HAIGHT, Richard Paul, 1934-
POPE'S DUNCIAD AND BLAKE'S JERUSALEM:
AN EPIC EIGHTEENTH CENTURY DIALOGUE.
The Ohio State University, Ph.D., 1971
Language and Literature, general

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POPE'S Dunciad and Blake's Jerusalem:
AN EPIC EIGHTEENTH CENTURY DIALOGUE.

A Dissertation
Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy.

by
Richard P. Haight, B. A., M. A.,
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1971

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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN TEXT:

PFWB  David V. Erdman (ed.). The Poetry and Prose of William Blake. Unless otherwise noted, all quotations from Blake are taken from this edition. In quoting from Jerusalem I prefer to note the Chapter in Roman numerals, followed by the plate number and the lines, as follows: (J.II.30:2-14).


TE  Twickenham Edition of the poems of Alexander Pope (John Butts, gen'l ed.), Vol V. All quotations from the Dunciad are taken from this edition, and unless otherwise noted are from the "B" (1743) version of the poem. When quoting from the prose apparatus of the poem or from footnotes I will note the page number: (TE, p. 314) or (TE, p. 271n).
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POPE'S Dunciad AND BLAKE'S Jerusalem:
AN EPIC EIGHTEENTH CENTURY DIALOGUE.

INTRODUCTION

Examined together, the Dunciad and Jerusalem contain a pervasive pattern of thematic and structural complementarities and antagonisms. It is not just that the two poems express opposite points of view; they define each other dialectically. Whatever is up in one is down in the other. Whatever is black in one is white in the other. Whatever is positively valued in one is negatively valued in the other.

Or to cite more specific examples of the process, while "shame" operates in the Dunciad as a force for moral health, it is everywhere in Jerusalem roundly and particularly damned as a force for moral depravity. Enclosed space is abhorrent in the world of Jerusalem, but prized in that of the Dunciad. The female deities central to the two poems, Dulness and Jerusalem, are type and anti-type, presences, respectively, which becloud or enlighten the minds of men. Structurally, the Dunciad moves from light to dark, toward the "victory"—"Universal Darkness"—of Dulness; Jerusalem moves from dark to light, toward the "victory"—"Eternal Day"—of Jerusalem. These examples are merely
suggestive of the extent of the dialectic to be found in the two poems.

There is a pervasive pattern of thematic and structural complementarities and antagonisms in the two poems because Pope and Blake give expression to the rival halves of an image-bound ideological squabble which was current in English life for a period of time spanning both their lives; they were moving along the well-worn ruts of a long parallel track. This track had its beginning during the Puritan Revolution, though in fact one could trace it back much farther. But the fratricidal horrors of the Interregnum imprinted the terms of the squabble forcefully and unforgettably on the minds and hearts of eighteenth-century Englishmen. The squabble was given structure by two sets of opposed images. One set had an international cast and was built around the supposed differences between Romans and Goths. The other set had a more parochial, English cast and was built around the supposed differences between Normans and Anglo-Saxons. Both sets, needless to say, were based upon faulty, and largely fanciful, versions of history. According to the imagery of the Romans-Goths set, and depending upon point of view, either Rome had once been the pinnacle of all that civilization and civilized learning might be until it was destroyed by barbarians and the whole world plunged thereby into a "Dark Age," or the Goths had twice ransomed mankind—Luther's Reformation was the second occasion—from the cruel and depraved oppression of Roman despots and priests. According to the imagery of the Normans-Anglo-Saxons set, and again depending upon point of view, either the Normans had brought civilized order to a barbaric land, or a hardy, freedom-loving, egalitarian race had been temporarily brought under the crafty heel of Norman kings and priests and their henchmen, temporarily,
until "the Norman Yoke" could be thrown off. Englishmen who lived between 1650 and 1800 tended to accept the self-definition and definition of "others" offered by these rival image sets. Their adoption of these image-sets was as inexact and sloppy as, say, the adoption by Americans of some version of the frontiersman-city slicker image set.

Pope and Blake, however, were not at all inexact or sloppy in their working out of the terms of rival "image tracks"; Pope's Augustanism and Blake's "Evangelical Republicanism"1 are beliefs and habits of mind very much in the tradition of the Roman-Norman v. Gothic-Anglo-Saxon image rivalry of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. For a variety of reasons the Gothic-Anglo-Saxon half of this rivalry is somewhat slighted in literary criticism; it is all-too-casually accepted that the opposite of Augustanism is barbarianism, but that is to take Pope's word for it. On the other hand, the Gothicism-Anglo-Saxonism with which I am identifying Blake is not quite the same thing as Gothicism of the sensationalist, sentimental and ghoulish literary fashion of the latter half of the eighteenth century.

Having identified Pope and Blake with rival image traditions, it is necessary to add immediately and emphatically that neither poet presents his version of his tradition in simplistic or undisplaced form. Pope's Augustanism is strongly influenced by traditions of "retirement literature" and Renaissance biblical commentary as well as by his personal experience and his experience of the fate of the Tories during Walpole's regime.2 Blake's Evangelical Republicanism is influenced by some nodish religious esoterica of his day, by the century of unremitting vilification of the "factionalism" which English-
men were taught to associate with "leveller" ideas, and by the fate of English Jacobinism during and after the French Revolution. Furthermore, Blake was of the most radical stream of the Gothic-Anglo-Saxon tradition. Needless to say, the ways in which both poets modify and depart from their traditions are important and must be considered if over-simplification is to be avoided. Too, as a working principle, it would be well to assume that neither poet has a lock on all wisdom, truth, and morality.

In order to develop, clarify, and defend the arguments I have begun above I propose first of all to survey, in Chapter One, the relevant critical scholarship, scholarship which has inspired, facilitated, and, in some cases, anticipated this study. In Chapter Two I will examine the Dunciad and Jerusalem in relationship to the poetic careers of the two authors. It seems obvious that the differing personal experiences of Pope and Blake pitched each poet headlong into a rival camp of the "image war" I outlined above. This seems so obvious that I will not be primarily concerned with it in Chapter Two. Rather, I want to demonstrate the large number of coincidences in the relationships of the poems to the careers of the two poets. In Chapter Three I will more specifically and more fully outline the terms of the traditions to which I believe the two poems owe allegiance. And since each poem, as I will show, treats a number of similar themes—the growth of the class-consciousness of the masses, the popular press, the ideas and ideals of the Enlightenment—I will try to trace the interrelationships among such themes and the two traditions of
imagery. Chapter Four will be devoted to a dialectical analysis of the two poems. I consider this analysis to be the most important work undertaken here, for even if the poems owed nothing to rival traditions, they would display complete, sophisticated, and complex imaginative "systems" which happen to be dialectical opposites. I am impressed by the fact that both poems do present such "systems," and for myself this illustrates the truth of the notion that even the most complex, sophisticated, cosmic, and satisfying system of "energy and order" is at best an imperfect glass through which we can see darkly and against which a Pope or a Blake can pit an equally complex, sophisticated, cosmic, and satisfying alternative, against which numerous other poets, prophets, scientists, and shamans can pit many other true and bewitching alternatives. There is something about the "modern world" which indicates to me that the attempt to come simultaneously to terms with rival "systems," such as those of Pope and Blake, is not only a challenge, but an imperative.

Chapter Four will also contain some brief reference to the archetypal realms to which Pope's and Blake's "systems" belong. Chapter Five contains the conclusion of this study. As is well known, Blake has been accepted as a true prophet and spiritual father by some modern ideologues, while Pope is now out of favor, except insofar as his ideas are gospel to millions who haven't read him and don't know his name. This latter phenomenon is possible precisely because of the expression Pope gives to archetypal feelings and beliefs. The epic dialogue between Pope and Blake continues today and is no less live and important now than it was in the eighteenth century.
1. It is very difficult to give Blake's tradition a label. To call him a Dissenter would be to suggest that he was somehow of the Puritan line. In fact he is more of the line of the Levellers and Diggers of the Interregnum. His Jacobin sympathies were so laced with Evangelical flavorings, and his debt to various religious viewpoints—Antinomianism, Behmenism, aspects of Swedenborgianism, etc.—so colored by his social and political ideas and experiences, that I feel compelled to suggest these relationships in the label; thus, Evangelical Republicanism, but only as a working label, not as an hypostatization.

2. Pope's debt to "retirement literature" is discussed in Maynard Mack, *The Garden and the City*. Thomas Iaresca reveals Pope's debt to Renaissance biblical commentary in *Pope's Horatian Poems*. Both books just mentioned, as well as Peter Dixon's *The World of Pope's Satires*, deal with Pope's experience with the Walpole regime.

3. These three influences upon Blake are discussed by many critics, but exceptionally well by Kathleen Raine in *Blake and Tradition*, by E. P. Thompson in *The Making of the English Working Class*, and by David Erdman in *Prophet Against Empire*.

4. There are echoes of Blakean ideas in Herbert Marcuse's *One-Dimensional Man* and *An Essay on Liberation* and in Norman O. Brown's *Love's Body*, and Theodore Roszak makes much explicit use of Blake in *The Making of a Counter Culture*. Poet Allen Ginsberg acknowledges a spiritual debt to Blake.
CHAPTER ONE

There are three classes of scholarship relevant to my task, works about either Pope or Blake which refer to the other, works about some topic which happens to encompass Pope and Blake, and Martin Price's *To the Palace of Wisdom*. Certainly, the studies which deal exclusively with either Pope or Blake are pertinent as well; in fact, without them, my task would be impossible. My debt to them will be obvious everywhere, and will be duly noted. However, there are few attempts to compare Pope and Blake, and none that I have found specifically concerned with the *Dunciad* and *Jerusalem*. On the other hand, Blake has just become accessible within the last two decades, even within the last ten years, so that such a study as this has been largely impossible or unrealistic up to now.

Studies of Pope which contain reference to Blake, or vice versa, tend to display some misrepresentation of the poet given passing reference. Since Blake followed Pope, and had the opportunity denied Pope of answering his opposite directly, it is not surprising that studies of Blake contain reference to Pope. It is surprising, however, that studies of Pope should so often mention Blake. This indicates to me that there has been a widespread feeling that Blake is somehow more directly related, even as an opponent, than the romantics. Thomas R. Edwards, Jr., one of the Pope scholars who has looked ahead to Blake,
provides illustration of some of the generalizations I have just made in the closing pages of his This Dark Estate. He regrets that the view of Pope as "the normative Augustan" tends "to draw a line between him and the great poets of the next age," a line which "may obscure important affinities quite as much as it defines genuine differences." This is, admittedly, the kind of statement literary scholars must always make about their arbitrary divisions, but still is a statement worth making. Edwards goes on to say,

Writers on Blake, for example—even such perceptive ones as Northrop Frye and Dark Schorer—have found in Pope a convenient figure to represent, for special purposes, the whole climate of literary practices and intellectual attitudes against which Blake rebelled. The trouble is that the "Pope" of the Blakians seems largely to consist of the earlier poems and especially the Essay on Man.

But this said, Edwards goes on to make a similar error with regard to Blake while making, at the same time, several useful comments about the relationship between Pope and Blake:

...[The Essay, read literally, is a dangerous source for determining Pope's views of nature and man. If instead you compare Blake with the Pope of the Epistle to Bathurst, the Epilogue to the Satires, and the Dunciad, you get rather a different picture. You see, I think, that both men express profound discontent with the official attitudes of their societies, especially in 'economic' matters. You see Pope, though certainly to a less radical extent, resorting to a personal abruptness of tone and a privacy of symbolism that suggests Blake far more than it does the other Augustans. You see that Pope's moralizing of his song led him eventually into grotesque fantasias, a process different only in degree from the way Blake's conventional early lyricism proceeded through the Songs of Experience to the grotesque fantasias of the Prophetic Books.]

Edwards concedes that

...Blake is a great lyric poet and a greater intellectual revolutionist...

but thinks that
...in his most ambitious works, the Prophetic Books, the attempt to recreate epic is flawed by too narrowly Biblical a tone and by the hyperprivacy of the symbolic machinery. It would be difficult to discover what would constitute a proper degree of Biblical tone. And to talk of "hyperprivacy of the symbolic machinery" is to suggest something akin to the "madness" often attributed to Blake. In fact, the Bible is a source for Blake just as "the ancients" were a source for Pope. In fact, Blake "used" his source in a particular, discoverable way which both is and is not like the way Pope used his sources. And in fact what now seems like "hyperprivacy of symbolic machinery" had both a historical cause—a political repression which made "straight talk" dangerous—and an ontological cause related to Blake's conception of his role as a prophet; and furthermore, it was a symbolic machinery which may have seemed sadly transparent to its author because so many of the key terms and of the ideas symbolized were "table talk" among the Antinomians, antiquarians, Swedenborgians, Jacobins, artists, and poets with whom he had discourse all his life. This last is not to deny that much of his language and symbolism was difficult for contemporaries who moved outside of Blake's world, but to make the common sense observation that at all times there are insular rhetorical universes, like the one to be found in English department coffee rooms. It was not Blake's intention that his first commentators would be outsiders to his sphere, that most of his commentators would write long after the vital concerns of his day were forgotten, or that the Bible would so soon after his death become a much less familiar book.

