behind the command is acknowledging legitimate authority but deliberately responding to what to her is a higher morality.

Notes to Chapter 3 (cont.): the sister role, pp. 61-89.

10. Letter 22, Blake to John Flaxman, 21 September, 1800, L. 22-23.
Letter 23, Blake to Thomas Butts, 23 September, 1800, L. 24-25.
Letter 31, Blake to Thomas Butts, 11 September, 1801, L. 34-35
Letter 43, Blake to James Blake, 30 January, 1803, L. 50-53.
Letter 73, Blake to William Hayley, 22 June, 1804, L. 96-97.
11. Blake, Thel, Bogen edition is used for reference to illustrations.
12. Damon, Dictionary, p. 174.
13. Harold Bloom and Lionel Trilling, Romantic Poetry and Prose (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 178 for William Wordsworth, Ode: "Intimations of Immortality from Recollections of Early Childhood", 11.67-69.
14. Paul Miner, "William Blake: Two Notes on Sources: (1) Blake's use of Gray's "Fatal Sisters," Bulletin of N.Y.P.L. 62 (1958), 203-06.
15. G.M. Harper, The Neoplatonism of William Blake, p. 163.
16. Freud, Works, standard ed., vol.9, p. 217 for the introduction of the term "castration complex" and this concept in myth and legend; vol.10, p.8, n.2, for the relation of the case study of Hans and the extension of the term to other organs than the penis; vol.19, pp. 90-92, 144-45, 174-79, 253-58 particularly p. 258: "[the girl's libido] gives up the wish for a penis and puts in place of it a wish for a child" as applicable to the infant forms of Hand and Hyle.
17. Damon, Dictionary, p. 74.
18. Harold Bloom, Blake's Apocalypse (London: Gollancz, 1963), pp. 419-21;
Frye, Fearful Symmetry, p. 402;
Illuminated Blake, (I.) p. 360.
19. Damon, William Blake, p. 462.
20. Frye, Fearful Symmetry, pp. 357, 383, 392.
21. George, Blake and Freud, p. 194.
22. Damon, William Blake, p. 469.
23. Bloom, Blake's Apocalypse, p. 388

Notes to Chapter 3 (cont.): the sister role, pp. 61- 89.

24. Damon, William Blake, p. 445.

25. Dictionary of the Bible, ed. James Hastings (1909; rpt. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1950), p. 665.

See also: Miner, "Visions in the Darksome Air.." in William Blake, ed. Rosenfeld, footnote 68, p. 474, in which Miner suggests that Blake may utilize the glossing of the names, "Aholibah" and "Aholah", in Ezekiel 23:4 ("My tabernacle in her and His tent or tabernacle"). My supervisor, Michael J. Tolley, from this, therefore, notes the importance of the "tabernacular" role, in which the idea of the veil play a large part.

26. Morton D. Paley, William Blake (Oxford: Phaidon, 1978), p. 62.

J.R. Harvey, "Blake's Art," The Cambridge Quarterly, 7 (1977), 129-50, in examining the representation of the Lady from an artistic point of view finds that she is one of the figures in the series which are out of proportion and perspective and undistinguished in form and feature.

27. The titles are given as in Butlin, The Paintings and Drawings, v.1: 527,1-8; 528,1-8.

28. J. K. Franson, "The Serpent-Driving Females, pp. "164-77.

29. Bindman, Blake as an Artist, p.185;
S. Foster Damon, "Blake and Milton," in De Sola Pinto, Divine Vision, pp. 92-94;

Dunbar, William Blake's Illustrations, p. 11;
Tayler, "Say First", p. 234;

30. Dunbar, p. 10.

31. Wittreich, in Calm of Mind, p.98.

32. Tayler, "Say First!", pp. 235, 254, 248; and her "Blake's Comus Designs," Blake Studies, 4 (1972), 45-80. (1972), 45-80.

33. John Milton, Complete poems and major Prose, ed. Merritt Y. Hughes (Indianapolis: Odyssey Press, 1975), pp.86-114 is the edition used; cf. p. 87 for the Peele reference.

34. Dunbar, p. 11;
Tayler, "Say First!", p. 247.

Note should also be taken of a new study of the Milton illustrations, by Bette Charlene Werner, although at the time of this submission I have not had an opportunity to read this myself.

35. Nelson Hilton, Literal Imagination, pp. 265-66, Note 7.

Notes

Chapter 4: the role of the Wife, pp. 90-133.

1. Lennox, Female Quixote.
2. Mary Wollstonecraft, The Wrongs of Woman, bound with Mary (Oxford: University Press, 1983), pp. 154-55.
3. Daniel Defoe, Roxana: or the Fortunate Mistress, ed. Jane Jack (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 195.
4. William Blackstone, Commentaries on the Laws of England, Book the first, c. 14, sect. 3, p.442a; Book 2, ch. 29, sec. 6, p. 433, 9th ed. (1783; rpt. New York: Garland, 1978): "... By marriage, the husband and wife are one person in law...."
5. Ray (Rachel) Strachey, The Cause (London: G. Bell & Sons, 1928), p. 15.
6. P. Petiot, "La Famille en France sous L'Ancien Regime," La Sociologie Comparée de la Famille Contemporaine, Colloques du C.N.R.S., as quoted by Philippe Aries, Centuries of Childhood, trans. Robert Baldick (London: Jonathan Cape, 1962), pp. 356, 434.
7. There is a concise statement of Martin Luther's regard for Paul and for Augustine, as well as a number of anecdotes which illustrate his personal appreciation for, and his exasperation with, marriage, in Here I Stand, by Roland H. Bainton (U.S.A. Mentor Books, 1955), pp. 223-37. Marriage as a remedy for sin is the emphasis of the controversial tracts up to 1525; marriage as a school for character is Luther's position after his own marriage.
8. Mary Astell, Some Reflections upon Marriage (1730; rpt. New York: Source Books, 1970), pp. 95-128, 110-11.
9. William and Malleville Haller, "The Puritan Art of Love," Huntington Library Quarterly, 5(1941-42). 235-72, particularly pp. 239, 243.
10. Jackie DiSalvo, "Blake Encountering Milton: Politics and the Family in Paradise Lost and The Four Zoas," in Milton and the Line of Vision, ed. J.A. Wittreich, Jr. (University of Wisconsin Press, 1975), p.150.
11. H. Bullinger, Der Christlich Eestand: the Christen State of Matrimony, trans. Myles Coverdale (1541; rpt. The English Experience, No. 646, Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, Walter Johnson, 1974), c.1:1.
12. DiSalvo, "Blake Encountering Milton", p. 152.

Notes to Chapter 4 (cont.): the Wife role, pp. 90-133.

13. John Bunyan, The Life and Death of Mr. Badman, bound with Grace Abounding, introd. G. B. Harrison (London: Dent, 1956), p.214.

14. Alice Clark, The Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century (New York: A. M. Kelley, 1968), ch.1: pp. 1-13; ch.7: pp. 290-308.

15. Eileen Power, "The Position of Woman, " in The Legacy of the Middle Ages, ed. C. G. Crump and E. F. Jacob (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), pp. 402-33 isolates two attitudes held by Church and Aristocracy: the ideal of implicit obedience in, and the chivalric worship of, the woman, but also hints at the practical equality, then, of the sexes in the middle classes. She writes "the typical woman must be taken to be the wife", p. 410.

Anne Haskell, "The Paston Women", p. 458, admits one of the important requirements for medieval women of any social stratum was subordination, a habit of obedience and the expectation of marriage.

Rae Blanchard, "Richard Steele and the Status of Women," Studies in Philology, 26, No.3 (1929), 325-55, shows that for Steele the conception of the social and legal subordination of women in marriage was bound up in a complex of ideas including the doctrine of her natural inferiority, a rigid observance of distinctions in social status and a belief that social institutions must have final power vested in a head. Subordination was thus an ethical principle. Nevertheless, the goal of woman was marriage.

Schnorrenberg and Hunter, "The Eighteenth-Century English Woman," write: "The view of the holders of power was that woman's only proper role was that of dutiful adjunct to man", in The Women of England, pp. 183-228.

Karl von den Steinen, "The Discovery of Women," states that "Despite the total subordination of married women to their husbands, women could and did inherit political interests in 18th-century constituencies", in The Women of England, pp. 229-58.

Gagen, The New Woman, for the chapters "Daughters in Revolt", "Ladies who wouldn't say yes" and "Ladies in Command", which detail exceptions but by implication admit subordination: "a woman's shrinking from marriage has become more than just an interesting situation to dramatize. It is a fault to expose for the edification of those in the audience who may become tempted to a like performance.", pp. 161-62.

Maurice J. Quinlan, Victorian Prelude: a History of English Manners 1700-1830 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941), for the chapter on "The Model Female": "She found her place in society, but her position remained inferior to that of man ... she was a slave to convention and propriety"; and see Quinlan, p. 141, for reference to Horace Walpole's letter to Hannah More in 1795 when he referred to the independent Mary Wollstonecraft as "a hyena in petticoats".

Gordon R. Taylor, The Angel-Makers: a Study in the Psychological Origins of Historical Change 1750-1850 (London:

Notes to Chapter 4 (cont.): the Wife role, pp. 90-133.

Heinemann, 1958), which took the concept of subordination one step further: in the late eighteenth century there was further modification of the notion of the role of the dependent Puritan woman: now she should not only avoid any show of independence: she must try to increase her dependency. Taylor quotes John Wesley's Journal IV:60-1 in which he speaks of the wife as beneath the husband in every respect and Thomson's "Autumn" segment of The Seasons, ll. 571-608 in which "submissive wisdom" is spoken of as "the female dignity", pp. 97, 206, 299. Taylor recommends a further reference, Woman in Her Social and Domestic Character (London: 1831).

16. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu protested against a maxim of Mons. de la Rochefault when he averred "that marriages are convenient, but never delightful," in her Essays and Poems (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), pp. 157-64; 385-92.

17. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, "Epistle from Mrs. Y[onge] to Her Husband", 1724, in Essays and Poems, pp. 230-32.

18. Stone, abridged edition (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1979), p. 109; epilogue to ch. 5.

19. Anthony Trollope, Framley Parsonage (London: G. Bell & Sons, 1914), pp. 590-91.

20. Thomas Holcroft, Seduction: a Comedy, in The Plays (1787; rpt. New York: Garland, 1980, vol. I).

21. John Burton, Lectures on Female Education and Manners, 2nd ed., two volumes in one (1793; rpt. New York: Source Book Press, 1970), I, ch. 5, p. 74; I, ch. 6, p. 77; I, ch. 8., p. 122.