I suggest, then, that Edwards has somewhat misrepresented Blake.
Ho has, however, properly warned Blakeans against misrepresenting Pope. It should be pointed out at this point that it is desperately easy for both Popeans and Blakeans to misrepresent the opposite poet in works about their own man simply because there is an economy in the matter which gives little room for a full nod to the opposite poet. Furthermore, there is a long tradition of mutual misrepresentation between the two poets. One could easily take every reference to "enthusiasm" and "pride" in Pope to be a slap at Blake. Or one could, as Paul Fussell has done, point out instances in Blake where he has made remarks "suggestive of the utterance of one of Swift's comical Puritans" or show places where Blake "takes the unwitting role of Swift's hysterical spider in the Battle of the Books and plays out the traditional quarrel with the serene bee." I assume that Swift and Pope can here be used interchangeably. On the other hand, one could follow the lead of Blake himself in mocking Pope's hierarchical views, his judgment, even his masculinity; as Blake did in the little poem titled "Imitation of Pope: A Compliment to the Ladies":

Wondrous the Gods, more wondrous are the Men,
More wondrous wondrous still the Cock & Hen,
More wondrous still the Table, Stool & Chair;
But Ah! More wondrous still the Charming Fair. (PF.73. 498, punctuation added)

One other study of Pope which mentions Blake ought, perhaps, to be mentioned, Haynard Hack's The Garden and the City. At the conclusion of the book, Hack seems to wrap Pope and Blake in the same blanket as poets who, as poets must, see the city of history, that is, the actual city of "ordinances, expediencies, cautions, and evasions" in comparison to an ideal city and so must speak out against the follies, cruelties, venalities, uglinesses of the actual city—Hack quotes from Blake's "London".
And he suggests what is to be a continuing theme in this study; Pope and Blake are both concerned to bring evil and error out of their protective nest of convention and habit into concrete form under the glare of poetic light so that they can be dealt with. This, however, should not be taken to mean that they both had the same notion of what constituted evil and error, for in important ways they did not.

For the sake of form it would be well here to mention some of the insights about Pope to be gleaned from critical examinations of Blake, and particularly those insights which throw light on the relationship between the two poets. In *William Blake: The Politics of Vision*, Mark Schorer points out that in the seventeenth century the great classical and Christian myths were largely replaced by a "scientific myth" with, in his opinion, a decline in epic and lyric poetry as "poetry more and more took to itself the functions of science, which are exposition and description."

Thus, says Schorer,

> Writing at the end of a century whose poetic product seemed with very few exceptions unutterably dreary to him, [Blake] wanted above everything to return grandeur to poetry; and to this effect alone, he knew, myth was indispensable.

But Blake made only incidental use of classical mythology. Instead, he reactivated and rejuvenated Christian mythology. Schorer calls Blake a poet of "Joy," and declares that

> Joy is not the icy optimism of the *Essay on Man*, that highly enameled structure which in the opening lines of its second part cracks widely enough to admit all the anomalies of the age—the melancholy of Samuel Johnson, the despair of William Cowper, and the madness of Christopher Smart being the least of them.

Blake needed to construct a picture of the world, a myth, that was in some sense the counterpart of his experience of life; and the Newtonian order, in its mathematical denial of that dynamic expansiveness and fluidity which energy connotes,
was almost literally 'death'.

So Blake's myth was a necessity to him, an answer to his need for a universe that was "open," "a universe that was not indifferent to man but an extension of man, a universe in which all things were in organic and active relationship with all others, and which was constantly interpenetrated by these relationships." This may have been a "need" to Blake, but his revolt against "the static universe of the eighteenth century," with which Pope may to a degree be connected, soon had "scientific" support, for, as Schorer says, that static universe "did not fit the facts of scientific experience for very long after it had failed the facts of poetic experience." Schorer, then, is one who has explored the conflict between Blake and the poets, philosophers, and official spokesmen of the eighteenth century, among whom Pope can be numbered.

It is for such sentiments as those outlined above that Thomas R. Edwards, Jr. scores Schorer [see above]. The second critic so scored by Edwards is Northrop Frye, and Frye's "attack" against Pope on behalf of Blake is direct and unequivocal:

As all that man really wants to see tears the physical world to pieces, from the Augustan point of view the full power of genius can never find expression: most of it will invariably go to waste in attempting higher flights, and therefore the technique of perfect expression is largely a technique of achieving a tactful and communicable mediocrity... The proper study of mankind is the natural man, which in practice means that the most fertile themes of the creative imagination will be gossip, slander and domestic trivia.

Or again:

Pope...believes in a static chain of being stretching from matter to God, in which all things fulfill the law of their existence by preserving the status quo. Of man he says:

And all the question (wrangle e'er so long)
Is only this, if God has plac'd hin wrong?
As God did not, mankind is to line up like a docile theater queue which will enter into happiness shortly if no one begins to push.  \( \text{Pope's} \) "Whatever is is right" results in a religious and political conformity based on a distrust of the mind. \( \text{Frye} \)

Frye illustrates this Augustan "distrust of mind" and a "fear of creative power" by referring to Pope's Epistle to Augustus:

\( \text{Pope, in a rapid review of English literature shows us that Chaucer is ribald, Skelton beastly, Shakespeare and Jonson commercial, Cowley obsolete, Spenser affected, Milton a quibbler, the Cavaliers dilettantes, the dramatists bawdy, Dryden careless, Pope's contemporaries mainly dunces and the outlook for the future bleak.} \)

This is a rather violent indictment of Pope, and it is little wonder that Edwards objects to it. But Frye is outlining Blake's "case against the Augustans," not his own, and he points out that...

...the conception of a smug, effete, artificial Age of Reason comes down to us from the second half of the eighteenth century, and from poets who underestimated it because they needed to escape its influence.

And Blake was a poet whose need for escape was political and religious as well as poetic. There is need, then, not to take Blake's word about Pope and the Augustans.

\( \text{Frye, in fact, is most enlightening about the forms and directions of "escape" taken by the poets of the latter half of the eighteenth century:} \)

The Augustan process of developing a poetic tradition within a civilized environment no longer appealed to a poet who wanted to recapture for himself the primary creative mood in which the more sublime visions of earlier ages had been produced. He turned to solitude and direct contact with nature in order to apply to poetry, so to speak, the imaginative intensity of Robinson Crusoe. But the fact that the source of his inspiration is enthusiasm and fancy means that he does not want to be stimulated by nature into moral reflections: he wanted to animate nature, to people her with the fairies and screech-owls and will-o'-the-wisps and jolly...
swains and shepherds which are not natural or human creatures, but products of human creative power.\textsuperscript{17}

This constitutes a somewhat visceral rejection of the previous age by Blake and his contemporaries. To some extent the emotionalism of the rejection led to a blind and hasty reversal of the values of the previous age, so that, for instance, Blake takes as a good the "enthusiasm" so passionately attacked by the Augustans. Ultimately, however, we cannot take Blake's word for this either; he is no more an "enthusiast" than Pope is a "rationalist," though both terms may be useful to a limited degree. If we simply accept Pope's word about Blake and Blake's about Pope, terms like "enthusiasm" will be minimally useful.

Some stray remarks by other Blake scholars provide some focus for an examination of his relationship to Pope. J. Bronowski points to the political nature of the poetry of both poets and to the fact that both were dissenters:

...Walpole wished to silence Swift and Pope because they were Tories in a Whig society; and Pitt wished to silence Blake and his fellows, because they were Radicals in a Tory society.\textsuperscript{18}

Bronowski's point is the "Writers of literature have their own vested interests." And, he adds, "Whether they wish it or not, they write propaganda for it."\textsuperscript{19} It happens that Pope and Blake both wrote "Propaganda" against the rulers of their time.

Jean Hagstrum has a word to say about Blake's debt to his environment, and indirectly about Pope's debt to his:

Blake won his integrity, not by ignoring the diverse opportunities that late eighteenth-century England provided, but by absorbing, testing, refining, and transcending them. The greatest debt that Blake owed his environment was that it opened so many different paths
to his feet. He was not in the position of Alexander Pope, who was forced—or at least so he was made to feel—to choose the path of correctness. That in fact was about the only path that Blake's time and temperament had closed to him.\(^20\)

Thus, if there are political, religious, and poetic reasons for antagonism and complementarity of theme and structure in the works of Pope and Blake, there are, naturally enough, environmental and temperamental reasons as well. All these "reasons" I mean to explore further below.

Hagstrum, in the book just cited, and John Beer in his *Blake's Humanism*, both point out instances in Blake's writings of his linking Pope to an inferior form of poetizing. Hagstrum directs attention to a letter Blake wrote to Butts (22 November 1802, see K.814) in which he quotes with approval a statement made by Sir Joshua Reynolds linking the "Picturesque" to "Taste" and claiming that they are "Excellencies of an inferior order...which are incompatible with the Grand Style," and which would be "improperly applied to Homer or Milton, but [would be] very well [applied] to Prior or Pope." Beer cites these lines from the *Public Address*:

> The unorganized Blots and Blurs of Rubens & Titian are not Art nor can their Method ever express Ideas or Imaginations any more than Pope's metaphysical Jargon of Rhyming.\(^21\)

In the same place Blake classes Pope as a "copier" or "imitator," by which he means that Pope reduced "that which is Soul & Life into a Mill or Machine" (*PB.E.564*), in other words, that Pope copied nature rather than used imagination. Pope's "metaphysical Jargon of Rhyming," then, is to Blake empty rhetoric, mere words, all surface with no depth or "soul," conventional sentiment tricked up to seem wise. It is a continuation of the eighteenth-century argument over Taste, and Blake no less
Than Pope, connected his notion of bad taste with his notion of politics:

While the works of Translators of Pope & Dryden are looked upon as the same art with those of Milton & Shakespeare while the works of Strange & Woollett are looked upon as the same art with those of Raphael & Albert Durer there can be no art in a nation but such as is subservient to the interest of the monopolizing trader.... (Public Address, see PR® 564-5)

And Blake, too, shows a concern for dunces, but of course from a different perspective than that of Pope:

Englishmen rouse yourselves from the fatal slumber into which booksellers & trading dealers have thrown you under the artfully propagated pretense that a translation or a copy of any kind can be as honourable to a nation as an original be-lying the English character in that well known saying Englishmen. Improve what others invent (PP® 565)

In a sense, Pope has become a dunce to Blake.

Beer argues that the main theme of Blake's Milton is "inspiration," and he goes on to say:

The designs in the poem give a strong clue; they are nearly all concerned with the inspired man and his struggles against the forces of reason and law. And this preoccupation, it will be noticed, has gradually led Blake away from the field of political events to a consideration of art and its nature.

That is to say, for my purposes here, that Blake's "mature vision" was marked by a preoccupation with art and the artist. Peter F. Fisher has summed this whole problem up well, and so, while the point is raised, I will take advantage of his formulation in order to clarify it:

Recognizing the essential and the prophetic value of art, Blake took into consideration its political effect in arousing and maintaining the morale of a people without surrendering its integrity and its liberty to the arrogant assumptions of authority. The conventional rituals of social intercourse had formed an important subject of study for the citizen in antiquity. The effective cultivation of the arts for the purpose of moulding the citizen is the concern of humane letters. It was their use to support political policy.
which degraded the states of Greece and Rome in the eyes of Blake. It was their use to support the power of an established priesthood which disgraced the Egyptians, the Druid, and those who destroyed the liberty of the arts in the interests of a closed social scheme. Blake endeavored to restore freedom and health to them by avoiding the aestheticism of the connoisseur on the one hand and the decadence of public taste on the other. His efforts were, in his own eyes, those of an ardent patriot and one who felt his duty to the public.23

Book One of Jerusalem is addressed "to the public." The "patriotic" nature of Blake's feelings about art and taste are, I think sufficiently illustrated by his remarks from the Public Address quoted above.

But if Blake wished to communicate to the public, why did he adopt a symbolism and myth and a mode of presentation without a narrative line which seemed so to distance him from the public? Beer is one who raises this question. He notes that both Langland and Pope are difficult, then says:

But where the medieval poet has the defence of a shared language, or Pope the defence of a shared culture, so that to communicate with them is also to make contact with other minds in that country or period, Blake has only the narrower plea of a private vision. And since that vision is consciously at war with the artistic tradition of his time, the failure of communication must sometimes seem deliberate. There are moments when Blake, in the strength of his obstinacy, has recourse to a purely arbitrary symbolism.24

Beer goes on to admit that "such moments are rare," but in general holds Blake culpable of poetic bad faith. Certainly Blake is esoteric and difficult. If he is to be judged in terms of his ability to communicate with a mass audience he must necessarily be given low marks. However, as Blake's structure of symbolism receives more attention and more of it is "explained," it seems that less and less of it can be criticized for being "purely arbitrary;" Blake simply
gave new names to old symbols. Furthermore, it is hardly Blake's fault if both his contemporaries and modern observers are unused to the manipulation of symbols. Finally, Blake must be granted his intention, and his intention was to communicate in a certain way, not to communicate to a certain audience or to a certain percentage of the audience. Blake demands that a reader respond to that way of communicating, which, for the sake of brevity, I would describe as a way which integrates many ways of perceiving, knowing, and expressing.

A large number of books link Pope and Blake in various ways to various topics and themes such as, for instance, the shift "from classic to romantic." There is not room enough here for more than a cursory glance at some of these. This is a problem, however, which is partially mitigated by the fact that the "break-through" criticism of Blake is a product of the last twenty years, and, for all practical purposes, the product of the last decade, for it was not until then that authors of books on general topics could very well have assimilated the criticism. The following well-known books, for instance, make no mention of Blake: Walter Jackson Bate, From Classic to Romantic: Premises of Taste in Eighteenth Century England (1946), Basil Willey, The Eighteenth Century Background: Studies in the Idea of Nature in the Thought of the Period (1940), Arthur O. Lovejoy, The Great Chain of Being (1936), and Richard Foster Jones, Ancients and Moderns: A Study of the Rise of the Scientific Movement in Seventeenth Century England (1961). Willey's Seventeenth Century Background (1935) does mention Blake three times, but in ways so incidental as to be totally
non-essential to anything said there.

Of course there is no reason why any critic must mention Blake in the kinds of books just listed. And admittedly the mention of Jones' book may seem purely perverse, given its subtitle. But a more recent book, with a similar subtitle, does refer to Blake; I refer to Harold Fisch's Jerusalem and Albion: The Hebraic Factor in Seventeenth-Century Literature (1964). The point is that Blake is increasingly coming to seem an important pivot point away from seventeenth-century science, using a return to a form of "Hebraism" as part of his technique. Similarly, he now seems to be perhaps, one of the first and most formidable opponents of "the great chain of being," and, too, a more apt rebel against the "eighteenth century background" than the poet Willey uses for that role, Wordsworth.

Pope and Blake show up together in odd places, but their being in those places is not odd at all. Pope, as a prominent satirist, shows up in Robert C. Elliott's The Power of Satire, but Blake is given the last word in the book:

In The Marriage of Heaven and Hell, William Blake asks the prophet Isaiah, "does a firm persuasion that thing is so, make it so?" Isaiah replies: "All poets believe that it does, & in ages of imagination this firm persuasion removed mountains; but many are not capable of a firm persuasion of anything." The will in ages of imagination was endowed with preternatural power, and not until the firm persuasion disappears do satire and the curse meaningfully diverge and satire begin to take on an independent and remarkably complex life of its own.

Without going into the subject of satire, we can take this statement generically to be about a divided versus an integrated being. Blake's task was to champion an integrated being, to reintegrate innocence and experience. Pope presumably was left to make the most of a divided self.
Elliott says, just prior to the passage already quoted, that:

Perhaps the best approach is to look at both curse and satire as relatively undifferentiated responses to the threats and the possibilities of a hostile environment. Behind them both is the will to attack, to do harm, to kill—in some negative way to control one's world.'

However, the "curse" has magical efficacy, or so it is believed. When that magic is removed, satire must be its own appeal and must depend not upon the gods but upon its author for its success; and an author's success depends upon the strength of his arguments, upon the force of his rational formulation. Pope could not simply write his satires, but had to live them as well, making his personal existence an exemplum of his rational arguments. This obviously raises the issue of the satirist v. the prophet. Elliott's argument suggests that "the satirist" in this instance must be seen to be particularly vulnerable because of his position in a rationalistic age and that the "prophet" who succeeded him must be seen to be no less vulnerable because of his attempt to reintroduce "magic" after an age of rationalism.

If Pope's satire was a "response to the threats and the possibilities of a hostile environment," he was therefore a soldier on the battlements, and this stance trapped him in a paradox; he was defending peace, and the "retirement" ideal suggested by the Georgics, but he adopted the tactics of a warrior hero to do so, or so it has often seemed. This paradox is mentioned in another of those odd places where one would not quite expect Pope and Blake to be rubbing elbows, Ian Watt's, The Rise of the Novel. Talking about Samuel Richardson's antipathy to the character of the "epic hero," Watt notes that Richardson's ideas are not original ones:
Pope had written that 'the most shocking' thing in Homer was 'that spirit of cruelty which appears too manifestly in the Iliad'. And it is obvious that since, in epic, warfare is 'an essential rather than an accessory', its moral world stands for values which are alien and unwelcome to the members of a peace-loving society. Richardson goes a good deal further, and his talk of the 'infinite mischief' done by the Aeneid is substantially new, and anticipates Blake's more general accusation that '..it is the Classics..that Desolate Europe with Wars'.

The complete sentence in the Blake quote reads: "The Classics, it is the Classics! & not Goths nor Monks, that Desolate Europe with Wars!" (from "On Homer's Poetry," see PRJB, 267). If Pope was defending an eighteenth-century Augustan Rome against Goths, Blake was with the Goths, spiritually at least. I will take this up more fully in Chapter Three of this study. What matters here is the difficulty of Pope's position; the accusation is that no matter what he said it was largely vitiated by the way he said it, by his satiric stance. Even if he disavowed war and espoused peace he seemed to the Dunces and to the poets of the next age, nevertheless, to be cruel.

After the perspective and Pope emerges a sage. Marshall McLuhan credits Pope with prophetic wisdom and acute perceptiveness:

Pope's Dunciad indict the printed book as the agent of a primitivistic and Romantic revival. Sheer visual quantity evokes the magical resonance of the tribal hordes. The box office looms as a return to the echo chamber of bardic incantation.

From McLuhan's point of view, Pope and Blake are allies; the juxtaposition of a few of his breathless comments will illustrate this:

It is Pope's simple theme in the Dunciad that the fogs of Dulness and new tribalism are fed by the printing press. Wit, the quick interplay among our senses and faculties, is thus steadily anesthetized by the encroaching unconscious. Determined as Blake was to explain the causes and effects of psychic change, both personal and social, he arrived long ago at the theme of The Gutenberg Galaxy:
The Seven Nations fled before him: they became what they beheld.

Blake makes quite explicit that when sense ratios change, men change. Sense ratios change when any one sense or bodily or mental function is externalized in technological form...\[31\]

McLuhan equates Pope's term, Wit, with Blake's, Imagination. If Wit is "the quick interplay among our senses and faculties,"

Imagination is the ratio among the perceptions and faculties which exists when they are not embedded or outered in material technologies. When so outered, each sense and faculty becomes a closed system. Prior to such outering there is entire interplay among experiences.\[32\]

Because McLuhan's eye is upon "the medium" which he considers to be the real "message," he accords higher marks to Pope than to Blake, for the former, he feels, most fully grasped the dilemma the new print technology created for modern man. The dilemma is that, from Pope's time to the present, the medium and the message, the form and content, have carried rival messages. Blake merely sought to force upon an "individualist, segmental, and mechanical" medium a "collective and mythic" message. "Blake and the Romantics," say McLuhan,

...turned literature over to the transcendental arm. Henceforth, literature will be at war with itself and with the social mechanics of conscious goals and motivations. For the matter of literary vision will be collective and mythic, while the form of literary expression and communication \[i.e., print technology\] will be individualist, segmental, and mechanical. The vision will be tribal and collective, the expression private and marketable. This dilemma continues to the present to rend the individual Western consciousness. Western man knows that his values and modalities are the product of literacy. Yet the very means of extending those values, technologically, seem to deny and reverse them. Whereas Pope fully faced up to this dilemma in The Dunciad, Blake and the Romantics tended to devote themselves to one side of it, the mythic and collective.\[33\]
Presumably, as long as literacy is the private property of a small, privileged elite it perpetuates the values of Western culture which are "collective and mythic," but once literacy spreads to the means and is catered to by a "print technology," it perpetuates the values of "individualism and nationalism," that is, it promotes "individualist, segmental, and mechanical" modes of thought. On the other hand, the same "collective and mythic" modes which are the modes of Western culture are also those of "primitivism and tribalism." Good "primitivism and tribalism" is, therefore, the kind upheld by elitists, like Pope, and bad "primitivism and tribalism" is the kind which presumably burned within the breasts of the Goths who sacked Rome (figuratively at least), who were kept pure by the accident of living before print technology might have turned them into "individualists."

If, instead of exercising exasperation against McLuhan, I take him in his own terms, I see that he is perhaps saying that Pope "saw the handwriting on the wall" while Blake could only "make the best of a bad deal." Anyway, insofar as they both held roughly similar ideas about the proper function of mind, insofar as one can accept that both poets meant approximately the same things by the different words Wit and Imagination, it would seem that the difference in their careers was caused in part by the different state of print technology when they wrote. And both poets, speaking against the tide of media-shaped opinion in their day, were impotent to awaken their contemporaries, or, as McLuhan puts it,

...when a Pope or a Blake pointed out that truth is a ratio between the mind and things, a ratio made by the shaping imagination, there was nobody to note or comprehend. Mechanical matching, not imaginative making,
will rule in the arts and sciences, in politics and education, until our own time.\textsuperscript{34}

This must rest here for now. I have already noted that "the popular press" figures prominently in both the \textit{Dunciad} and \textit{Jerusalem}; it is a topic to which I will return.

Turning from McLuhan to A. R. Humphreys, one returns to a world of comfortable and familiar generalizations about Pope and Blake. In \textit{The Augustan World}, Humphreys says of Pope's religion, after pointing out that he was "by birth a Roman Catholic and by friendship a Deist," that,

He shows little sense of personal religion, or indeed of ability to philosophize deeply for himself, yet the current metaphysical certainty enables him to feel at home in life and to answer its problems, impregnable in ultimate conviction.\textsuperscript{35}

However, Humphreys also points out that "Among the Augustans the real poetry came from those in whom optimism wore thin (as with Pope), or was missing entirely (as with Johnson), etc."\textsuperscript{36} As for Blake's religion, Humphreys says simply, "He was a law to himself."\textsuperscript{37}

Taking these generalizations one at a time, first, Pope held values which can certainly be called religious, but these values were quiet, rational ones, and above all, he disliked dogma so was unlikely to bruit his religious views about. Second, whatever one thinks of the quality of Pope's philosophizing, there is no reason to suppose it was not his own philosophizing. Bonamy Dobree says of the notion that Pope merely versified Bolingbroke's ideas that,

Pope had always read philosophy, from those early days when he had browsed in his father's library at Binfield: he was steeped in contemporary work.... ... It seems common sense to suppose that Pope and Bolingbroke had read the same books and discussed them; but why suppose
further that the argument was all with Bolingbroke? After all, Pope had a brain; and in actual fact, in some respects his philosophy as given in /The Essay on Man/ differs from Bolingbroke's in the latter's Works. Moreover, a considerable number of the ideas in Essay may be found in some of Pope's earliest letters, long before he knew Bolingbroke.38

Third, Pope's "optimism" did, indeed, seem to wear thin, particularly in the final version of the Dunciad. And fourth, it now seems true, but less true than formerly, that Blake was "a law to himself," primarily because the "context" in which he wrote is gradually being recreated and there is now less distinction between his figure and the age's ground.

In Newton Demands the Muse: Newton's Opticks and the Eighteenth Century Poets, Marjorie Hope Nicolson has outlined the relationship of Pope and Blake to the book mentioned in the subtitle. Her last paragraph say it all:

Thus the whirligig of time brings in its revenges. To the poets of the earlier period Newton with his 'laws divinely simple' had brought order out of the chaos of earlier thought, by showing that the same law which governs the fall of an apple to the ground also restrains the planets in their courses. With his prism he had first separated light into colors in his darkened room; then he had fused the particolored divergent thought of the age into a single beam of pure light, the light of Reason, 'the Newtonian Sun.' Pope wrote the perfect epitaph for that Newton: 'God said, "Let Newton be!" and all was light!' Blake's epitaph was equally succinct: 'The Song of Los is ended. Urizen wept.'39

Miss Nicolson has made no attempt to come to terms with Blake's thought in toto, so that while she can point out passages in which he shows the influence of Newton's Opticks she does little illuminate Blake's metaphysical quarrel with "Newton."

The metaphysical "enemies" in Blake's poetry are "Bacon, Newton,
& Locke." If Miss Nicolson reminds us of Blake's antipathy to Newton, Paul Fussell reminds us of his antipathy to Locke. In The Rhetorical World of Augustan Humanism: Ethics and Imagery from Swift to Burke, Fussell points out that the "premise of the uniformity of human nature is indispensable to the Augustan humanist conception of man as well as to the humanist sense of literature and art." This premise is, of course, attributable to Locke. Blake attacked this "premise" relentlessly; Fussell cites one Blakean fusillade and summarizes its effect on the Augustans:

"Man varies from Man more than Animal from Animal of different Species." In this statement the humanist would find—as Blake intended that he should—a direct challenge to existing codes of law, schemes of public symbolism, received and traditional artistic genres, the practice of literary 'imitation' of successful works of the past, and indeed the validity of the whole objective world of General Nature sanctioned by the implications of Locke's Essay.

"But," Fussell goes on in a somewhat disingenuous way,

in the age of Swift and Pope there was happily no William Blake around to impugn so vigorously the idea of the uniformity of human nature, and innovations in the theory of man could easily be regarded as whimsies begotten by vanity upon boredom.

Fussell elsewhere in his book, particularly in Chapter I, contributes helpful ideas to an argument I propose to develop further in the third chapter of this study, namely the argument that the quarrel between Pope and Blake has a more vital connection to the old argument between Ancients and Moderns than to any opposition between classicism and romanticism. I will make much grateful use of Fussell's book later.

Four other books which treat both Pope and Blake can be briefly
mentioned. Samuel Holt Honk's *The Sublime* uses Blake only illustratively, but reminds once again that Pope and Blake quarrel over the nature, function, and purpose of art. In *The Mirror and the Lamp*, M. H. Abrams, in noting Blake's reaction to *Paradise Lost*, credits Blake with formulating "...the earliest instance of that radical mode of romantic polysemism in which the latent personal significance of a narrative poem is found not merely to underlie, but to contradict and cancel the surface intention." It has not been mentioned so far, but of course Milton is a major influence on both Pope and Blake, but in different ways, so that this influence will be mentioned in different places in this study. Harold Fisch (*Jerusalem and Albion: The Hebraic Factor in Seventeenth-Century Literature*) and Murray Roston (*Prophet and Poet: The Bible and the Growth of Romanticism*) both pay much attention to Blake, for the obvious reason that Blake, more than any other poet of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, recaptured the inner mood of *Old Testament* prophecy. As I have already indicated, Pope and Blake disagree about how to "read" the Bible, and the two critics just named provide valuable background to the nature of their quarrel.

I conclude this survey of scholarship relevant to my task by discussing the work which is most relevant and which is in that regard in a class by itself, Martin Price's *To the Palace of Wisdom*. There can be little doubt that the point of view Price brings to bear on Pope and Blake is one of the most crucial ones available, the opposition between order and energy. In the process of exploring this opposition Price explores several key subordinate oppositions:
the character and function of the satirist v. the character and function of the prophet; concordia discors v. contraries; Dulness v. Urizen; moral judgment v. a standard of energy.