22. John Bennett, Strictures on Female Education (1795; rpt. New York: Source Book Press, 1971), pp. 94-95.

23. Samuel Johnson, The Conversations of Dr. Johnson, extracted from the Life by James Boswell, ed. Raymond Postgate (London: John Lehmann, 1949), pp. 12, 79, 56, 52, 239, 160, 53, 71, 127, 129, 152, 150, 147, 160, 215.

24. Horace Walpole, Selected Letters, ed. William Hadley (London: Dent, 1959), pp. 304, 291, 323, 499, 207.

25. William Thompson, Appeal of One Half of the Human Race, WOMEN, against the Pretensions of the Other Half, Men, to Retain Them in Political and thence in Civil and Domestic Slavery (1825; rpt. Source Book Press, 1970), pp. 54-113, 54-55.

26. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, "A letter ... marriages are convenient, but never delightful," in Essays and Poems. p.387.

Notes to Chapter 4 (cont.): the Wife role, pp. 90-133.

27. Karl Kiralis, "William Blake as an Intellectual and Spiritual Guide to Chaucer's Canterbury Pilgrims," Blake Studies, 1, No.2 (Spring 1969), 139-190, for comments on the Wife of Bath and the Prioress.
28. Quaife, Wanton Wives, pp. 44-45, for the terms "spousals de futuro were contracts to marry ... spousals de presenti were contracts of marriage".
29. John Sutherland, "A Crisis of Love and Jealousy," PMLA, 87 (1972), 424-31.
30. Frye, Fearful Symmetry, p.241.
31. Gillham, "Blake: Visions", p. 49
32. Some recent social psychologists who have emphasised aspects of inter-personal communication include:
Harold J. Leavitt, Managerial Psychology, 4th ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), pp. 117-26 for "two-way communication";
Anita Taylor, et al., Communicating, 4th ed. (New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, 1986), chs. 6, 7;
Larry L. Barker, Communication, 3rd ed. (New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, 1984), ch. 6;
Kathleen S. Abrams, Communication at Work (New Jersey; Prentice-Hall, 1986), chs. 5, 7;
33. Damon, Dictionary, p. 121.
34. Mary Lynn Johnson, "On Reading The Four Zoas," in Blake's Sublime Allegory, pp. 203-32, and p. 215 for reference to Ahania as dutiful wife;
John E. Grant, "Visions in Vala," in the same collection, for Ahania as obsequious, p. 184.
35. David W. Lindsay, "The Book of Ahania," Durham University Journal, 68, n.s. 37 (1976), 144-47 writes that in this passage Ahania is exiled from a union of intellectual vigour and delight.
36. Paley, Energy and Imagination, pp. 82-83, for reference to the casting-out of Ahania as the ironic result of the victory of energy, a view duplicated in his article, "Method and Meaning in Blake's Book of Ahania," Bulletin of the N.Y.P.L., 70, (1966), 27-33.
37. Michael Ackland, "Blake's Critique of Enlightenment Reason in The Four Zoas," Colby Library Quarterly, IX, 4 (December 1983), p. 182, discusses the lines preceding those quoted above (ll. 9-19): "Urizen's speech moves from direct criticism of the object through acknowledged attraction to condemnatory self-recognition in her 'watry mirror'[sic]".

Notes to Chapter 4 (cont.): the Wife role, pp. 90-133.

38. Cf. Michael J. Tolley, "Blake's Songs of Spring," in William Blake, ed. Paley and Phillips, particularly pp. 117-18, for an analysis of Ahania's lament and references to Biblical allusions and critical sources. Two factors in Ahania's despair are suggested: her reliance on memory and her dependence on Urizen.
39. Frye, Fearful Symmetry, p. 307.
40. Christopher Hill, Milton and the English Revolution (London: Faber, 1977), particularly Part II, ch. 9, "Marriage, Divorce and Polygamy", pp. 117-45, examines Miltonic ideas on these topics. He writes that the popular image of Milton today is of an austere Puritan who advocated the subordination of women. However, Hill points out that what Milton says about the subordination of women is strictly Biblical, backed up in De Doctrina Christiana by an impressive array of texts. He adds that the only people in the seventeenth century who came anywhere near making women equal with men were Diggers, Ranters and Quakers, who believed that men and women were perfectible on earth. He believes that Milton was more orthodox in this respect, and thought that the subordination antedated the Fall of Man.
- His later chapter, part VI, ch. 29.iv, pp. 375-80, "Paradise Lost: Adam and Eve", discusses the pervasive analogy between marriage and the state, including the relationship between Adam and Eve. The subordination of the wife to the husband figured Christ's rule over his church and the lawful sovereign's rule over the state. Male superiority in marriage can signify by analogy the control of the reasoning few over the passionate majority.
41. Miner, "William Blake: Two Notes on Sources," pt.2. "A source for Blake's Enion?", pp. 206-07; here it is suggested that Michael Drayton's Poly-Olbion in which Enion is a female river may have influenced Blake: Enion is constantly associated with water imagery.
42. Blake, Prophetic Writings, ed. Sloss and Wallis, I, 15.
43. Cf. Tolley, "Songs of Spring", pp. 117-20, for an analysis of Enion's song of assurance in the Eighth Night.
44. Neumann, The Great Mother. Enion is rather identifiable as Great Mother than as the Good Mother, for in the former are elements of good, bad and good-bad (FZ I, 164, K. 268; I, p. 9:1-3, E. 304; Jerusalem 83:5, E. 241).
45. Frye, Fearful Symmetry, p. 279.

Notes to Chapter 4 (cont.): the Wife role, pp. 90-133.

46. For mention of other forms: Jerusalem, 17:27, E. 162
30:7-8, E. 176
39:25, E. 187
64:8-11, E. 215
62:13, E. 213
The Four Zoas VII, p. 93:1-5, E. 365.
47. Blake, Prophetic Writings, ed. Sloss and Wallis, I, 245-47 passim.
48. Bandy, Mind Forg'd Manacles, pp. 189-90, note 1.
49. Hagstrum, "Babylon Revisited: or, the Story of Luvah and Vala," in Blake's Sublime Allegory, ed. Paley, pp. 101-18, particularly, p.102.
50. FZ II, p. 27:7-8, E. 317; Jerusalem 23:32, E. 168; 30:23-25, 32, E. 176; 68:65 - 69:5, E. 222-23; 81:7, E. 238; 64:12-17, E. 215; 89: 52-62, E. 249; 62:13, E. 213; 63:39-40, E. 214-15; 60:47-49, E. 211; FZ VIII, p. 105:13-15, E. 378.
51. FZ I, p. 11:6-9, E. 306; II, p. 25:40-41, E. 317; Jerusalem 7:30, E. 150; FZ VII, p. 92:33-36, E. 364-65; Jerusalem 65:29, E. 216; FZ VIII, p. 104 [2]:19-28, E. 377; V, p. 59:1-6, E. 340; II, p. 32:1-2, E.321; FZ III, p. 43:20-23, E. 329.
52. Blake, Prophetic Writings, ed. Sloss and Wallis, I:245-47.
53. Damon, William Blake, p. 367.
54. Bentley, Blake Records, p. 237-38.
55. Blake, Prophetic Writings, ed. Sloss and Wallis, II, 157, quoting Swinburne's appreciation of Enitharmon as "universal or typical woman" in his Essay, p. 241;
A. C. Swinburne, William Blake: a Critical Essay (London: Chatto & Windus, 1906).
Mary Lynn Johnson, in reviewing Leonard W. Deen's Conversing in Paradise: Poetic Genius and Identity-as-Community in Blake's Los, mentions that for twenty-five years the fullest investigation of Enitharmon has remained Henry Petter's Enitharmon: Stellung und Aufgabe eines Symboles in dichterischen Gesamtwerk William Blakes (1957): Blake, an Illustrated Quarterly, 19, No.3 (Winter 1985-86), 107.
56. Milton 2:26, E. 96; FZ VII, p.90:5-24, 35-41, E. 370-71; VIII, p. 99:2-25, E. 371-72; VIII, p. 100 [1]:2-5, 17-21, E. 372-73; Jerusalem 83:72-73, E. 242; Milton 6:28-29, E. 100; 4:4, E. 97; 26:31-36, E. 123; Jerusalem 14:15, E. 158; 36:52-57, E. 182; 83:71-74, E. 242; 86:39-41, E. 245; 92:7-11, E. 252; Milton 8:43, E. 102.
57. Kremen, The Imagination of the Resurrection, p. 171.

Notes to Chapter 4 (cont.): the Wife role, pp. 90-133.

58. Damon, William Blake, p. 474: "Los and Enitharmon reach to each other above the Tree".

59. The concept of the self-sacrifice of Jesus and of Albion in Jerusalem is explored in: Mollyanne Marks, "Self-Sacrifice: Theme and Image in Jerusalem," Blake Studies, 7, No. 1 (1974), pp. 27-50.

60. Wicksteed, Jerusalem, p.216.

61. Damon, Dictionary, p. 445.

62. Hagstrum, "Babylon Revisited", in which the writer reminds readers that the married state in Bunyan is the last step to eternal bliss, p. 105;

Sutherland, however, writes "... Beulah is 'a mild pleasant Rest' for those who cannot stand the fierce, fourfold vision of 'Great Eternity' and is a sanctuary (Milton, Plates 30 and 31) ... It is not a way station for strong spirits on the road to Eternity": see his "Blake: a Crisis of Love and Jealousy";

Cf. Jerusalem 79:74-80, E. 236; 69:14-46, E. 223-24; 44:34-37, E. 193.

63. Wicksteed comments extensively on the relationship of text and illustration in Jerusalem: 76, 103, 107-09, 124-25, 187-89, 302-04, 222, 234;

In the textual commentary for the Erdman and Bloom edition, Erdman writes: "it was Blake's conscious aim to achieve breadth and variety of graphic and verbal effects befitting an epic", p. 809;

David Erdman looks at "aesthetic considerations" (p.7) in the placing of text and illustration in "Suppressed and altered passages in Blake's Jerusalem," Studies in Bibliography, 17 (1964), 1-54.

64. Ben F. Nelms, "Exemplars of Memory and Intellect: Jerusalem Plates 96-100," Blake Studies, 5, No.2 (1974), 90.

65. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, The Complete Letters, ed. R. Halsband, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965-67), I, 207.

66. Damon, William Blake, p. 409.

Notes

Chapter 5, the role of the Mother, pp. 134-82.

1. J. Campbell, The Hero with a Thousand Faces (New York: World Publishing Co., 1979), p.111.
2. Ezekiel 19:10; Ephesians 5:31.
Adrienne Rich, Of Woman Born: Motherhood as Experience and as Institution (New York: Norton, 1976).
Alexander Pope, "An Essay on Man", Epistle 3, ll. 126-32, in Selected Poetry and Prose, ed. William K. Wimsatt, 2nd ed. (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1972), p. 214.
Sex Differences: Cultural and Development Dimensions, ed. Patrick C. Lee and R. S. Stewart, particularly the articles by Karen Horney, "The Flight from Womanhood", pp. 57-73; Helen Deutsch, "Motherhood and Sexuality," pp. 91-103 (the split in woman's image of herself as madonna-prostitute as the source of internal conflict); Howard Moss, "Sex, Age and State as Determinants of Mother-Infant Interactions," pp. 463-77.
James Frazer, The Worship of Nature (London: Macmillan, 1926), chs. 6-11, *passim*.
Arianna Stassinopoulos, The Female Woman (London: Davis-Poynter, 1973), p. 38.
Erich Neumann, in his Art and the Creative Unconscious: Four Essays, tr. Ralph Manheim, Bollingen Series LXI, (New York, Princeton University Press, 1974), "Leonardo and the Mother Archetype", pp. 3-80, speaks of Leonardo Da Vinci's struggle with the two aspects of the Great Mother image as lifelong and of the artist as projecting the archetypal image on to known persons and the environment, an example of secondary personalization.
An art critic has found in one work of Leonardo da Vinci two restraining mothers: in The Virgin and Child with St. Anne, Mary is shown as holding back the infant Jesus from playing with the lamb: the passion of the Christ is not to be prevented by the human, say the commentators. However, paradoxically, the mother of Mary is seen as restraining her daughter from such efforts!
See also E. H. Gombrich, Symbolic Images: Studies in the Art of the Renaissance (London: Phaidon, 1972), p. 16, and for further discussion of Da Vinci's The Virgin and Child with St. Anne see: Zachary Leader in his Reading Blake's Songs (Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981), pp. 90-91, 233, 98, Plate 11).
3. Erich Neumann, The Origin and History of Consciousness, foreword by C. G. Jung, tr. R. F. C. Hull (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1954), p. 40.
4. Neumann, Great Mother, p.21.
5. Carl G. Jung, Symbols of Transformation, being vol. 5 of Collected Works, tr. R. F. C. Hull, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1956), p. 390.

Notes to Chapter 5 (cont.): the Mother role, pp. 134-82.

6. Barbara A. Schapiro, "The Romantic Mother: Ambivalent Images of Women in Romantic poetry," Diss. Tufts University, 1979.
7. Carl G. Jung, "Psychological Aspects of the Mother Archetype," in The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious, pp. 73-110, being Collected Works, No. 9, Pt. 1, tr. R. F. C. Hull, 2nd ed. (New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1969), p. 82.
8. Elizabeth Wilson, A Scriptural View of Women's Rights and Duties in All the Important Relations of Life (Philadelphia: Wm. S. Young, 1849), p. 55.
9. John E. Grant, "You Can't Talk about Blake Like That," Blake Studies 1, No.2 (Spring 1969), 196, 199.
10. Jung, "Psychological Aspects of the Mother Archetype," p. 82;
Karen Elias-Button, "The Muse as Medusa," in The Lost Tradition: Mothers and Daughters in Literature, ed. Cathy N. Davidson and E. M. Broner (New York: Frederick Ungar Pub. Co., 1980), pp. 193-206, and the introduction to Section V, "The Mother as Medusa", pp. 190-92.
11. Henri Frankfort, "The Archetype in Analytical Psychology and the History of Religion," Journal of the Warburg & Courtauld Institute, 21 (1958), 178.
12. Carolyn Heilbrun, "The Woman as Hero," Texas Quarterly 8, No.4 (1965), 132-41.
13. Verena Zinserling, Women in Greece and Rome (New York: Abner Schram, 1973), pp. 8, 13.
14. Hagstrum, Sex and Sensibility, pp. 242-44.
15. Fanny Burney, Evelina (London: Oxford University Press, 1968).
16. Chodorow, Reproduction of Mothering.
17. Elaine Pagels, The Gnostic Gospels (New York: Random House, 1979), ch. 3; Heimmel, Diss. 1980.
18. Roy Schafer, "Problems in Freud's Psychology of Women," American Psychoanalytic Association - Journal 22, (1974), 459-85.
19. Sigmund Freud, The Complete Psychological Works, standard ed., tr. J. Strachey (London: Hogarth, 1958): vol. 12, pp. 49-50 for reference to "decomposition"; vol. 7 for "Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality"; vol.19 for "The Infant Genital Organization" and "The Dissolution of the Oedipus Complex"; vol. 21 for "Female Sexuality" and "the Ego and the Id".

Notes to Chapter 5 (cont.): the Mother role, pp. 134-82.

20. Carolyn Heilbrun, Reinventing Womanhood (New York: W. W. Norton, 1979), p. 100.

21. Robert Briffault, The Mothers: a Study of the Origins of Sentiments and Institutions, 3 vols. (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1927; rpt. New York: Johnson Reprint, 1979), I, 75, 78, 84.

22. Friedrich Engels, The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State, tr. Alick West and Dona Torr (1884; rpt. London: Lawrence Wishart, 1941), pp. 6, 8. According to Engels, Bachofen advances the following proposition: "originally man lived in a state of sexual promiscuity": Bachofen offered proofs of such assertions in passages from classical literature, and it is evident that Engels concurred.

Johann Jakob Bachofen, [Das] Mutterrecht (Basel: Schwabe, 1897).

Cf. Davis, "Forms of Symbolic Inversion", pp. 172-73 for a discussion of the work of the Jesuit, Lafitau who anticipated, by a century, Bachofen's work on matriarchy. Lafitau's new theory of "gynaecocracy" (the matriarchal stage) was published in 1724 in his Moeurs des sauvages américains, comparées aux moeurs des premiers temps.

23. Pearson and Pope, pp. 105-06, 193-97.

24. Fishman, Diss. 1980, points out that Spenser, Milton and Blake all present the concept of dual potential in the woman: Wisdom's transcendent vision and moral vigour, the Shulamite woman's sweet unreprieved sensuality, the virtuous earthy wife of Proverbs and Jerusalem who is called Liberty are all contrasted with the harlot, the fallen Eve, the Mother of Whoredoms, Babylon, and with the Vala/Rahab/Tirzah figure, women of the sensual and material world (pp. 22-23, 151, 196 in particular).

25. Constance M. Platt, "Patrimony as Power in Four Eighteenth-Century Women's Novels," Diss. University of Denver, 1980, p. 19, makes the point that child rearing guides of the day stressed obedience to, not equality with, the father, p. 19.

Kathleen K. Hickok, "Representations of Women in the Work of 19th-Century British Women Poets," Diss. University of Maryland, 1977, lists the duties of a mother and these were to include not only nurture, but also training, not only supervision of the nursery but the tutoring of the children, not only provision for physical and material needs but discipline and love (p. 146).

26. Ruth Graham, "Rousseau's Sexism Revolutionized," in Woman in the Eighteenth Century, p. 131.

Cf. Oliver Goldsmith, The Vicar of Wakefield (1766; rpt. London: Groombridge and Sons, 1857). This opens with the lines: "I was ever of opinion that the honest man, who married and brought a large family, did more service than he who continued single, and only talked of population."

Notes to Chapter 5 (cont.): the Mother role, pp. 134-82.

27. Daniel Defoe, Conjugal Lewdness; or Matrimonial Whoredom (1727; rpt. Florida: Scholars' Facsimiles, 1967), p. 230.

28. Derrick S. Bailey, The Man-Woman Relation in Christian Thought (London: Longmans, 1959), pp. 1-3.

29. Haller, "Puritan Art of Love", p. 239.

Jerome, "As long as woman is for birth and children, she is different from man as body is from soul. But if she wishes to serve Christ more than the world, then she will cease to be a woman and will be called a man: "Commentariorum in Epistolam ad Ephesia libri III", in PL 26.533 as quoted in Bullough "Medieval views", p. 499, footnote No. 65.

30. John Milton, "The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce," in Complete Poems, p. 703.

31. Samuel Johnson, "Sermon 1", in Works, vol. 9 (Oxford: 1825), pp. 294-95, 297.

32. Hagstrum, Sex and Sensibility, p. 33.

Many tracts of ~~Blake's time~~ included prayers for varying conditions of women in labour: "for a Sick Woman That Is with Child"; "For a Woman in the Time of Her Travail"; "For One Who Cannot Be Delivered, Without Difficulty and Hazard"; "For Grace and Assistance for a Woman after Delivery, but Still in Danger", for example, were among the Sermons and Tracts of William Paley (London: 1811)

Doris Stenton, The English Woman in History (London: Allen & Unwin, 1957), p. 105. Homilies of the day on matrimony would begin by stating the divine purpose: "instituted of God to the intent that man and woman should live lawfully in a perpetual friendship to bring forth fruit and to avoid fornication".

33. Stone, p. 416.

34. Astell, Some Reflections, pp. 108-11.

35. Heilbrun, Reinventing Womanhood, p. 161.

36. Stephen B. Clark, Man and Woman in Christ (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Servant Books, 1980), p. 205.

37. Hoffeld, "The Servant Heroine", p. 29.

38. The Ages of Female Beauty, ed. Frederic Montagu (London: Charles Tilt, 1838).

David Hume, A Treatise of Human Nature, III, ii, 12, pp. 570-73.

39. Keith Thomas, "The Double Standard," Journal of the History of Ideas 20 (1959), 195-216 (pp. 209-10).

40. Boswell, Life of Johnson, III, 406.

Notes to Chapter 5 (cont.): the Mother role, pp. 134-82.