It is Price's opinion that,

What particularly distinguishes Blake as satirist from Augustans is the shift from moral judgment to a standard of energy. It is not the evil man so much as the soulless and dead man that Blake disdains.44

If that suggests an affinity between Blake's attitude and Pope's well and good, for Price intends one. I will presently discuss the insight of Aubrey Williams that the critical apparatus, and the changed perspective in Book IV of the Dunciad both function to focus attention more on the crime than on the criminal; that is a movement away from moral judgment toward "a standard of energy," but, of course, Pope does not go all the way. Still, his task as a satirist is very like Blake's as a prophet. As Price puts it:

The prophet like the satirist, must reject the saving lie, and he must commit himself with 'triumphant honest pride' to the vision that strips away illusion. The power to penetrate the wishful blindness and the plausible pretext is the prophetic gift that leads to the satiric image.45

Or again:

Both poets work, by means of dialectical encounters, toward the ultimate exposure and consolidation of error so that it may be thrown off. Once the orders of error are distinguished, the self-enclosure of each has been broken, and a choice can be made.46

Pope wishes to reconcile contraries, to achieve a concordia discors:

"Far from wishing to reconcile contraries, Blake uses the term 'marriage' to define their fruitful opposition."47

Thus, the dialectical encounters which are a principal feature of the Dunciad and Jerusalem are structured by poets whose intentions in such
encounters are different.

Price explores this difference of intention by comparing Pope's Dulness to Blake's Urizen:

Urizen is the impoverishing tyranny of reason, Dulness the paralyzing tyranny of pure matter; but these different tyrants achieve their power in similar ways. . . . Like Dulness, Urizen is a part of the human soul usurping the rule of other parts. Dulness represents the atavistic unconscious of self-gratification and self-absorption that may include overt pride, less obvious laziness, more fundamental self-hood. Blake's Urizen is self-hood in another guise: the self-hood of prostration before one's guilt and anxiety, of assertion through vindictive law and frustration before repressive fear, a cycle—in familiar modern terms—of frustration and aggression, the aggression turned against oneself as well as others and projected into an institution that gives it impersonal authority.

Thus, the "dialectical encounters" in their works lead Pope and Blake to identify slightly different errors and to stress slightly different reactions to error. The difference between Pope and Blake can be expressed, in Price's terms, as a difference in emphasis on order or energy. Price's formulation shows how careful one must be to avoid oversimplification when talking about order and energy in the works of Pope and Blake:

Pope and Blake deal with the failure of both order and energy. Pope, whose concern is for order, shows Dulness foisting a new order with the irresistible power that is freed by the mind's abdication. Blake, whose concern is for the energy that makes its own constantly renewed forms of order, shows Urizen checking all movement and renewal or forcing energy into perverse and wasteful forms. Pope shows Dulness ruling the world by corrupting institutions and inverting their original nature. Blake shows Urizen's power in the false authority of all institutions, which by their nature seek to preserve and extend the power surrendered to them.

Put another way, it is difficult for Pope to deal with energy and for Blake to deal with order. Price contends that it was the adoption of
Los, "the imaginative spirit seen as prophet-poet-sculptor," which enabled Blake, after about 1800, to "deal more adequately with the idea of order." I think that the "darker mood" in Pope's final version of the Dunciad results from his effort to "deal more adequately" with energy.

There is a difference of opinion about how well Blake learned to deal with "the idea of order." Harold Fisch, for example, in Jerusalem in Albion, to which I have already referred, takes Blake to task for equating Puritanism and Hebraism as mere "codes of righteousness:"

In rejecting the Law of Works (i.e., the code of righteousness) Blake is thus himself guilty of dissociation. And this is in fact the root dissociation in romanticism—the splitting-off of Law from Liberty, Reason from Imagination, and Faith from Works. These forces...divide and fall apart in Blake and the writings of his contemporaries. Innocence and Experience become two utterly incompatible orders of existence. All human institutions, Churches and establishments, all rational accommodations and legal forms become inherently evil and corrupt by a condemnation as total as Puritan decree of Original Sin. Only the free Spirit of man—the Divino Humanity—wining like a lark...and totally free either of moral restraints or the necessity to adapt itself to the conditions of earthly existence, is to be reckoned with as pure and good.

Fisch would be, in Blake's terms, an agent of Doubt; he would deny to Blake and his kind the right and appropriateness of "clarifying" the error of "churches and establishments" and of "all rational accommodations and legal forms." It is the province of Pope and the Augustans to speak of "moral restraints" and adaptations to "the conditions of earthly existence." Blake concerns himself with the effects of those restraints and adaptations on the human spirit.

Another critic draws a different conclusion about Blake's treatment of "order." Peter F. Fisher, speaking of Blake's political
stance, makes use of Blake's notion of "contraries" to decide that "Blake is the contrary, not the negation, of the political views of Plato and Dante, and he reverses their utopian rationalism." One can without violation substitute "Pope" for "Plato" in that statement, and in the following:

In his Republic [read Dunciad], Plato [Popo] describes the decline of the state from the rule of justice. From the aristocratic life of intellect, the individual and the community are represented as falling under the tyranny of desire. Blake brings the prophetic revolutionary back in at the nadir of this cycle and converts Popo's [Popo's] tyranny of desire into his own vision of the tyranny of reason. He puts blood into the conservative utopia and brings it to life, not by reversing the poles of the state but by placing them in balance. The radical is not exalted to the top of the heap, and the conservative reduced to the bottom; instead, they both act as contraries in an active equilibrium.

There can be no such equilibrium if the prophet remains silent.
There can be no such equilibrium if the satirist remains silent.
There will be a tyranny of reason if the prophet does not speak.
There will be a tyranny of desire if the satirist does not speak.

In this study, the prophet and the satirist, like the tiger and the lamb, lie down together. Their arguments are complementary, necessary to each other, contraries which ultimately produce equilibrium. Since beginning this study, I have received support for conceiving the visions of Popo and Blake to be complementary from a number of sources. This support has come from isolated statements, to be found in many places, statements like the following by Martin K. Heide:

...I will try to show how Blake formed certain of his visionary ideas partly in reaction against philosophical enemies, or at least how the particular form in which
he cast these ideas arises out of an attempt to expose the errors of these enemies by his taking some of their central concepts and reconceiving them in a visionary context...According to Blake, 'you cannot behold...Satan' till he be revealed in his System; (J. 43/29: 10, PPMB. 189) and one of his main purposes was to display various aspects of systems of satanic thought in such a way that what was satanic about them would be recognizable. But if he was to have any hope of success, the identity of the systems being exposed would also have to be recognizable: the satanic parts of Newton's system must be known to be Newton's or there is no point to the exposure.55

Obviously, the statements of Martin Price, to which I already alluded, bear much the same freight as Nurmi's. Obviously too, what Nurmi says about Blake and his attempt to "expose the errors of...enemies" could with equal justice be applied to Pope and his attempt to expose the errors of Dulness and of the Dunces. Failure to recognize this fact leads to, for instance, a tendency to be excessively concerned for the welfare of individual Dunces and a related failure to see the error being exposed. Some of the "errors" Pope exposed are Blakean errors. Just as Blake can be said to have identified Pope as a Newtonian, Pope can be said to have identified Blake as a Deistical free-thinker. Both poets were both right and wrong about the other.

It is easy to see that Blake composed a retrospective critique of Pope and the Augustans. It is more difficult to see that Pope formulated a prophetic critique of Blake and the romantics. The burden of Chapters Three, Four and Five will be to demonstrate these relationships, and particularly the latter one. First, however, it would be useful to speak of the place of the Dunciad and Jerusalem in the respective poetic careers of Pope and Blake.
FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER ONE.

1. p. 132.
2. This Dark Estate, p. 132.
3. Ibid., pp. 132-3.
4. Ibid., p. 133.
5. The Rhetorical World of Augustan Humanism, p. 24 and p. 25.
6. The Garden and the City, p. 216.
7. Ibid., p. 217.
10. Ibid., p. 35.
11. Ibid., p. 35.
12. Ibid., p. 36.
15. Ibid., p. 166.
17. Ibid., p. 170.
22. Ibid., p. 185.
27. Ibid., p. 292.
30. Ibid., p. 259.
31. Ibid., p. 265.
32. Ibid., p. 265.
33. Ibid., p. 269.
34. Ibid., p. 268.
36. Ibid., p. 175.
37. Ibid., p. 177.
40. The Rhetorical World of Augustan Humanism, pp. 54-5.
42. Ibid., pp. 55-6.
43. The Mirror and the Lamp, p. 251.
44. To the Palace of Wisdom, p. 430.
45. Ibid., p. 430.
46. Ibid., pp. 435-6
47. Ibid., p. 438.
48. Ibid., pp. 443-4.
49. Ibid., p. 435.
50. Ibid., p. 423.
51. Ibid., p. 423.
52. Jerusalem in Albion, p. 280.
53. The Valley of Vision, p. 164.
54. Ibid., p. 164.
55. "Negative Sources in Blake," in Rosenfeld, Essays, p. 304f.
CHAPTER TWO

The Dunciad and Jerusalem occupy similar places in the careers of both Pope and Blake. Each was completed near the end of its author's life and was its author's last major work. Each contains a summation of its author's nature intellectual life expressed in a virtuoso poetic performance. Each was almost immediately adjudged by contemporaries too obscure for comprehension. Each has been, from first appearance to the present, the center of a debate over whether or not it is a structural unity. And each secured for its author a negative reputation, Pope as a nasty, petty but vicious gossip, Blake as a madman. But, it should be added, each poem is coming increasingly to seem its author's finest achievement. Pope and Blake are, coincidentally, gradually beginning to be exonerated of the charges against their characters and are being accorded increasing respect as their work is better understood.

Both the Dunciad, at least the "B" version, and Jerusalem were preceded by poetic statements of the authors' beliefs about the role and function of the poet. Pope the Satirist explained himself in To Arbuthnot and elsewhere, while Blake the Prophet did likewise in Milton and elsewhere. The Dunciad \[E\] and Jerusalem are exempla of those self-definitions. This is a topic which I will take up again in Chapter Four. Several other works in the canons of Pope and Blake could profitably be examined in the way I mean to examine the Dunciad and

36
Jerusalem. Martin Price has, as is well known, done just this from the perspective of "order" and "energy" in To the Palace of Wisdom. He suggests, or directly posits, parallels between Pope's early pastorals and Blake's Songs of Innocence and Experience, between the Essay on Man and The Marriage of Heaven and Hell, and between Pope's and Blake's views about visual art, views expressed in many places in their respective works—To Burlington and A Descriptive Catalogue and A Vision of the Last Judgment, for example. Much further work is possible; many other points of view could be employed.

But some further development of the ideas expressed in the next to last paragraph above is not only necessary, but can be useful.

The Dunciad, In Four Books, with Colley Cibber replacing Theobald as hero, appeared on October 30, 1743.\(^1\) A somewhat melodramatic chronicle of its preparation has been provided by Bonary Dobrée:

By 1740, Pope was beginning to feel that his activities, and perhaps his life, were drawing to a close. Most of his old cronies were dead—all his friends and patrons of the early days of the century, and lately Congreve, Gay, Arbuthnot—while Swift was no longer in possession of his senses, and Bolingbroke was largely abroad. He felt it was time to gather up what was left of his poetical schemes, and put together what among his old papers might be of use.\(^2\)

One of these schemes was "the grandiose scheme of didactic poetry of which the Essay on Man and the Moral Essays were all that had been done."

Pope Dobrée continues no longer felt equal to the whole task. Instead he gave the world, in 1742, The New Dunciad: As it was found in the Year 1741.\(^3\)

This New Dunciad, of course, is Book IV of the final Dunciad B. Prior to its appearance Pope had made "no substantial addition...to the poem
itself" for thirteen years, that is, none since the moment when "On March 12, 1729, the Dunciad Variorum was presented to George II by the hand of Sir Robert Walpole." Pope continued to work on the poem during the winter of 1742-3, giving it its final form and its true hero. On May 30, 1744, barely seven months after Dunciad B was published, Pope died.

"From the first," Sutherland says, in his introduction to the Twickenham Edition

readers of the New Dunciad complained of its obscurity. A writer in The Universal Spectator, April 3, 1742, recorded the opinion of the town critics:

'The censure they pass is, That the Satire is too allegorical, and the Characters he has drawn are too conceal'd: That real Names should have been inserted instead of fictitious ones.'

Characters like dummius and Paridel puzzled Pope's contemporaries, and have never been satisfactorily identified; the satire on the type is effective enough, but the reader is piqued by his failure to discover the individual. A still more hostile critic complained that 'the want of Perspicuity is so notorious, that...it is a Darkness to be felt in every Line by every Reader.' In his opinion the plan, the grammar, the sense, the stories, the allusions, and the characters were all obscure.

From the first, too, the poem was said to lack "action" and unity.

There is no need to rehearse these objections; Ian Jack's are typical:

It is partly to its sure observance of decorum that the superiority of The Rape of the Lock is to be attributed. With The Dunciad, on the other hand, the reader may be excused for forgetting about the mock-heroic basis for long passages at a time; as a result, the satiric effect of the whole poem is seriously impoverished. Although The Dunciad contains some of Pope's finest poetry... Harton was right in diagnosing a fatal weakness: what the eighteenth century called a lack of unity and decorum: what we may recognize more readily if we call it a fundamental uncertainty about the subject of the poem, a fatal indefiniteness of purpose."
Martin Price would add to this an overview which would make the fault not Pope's, but the Augustans:

"...All of the great Augustan satires are works whose narrative structure seems to bend or halt under their weight of symbolic meaning. Narrative gives way to dialectic."

Pope was guilty, then, of overpowering decorum with didacticism, if such be guilt.

From the first Pope's attack against folly and venality in his own age has boomeranged against his own character. Says Aubrey L. Williams, "...Pope's use of scatological materials and his handling of religious themes have impressed some readers as obscene and blasphemous." Furthermore, critics antagonistic of the Dunciad have waged a two-hundred-year assault on the personality of the poet; Pope's scatology and obscenity sprang from his own malignant personality. He was, according to this view, not interested in writing a moral poem but intended only to gain revenge against the Dunces for slights, or supposed slights, against him. At the present moment, however, critics tend to avoid the "biographical fallacy," and practically no reputable discussion of Pope now appears which is burdened by this fault.