41. Trudgill, Madonnas and Magdalenes, p. 164.
42. Mary S. Benson, Women in Eighteenth-Century America: a Study of Opinion and Social Usage (New York: Kennikat Press, 1935; rpt. New York: Columbia University, 1966), points out that the view which held that mothers ought to train up their children also found expression in the New World.
43. Haskell, "The Paston Women", p. 464
44. Richard Braithwaite, The English Gentlewoman (London: 1631), as quoted in Stenton, The English Woman in History, pp. 145-46.
45. Kenrick, 1753 edition, section xxi, on "Education", and section xxii on "Authority".
46. Wollstonecraft, Vindication, Penguin ed., pp. 138-39.
47. Webster, "Circumscription", p. 68.
48. Wollstonecraft, Vindication, Source Books ed., pp. 186-87, 203-04, 219, 233ff.
49. Marlene LeGates, "The Cult of Womanhood in 18th-Century Thought," Eighteenth-Century Studies, 10, No.1 (Fall 1976), 21-39.
50. Hannah More, Strictures on Female Education, 2 vols. (London: 1800), I, 107.
51. Lady Sarah Pennington, Letter to Miss Louisa on the Management and Education of Infant Children, pp. 248-62, bound with Chapone, and Gregory, and Pennington's A Mother's Advice.
52. Rousseau, Emile, as quoted in Wollstonecraft, Vindication, ed. Kramnick, p. 186.
53. Maria Edgeworth, Leonora (London: 1806).
54. Defoe, Tradesman, p. 572.
55. Olwen Hufton, "Women in Revolution," Past and Present, No. 53 (November 1971), 90-108; Hufton, p. 94, draws on one of the Discourses of St. Thomas Aquinas which discusses the right of a starving mother to thieve bread for her young.
56. Hufton, "Women in Revolution," p. 91.
57. Olwen Hufton, "Women and the Family Economy in Eighteenth-Century France," French Historical Studies 9, No.1 (Spring 1975), 1-22.
58. Robert McQ. Grant, Gnosticism and Early Christianity (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), p. 76.

Notes to Chapter 5 (cont.): the Mother role, pp. 134-82.

59. Carolyn G. Heilbrun, Towards a Recognition of Androgyny (New York: Harper Colophon, 1973), p. 17.
60. Davies, Theology, p. 112, states that Blake wrote that "Christ took on sin in the Virgins Womb and put it off on the Cross" (Milton 5:3) but used Joseph as the focus for the doctrine of unconditional forgiveness, rather than having it exemplified by the Holy Mother.
61. James McMath, The Expert Midwife (1694) pp. 11-12, as quoted in Peter Earle, The World of Defoe (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1976), p. 207.
62. Macaulay, Letters on Education, p. 28.
63. Tatler, No. 15, Saturday, May 14, 1709.
64. John Tillotson, Works: Sermons, 4th ed. , LI-LIII, "Of the Education of Children" (London: 1728).
65. Daniel Defoe, The Complete English Gentleman, ed. D. Bulbring (London: David Nutt, 1890), pp. 74-75.
66. Astell, A Serious Proposal, pp. 6-7.
67. E.P. Thompson, "The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century," Past and Present No. 50 (February 1971), pp. 76-136.
68. Dorothy Marshall, The English Poor in the Eighteenth Century (London: George Routledge, 1926), p.x.
69. Quaife, Wanton Wenches, pp. 102, 104.
70. Stone, p. 217.
71. John M. Beattie, "The Criminality of Women in Eighteenth-Century England," Journal of Social History 8 (Summer 1975), 80-116.
72. Marshall, English Poor, pp. 95-100.
73. Natalie Z. Davis, "Women on Top: Symbolic Sexual Inversion and Political Disorder in Early Modern Europe," in Forms of Symbolic Inversion: the Reversible World, ed. Barbara A. Babcock (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1978), pp. 147-48.
- Nikki Stiller, "Eve's Orphans: Mothers and Daughters in Medieval Literature," in The Lost Tradition, pp. 22-32, writes of the world of "the womb and the loom" and refers to a medieval counterculture literature in which women figure prominently.
74. Ilza Veith, Hysteria: The History of a Disease (University of Chicago Press, 1965) p. 23.

Notes to Chapter 5 (cont.): the Mother role, pp. 134-82.

75. Arthur M. Wilson, "Treated Like Imbecile Children (Diderot): the Enlightenment and the Status of Women," in Women in the Eighteenth Century, p. 100.

76. Jonathan Swift, Gulliver's Travels, as quoted by Hagstrum, Sex and Sensibility, p. 147.

77. Chapone, Letters, p. 144.

78. Singer, The Unholy Bible. Although this work is set within a Jungian framework and deals primarily with The Marriage of Heaven and Hell, there are short sections on Enitharmon, Enion and Jerusalem, pp. 203ff, 211ff, 224ff.

Sanzo, "Blake and the Great Mother Archetype"; Sanzo links Vala with the negative aspect of the Great Mother, Ololon with the dual character of the mother archetype, with Jerusalem presented as the Good Mother, pp. 106-09, 109-11, 112-14.

See also George, Blake and Freud, particularly pp. 92-98, for Thel; ch. 4, for an analysis of Oothoon in the context of "Marriage"; ch. 5, for a discussion of Ololon; ch. 6, for a view of Jerusalem as the positive-feminine.

George, "Malignant Fires", discussing Mother Enitharmon nursing Orc, speaks of "symbiotic solipsism potentially inherent in the mother-child dyad" (p. 204) and of the developed relationship of the adolescent naked son entwined around her (pp. 207-08).

79. David Simpson, "Blake's Pastoral: A Genesis for 'The Ecchoing Green'," Blake: an Illustrated Quarterly, 13, No. 3 (Winter 1979-80), 116-38.

See also William Blake, William Blake's Water Colour Designs for the Poems of Thomas Gray, intro. Geoffrey Keynes, 3 vols. (London: Trianon, 1972), commentary p. 28. Both Keynes and Simpson refer to similarities (and differences) in the two illustrations.

See also Irene Tayler, Blake's Illustrations to the Poems of Thomas Gray (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1971).

80. Greg Crossan, "'Infant Sorrow' and Robert Greene's Menaphon," Blake: an Illustrated Quarterly, 19, No.4 (Spring 1986), 142-43. This recent article suggests that Blake sensed in Greene's lullaby the suggestion of oedipal conflict and carried that over into his own song.

81. The general critical works on Blake are useful for commentary on the background of Blake's day in relation to the legislation designed to alleviate the plight of the chimney sweep children as well as for interpretations of the poems; for example, Damon on William Blake, Raine's Blake and Tradition, for Swedenborg on chimney sweeps, Bronowski for Charles Lamb on Blake's "sweep" poems, Erdman in Prophet against Empire, Ostriker in 20th-Century Interpretations, Wagenknecht on Blake's "Night" and Wicksteed on the Songs.

Very useful specific discussion of the "sweep" songs may be found in: Martin Nurmi, "Fact and Symbol in 'The Chimney Sweeper' of Blake's Songs of Innocence," Bulletin of the New York Public Library, 68 (1964), 249-56.

Paul D. McGlynn, "Blake's 'The Chimney Sweeper'," Explicator, 27 (1968), Item 21; this points out that there is a distinction between Blake and the speaker of the poem.

James Harrison, "Blake's 'The Chimney Sweeper'," Explicator, 36 (1978), 2-3 which deals with Blake's irony.

82. For general critical commentary, see the suggested list in Note 81 above: for recognition of the importance of the two speakers in "The Little Black Boy" see Lloyd D. Jeffrey, "Blake's 'The Little Black Boy'," Explicator, 17 (1958), Item 27.

83. A lively debate, in print, on Blake's illustrations of father and mother figures occurred two decades ago:

Thomas Connolly and George R. Levine, "Pictorial and Poetic Design in Two Songs of Innocence," P. M. L. A., 82, No.2 (May 1967), 257-64; the authors argue that the "Little Boy Found" poem, of Innocence, "concerns itself primarily with the sanctity of the mother-son relationship", and identify the figure with the child's the mother.

John E. Grant, "Recognising Fathers," Blake Newsletter, 1, No.2 (Fall 1967), 7-9;

Connolly and Levine, "Recognising Mother," Blake Newsletter, 1, No.3 (1967), 17-18.

John E. Grant, "Mother of Invention, Father in Drag," Blake Newsletter, 2, No.2 (Fall 1968), 29-32; Grant re-affirms his position that the figure at the lower right of Blake's illustration to "Little Boy Found" is the mother figure.

John E. Grant, "Mothers and Methodology," Blake Newsletter, 2, No.3 (Winter 1968), 50-54.

Michele A. Stepto, "Mothers and Fathers in Blake's Songs of Innocence," The Yale Review, 67 (1978), 357-70. Stepto discusses the gentle mothers of the Songs of Innocence and concludes that in the four poems "The Little Boy Lost", "The Little Boy Found", "The Chimney Sweeper" and "The Little Black Boy" the mother is virtually powerless to prevent victimization of the child.

Notes to Chapter 5 (cont.): the Mother role, pp. 134-82.

84. Miner, "Divine Analogy", p. 51, discusses the female who ties the body of Christ to the mundane world.

Cf. Blake's lines in Satiric Verses which satirise a mother's advice: "O dear Mother outline of knowledge most sage
Whats the First Part of Painting she said
Patronage".

85. Bentley, Blake Records, p. 549.

86. Susan Fox, "Female as Metaphor", p. 509.

Cf. Zachary Leader, Reading Blake's Songs (Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981), p. 43; Leader argues that maternal affection is frequently presented ambiguously in the Songs of Innocence and Experience.

Cf. Eben Bass, "Innocence and Experience: the Thrust of Design," in Blake's Visionary Forms Dramatic, pp. 204-05; Bass also sense this same duality; he exemplifies "A Cradle Song" of Innocence where the hedging in of each stanza could imply protection for the cradled child, but oppressive design and the tone of the first line ("Sweet dreams form a shade" (T. 16) could also suggest the mother's clouding influence.

Cf. Ostriker, Vision and Verse, p. 49 in which the mother of the "Cradle Hymn" of Isaac Watts is seen as "lecturing" in contrast to Blake's "Cradle Song" mother as "loving".

Cf. Wagenknecht, Blake's Night, p. 74, where the infant and the mother of "A Cradle Song" are seen in a spiritual sense.

Cf. Welch, "Original Stories", pp. 4-7, in which it is argued that mothers of Experience often impose their negative on the child.

87. Hazard Adams, William Blake: A Reading of the Shorter Poems (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1963); this provides an introduction to the poems of the Pickering Manuscript, including reference to the three under discussion in this chapter.

Ann B. Dunlap, "Blake's 'The Mental Traveller' and the Critics," Diss. University of New Mexico 1974. Dunlap discusses both the poem and numerous studies of it.

Harris K. Leonard, "William Blake and 'The Mental Traveller'," Diss. Howard University, 1978. Leonard reviews critical commentary and presents his own interpretation in the light of biographical facts.

88. William Blake, The Four Zoas: the Torments of Love and Jealousy in the Death and Judgment of Albion the Ancient Man, derived from his original drawings ... by Landon Dowdey (Chicago, Swallow Press, 1982), p.vii.

Cf. Minna Doskow, "The Shape of Limitation: A Visual Pattern in the Illuminated Works of William Blake," Colby Library Quarterly, 17 (1981), p. 146; Doskow writes that the Eno who is represented in The Book of Los as the "aged Mother" (BL, 3:1) is identical to Enion the aged mother of The Four Zoas, pictured in Jerusalem, Plate 87, in another pose; she serves as the tutelary female spirit of generation and symbolizes that form of nature which Blake calls fallen.

Notes to Chapter 5 (cont.): the Mother role, pp. 134-82.

89. Milton O. Percival, William Blake's Circle of Destiny (New York: Octagon Books, 1977), p.174.

90. Cf. Tolley, "Songs of Spring", pp. 117-20, for an analysis of Enion's song of assurance in Night VIII.

91. David Bindman, John Flaxman, ed. by D.B. (London: Thames & Hudson, 1979), p. 70.

92. Cf. Tolley, "Songs of Spring", pp. 115-16, for the suggestion that Enitharmon's fear of giving up the self (a little Death in the Divine Image, Jerusalem 96:27-28, E. 256) is part of all maternal caring.

93. Snaky loops or lines of control are read according to each interpreter's sense of context:

Kathleen M. Murphy, "The Emanation: Creativity and Creation," in Sparks of Fire, p. 105, distinguishes an Enion who controls her offspring from an Enitharmon who weaves together the fibres of a soul towards a creation (Murphy, "The Emanations", Diss., p. 91).

Hagstrum, Poet and Painter, p. 115, argues that, in Jerusalem, Blake's earlier snaky loops become umbilical cord and intestines, symbols of what binds Albion to the natural life which does not rise to imaginative vision.

Mitchell, Blake's Composite Art, pp. 200-01, sees Jerusalem, Plate 25, as one of giving and sustaining life as well as taking it away, with Tirzah as midwife milking the umbilical cord downward to the navel to preserve the life fluids before cutting and tying off.

Robert Graves, The White Goddess (New York: Octagon, 1972), p. 160, tells of a primitive custom which preserved the actual navel string of a hero - both a snaky loop as a physical symbol and an understanding of the role of the earthly mother in the success of the child.

94. Brenda Webster, Blake's Prophetic Psychology (London: Macmillan, 1983), pp. 184-85, 188.

95. Blake, Prophetic Writings, Sloss & Wallis, I, 451.

Waldron, in her dissertation, writes: "Enion regains through her maternal love the personal humanity she has lost through her division from Tharmas ... only to suffer further from the calculating scorn of her children ... One effect of the scorn Los and Enitharmon show towards Enion is Enion's fall into the depth of Non Entity when this last avenue of salvation through love and forgiveness fails her.", (pp. 120, 118).

96. FZ I, p. 10:1-7, E. 305-06; V, p. 60:25 - p. 63:6, E. 340-43; VII, p. 83:8-15, E. 358; I, p. 4:24-25, E. 301; I, p. 8:1-2, E. 304; II, p. 30:28-35, E. 320; III, p. 43:23-24, E. 329.

Notes to Chapter 5 (cont.): the Mother role, pp. 134-82.

97. J. W. Goethe, Faust, Part II, Act I, tr. Philip Wayne (Middlesex: Penguin, 1975), pp. 75-89.

98. A brief list of sources includes:

Gertrud Schiller, Iconography of Christian Art, ed. Janet Seligman, 2 vols. (London: Lund Humphries, 1971). Volume 1 is useful for its section on Christ's Incarnation and volume II contains a thematic index, pp. 662-92.

Eric Newton and William Neil, The Christian Faith in Art (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1966). The authors comment on Blake's work as "utterly compelling", pp. 226-30.

Madonna (London: Orbis, 1984). This is a pictorial representation of the Madonna figure in art, accompanied by apt biblical texts, poetry, hymns and litanies.

Germaine Greer, The Obstacle Race (London: Picador, 1981), which is very interesting for examples of the Madonna figure by women painters.

99. Lister, Infernal Methods, p. 55, Plate 55.

100. Geoffrey Grigson, "Images of Tenderness: the Mother and Child in Art," Country Life, December 4, 1975, 1518-20.

101. Harksen, Women in the Middle Ages, p. 75.

102. Bottrall, Divine Image, p. 102.

103. Cf. Edward Rose, "Blake and Durer," Colby Library Quarterly, 16 (1980), 166-76. While this article does not specifically allude to Durer's "Praying Hands", Rose does compare the work of the two artists.

104. Michael Levey, Durer (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1964), pp. 35, 58.

105. Leo Steinberg, The Sexuality of Christ in Renaissance Art and in Modern Oblivion (New York: pantheon, 1983), p. 14. Steinberg also speaks of the image of Maria lactans as assuring the believer that the God rooting at Mary's breast had become man indeed, and she who sustained the God-man in his infirmity had gained infinite credit in heaven, and that the Second Person of the Trinity was human flesh subject to hunger, pp. 14-15.

106. Michael Fried, "Absorption: a Master Theme in Eighteenth-Century Painting and Criticism," Eighteenth-Century Studies, 9, No.2 (1975), 176-77.

Poussin exhibited a less personal involvement in feminine beauty, an attitude which was to prove the forerunner of a general theme seen in early eighteenth-century painting: that of "absorption", an emphasis in both criticism and in art which would give way to representations of heroic and grandly pathetic episodes and expression culminating in Davidic action.

107. The Genius of British Painting, ed. David Piper (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1975), p. 201.

Notes to Chapter 5 (cont.); the Mother role, pp. 134-82.

108. Wittreich, "William Blake: Illustrator", pp. 93-132.
109. Wittreich, Angel of the Apocalypse, pp. 88-90.
110. Dunbar, pp. 33-34, Plates 16, 17.
111. Wittreich, Angel of the Apocalypse, pp. 88-90.
112. Rosemary White, in working with Michael J. Tolley on Blake's designs for Young's Night Thoughts, has kindly supplied me with the following list of plates (from the water colour series), graphic representations which may be held to incorporate a mother image - the numbering is that of the Erdman, Grant, Rose and Tolley edition:
NT 4, 6, 10, 19, 27, 31, 44, 49, 64, 111, 143, 151, 239, 268, 317, 318, 346, 430, 439, 459, 464, 492, 512.
Additionally, I have considered (from the same edition):
NT 153, 158, 162, 169, 171, 175, 176, 180, 183, 185, 189, 191, 194, 197, 198, 199, 202, 203, 205, 206, 207, 208, 210, 211, 212, 214, 215, 221, 226, 229, 230, 233, 239, 253, 259, 272, 274, 283, 286, 294, 297, 298, 300, 303, 310, 330, 345, 347, 348, 353, 365, 370, 373, 375, 377, 378, 379, 383, 393, 304, 405, 413, 417, 421, 427, 435, 436, 445, 446, 460, 465, 467, 470, 473, 480, 484, 498, 500, 509, 510, 512, 518, 526, 528, 531, 533, 534.
113. Rose, "Blake and Durer", p. 171.
114. Kostelanetz, "Colour Prints", p. 117.
115. Mellor, Blake's Human Form Divine, pp. xx-xxi; ch.1: "Innocence: the Closed Form"; chs. 2 and 3 on open form.
116. Kenneth Clark, Feminine Beauty (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1980), pp. 17-18, 24.
Some artists do not lend themselves to such stereotyping: cf. Leo Steinberg, "The Line of Fate in Michelangelo's Painting," Critical Inquiry, 6, No.3 (Spring 1980), 444-45. Steinberg writes that Michelangelo presented in his Teste Divine a series of heads of women who have an impassive beauty similar to the polished Pietas he had earlier finished. The air of tranquility in these works contrasts sharply with his later tendency to grapple with the idea rather than smooth out the sculptural details. In fact, in a work known as the "Manchester Madonna", the young Michelangelo bestowed on the facing angel and on the virgin herself the shape of his own broken nose.
117. Portraits, ed. Mathey, p. 11.
118. Price, "The Standard of Energy", p. 261.
119. Ellis Waterhouse, Reynolds (London: Phaidon, 1973), pp. 9-11.
120. Plumb, "New World of Children", p. 67.

Notes to Chapter 5 (cont.): the Mother role, pp. 134-82.

121. Gamlin, Romney, Plate facing p. 186.
122. Shelley M. Bennett, "Changing Images of Women in Late-Eighteenth-Century England: the 'Lady's Magazine, 1770-1810," Art Magazine (U.S.A.), 55, part 9 (May 1981), 138-41.
123. Kenneth Clark, The Nude: a Study in Ideal Form (Garden City: Doubleday, 1956), p. 197.
124. Bindman, Blake as an Artist, p. 121.
Cf. C. H. Collins Baker, "The Sources of Blake's Pictorial Expression," in The Visionary Hand, pp. 116, 119, for a discussion of the father figure as leading the mother in Blake's series for Butts.
125. Shapiro, "The Romantic Mother".
Cf. Gina Luria and Irene Tayler, "Gender and Genre: Women in British Romantic Literature," in What Manner of Woman, as quoted in Webster, "Circumscription", pp. 51-67. Luria and Tayler argue that the later Romantics view the female as the mirror image of the poet himself.
126. Roy Schafer, "Problems in Freud's Psychology of Women", p. 478.
127. Paley, "The Figure of the Garment", part V, pp. 131-35.
128. Erich Neumann, The Origins and History of Consciousness, p. 94.
129. Blanchard, "Richard Steele", p. 334.
130. George, "Is She Also the Divine Image", p. 134.
131. Swinburne, William Blake, p. 21.
132. Abrams, Natural Supernaturalism, p. 260.

Notes

Chapter 5, the role of the whore, pp. 183-222.