As for the charge that the Dunciad lacks action, that is a matter to be taken up later in this study, particularly in Chapter Four. The Dunciad does have "action," but not exactly the kind Ancients were accustomed to expect. And with regard to the "obscurity" of the poem, Sutherland's speculation seems to me as valid as any:

Perhaps the New Dunciad (Book IV) suffers from having
been talked over too fully with Warburton: Pope may sometimes have failed to realize that what, after due explanation, was crystal clear to his friend, might not be readily intelligible to the general public who had not Warburton's advantage.10

This remark can be extended to cover even the 1728 version simply by changing "Warburton" to "Swift" or Scriblerus Club. There is a sense in which the Dunciad presents the private, clubby language of Pope's immediate circle.

A more important point is raised by the casual statement I made above to the effect that the Dunciad contains a summation of Pope's mature intellectual life. Thomas R. Edwards, Jr. claims that a "darker mood" prevails in Pope's later poems than in his earlier ones.11 The later poems, Edwards says, "show an increasing strain being exerted on the Augustan expressive manner by views of experience that are essentially 'grotesque'."12

The critical intelligence that made the poem possible / Edwards explains/ must bow before the onslaught of nature—a nature no longer seen as a synonym for light and order but as a ceaseless mutability destroying everything that makes life dignified or even possible.13

There is, then, according to Edwards, a "tragic dimension," a "tragic sublimity," in the Dunciad. But, he cautions,

The 'tragic' sublimity of the Dunciad is a tendency in the poem but not quite an accomplished fact. Its positive, Augustan meaning is not wholly overcome; the threatened decay of order, the triumph of entropy, remains a threat and not a certainty. Though it is severely strained, the tension between the ideal and the recognition that man's dark estate poses some awful challenges to ideals does not snap, for even the expressions of sublime terror and disgust remain within the bounds of Pope's Augustan style. He can make beauty out of fright, just as he can out of ugliness; the 'habits of thought and feeling' embodied in his verse are strong enough to control and direct his vision of
disorder. I should put it that in the Dunciad Pope's Augustanism meets its sharpest challenge from the actual world and conquers it; but the struggle, like Shakespeare's in the last plays, exhausted the medium of expression, and Augustan sensibility was never to triumph so finely again.¹⁴

The tendency toward tragic sublimity in the Dunciad inclines the poem, Edwards argues, in the direction of Blake, a point taken up earlier in the discussion of relevant scholarship. Suffice it now to note Edwards' warning that the Essay on Man, "read literally, is a dangerous source for determining Pope's views of nature and man."¹⁵

Aubrey L. Williams has made what is perhaps the same point but in slightly different terms:

In An Essay on Man, man is oriented in and through his relation to nature; in the Dunciad, man so perverts or misuses nature that he attempts, through pride, to transcend his proper status, or, through a type of self-debasement, fails to live up to his 'human' condition at all.¹⁶

Thus, having posited the ideal in the Essay, Pope finds, in the Dunciad, a massive, tragic disparity between the ideal and the behavior of men in the actual world. Man do not look toward heaven, but, like the virtuoso who, in Dunciad IV, finds "Congenial matter in the Cockle-kind,"¹⁷ "becomes subdued to the 'matter' that he works in."¹⁸ Pope goes far toward agreeing with Blake that man "becomes what he beholds." But in a sense, he ends here, where Blake begins: one man's tragic discovery becomes another's working hypothesis.

Pope's nature vision remains what it was in the Essay on Man, with the important qualification that he has dared to dramatize it rather than merely state it, and in the process has both humanized and toughened it. The ever increasing amount of "apparatus" added
to the Dunciad after 1728 functions, as Aubrey Williams has shown, to suggest "that the acts of duncery are more the inevitable products of the human situation than they are the products of personal malice..." Williams concludes that

Pope apparently does not consider himself to be attacking sheer stupidity. As Cleland says, that amounts to a natural deformity over which a man has no control. The notes suggest increasingly that the satire is aimed at those who misuse whatever amount of sense they possess...and, by consequence, endanger the health of the culture in which they operate.

The notes and the apparatus added to the Dunciad after 1728 are an admission by Pope that "his original poetic text is flawed." That flaw, says Williams, is a failure to present the reader "with a bill of particulars which illuminates and justifies indictment of particular dunces in the poem."

Pope's recognition of this flaw, and his long effort to rectify it redound to his credit both as a man and as a poet. His increasing attention to the crime rather than to the criminal tends to humanize his vision. His increasing dramatization of duncery rather than mere accusation of duncery tends to toughen it. The result is a natured vision, a vision which has been subjected to the test of the human condition fully experienced and of social existence fully explored.

Finally, whatever else is said of Pope's nature vision, it must be emphasized that it was public, much honored in his time, political, and consistent, and had to do with a role he assumed and played valiantly the rest of his life. "This...was the role," say Haynard Mack,
of poet-sage, cultivator of a Muse, a garden, and himself, whose daily life of old-fashioned friendships and simplicity, with a grotto at its center, could be felt to differ pointedly from the sick hurry and divided aims of the madding world—

Know, all the distant Din that world can keep
Rolls o'er my Grotto, and but soothes my Sleep—

and whose independence of mind and manners—

Un-plac'd, un-pension'd, no Man's Heir, or Slave—

could be regarded as supplying both a tonic contrast and a visible alternative to the general scheme of things under a minister who sold political security and advancement only at the price of sycophancy.\textsuperscript{23}

Mack points out that Pope was the "mighty opposite" to Walpole during the '30's. In this role, Pope,

...first in poems and then in published letters as well as poems, drew about him publicly...the now almost seamless garment formed of ancient Rome and Twickenham and seventeenth-century retirement precendents which signalized the posture of the honest satirist protesting a corrupt society.\textsuperscript{24}

That is the mature Pope; not a nasty, vicious gossip but an "honest satirist protesting a corrupt society," a "virtuous recluse who venture\textsuperscript{25} in and out of London to remind his contemporaries of the City a little further up-river," that is, the City which is a humane and civilized alternative to the real London.

The questions of the dates of composition of Jerusalem and of the nature of Blake's "mature vision" are interrelated and so must be taken up together. There is apparent but little actual disagreement about the dates of composition of Jerusalem. The customary dates to assign to it are 1804-1820, the earlier date being the one Blake himself affixed to the title pages of both Milton and Jerusalem. The latter date derives from watermark evidence:
Evidence derived from the watermarks of the existing copies of Jerusalem shows that the printing of none of them can have been begun before 1818, or have been finished until 1820. (K. 918)

Neither date is quite exact. David Erdman explains the "1804" date thus:

Some pages were written and perhaps a few were etched, the Preface for instance, during the enthusiasm of the post-Felsham years /1800-1803/ (though all the etching, with possible exception of the title page, is later than June 1805). (PP. 750.)

But Erdman believes that most of the work on the poem was completed later, even, than 1805. He speculates that

After his 1809 Exhibition, Blake may have turned to his two epics simultaneously, but he first completed and etched Milton; the final text of Jerusalem can hardly have been completed before 1815. Most of the etching was probably done in 1815-20, but the deletion-marked pages such as the Preface may survive from an earlier etching. Proof copies of Plates 28, 40 (45), and 56 were made on paper dated 1802, though these plates cannot have been made that early. The fact that Jerusalem shows much more variation from plate to plate than Milton, however, almost certainly signifies a much longer span of composition and production. True, it was Blake's conscious aim to achieve breadth and variety of graphic and verbal effects befitting an epic, but time as well as stylistic choice seems to have caused some of the differences among the plates. (PP. 750)

Evidence that the poem "can hardly have been completed before 1815" comes from allusions within the poem to events up to about that date. For example, the statement (3c43/4. 5-6) that Albion's Friends "saw American clos'd out by the Oaks of the western shore;

// And Thomas dash'd on the Rocks of the Altars of Victims in Mexico," is explainable, according to Erdman, as an allusion to events of 1811-1813:

The Sacrifice of Thomas in Mexico can be accounted for by the execution in 1811 and 1813 of Hidalgo and Morelos and other Mexican insurgents by Spanish firing squads. The
closing out of America by Oaks or Druidic warships can be understood in reference to the various efforts of France and Britain to exclude each other from the American trade, efforts which took the form of Napoleonic Decrees and British Orders in Council and culminated in the naval War of 1812.

In seeming contradiction to Erdman's dating of the poem, Northrop Frye says that

...in its essentials Blake's poetic testament or 'Bible of Hell' was ready for the world, apart from engraving, by about the end of 1808, and Blake lived until 1827. Frye's point, of course, is that Blake had worked out the "essential" outlines and forms of the myth he would express in Jerusalem by 1808. However, as the allusions to events of 1811-13 cited just above indicate, the process of "engraving" the poem was no mere mechanical operation. Blake continued to gather data from the actual world to include in his myth. I cannot believe that he did not also continue to "improve" it, by which I mean that he probably continued to see more and more ramifications of his structures of myth and to find more and more ways to trace connections between the myth and the actual world. His myth was not an object, like a pomegranate, but a tool.

In fact, other critics assign even earlier dates than 1808 to Blake's formulation of the essentials of his final myth. The most convincing argument, I think, is to be found in Harold Fisch's seminal essay, "Blake's 'Zionistic Moment." In it, Fisch declares that

the new phase of Blake's poetry beginning with the later additions to The Four Zoas and reaching its fullness in Milton and Jerusalem is... in a most particular degree
biblical, and the agent of this transformation is Milton. As evidence for this declaration, Fisch points to Blake's own words on Plate 20 of Milton:

He recollected an old Prophecy in Eden recorded
And often sung to the loud harp at the immortal feasts:
That Milton of the Land of Albion should up ascend
Forwards from Ulro from the Vale of Felphan, and set free
Orc from his Chain of Jealousy.... (ll. 57-61, K503.)

The meaning of these lines, says Fisch, is that

Milton is a prophet of England-Albion, but his arrival is prophesied in Eden; that is, it is biblically motivated and directed. The transforming moment occurs, we are told, in the Vale of Felphan, that is, between 1800 and 1803, and its outcome will be the freeing of Orc from his Chain, that is to say, the giving of a new direction to the perverted spirit of Revolution not disclosed in the ugliness of the Napoleonic era in France and the parallel manifestations in the England of Pitt and George III.

Thus, the formulation of the "essentials" to Blake's mature ideas occurred sometime during 1800-1803.

Further evidence that this is so is customarily drawn from three oft-quoted letters written by Blake at about the end of that period. Two of the letters are addressed to a long-time friend, the Antinomian Thomas Butts, and are dated 25 April 1803 and 6 July 1803. All three letters are worth quoting from at some length here because they relate directly to the question of Blake's mature vision, and especially to the question of whether or not that vision was markedly at variance with his earlier views, as well as relating to the question of when he formulated that vision. In the 25 April letter Blake looks forward to his return to London from Felphan and tells Butts

...That I can alone carry on my visionary studies in
London unammon'd, & that I may converse with my friends in Eternity, See Vision, Dream Dreams & prophecy & speak Parables unobserv'd & at liberty from the Doubts of other Mortals....(K. 822)

He goes on to talk of his visionary accomplishments at Felphan:

...none can know the Spiritual Acts of my three years' Slumber on the banks of the Ocean, unless he has seen them in the Spirit, or unless he should read my long Poem descriptive of those Acts; for I have in these three years composed an immense number of verses on One Grand Theme, Similar to Homer's Iliad or Milton's Paradise Lost, the Persons & Machinery entirely new to the Inhabitants of Earth (some of the Persons Excepted). I have written this poem from immediate Dictation, twelve or sometimes twenty or thirty lines at a time, without Pre-
meditation & even against my Will; the Time it has taken in writing was thus rendered Non Existent, & an immense Poem Exists which seems to be the Labour of a long life, all produc'd without Labour or Study. (K. 823)

In the 6 July letter Blake again talks about his "verses on One Grand Theme":

...I hope...to speak to future generations by a Sublime Allegory, which is now perfectly completed into a Grand Poem. I may praise it since I dare not pretend to be any other than the Secretary; the Authors are in Eternity. I consider it as the Grandest Poem that this World Contains. Allegory address'd to the Intellectual powers, while it is al-
together hidden from the Corporeal Understanding, is My Definition of the lost Sublime Poetry; it is also somewhat in the same manner defined by Plato. (K. 825)

Erdman thinks that the "immense number of verses' descriptive of 'Spiritual Acts!' at Felphan "fits Milton better than Vela or Jerusalem" (PP.B, p. 727). Nevertheless, the exuberance of the letters indicates that at the very least Blake was pleased with what he had done and could foresee no serious difficulties in the way of completing his "sublime Allegory." It is not, therefore, unreasonable to take Blake's poetic word that at Felphan he saw that he would "up ascend //Forwards from Ulro from the Vale of Felphan, and set free// Orc from
his Chain of Jealousy..." (II. 20. 59-61). Clearly this is the same movement he announces at the outset of Jerusalem:

Of the Sleep of Ulro! and of the passage through Eternal Death! and of the awaking to Eternal Life.

This theme calls me in sleep night after night, & ev’ry mor!’n Awakes me at Sunrise, then I see the Saviour over me Spreading his beams of love, & dictating the words of this mild song. (J. 1:1-5)

The third letter alluded to above was written to William Hayley, Blake’s Felphan patron, and is dated 23 October 1804. It suggests that Blake’s working out of the form of his "subline Allegory" may have been accompanied by considerable personal anguish. In the letter he admits to Hayley:

O Glory! and O Delight! I have entirely reduced that spectrous fiend to his station, whose annoyance has been the ruin of my labours for the last passed twenty years of my life.

And later in the letter he says:

Suddenly, on the day after visiting the Truchsossian Gallery of pictures, I was again enlightened with the light I enjoyed in my youth, and which has for exactly twenty years been closed from me as by a door and by window-shutters. . . . O the distress I have undergone, and my poor wife with me; incessantly labouring and incessantly spoiling what I had done well. Every one of my friends was astonished at my faults, and could not assign a reason; they knew my industry and abstinence from every pleasure for the sake of study, and yet—and yet there wanted the proofs of industry in my works.