1. F. Henriques, Prostitution and Society, 3 vols. (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1968), III, 187; in this same volume, Henriques mentions Cesare Lombroso, the Italian criminologist, and Edward Glover, the psycho-pathologist, who hold that the prostitute is of abnormal personality and unusual instability, III, 310.
2. W. E. H. Lecky, History of European Morals, 2 vols. (London: Longmans, Green & Co.), II, 318.
3. C. Hayward, The Courtesan: the Part She Played in Classic and Modern Literature and in Life (London: The Casanova Society, 1926), pp. xxiv, 43-44, xxii, 383.
4. M. Seymour-Smith, Fallen Woman: a Sceptical Enquiry into the Treatment of Prostitutes ... in Literature (London: Nelson, 1969), p. 38;
Margaret Bottrall, Divine Image, writes that Christendom united in upholding the Manichean doctrine that the body is evil: Protestant standards of morality saw sins of the spirit as of less consequence than the sins of the flesh; Dante's outermost circle of hell was reserved for frail flesh, p. 35.
5. E. W. Westermarck, Christianity and Morals (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1939), p.363, citing Augustine, De Ordine, ii, 4).
6. Lecky, European Morals, II, 336.
7. Westermarck, Christianity and Morals, p. 363.
8. Bullinger, Christen ... Matrimony, pp. 24, 36, 38, 41, 47.
9. De Bruyn, Woman and the Devil, pp. xii, 75.
10. Natalie Davis "The Reversible World", in Forms of Symbolic Inversion, ed. Babcock, pp. 158, 148-49.
11. LeGates, "Cult of Womanhood", pp. 22-28.
12. Astell, Some Reflections, p. 7.
13. Wollstonecraft, Wrongs of Woman, p. c.5, p. 102.

Notes to Chapter 6 (cont.): the whore role, pp. 183-222.

14. Westminster Review 53, No. 1, 1850, Article VII, pp. 448-506:

1. "De la Prostitution dans la Ville de Paris": Parent Duchatelet;
2. "Miseries of Prostitution": James Talbot;
3. "Prostitution in London": Dr. Ryan;
4. "Letters in the Morning Chronicle - Metropolitan Poor".
Westminster Review 92 (1869), Article IX, pp. 556-69; "Prostitution: Its Sanitary Superintendence by the State";
93 (1870), Article V, pp. 119-79:
"Prostitution: Government Experiments Controlling It";
93 (1870), Article VII, pp. 477-535:
"Prostitution: How to Deal with It".

15. Harrison, Dark Angel, pp. 179, 250.

There are numerous examples from the Victorian era on the subject of prostitution and the consequent social issues. For example, Trudgill (p. 284) notes that variations on the theme of "the gruesome end" and the working out of natural law to punish the erring female have been found in novels: "the pious death" as in Dumas' La Dame Aux Camélias, and "the rehabilitated life" as in Bulwer Lytton's Alice.

The theme of sexuality out of wedlock exerted a peculiar fascination for the nineteenth century art world. Holman Hunt's title is apt for much of the art of that period: [The] Awakening Conscience, a picture which itself includes details showing the well-known subject of Christ and the Woman taken in Adultery, piano music of "Oft in the Stilly Night", and a setting of Tennyson's "Tears, Idle Tears"; the artist himself designed a frame utilising emblems of warning and sorrow! Augustus Egg constructed a three-part series "Past and Present" (1858), Richard Redgrave's Outcast (1851), George F. Watts' Found Drowned (c.1848-50), and Millais' Virtue and Vice (1853) all concern themselves with the theme of the fallen woman. Manet's Olympia makes a bolder statement for it depicts the fantasy world of prostitution: the sumptuous bed, the black maid and the splendid bouquet.

See: Liverpool Public Libraries, Museums and Art Gallery. Walker Art Gallery, William Holman Hunt (Liverpool: Elliott Bros., 1969), p. 36. Some sources give the title as Awakened Conscience, but the title used is that given in the edition cited.

In contrast, see: W. C. De Vane, "The Harlot and the Thoughtful Young Man ... Rossetti and Browning", Studies in Philology 29 (1932), 463-84, for discussion of Rossetti's delicate treatment of "Jenny".

Linda Nochlin, "Lost and 'Found': Once More the Fallen Woman," Art Bulletin, 60 (March 1978), pp. 139-53, gives examples of the work of Egg, Redgrave, Watts and Millais.

Notes to Chapter 6 (cont.): the whore role, pp. 183-222.

Nochlin describes also an allied theme of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries - the idyll of innocent rural life in contrast to the corruption and greed of the great city, together with accounts of the fall and consequent wayward path of the young country girl as she moved from one to another. She examines popular French imagery which presented the redemption of the girl through a return to the native village and the acceptance of a humble "natural" position in society. Among her examples are those of two Victorians, Mrs. Gaskell in her Mary Barton, and Dickens in his The Chimes, but her research also encompasses Oliver Goldsmith's The Deserted Village, in which Goldsmith says "wealth accumulates and men decay". Alan Krell, "The Fantasy of Olympia," Connoisseur 195 (August 1977), 297-302 elaborates on the Manet picture.

T.J. Edelstein, "Reply," Art Bulletin 61 (September 1979), 509-10.

Henry Mayhew and Bracebridge Hemyng, London Labour and the London Poor, 4 vols. (London: Griffin Bohn & Co. 1862), in the mid-nineteenth century, prepared an exhaustive report on the London poor and wrote of prostitution in terms of "heroic martyrdoms" and "noble self-abnegation", and of those driven to that life by the low wages which the female industrial classes received, IV, 36.

Lecky, I, 299. Lecky presented a social and Evangelical thesis in mid-Victorian times, and saw the prostitute as "the most efficient guardian of virtue", but he failed to point out that she sprang from the twin causes of poverty and poor environment and that the initial seduction was almost invariably influenced by cramped living quarters (according to the research of E. M. Sigsworth and T. J. Sigsworth, "A Study of Victorian Prostitution," in Suffer and Be Still, ed. Vicinus, p. 81).
10.

In the early part of the eighteenth century, Pope's Eloisa may be seen to experience a "return", not to the village, but to the Church and the convent life of humility. (Alexander Pope, "Eloisa to Abelard" in Selected Poetry and Prose, intro. by William K. Wimsatt, 2nd ed. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972) is the edition used, pp. 121-31.

16. Helene E. Roberts, "Marriage Redundancy or Sin: the Painter's View of Women in the First 25 years of Victoria's Reign," in Vicinus, Suffer and Be Still, p. 46.

17. Spacks, "Ev'ry Woman Is at Heart a Rake", p. 37, quoting Johnson's Rasselas, ch. xliii.

18. Spector, "Delacroix's 'Fatal Mother'", pp 156-59.

19. Quaife, p. 124.

Cf. Shakespeare's Measure for Measure in which Claudio is given a capital sentence for bringing Juliet to bed with child outside of formal marriage.

20. K. Thomas, "Double Standard", p. 197.

Notes to Chapter 6 (cont.): the whore role, pp. 183-222.

21. Bernard Mandeville, A Modest Defence of Publick Stews, Augustan Reprint Society, No. 162 (1724; rpt. Los Angeles: University of California, 1973), p. i;
Bernard Mandeville, The Fable of the Bees (1732; rpt. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924), I, 96.
22. Earle, pp. 251, 261. (It is significant, however, that Defoe conflates the role of the whore outside the formal marriage and a similar role adopted by the legitimate occupant of the marriage bed - the subtitle of this work being "or Matrimonial Whoredom: a Treatise concerning the Use and Abuse of the Marriage Bed");
Richard Steele, in an article in the Tatler, November 8, 1709, advances a similar idea: "Wedlock is but a more solemn prostitution, where there is not a union of minds";
Mary Wollstonecraft would echo this position, writing that a wife was a prostitute with legal status, as quoted by Mark Schorer in The Politics of Vision, p. 376.
23. Earle, pp. 188, 328, note 129, quoting Defoe's Augusta Triumphans (1728), pp. 27-28.
24. Earle, p. 251, quoting Defoe in A Weekly Review of the Affairs of France, 9 vols. (1704-13; rpt. facsimile ed. 1938), I, 227.
25. Henry Fielding, London Chronicle, February 11-14, 1758, p. 149, "Mr. Fielding's Plan for a Preservatory and Reformatory
26. William Dodd, Account of the Rise, Progress and Present State of the Magdalen Hospital, 4th ed. (London: 1770).
27. Seymour-Smith, Fallen Women, pp. 104-05.
28. John J. Richetti, "The Portrayal of Women in Restoration and Eighteenth-Century English Literature," in What Manner of Woman, p. 82.
29. Pierce Egan, Life in London: 1821, dedication by P.E. Piccadilly (London: 1829).
Pierce Egan, Real Life in London, monthly parts, November 1821-, as quoted in William Matthews, Cockney, Past and Present: a short history of the dialect of London (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1938), pp. 43-44.
Walter (pseud.) My Secret Life, ed. Eberhard and Phyllis Kronhausen, (c. 1806-15 or 1820-25; rpt. Polybooks, 1967), as quoted by Harrison, The Dark Angel, p. 277).
30. Richard Steele, in The Guardian, No. 45, May 2, 1713, p. 227.

Notes to Chapter 6 (cont.): the whore role, pp. 183-222.

31. E.J. Rose, "Ut Pictura Poesis and the Problem of Pictorial Statement in William Blake", in Woman in the 18th Century, ed. Fritz, p. 288.

32. For example, in Illustrations to the Bible (ed. Keynes):

The Madonnas of the New Testament section include:

Plate 91 The Nativity

Plate 92 The Circumcision

Plate 93 The Adoration of the Kings

Plate 94 The Presentation of Christ in the Temple

Plate 95 The Flight into Egypt

Plate 96 The Repose on the Flight into Egypt

Plate 97 The Virgin and Child in Egypt (of note, the halo)

Plate 98 The Virgin and Child (of note, the halo)

Plate 99 The Virgin Hushing the Young Baptist who Approaches

the Sleeping Infant Jesus

Plate 100 The Infant Jesus Riding on a Lamb

Plate 101 The Christ Child Asleep on a Cross laid on the

Ground

Plate 104 The Holy Family or Christ in the Lap of Truth

Plate 105 The Christ Child Saying His Prayers

Plate 108 Christ in the Home of the Carpenter, or the

Humility of the Saviour.

Plates concerned with a Magdalen figure include:

Plate 123 The Woman Taken in Adultery (there is an article by Christopher Heppner, in Blake: an Illustrated Quarterly, No.2 (Fall 1983), 44-60, on graphic works on this theme; see note 36, below.

Plate 126 Mary Magdalene Washing the Feet of Christ

Plate 149 Three Maries at the Sepulchre (the title is traditional and used by Blake in a letter to Thomas Butt, 6 July, 1803, L. 66). The text in Mark 16:1 refers to Mary Magdalene, Mary Mother of James and Salome.

Plate 150 The Magdalene at the Sepulchre.

As there is discussion of plates suggesting Madonna and Magdalen figures as they occur in the illuminated works in the text proper no further listing is given here; for example, Oothoon is seen in the title page and the Argument plate of Visions as a joyous Madonna figure, in the same tradition as the Mary of Christian recollection who is said to have embraced God's love, in such words as The Magnificat; she is seen as a Magdalen figure in the frontispiece plate held in bondage by convention and societal expectation.

33. Paley, William Blake, pp. 19, 20, 177, Plate 1;

Vaughan, William Blake, Plate 3 (in colour).

The Descriptive Catalogue (E. 550) itself speaks of this as a production of youth, yet one equal in all essential points to that of Blake's maturer age.

34. Seymour-Smith, Fallen Women, p. 131.

35. Richetti, "The Portrayal of Women", pp. 85-86.

Notes to Chapter 6 (cont.): the whore role, pp. 183-222.

36. Christopher Heppner, "The Woman Taken in Adultery: An Essay on Blake's Style of Designing," Blake: an Illustrated Quarterly, 17, No.2 (Fall 1983), pp. 44-60.
37. Davies, "Embraces Are Cominglings", p. 92.
38. Bindman, Blake as an Artist, pp. 120, 126-27;
Vaughan, Plate 16 (in colour).
39. Kiralis, "Chaucer's Canterbury Pilgrims", pp. 13-90.
Kiralis in an another article sees the Tirzah/Rahab pair together with a possible Vala image, manifest possibly as Mirth and Melancholy in Blake's illustrations to Milton's "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso" - in his "Criticism of Milton's L'Allegro...", pp. 46-77:
Cf. Vaughan, Plate 23 for detail of Blake's Canterbury tempera.
William Blake, The Complete Graphic Works, ed. David Bindman (London: Thames & Hudson, 1978), Plates 477, 478, 479 (a).
40. Klonsky, p. 132.
41. For comment on this design see:
Bo Lindbergh, "William Blake's Illustrations to the Book of Job". Diss. Abo Akademi, Abo, Finland, published in 1973 in the Acta Academiae Aboensis.
Blunt, Art of William Blake, p. 85.
Mellor, Blake's Human Form Divine, pp. 249-54.
Wicksteed, Job, pp. 99-110, 103.
42. Michael J. Tolley has pointed out to me the similarities in the female figures in Plates 1, 2, 20 and 21.
43. See the article of Bentley, "A Jewel", pp. 213-40.
44. Franson, "Serpent-Driving", p. 164-77;
Tayler, "Say First!", p. 237;
Dunbar, Blake's Milton, p. 22.
45. Blunt, Art of William Blake, p. 87-88 makes this comment on Blake's opinion of Dante.
46. For further comment on Blake's Dante illustrations see:
Klonsky, William Blake, p. 113;
Paley, William Blake, p. 71, where he writes of the pathos and isolation of Paolo and Francesca which is portrayed in Blake's "Whirlwind of Lovers" and reproduced as Plate 116;
Kathleen Raine, William Blake, Praeger World of Art Paperbacks (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1974), Plate 146, and p. 196, for some comments on Blake's criticism of Dante's "vengeful morality";

Notes to Chapter 6 (cont.): the whore role, pp. 183-222.

See Vaughan, Plate 37 for a colour reproduction of "The Circle of the Lustful - Paolo and Francesca: "It depicts one of the incidents most favoured by the Romantics, the story, in Canto Five of Hell, of the ill-fated and adulterous lovers Paolo and Francesca. Their punishment is to be borne eternally in a whirling, smiting wind with other sinful lovers in the second circle of Hell."

47. Paley, Energy and Imagination, p. 179.

48. Albert S. Roe, Blake's Illustrations to the Divine Comedy (Princeton University Press, 1953), pp. 171-74, including note 6.

49. John E. Grant, "A Re-View of Some Problems in Understanding Blake's Night Thoughts," Blake: an Illustrated Quarterly, 18, No.3 (Winter 1984-85), pp. 155-81, which is followed in the same journal by a "Reply to John Grant" by Morton Paley (pp. 181-83) and "Further Thoughts on Night Thoughts", pp. 183-84, and a further discussion of Grant's article by D.W. Dorrbecker, pp. 185-90.

50. Butlin, II, 812.5, lists (among other references) in his literature review of articles on the Great Whore design the work by William Bell Scott, William Blake: Etchings from His Work, p. 7 - "The Queen of Evil".

51. Eagleton, Rape of Clarissa, p. 86.

52. Helmstadter, "Blake and Religion", pp. 203, 204.

53. Albert S. Roe, "The Thunder in Egypt," in William Blake, ed. Rosenfeld, p. 183.

Albert S. Roe, "A Drawing of the Last Judgment", in The Visionary Hand, ed. Essick, pp. 201-32 in which Roe discusses Blake's "Last Judgment" drawing in relation to the Dante Plate 88, "Beatrice addressing Dante from the Car".

54. Bindman, Blake as an Artist, p. 218;
Mellor, p. 261, for a definition of Blake's Beatrice as the Female Will incarnate.

55. Damon, Dictionary, p. 338, for notes on Blake's Rahab, named after the Jericho harlot of the Old Testament who concealed Joshua's spies and who is listed in the New Testament as an ancestress of Jesus;

Bloom, Blake's Apocalypse, p. 260, amplifies this basic identification to link her with sea monsters associated with Babylon, a parallel used also by Digby (Symbol and Image) in his description of the veiled woman in the Arlington Court picture (p. 71); (cf. Jerusalem 43:78, E. 193 where Vala (called Rahab in time, Jerusalem 70:31, E. 224) shrinks like the sea.

Notes to Chapter 6 (cont.): the whore role, pp. 183-222.

Northrop Frye draws attention to some of the symbols associated with Rahab: the Leviathan of Job and Isaiah, the Dragon of the Apocalypse, the serpent in Paradise, the Great Whore, the Antichrist of Paul, Mystery, and the Covering Cherub of Ezekiel, Fearful Symmetry, p. 299.

56. Harksen, Women in the Middle Ages, p. 56, for mention of "The Whore of Revelation" by Nicholas Bataille, late 14th-century detail from the Angers Apocalypse Tapestry based on cartoons by Hennequin Bruges.

57. For comment on the Arlington Court picture see:
Geoffrey Keynes, "A Newly Discovered Painting by William Blake," Country Life, 2 (1949), 1427.
Robert E. Simmons and Janet Warner, "Blake's Arlington Court Picture" in The Visionary Hand, ed. Essick, pp. 52-482, and "Blake's 'Arlington Court Picture': the Moment of Truth," Studies in Romanticism, 10 (1971), 3-20.

John E. Grant, "The Arlington Court Picture, Part I," Blake Newsletter, 3 (1970), 304-55 and his Part II, in Blake Newsletter, 4 (1970), 12-25.

John E. Grant, "Redemptive Action in Blake's 'Arlington Court Picture'," Studies in Romanticism, 10 (1971), 21-26.

Mellor, Human Form Divine, pp. 256-70.

Simmons and Warner identify the veiled female as Vala, although Grant argues that she is not necessarily "sinister". Anne Mellor sees this Vala as trying unsuccessfully to entice Albion into "the fallen sleep of Ulro".

58. Digby, pp. 59-60.

59. Aers, "Dialectics of Sex", p. 505.

60. Bandy, "Idea of Evil", pp. 339, 345.

61. Martin Price, To the Palace of Wisdom: Studies in Order and Energy from Dryden to Blake (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1964), p.414.

62. William Acton, Prostitution: Considered in Its Moral, Social and Sanitary Aspect, 1857, 2nd ed (1870; rpt. London: Frank Cass, 1972), p. 166. Acton spoke of the prostitute but in a more judgmental register: she was giving for money what she should give for love, what the Westminster Review, July 1, 1869, called the "public and promiscuous traffic of their own persons carried on by women for the sake of gain" ("Prostitution in Relation to the National Health", p. 183).

63. Sutherland, "A Crisis of Love", pp. 424-31.

64. Tolley, "Europe", pp. 122, 129.

65. Tayler, "Woman Scaly", p. 545.

66. Price, "The Standard of Energy", p. 263.

Notes to Chapter 6 (cont.): the whore role, pp. 183-222.

67. Frye, Fearful Symmetry, p. 301.

68. Frye, Fearful Symmetry, ch. 3, pp. 55-84, particularly, pp.74-75.

Frye, Fearful Symmetry, p. 301: "Antichrist in Blake is a threefold monster, but not exactly three women...The three forms of Antichrist... are really hermaphroditic. Chief of them is Satan...Another is Rahab or the Great Whore... the ultimate fallen form of Vala, the Lamia who entices men with the evil beauty of an elusive mysterious nature, symbolized by the cloak of shame spread, the "foolish woman" of the Book of Proverbs. The third is Tirzah ... the "Necessity" of Plato's Republic who turns the spindle of the universe, the physical basis of all nonhuman gods."

Bandy, "The Idea of Evil", pp. 101-03, makes the point that when this Rahab figure assumes a definite form then the evil forces in human life are no longer abstract but may be cast off.

69. Kremen, The Imagination of the Resurrection, p. 214.

70. Frye, Fearful Symmetry, p. 393.

71. Tannenbaum, Biblical Tradition, writes that Israel, when she fell away from God, was referred to as "whore", Biblical Tradition, p. 152 which includes a listing of Old Testament references to Israel in this role.

72. Grant, "Visions in Vala", pp. 190ff. for a description of the erotic fantasy of Plate 41;

73. Fox, "The Female as Metaphor", p. 513.

74. George, "Is She also the Divine Image", p. 136.

75. Paley, Energy and Imagination, p. 69.

76. Fishman, "The Watered Garden", p. 22.

77. Bandy, "The Idea of Evil", p. vi.

78. George, "Is she also the Divine Image", pp. 129-40.

79. Two hymns may be quoted: "A Charge To Keep I Have" and "Come Let Us Use the Grace Divine", the latter including the line: "And Keep Us to That Day": The Methodist Hymn Book (London: Methodist Conference Office, 1962) is the edition used, Nos. 578, 749.

80. Damon, Dictionary, pp. 104, 128 for Blake's use of Dinah as the youthful Erin, symbol of Blake's belief in the holiness of the body and the instincts.

81. James Bogan, "Blake's City of Golgonooza in Jerusalem: Metaphor and Mandala," Colby Library Quarterly, 17 (1981), 86, 89.

Notes to Chapter 7 (cont.): the whore role, pp. 183-222.