But, Blake announces, all is now well:

I thank God with entire confidence that it shall be so no longer—he is become my servant who domineered over me, he is even as a brother who was my enemy. Dear Sir, excuse my enthusiasm or rather madness, for I am really drunk with intellectual vision whenever I take a pencil or graver into my hand, even as I used to be in my youth, and as I have not been for twenty dark, but very profitable years. I thank God that I courageously pursued my course through darkness. . . . . I am now satisfied and proud of my work, which I have not been for the above long period. (K.pp.351-2)
We are safe to take his reference to a "spectrous fiend" generically according to his own use of the term "Spectre" in his poetry:

"It means...the identification of the individual with his habits and his tastes, his opinions and beliefs, his name and reputation, and most of all, with his environment and conditions—or the natural state of existence itself."

Two meanings for the word common in Blake’s day confirm Fisher’s définition. These are worth mentioning in anticipation of a later task, the de-mystifying of some of Blake’s language. According to the abridged O.E.D., then, "Spectre" can mean,

2. One of the images or semblances supposed by the Epicurean school to emanate from corporeal things
1785.
3. An image or phantom produced by reflection or other natural cause 1801.

Anyway, whether corporeally (internally) produced, or reflect-ed back as from a mirror, Blake’s fiend was himself. This is the probable significance of other statements he made in other letters to Butts. But the story isn’t quite that simple, for Blake’s "spectrous fiend" had a powerful external ally, William Hayley.

Blake tells Butts in a letter dated 10 January 1802,

My unhappiness has arisen from a source which, if explor’d too narrowly, might hurt my pecuniary circumstance. As my dependence is on Engraving at present, & particularly on the Engravings I have in hand for Mr. H.: & I find on all hands great objections to my doing any thing but the meer drudgery of business, & intimations that if I do not confine myself to this, I shall not live; this has always pursu’d me. (K. 812)

Nearly a year later (22 November 1802) Blake, his resolve apparently freshly starched, announces to Butts:

...Tho' I have been very unhappy, I am so no longer. I am again Emerged into the light of day; I still & shall to Eternity Embrace Christianity and Adore him who is the Express image of God; but I have travel’d thro' Perils & Darkness not unlike a Champion. I have Conquer’d, and shall still Go on Conquering. Nothing can withstand the fury of
Somewhere in all this is the hint that Blake worked on his "Sublime Allegory" "on company time." One can imagine Hayley catching him at it and scolding him: "I don't pay you to scribble such drivel." Blake would have been pinched by double guilt; on one hand he had a wife to support and could ill afford to jeopardize his liveli­hood by pigheadedly pursuing his "course among the Stars of God," and on the other hand he had an obligation to his employer which, however painful he found it, he yet had to fulfill. But these were mere earthly guilts; if I read the last quoted statement right­ly he felt even more powerfully guilty about not fulfilling his "Christian duty." This, for him, would have consisted of exercising the full power of his poetic and artistic, his prophetic, skill. He had, then, to resolve his internal reactions to the many doubts that beset him, doubts about his best course, and doubts which ul­timately made him distrust himself:

...I can alone carry on my visionary studies in London unannoy'd, & that I may converse with my friends in Eternity, See Vision, Dream Dreams & prophecy & speak Parables unobserv'd & at liberty from the Doubts of other Mortals; perhaps Doubts proceeding from Kindness, but Doubts are always pernicious, Especially when we Doubt our Friends. Christ is very decided on this Point: 'He who is not With me is Against me.' There is no Medium or Middle state; & if a Man is the Enemy of my Spiritual Life while he pretends to be the Friend of my Corporeal, he is a Real Enemy....”

The Corporeal results of Blake's decision to return to London and "converse with his friends in Eternity" can perhaps most poignantly be told simply by quoting the titles of Chapters V, VI, and VII of
Mona Wilson's Life: "Felon," "Failure," "Years of Neglect."
The spiritual results are called *Hilton* and *Jerusalem*.

In conclusion, if these speculations are correct, sometime between 1800 and 1803, Blake simultaneously resolved his personal problems, his struggle with himself and with those who caused him to doubt himself, and his poetic problem, marked by a fusion of his political and social views with, in Fisch's terms, a biblical view. Upon his return to London he probably became too deeply involved with preparations for the ill-fated exhibition of 1809 to give his prophecies anything like undivided attention. After the exhibition, however, he returned to *Hilton* and completed engraving it by about 1810, after which he continued work on *Jerusalem* until about 1815 and got it engraved by about 1820.

It is still unresolved here exactly how Blake's conquering of his "spectrous fiend" affected his mature vision. If Pope's mature vision can be said to have been marked by a "darker mood," Blake's can be said to have been marked by a lightening mood. He still continued to see the woes and follies of the world clearly, that is, with wrath. But with the "freeing of Orc from his chain" and the positing of a "new direction to the perverted spirit of Revolution," a revolution he saw gone sour in the persons of Napoleon and Pitt, he was able to resolve the spiritual dilemmas into which the "Orc cycle" had thrown him. It is not now the time to take up the "Orc cycle," but it is time to deal with a notion that what replaced the Orc cycle was a very routine Christianity. A letter Blake wrote four months before he died indicates to me that this was not so:
Since the French Revolution he complains Englishmen are all intermeasurable. One by another, certainly a happy state of Agreement to which I for one do not agree. God keep me from the Divinity of Yea & No too, The Yea Nay Creeping Jesus, from supposing Up & Down to be the same thing as all Experimentalists must suppose.

He concludes the letter with:

Flaxman is gone & we must all soon follow, every one to his own Eternal House, Leaving the Delusive Goddess Nature & her laws to get into Freedom from all law of the members into the mind, in which every one is King & Priest in his own House. God send it so on Earth as it is in Heaven.

Read carefully, this is a statement by one who has been "King & Priest in his own House [i.e., his own mind]" and by a prophet who has labored as best he could to make it "so on Earth as it is in Heaven."

Casually read, the passage just quoted might seem rather conventionally Christian, as though the "mature Blake" had, with Wordsworth, returned to the fold. There is, in the passage a suggestion of other-worldliness, of a desire to shuck off flesh—"the Delusive Goddess Nature"—and become pure spirit "where every one is King and Priest in his own house." Some critics have indeed argued that the nature Blake did foresake the "immanent views" of his revolutionary phase—1790's—and adopt a more heavenly view.

E. D. Hirsch, Jr., for example, says,

Blake's break with his former outlook was ruthless and fundamental. In English letters he was not simply an early romantic, but, having proclaimed his change of heart several months before Wordsworth announced his, Blake deserves to be named an early post-romantic as well.

Presumably Blake made this announcement in the 23 October 1804 letter to Hayley (quoted in part, above, p. 16). Hirsch's view is not widely accepted. Jean Hagstrum, for example, flatly contradicts it. Re-viewing first an account of the Felphan "conversion" given in Night
VIIa of The Four Zoas, a story roughly of the replacement of Orc by the post-prophet, Christ-figure, Los, Hagstrum decides that Blake's mythic account of Los's conversion, coupled with the letters written during and after the stay at Felpham quoted above, tells the story of a man saved from harrowing fear of his enemies, from doubt in his own ability, from domestic jealousy, and restored to personal and artistic integrity, domestic harmony, and faith in his own past and future. Los's victory is also a victory over destructive wrath and a re-dedication to Christian love.

Henceforth, Hagstrum avers,

...two unmistakably new elements entered into the poet's thought and art... 1., the rejection of violence and a dedication to what Blake will obsessively call intellectual battle; 2., a return to unorthodox Christianity, conceived of chiefly as the mutual and continuing forgiveness of sin.

"What does the return of Christ to Blake's poetry and art imply?"

Hagstrum asks rhetorically. His answer will stand here as, simultaneously, a reply to Hirsch, and as a proposition to be confirmed by this study:

Certainly not orthodox or dogmatic Christianity, for that kind of Christianity Blake continued to fight in the full panoply of intellectual battle. Nor is Blake's new or restored faith an acceptance of the conventional meekness and piety that Blake had once seen as Urisonic, for his attack on the mild Hayley and the meek Stothard continues with unabated fury. Nor does Blake's rededication to a radically simplified Christian faith imply the death of organic or sexual nature. The mild, female-dominated sexuality of Thitharam's reign is over, and the excrementitious husk that covered and smothered love in the dispensation of Urizen has been removed. But that 'evaporation'—to use Blake's word—reveals the true lineaments of man as never before. It does not destroy but humanizes nature: for all creatures...live the intense life of their own being. They are not burned up in religious conflagration but made more truly 'human' and beautiful than they had ever been before.

Peter Fisher has provided a similar picture of Blake's development, but from a perspective beginning with Blake's radical politics.
Fisher's view, like Hagstrum's, is one which I think this study will simply confirm:

Blake's political views develop from the radical enthusiasm of his earlier works to the apocalyptic fulfilment of his later ones, and he maintains a direction which leaves mundane politics far behind. . . . .
The inner revolution of the imagination and the outer revolution of the imagination and the outer revolution of the political order continue to intermingle, until they finally reach their visionary unity in the later works . . . As he moves toward the apocalyptic vision of The Four Zoas, Milton, and Jerusalem, the prophetic radical also moves in his imagination from the tyranny of politics to that of the historical cycles—and then, towards the ultimate tyranny of the circle of destiny.

The revolutionary liberty which he has celebrated as the effort to throw off the yoke of political faction becomes the force of imaginative vision liberating human existence from the perception of an overwhelming world of nature and the cycles of generation.38

What Hagstrum, from a religious perspective, and Fisher, from a political, say about Blake can be added up to provide a summary statement about Blake's mature vision. That vision is properly labeled an "imaginative vision." It is an imaginative vision which, to emphasize the point, "humanizes nature," which "liberates human existence from the perception of an overwhelming world of nature and the cycles of generation." Thus, it is a very practical vision; where religious and political action tends to subvert religious and political ideals, Blake's imaginative vision insists upon the wholeness and integration which one must keep in mind if one is to live through temporal flux and immanency rather than to live in them. Blake insists upon justice rather than political expediency, upon compassion rather than righteousness, upon imagination rather than reason. Such a vision emphasizes energy rather than order, for the immanent order which seeks to conserve itself inevitably becomes
monstrous—witness the U.S. in Vietnam. Where a preoccupation with order leads men to look to Nature for guides to living, Blake insists that Nature provides only what man projects there; only an energetic "seeing through" Nature can enable men to avoid slavery to "mind forg'd manacles." Only the "severe contention of friendship" can prevent the mass self-hypnosis which occurs when men yield their imaginations to the control of religious and political order. Crazy Blake, shuffling through the streets of London, a sheaf of engravings under his arm, worrying about the health of his Catherine, was not a man "intermeasurably" with other Londoners of the early nineteenth century. He had affected his own imaginative liberation. His efforts to share his vision with others, however, were not successful.

That *Jerusalem* secured a negative reputation for Blake was due partly to its incomprehensibility to the "corporeal eyes" of the first public spokesmen to see it. "The first commentary on Blake's poetry," says Stanley Gardner,

was to call it insane. The verdict had been reached in the columns of Leigh Hunt's *Examiner* for August 7, 1808, and September 17, 1809, and it was about this time that Blake, "this insane and erratic genius," showed Southey a perfectly mad poem called *Jerusalem* (H. Crabb Robinson, *Diary, Reminiscences and Correspondence*, ed. T. Sadler, 1869, I, 338).^39^ Hunt's "verdict" earned for himself a prominent place in *Jerusalem* as "Hand." His verdict has been echoed again and again from his day to the present, not the least often by college students making Blake's acquaintance for the first time.

Swinburne was perhaps the first, outside of a few friends of Blake's, to come to a different conclusion. W. M. Rossetti said of Swinburne that he was "the only one who has ever conned these works
without being bewildered and stunned, and hounded into desperation."
But for Rossetti himself, the Prophetic Books "are, taken as a whole,
neither readable nor wholly sane performances." Fortunately, modern
criticism, and particularly the post-war criticism beginning with
Northrop Frye (Fearful Symmetry), has gone far to overcome the problems
encountered by the average, run-of-the-mill "corporeal eye" when it
scans, say, Jerusalem. Since Sir Geoffrey Keynes took the time, in 1921,
to read Blake's letters carefully and was convinced by the experience
that they were not written by a madman, and since Frye and others began
to deal with the poetry as poetry, both Blake and his poetry have be-
gun to seem decidedly sane. Further, he now seems to be one who was
genuinely prophetic; it would not be farfetched to claim that he antici-
pated both Freud and Marx. "Death-of-God" theologian Thomas J. J.
Altizer begins a book-length study of Blake with,

It is the thesis of this book that William Blake is the most
original prophet and seer in the history of Christendom, that he
created a whole new form of vision embodying a modern radical and
spiritual expression of Christianity, and that an understanding of
his revolutionary work demands a new form of theological understand-
ing.

Altizer goes on to call Blake's vision "a new and radical form of faith,
a paradoxical but deeply modern faith which is both sacred and profane,
both mystical and contemporary at once." Altizer accords Blake the
honor of being "the first Christian atheist.

On another level, Blake anticipated the wisdom of modern scien-
tific theory, psychology, cultural anthropology, and linguistics that,
to quote a statement by Hazard Adams,

...there is something ultimately incompetent about our
languages. We can never create all that we want to create.
Every system provides its own limits and thus demands its own contradictions.  

The disciplines cited above have, if I am not mistaken—and certainly there is no room for a defence of this here—busily confirmed Adams' statement; by rational and scientific means they have proved the inadequacy of rational and scientific formulations. Culture turns out to be a "silent language" which is relative, arbitrary, and "merely" habitual rather than being, as those enveloped by it, suppose, absolute, all-inclusive, and necessary. The normative cautionary tale of cultural madness is the Tale of Nazi Germany and of individual entrapment in cultural error, the Tale of Adolph Eichmann. There is a widespread preoccupation, particularly in the "politics of youth," with the "mind-forg'd menacles" and collective madness spawned by political systems, cultures, educational programs, social myths, bureaucracies, and, in general, symbol systems of all kinds. It has become virtue, in light of this point of view, to immerse oneself in other symbol systems, to open oneself to many kinds of symbol systems and many kinds of experiences, to participate in group therapy and sensitivity training, and otherwise to openly and continually "confront" oneself and the representatives, proprietors, and clients (Slaves) of the symbol systems which encroach on one's life (e.g., draft boards, high schools, universities, etc.). "I must Create a System, or be enslav'd by another Hans," said Blake (Jer. 10.20). His "everlasting gospel," (in the eyes of many) has a relevance more intense as the world approaches 1984 than it did even in his own day.