82. Murphy, "All the Lovely Sex", p. 273.

83. Raymond Lister, British Romantic Art (London: G. Bell, 1978), pp. 18-19.

84. Henriques, III, 311-12, quoting Weininger, Sex and Character, pp. 216-17.

85. Hagstrum, "Christ's Body", in William Blake, eds. Paley and Phillips, p. 140.

86 Patricia Meyer Spacks, An Argument of Images (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1971), pp. 121-22.

87. FZ VIII, p. 113 [1]:32-34, E. 377; VIII, p. 104 [2]:33-34, E. 376; VIII, p. 116:1-5, E. 381; VIII, p. 105:24-27, E. 378; IX, p. 118:6, E. 387; IX, p. 120:48-49, E. 390; IX, p. 134:5-6, 29, E. 402-03; VIII, p. 113 [2]:45-47, E. 380; VIII, p. 111:14-15, E. 386.

Notes

Chapter 7, the role of the servant, pp. 223-261.

1. Zinserling, Women in Greece and Rome. The author not only discusses the slave class in ancient Greece and Rome but also refers to the Pylos tablets depicting mothers and/or nurses with a child, pp. 13, 26, 58, 74.

Bullough, The Subordinate Sex, pp. 24, 67, 89.

Cf. J. H. Plumb, In the Light of History (London: Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, 1972), ch. 9, pt. 1, for thoughts on slavery in the context of the eighteenth century and ch. 3, pt. 2, for "The Woman's Burden";

Mrs. H. Sandford, Thomas Poole and His Friends, 2 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1888), II, 158-68, for insights into current opinions in England on the issue of slavery.

Stanley Gardner, Blake (London: Evans Brothers, 1976), p. 20, for mention of the women employed in the slaughterhouse around the corner from Blake's house; and for reference to the most scorned women workers see Erdman, Prophet against Empire, p. 338.

Jaeger, ch. 1, "Pioneers in Conversion", pp. 1-30, and Benkovitz "Some Observations on Woman's Concept of Self in the 18th Century", in Fritz pp. 37-54, for thoughts on some well-accepted independent women of Blake's time.

Katherine B. Clinton, "Femme et Philosophe: Enlightenment Origins of Feminism," Eighteenth-Century Studies, No. 3 (Spring 1975), 283-99, mentions that women were ridiculed when seen to possess "male" traits, such as courage (p. 287).

Miriam Benkovitz, "Some Observations on Women's Concept of Self in the 18th Century," in Women of the Eighteenth Century, ed. Fritz, pp. 37-54.

Rhonda, Margaret Haig, Viscountess, Leisured Women, 2 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1933), pp. 53-54, discusses Mill's statement that unemancipated women were a danger to the community: "to keep a slave class is dangerous to any community; to keep that slave class ignorant, idle, and in closest touch with and bound by all the most intimate individual ties of custom and affection to the people responsible for the brain work, the initiative and the leading of public opinion, is more dangerous still ... more dangerous ... when the class is taught to keep its slave ideals, is allowed to stay idle and irresponsible, but is set free".

Gail Malmgreen, "Anne Knight and the Radical Subculture," Quaker History, 71, No. 2 (Fall 1982), 100-13, recounts the call of this Quaker abolitionist for votes for women.

Mary S. Benson, Women in 18th-century America: a Study of Opinion and Social Usage (New York: Columbia Press, 1935), which demonstrates that the same conceptions about the preferred domesticity of women existed on the other side of the Atlantic.

Notes to Chapter 7 (cont.): the servant role, pp. 223-261.

Early free-thinking women provide similar comment:

Hannah More, in Essays for Young Ladies and Strictures in Female Education, in 2 vols., 8th ed. (London: 1800) decries "winning softnesses" in favour of the ability to "educate his children".

The Diary of a Farmer's Wife 1796-1797: Anne Hughes, Her Rooke (rpt. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1981) details the daily life of an active country woman of Blake's time, an emancipation totally different from that of Mrs. Hester Thrale, Thraliana: the Diary of Mrs. H. L. T. 1776-1808 (Hester Lynch Piozzi (Salisbury) Thrale, Thraliana, ed. Katharine C. Baulderstone, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1942).

LIFE AS WE HAVE KNOWN IT, by Co-operative Working Women, ed. M.L.Davies, intro. letter by Virginia Woolf, new intro. by Anna Davin (London: Virago, 1977), presents autobiographies of working class women of the nineteenth century and their involvement with the Women's Co-operative Guild.

2. Thompson, An Appeal, pp. 86-87, 72.
3. Engels, The Origin of the Family, p.59.
4. Germaine Greer, The Female Eunuch (London: Paladin, 1972), p. 220.
5. A. Trollope, Dr. Thorne (London: Thomas Nelson, 1914), pp. 328-29; Harrison, ch. 3, pp. 43-60.
6. Fraser Harrison, The Dark Angel (London: Sheldon Press, 1977), ch.3, pp. 43-60.
7. Pearson and Pope, The Female Hero, p. 18.
8. Wollstonecraft, The Wrongs of Woman, p. 103.
9. Astell, Some Reflections, p. 107.
10. Defoe, Roxana, p. 149.
11. Richardson, Clarissa, I, 102.
12. Soame Jenyns, "A Free Enquiry into the Nature and Origin of Evil", 5th ed., in his Miscellaneous Pieces, 3rd ed. (London:1770), p. 264: "Ignorance or the want of knowledge and literature, the appointed lot of all born to poverty, and the drudgery of life, is the only opiate capable of infusing that insensibility which can enable them to endure the miseries of the one, and the fatigues of the other." (p.264). This view was challenged by Samuel Johnson in the Rambler 49 and 53. See Rasselas, ed. J.P. Hardy, for the note on p.60, 1.32, (on p. 156).

Notes to Chapter 7 (cont.): the servant role, pp. 223-261.

13. Dissertations referring to such topics include:
Constance M. Platt, "Patrimony as Power in Four 18th-century Women's Novels," Diss. University of Denver 1980;
K.K. Hickok, "Representations of Women in the Work of Nineteenth-century British Women Poets," Diss. University of Maryland 1977;
S.S. Barron, "Female Difficulties: Woman's Role and Woman's Fate in Eighteenth-century Women's Fiction," Diss. Ohio State University 1982.
14. Myra Reynolds, The Learned Lady ... in England 1650-1760 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1920);
Hunter, "The 18th-Century Englishwoman" in Fritz, pp. 73-88;
A. R. Humphreys, "The 'Rights of Woman' in the Age of Reason," Modern Language Review, 41 (July 1946), 256-69.
15. Defoe, Moll Flanders, I, 4.
16. Defoe, "Essay on Projects" in Selections, p. 32.
17. Defoe, Moll Flanders, I, 16.
18. H. More to a friend, and to John Bowdler, the younger, in The Mendip Annals, or a Narrative of the Charitable Labours of Hannah and Martha More ... from 1789 to 1801 ... ed. Rev. Arthur Roberts as quoted in M. G. Jones, Hannah More (Cambridge, University Press, 1952), p. 152, 258;
H. More, Strictures, I, 107-09.
19. Jaeger, Before Victoria, p. 176.
20. E. Wilson, A Scriptural View, p. 13.
21. George Herbert, The Works (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941), p. 184;
Methodist Hymn Book, "The Christian: Service and Influence", particularly such hymns of the eighteenth century as those by Charles Wesley: "Behold the Servant of the Lord", No. 572; "Servant of All, to Toil for Man", No. 575; "Forth in Thy Name, O Lord I Go", No. 590; and "Ye Servants of the Lord", No. 581, by Philip Doddridge, 1702-51.
22. Alexander Cruden, Cruden's Complete Concordance to the Old and New Testaments, ed. C. H. Irwin and A. D. Adams G (London: Lutterworth Press, 1951), p. 582, notes that the word "servant" in the Bible usually means "bond-servant" or "slave" as there were rarely others who acted as servants. It could also mean one who serves another, although here the Revisions frequently change the term to "minister". Two other meanings denote the subject of a prince or one of servile ignoble condition.

Notes to Chapter 7 (cont.): the servant role, pp. 223-261.

Dictionary of the Bible, ed. James Hastings (Edinburgh: T. T. Clark, 1950), pp. 838-39, discusses the Biblical usage of the term, "servant of the Lord" whether this be concerning Israel or something other than Israel (a section of the nation or an individual), and it concludes that the connotation is open to interpretation according to context.

23. C. Macaulay, Letters on Education, p. 212.

24. Dennis Read, "An Eminent but Neglected Genius: an Early Frederick Tatham letter about William Blake," English Language Notes, 19 (September 1981), 29-33.

25. J. T. Smith, quoted by Gilchrist, Life, I, 358-59, and a source reprinted from Nollekens and His Times, 1828, by Bentley, Blake Records, pp. 455-76.

26. Schorer, Politics of Vision, p. 397.

27. Geoffrey Keynes, "William Blake and John Gabriel Stedman," Times Literary Supplement, May 20, 1965, p. 400;
Erdman, Prophet against Empire, pp. 230-38;
John Stedman, Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam... (1793; rpt. Amherst: University of Massachusetts, 1972).

28. David V. Erdman, "Blake's Vision of Slavery," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute, 15 (1952), 242-52 or in Blake: a Collection of Critical Essays, ed. N. Frye (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1965), pp. 88-103;
Erdman, Prophet against Empire, pp. 421, 339, 226-27, 227;

29. Hazard Adams, "The Two Nurse's Songs," in Twentieth Century Interpretations of Songs of Innocence and Experience, ed. Morton D. Paley (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1969), pp. 100-04.

30. "Work for the Night is Coming", words by Anna Louisa (Walker) Coghill (1836-1907), although later, encapsulated this ethic.

31. Desmond Morris, Manwatching: a Field Guide to Human Behaviour (London: Triad Panther, 1978), pp. 133-35.

32. Cf. Milton O. Percival, William Blake's Circle of Destiny (New York, Octagon, 1977), pp. 59-68, for a description of the building of the Mundane Shell and an assertion of Vala's active involvement rather than her declamatory stance.

33. Edmund Spenser, The Poetical Works, ed. J. C. Smith and E. De Selincourt (London: Oxford University Press, 1950) is the edition cited.

34. Wicksteed, Jerusalem, p. 217.

35. Judith Wardle, "Blake and Iconography: Analogues of Urizen and Vala," Colby Library Quarterly, 14(1978), 125-65.

Notes to Chapter 7 (cont.): the servant role, pp. 223-261.

36. Helmstadter, "Blake and Religion", p. 203;
Additionally, the forthcoming Designs commentary lists:
Hagstrum 1964: 122
Paley 1969: 142
Grant 1970: 313
Wardle 1978:158.
37. Bentley, Blake Books, pp. 621-22, for a list of plates
considered to be engraved by Blake;
Bentley, Blake Records, pp. 621-23 for a list of plates
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