If Blake seems relevant to many, however, many more are intellectually and emotionally "with" Pope. Particularly in America,
it is difficult to avoid envelopment in a public morality which seems a debased form of Augustan humanism; to use Charles Moraze's phrase, we have witnessed "the triumph of the middle classes."\[^{49}\] Certainly that is an effect never intended by Pope and one for which he is not responsible. Nevertheless, the "Blake-light"\[^{50}\] antipathy to the reigning middle-class is very much a re-play of the Pope-Blake antagonism under study here.
FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER TWO.

1. TE, intro., xxxivin.
2. Alexander Pope, p. 86.
3. Ibid., p. 86.
4. TE, intro. xxix.
5. Ibid., p. xxviii.
6. Ibid., pp. xxxi-xxxii.
8. To the Palace of Wisdom, p. 433
10. TE, p. xxxii.
11. This Dark Estate, p. 132.
12. Ibid., p. 132.
13. Ibid., p. 129.
15. Ibid., pp. 132-3.
17. Ibid., paraphrase of material on p. 128.
18. Ibid., p. 128.
19. Ibid., p. 79.
20. Ibid., p. 86.
21. Ibid., p. 76.
22. Ibid., p. 76.
23. The Garden and the City, pp. 188-9.
25. Ibid., p. 236.
28. In Rosenfeld, *Essays*, p. 44.
29. Ibid., p. 45.
33. Letter to George Cumberland, 12 April 1827, K. 878-9.
36. Ibid., p. 324.
37. Ibid., pp. 325-6.
40. Quoted in ibid., p. 148.
41. See ibid., pp. 149 and 154.
42. See Frye (ed.), *Selected Poetry and Prose of William Blake*, intro., p. xxxvi.
43. *The Key Apocalypse*, p. xi.
44. Ibid., p. xi.
45. Ibid., p. xi.
49. See *The Triumph of the Middle Class*.

50. Allen Ginsberg's term, see *Howl*.
CHAPTER THREE

The very pressure of opposition serves to impose coherence upon a world-view. Men are driven to seek ground and shelter for their differences, and it is not long before, as Hume found in English politics, 'each of the factions has reared up a fabric' of speculation 'in order to protect and cover the scheme of actions which it pursues' ('Of the Original Contract').

— Martin Price, To the Palace of Wisdom, p. 11.

But that this 'law' /the "Law of Nature"/ was amorphous is proved by the fact that the Middle Ages invoked it to restrain economic self-interest, the Levellers to justify democracy, and the conservative of the eighteenth-century to oppose institutional change.


Patriotism, nationalism, even bigotry and repression, were all clothed in the rhetoric of liberty. Even Old Corruption extolled British liberties; not national honour, or power, but freedom was the coinage of patrician, demagogue, and radical alike. In the name of freedom Burke denounced, and Paine championed, the French Revolution....


Pope and Blake lived and wrote during a transitional time when old ideas and old ways were being called into question and when tides of change rolled irresistibly over English society. Description of this clash of ideas and of these social changes vary, as Blake would have put it, "as organs of perception vary." Alexander Koyre provides a convenient summary of some of these kinds of description:

...whereas it is generally admitted that the development of the new cosmology, which replaced the geo- or even anthropocentric world of Greek and medieval astronomy by the heliocentric, and later, by the centerless universe of modern astronomy, played a paramount role in this process /revolution in thought/, some historians, interested chiefly in the social implications
of spiritual changes, have stressed the alleged conversion of the human mind from *theoria* to *praxia*, from the *scientia contemplativa* to the *scientia activa et operative*, which transformed man from a spectator into an owner and master of nature; some others have stressed the replacement of the teleological and organismic pattern of thinking and explanation by the mechanical and casual pattern, leading, ultimately, to the 'mechanisation of the world-view' so prominent in modern times, especially in the eighteenth century; still others have simply described the despair and confusion brought by the 'new philosophy' into a world from which all coherence was gone and in which the skies no longer announced the glory of God.

Koyré adds that

...some historians have see *this revolution of thought's* most characteristic feature in the secularization of consciousness, its turning away from transcendent goals to immanent aims, that is, in the replacement of the concern for the other life by preoccupation with this life and this world. Some others have seen it in the discovery, by man's consciousness, of its essential subjectivity and, therefore, in the substitution of the subjectivism of the moderns for the objectivism of medievals and ancients....

Koyré's own contribution to an understanding of the revolution of thought in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is worth summarizing here because his ideas illuminate some of the kinds of contention there is between Pope and Blake. The new cosmology resulted, says Koyré, in the "destruction of the Cosmos." That is, he explains, the disappearance, from philosophically and scientifically valid concepts, of the conception of the world as a finite, closed, and hierarchically ordered whole (a whole in which the hierarchy of value determined the hierarchy and structure of being, rising from the dark, heavy and imperfect earth to the higher and higher perfection of the stars and heavenly spheres), and its replacement by an indefinite and even infinite universe which is bound together by the identity of its fundamental components and laws, and in which all these components are placed on the same level of being. This, in turn, implies the discarding by scientific thought of all considerations based upon value-concepts, such as perfection, harmony,
meaning and aim, and finally the utter devalorization of being, the divorce of the world of value and the world of facts.\textsuperscript{3}

It would be no violation of Koyre's thesis to refigure it as a conflict of spatial metaphors, the walled city of light within a dark, barbaric world on the one hand and a boundless, timeless field upon which particles and persons dance and play on the other. This opposition of spatial models is central, as I hope to show, to the opposition between Pope and Blake. I assume that the relationship of these spatial models to Martin Price's opposed qualities, order and energy, is obvious.

That Western man had discovered, not only new cosmological ratios, but also geographical ones—the new world—is a fact about the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries so well known that there is the risk that it will be ignored. But the Pilgrims who landed at Plymouth Rock in 1620 were only the most forward of Westerners who were "acting out" the new possibility of escaping traditional limitations of place and position. Attending to Koyre's summary above, it would be easy to assume that the new cosmology, the new science, the new ways of thought in general, were all producers of gloom, horror, misery, and, to use the modish term, alienation. In fact, however, many men were exhilarated by the new ideas, and were too busy exploring them to be gloomy.

I have taken time to point to some of the various kinds of analysis of the crisis in thought experienced by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Englishmen because the kind of analysis I propose to outline here is at odds with, or cuts across those mentioned.
This is not because the analysis I propose is unique or revolutionary but because its focus is different than the others. I am focusing on configurations of consciousness. By "consciousness" I mean the usual: not a collection of opinions, beliefs, ideas, or values, but a "total configuration" which totals up to a man's "whole perception of reality, his whole world view." Consciousness is systemic; it is pattern and interrelationship. Thus, knowing a man's opinion on a few things enables us to predict what his opinions will be on a wide range of things. Consciousness is an "invisible whole." This wholeness is

...revealed by the way in which it resists change, even in the smallest detail, and maintains a remarkable cohesion. Quite evidently the individual cannot allow any part of his consciousness to be challenged without feeling that the whole configuration is threatened.

Pope and Blake both filter daily events through their private nodes of consciousness. Pope, a poet vastly superior in talent to the Dunces, feels threatened by the Dunces, not as a poet, but at the level of consciousness. Blake lumps "Bacon, Newton, and Locke" together as villains, not because of specific ideological quarrels, but because of quarrels with their node of consciousness.

Another important aspect of consciousness is its ineluctable tie to particular social and economic conditions. There was consciousness appropriate to being, or identifying with the nobility ("ruling classes") during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Pope, I will argue, gives expression to this node of consciousness. There was also a consciousness appropriate to being outside the nobility and outside the center of the new social and economic classes,
a consciousness for those convinced that truth, power, and salvation were not the sole property of the divinely chosen few but were prizes to be taken by the wise, the able, and the pure. The "new worlds" discovered by astronomers and daring sea captains made this latter configuration of consciousness possible, nay compelling. Man had stepped "from the closed world to the infinite universe," and his mind, no less than his feet and spirit, was on the move.

One consciousness does not replace another without pain and turmoil, whether the replacement is within an individual or within a culture or nation. The turmoil which accompanied this change in England, and indeed in all Western societies, continues to this day, unresolved and acute. The truism that Pope was the last of the Renaissance poets gives the false impression that with his death the Renaissance consciousness died. And my own linking of Blake with the newer consciousness here might imply that the consciousness which he championed had, by 1820, or by now, won out. Neither implication is true. As I will argue briefly later, Pope's Essay on Man (for example) adequately represents the consciousness adopted by the rising English middle classes during the latter half of the eighteenth century and all of the nineteenth. This is why the Dunciad and Jerusalem are so immediately contentious. Put another way, the Puritan Revolution gave form to issues which have not been resolved to this day.

I have already warned that I propose to label Pope's configuration of consciousness "Roman-Norman" and Blake's "Gothic-Anglo-Saxon." This is awkward, but I want to avoid the literary and precious connotations of the terms "Augustan" and "Gothic." Further,
I do want to emphasize the historical matrix of the contending configurations of consciousness. It would be accurate enough to say that the contention, as contention, was an invention of seventeenth century historians.

Samuel T. Kliger has long since demonstrated "that the history of the 'Gothic' begins not in the eighteenth but in the seventeenth century, not in aesthetic but in political discussion...." Kliger adds a warning which I am taking seriously in this study:

...stale platitudes drawn from the classic-romantic dichotomy made familiar by the simpler sort of literary textbooks simply do not suffice to explain the full phenomenon of the Gothic vogue in England.

I know of no more direct and useful summary of the contribution of historians, or "antiquarians" as they were called, to the creation of the Gothic-Anglo-Saxon consciousness than Kliger's statement of his thesis for The Goths in England. That same statement also gives a good preliminary outline of the configuration of the Gothic-Anglo-Saxon consciousness. I therefore quote at length:

The term "Gothic" came into extensive use in the seventeenth century as an epithet exploited by the Parliamentary leaders to defend the prerogatives of Parliament against the pretensions of the King to absolute right to govern England. To this end the Parliamentarians searched the ancient records of English civilization for precedent and authority against the principle of monarchical absolutism. An antiquarian movement flowered, and in the ancient records the Parliamentarians discovered that the original forebears of the English were the Germanic invaders of Rome whom they called not Germans but Goths, substituting the name of only one of the Germanic tribes to denote all the barbarians collectively; the Goths, they thought founded the institutions of public assemblies which in its English parliamentary form, the Stuarts were seeking to destroy. The antiquarian researches, consequently, were directed to records more ancient than and anterior to specific accounts of early English institutions, to the histories composed by Tacitus, Saint Augustine, his disciple Salvian, Jordanes, and Paul the Deacon. The analysis of Gothic character found in these
early texts described the Goths as a Teutonic folk to whom political liberty was dear. Furthermore the early texts offered a quasi-scientific explanation of the Gothic propensity for liberty in a theory of climatic influence on character. According to this theory of environmental conditioning, the frigid temperature of the Gothic habitat in the northern regions was the physiological factor explaining Gothic vigor, hardiness, and zeal for liberty. (Conversely the southern and Latin people were thought to be invertebrate and supine under the heels of despots as a result of the hot, enervating, southern climate.) The English, a branch of the Gothic-Teutonic folk, shared in these psychological characteristics. In the barbarian adventus, traditionally dated in Bede and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in 449, the barbarians implanted on English soil their tribal assembly, the seed of English parliaments. As the defenders of Parliament saw it, the Parliament had a continuous existence in England dating from the Saxon witenagemot despite the subsequent Danish and Norman conquests and the occasional efforts of power-hungry kings to uproot it, even William the Conqueror failing in this dastardly ambition. It was in this way that the Gothic Volkerwanderungen of antiquity supplied the basis of discussion out of which emerged the ideas which were destined to play a governing role in the seventeenth century in the bitter contest between the Stuart kings and Parliament.

I would like to point out, parenthetically, that this theory of the "origins" of Englishmen is at odds with the theory of Trojan "origins," a theory fixed in the tradition of referring to London as Troy-novant. Kliger goes on to point out the connection, according to the parliamentary antiquarians, between the "Goths" and "Rome":

The arguments spread in abundance by the Parliamentary circle of writers, based on implications drawn from traditional political inheritances, were not the only factor aiding in the creation of the Gothic vogue in England. A powerful thought-current set in motion by the Reformation, known as the "translatio imperii ad Teutonicos," emphasizing this time traditional racial characteristics brought about an association of the Goths with a tradition of enlightenment. The result was that the epithet "Gothic" became not only a polar term in political discussion, a trope for the "free," but also in religious discussion a trope for all those spiritual, moral, and cultural values contained for the eighteenth century in the single word "enlightenment". The picture drawn from Tacitus showed the triumph of Gothic humanity, honor, and simplicity over invertebrate Roman urbanism, effeminacy, and luxury. The Gothicists pictured, that is, a world rejuvenation or rebirth due to
the triumph of Gothic energy and moral purity over Roman torpor and depravity.

Thus, the Goths emerge as heroes, liberators of mankind; this is a vastly different role than the one assigned by "Roman-Normans," the role, that is, of barbarians.

"The seventeenth and eighteenth century understanding of the Goths, "Kliger says unnecessarily, "has very little to do with the actual facts of Gothic history...." But if this is true, it is equally true that seventeenth- and eighteenth-century understanding of Rome and the Romans has little to do with historical fact. As the editor—Erich S. Gruen—of a modern book called The Image of Rome ingenuously says,

Our own views of Rome, inescapably, are very much shaped by the nature of the surviving testimony. And that testimony, in most instances, was produced by Romans, or by men who received their inspiration in and from Rome. The pictures which they conveyed (consciously or unconsciously) were those which Rome sought to have transmitted to her own people and to the outside world.

The word "Roman," Gruen says, conjures up imposing images:

...law and ordered government, disciplined legions, roads, aqueducts, monumental arches, engineering feats—the noble and dedicated Roman.

Furthermore, says Gruen, "Rome subdued the rude barbarians and extended the boundaries of civilization to the ends of the world, so her admirers exclaimed." But the admirers who claimed that were not necessarily those original Roman creators of a Roman myth. Kliger, at least, attributes this to the civic humanists of the Italian Renaissance. And Kliger adds, it was these same civic humanists who fostered the notion of a "Dark Age": 
The ideal of ancient Rome was still the predominant fact on the historical horizon of the Italian humanists, but in the foreground there were the thriving communes whose nemesis alone suggested the idea of a rinascita, in a new and modern form, of the grandeur that was old Rome. Thus it is that Italian secular pride in the communes compelled the civic humanists (they were writing to please local patrons) to conceive a "dark period" or "middle ages," in order to give expression to their self-awareness of the modernity of the communes. Add to this new periodization of history embracing the conception of a "dark period" the notion of a decline supposed to have set in with the Gothic invasions, and the conception of the "barbarian Goths" becomes fixed. Thus it was that the Italian humanists began the modern vogue of disparaging the Goths as barbarians. Medieval histories refer again and again to the barbarian Goths, but as "barbarians" probably on linguistic grounds alone; that is to say, they did not speak Latin. Even the medieval references to the furor Teutonicus are probably as much commendatory as not—praise of German military valor and manliness were intended. Not until the abusive term is linked by the Italian Renaissance humanists to the view of history contained in the word "middle ages" or "dark period" do we find that conception of a rinascita involving a decline supposed to have set in after Rome's fall which fixed the term "Gothic" as a trope for everything barbarous and ignorant.14

This last quote, besides attributing the notions of Gothic barbarianism and of a Dark Age to the Italian civic humanists indicates that a contention between "Germans" and "Romans" existed long before it had particular currency in English life. This means, simply, that seventeenth-century Englishmen were adapting pre-existing categories of thought to local conditions with local wrinkles and variations. In a moment I will introduce a further local wrinkle and variation, the, as yet unnoticed, contention between Norman and Anglo-Saxon myths.

Let it here be noted that parts of Virgil's Aeneid serve as the substructure of Pope's satire in Books I, II, and III of the Dunciad. "To Virgil," says Kligon, "Rome was the steward of civilization, the
giver of world order, and it was destined, therefore, to be the universal city of peace and justice..." Not only universal, but eternal, urbs aeterna. Kliger points to the logic of this notion:

The Eternal City was to have universal and eternal world dominion because it represented the consummation of the divine ordering of the world and the long process of civilizing barbarous humanity....

But, of course, according to the Dark Ages myth, Rome fell to the barbarians. Thus Rome remained not the Eternal City so much as the Eternal Ideal of a City. It is no mere critical horseplay to say that Pope saw his role largely in terms of "civilizing barbarians," and that he saw the "barbarians" as a distinct personal threat; the Roman imperial ideal and Pope's satire are somehow necessarily attached to the conviction that there is an enemy and that he must be conquered or he will conquer.

It is just this imperial ideal that Blake attacks at the beginning of Chapter 3 (Plate 52) of Jerusalem. He addresses himself "To the Deists," and says,

...your Greek Philosophy (which is a remnant of Druidism) teaches that Kan is Righteous in his Vegetated Spectre: an Opinion of fatal & accursed consequence to Kan, as the Ancients saw plainly by Revelation to the entire abrogation of Experimental Theory. And many believed what they saw, and Prophesied of Jesus.

... . . . . .

Those who martyr others or who cause War are Deists, but never can be Forgivers of Sin. The Glory of Christianity is, To Conquer by Forgiveness. All the Destruction therefore, in Christian Europe has arisen from Deism, which is Natural Religion. (J. III. 52., F.R.B, pp. 198-9)

This passage, typical of Blake, suffers not from madness, as some would suppose, but from extreme compression. The key word for the
point I am making here is "Righteous"; through it Blake was referring precisely to that "Roman" habit of assuming superiority and deriving from that a duty to "civilize barbarians."

An obvious corollary to this kind of Pope-Blake argument has a religious base. In terms of the Rome-Goths myths the arena becomes the urbs sacra of the Holy Roman Empire. Historically, the Christians had found the urbs aeterna and the Roman Empire to be a great convenience:

The reasons why the Church arose to propagate anew the faith in the universal empire and intentionally to obscure the facts of the imperial dissolution are not difficult to trace. The Fathers recognized the positive services which Rome rendered to the cause of humanity by providing the earthly order on the basis of which it was the Church’s mission to create a spiritual order. The Church accepted Rome’s earth-encircling claim, denouncing, to be sure, the empire’s moral decay and oppression, but accepting, nevertheless, the principle of authority on which the imperial order rested. The Christians had no national traditions and had never known a national existence, and for this reason they were as much, or perhaps first, citizens of Rome before they were members of the Church.17

Saint Augustine’s "City of God"

...becomes comprehensible in terms of his belief that Rome’s imperial greatness, her universal and eternal empire, was the earthly order necessary to the creation of the heavenly order...18

Luther’s Reformation, according to the Gothic myth, represented a second deliverance of mankind from Roman tyranny and priestcraft.19 However shaky this may be as history, it is entirely compatible with the Gothic myth. In the seventeenth century, Englishmen who had a Roman-Norman consciousness could find the turbulence of the times, and particularly the Reformation—sparked sectarian squabbles, a sign that barbarianism might soon plunge the world into a new Dark Age.
That was quite compatible with the Roman myth.

Those of Roman-Norman consciousness generally linked Gothic barbarianism and early Christianity. The key principle involved was rationality; Roman-Normans despised and feared irrationality, mysticism, superstition, and "enthusiasm", and these characterized, in their view, both Goths and early Christians. And, feeling this, Roman-Normans could have ambivalent feelings about the Reformation. On one hand, if they linked the Holy Roman Empire with the revival of learning, or more generally simply with rationality, they might link the Reformation with a new outburst of barbarianism. On the other hand it was possible to view the revival of learning as a secular occurrence, and thus to view the Reformation as a batrachomyomachian event pitting superstitions, dogma and ignorance against each other. R. W. Harris, in summarizing the theme of Gibbon's *Decline*, points to just the attitude of the Roman-Normans which I am describing:

Gibbon's theme was that man had reached one of the highest points in human existence with the Greeks of the fourth century B.C., with the discovery of the possibilities of human reason; that in the Roman Empire these great discoveries were spread throughout the Mediterranean region and combined with principles of law and justice, to make the Age of the Antoninos on the whole the happiest period in the history of the world. But thereafter decline set in, partly because the Roman Empire was too large, partly because with growth it had become an imperial despotism, partly because of the pressure of barbarians, but above all because there had been a retreat from reason. For this Plato and the Neo-Platonists were partly to blame, for they had diverted Greek thought from early empiricism into the realms of rationalism and mysticism. Still more was it the result of the influence of eastern religions, of which Gibbon accounted Christianity merely the greatest and most successful. Gibbon made no attack upon the origins of Christianity, but only upon the development of Christian
thought in the first centuries A. D. He regarded the works of the early Christian Fathers as a retreat into superstition and mysticism, sapping the strength of the Roman Empire, and erecting powerful vested interests in the form of the Church. Thus the fall of the Roman Empire was the record of the triumph of barbarism and Christianity, and from this unparalleled disaster it had taken Western man sixteen hundred years to make a recovery. With the Age of Newton men were once again on firm foundations, and with the new science the possibilities of human progress in the future were boundless, for there was once again clear recognition of the inestimable value of human freedom, human dignity and toleration, combined with the new technology, in furthering human happiness.

The introduction of the factor of "the Enlightenment" into the problem of the Roman-Norman and Gothic-Anglo-Saxon consciousness is appropriate but premature. For the moment it is more important to find a way to describe the configuration of these two modes of consciousness. The most direct and efficient way to do this is to start with the feeling tones of the two, more specifically with the competing self-images and images of the "other."

Predictably, each contender thought well of himself and ill of his opposite. The Roman-Norman self-image is familiar enough; those of this ilk favored regularity, order, and law, and they revered property rights, tradition, custom, classical learning, culture, reason, peace and justice. As already noted they were frequently of an imperialist persuasion. They associated Goth-Anglo-Saxons with a wide range of opposite qualities, with irregularity of all sorts: political factionalism, religious sectarianism, economic disequilibrium. Roman-Normans despised their opposites' rudeness, crudeness, primitiveness, licentiousness. Ultimately they thought of Goth-Anglo-Saxons as bestial creatures barely risen from nature and perpetually threatening to swarm over civilization in mad property-
lust, thereby plunging the world into chaos and anarchy. They attributed to these bestial hordes all manner of mental aberration from gloom to excessive fantasy, from "pride" and "enthusiasm" to mind, savage "will."

Obviously, the Roman-Normans were believers in hierarchy. They found it natural to make ("rational") judgements and evaluations. Hence they experienced the world in valuative terms. They automatically became warriors for "good" and implacable enemies of "evil." They favored "paternal" models of family, government, and religious organization; they aspired to be wise "fathers." Psychologically, they were what we now call "authoritarians," people tied to control and obedience. History consisted for them of alternative periods of wise rule and chaos and anarchy.

Those of the Goth-Anglo-Saxon consciousness prided themselves on their "humanity," honor, simplicity, strength, manliness, faith, piety, and energy. They thought of themselves as hardy, liberty-loving "Northerners"—denoting both a climatic and racial specialness. Their political ideals were egalitarian and democratic, and they were poor or sided with the poor against the rich. Emphatically they valued native learning over classical learning. Goth-Anglo-Saxons linked Roman-Normans with effeminacy, torpor, depravity, guile, cunning, with urbanism, wealth, tyranny, despotism, monarchy, priesthood. Goth-Anglo-Saxons noted bitterly that Roman-Normans used treachery, cunning and guile to manipulate law and religion to their own advantage and to rob the people of their native birthrights. In other words they saw Roman-Normans approximately the way the American
Indian saw the white man.

Thus, Goth-Anglo-Saxons favor egalitarianism. They were prone to favor "understanding" and "openness" rather than judgment and evaluation. They tended to become warriors for "freedom" and enemies of "tyranny." They favored fraternal models of family, government, and religious organization; they aspired to be loyal and caring "brothers." Psychologically they were "libertarian," tied to liberation. History consisted for them of alternating periods of tyranny and liberty.

I put together the above descriptions of the Roman-Norman and Goth-Anglo-Saxon characters from notes taken while reading the innumerable quotations which Kliger has gathered and which derive from the seventeenth and eighteenth century antagonists. Citing a couple of these quotations will serve to give the flavor:

"We are a member of the Teutonicic nation, and descended out of Germany, a descent so honourable and happy, if duly considered, as that the like could not have been fetched from any other part of Europe, nor scarce of the universe...Scarce was there any worth or manhood left in the occidental nations, after their so long servitude under the Roman yoke, until these new supplies of free-born men re-infused the same, and reinforced the then servile body of the west, with a spirit of honour and magnanimity."

—John Hare (1647).

The government of the Germans, and that of all the northern nations, who established themselves on the ruins of Rome, was always extremely free. . . .

Europe, as from a new epoch, rekindled her ancient spirit, and shook off the base servitude to arbitrary will and authority, under which she had so long laboured. The free constitutions then established, however impaired by the encroachments of succeeding princes, still preserve an air of independence and legal administration, which distinguish the European nations, and if that part of the globe maintain sentiments of liberty, honour equity and valour, superior to the rest of mankind, it
owes these advantages chiefly to the seed implanted by those generous barbarians.

—David Hume (ca.1760).

The inundations of Huns, Goths, Vandalls, Lombards, Saxons, which breaking the Roman Empire, deformed the whole world.

—Sir James Harrington (1656).

A brief examination, now, specifically of the Norman and Anglo-Saxon myths will help demonstrate the process of conflict between the two modes of consciousness. Several facets of the process ought to be clear, specifically that there were both religious and political dimensions of the quarrel, that antiquarians were active in seeking historical legitimacy for present political activities, and that the developing myths had only peripheral relationship to historical fact. What will presently be clear is that adherents to the two consciousnesses sought not only historical legitimacy but Biblical legitimacy as well. These efforts at gaining historical and Biblical legitimacy will show up quite clearly in the Dunciad and in Jerusalem.

It is interesting that John Hare (quoted above) should speak in 1647 of a "Roman yoke," for there was in English society during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries a complementary theory, that of a "Norman yoke." This has been excellently explicated by Christopher Hill in Puritanism and Revolution: Studies in Interpretation of the English Revolution of the 17th Century. According to Hill,

The theory of the Norman Yoke, as we find it from the seventeenth century onwards, took many forms; but in its main outlines it ran as follows: Before 1066 the Anglo-Saxon inhabitants of this country lived as free and equal citizens, governing themselves through representative
institutions. The Norman Conquest deprived them of this liberty, and established the tyranny of an alien King and landlords. But the people did not forget the rights they had lost. They fought continuously to recover them, with varying success. Concessions (Magna Carta, for instance) were from time to time extorted from their rulers, and always the tradition of lost Anglo-Saxon freedom was a stimulus to ever more insistent demands upon the successors of the Norman usurpers. 21

Hill also confirms the description of the respective characterologies of Roman-Normans and Goths-Anglo-Saxons given above. In a passage about "Norman" attitudes Hill says,

Conquest by pious Normans had had a valuable disciplinary effect upon the dissolute Anglo-Saxons: indeed "the enforcement of this example were most necessary perhaps for the present age, on which the inheritance of this debauched humour of our ancestors is evidently fallen, and like a snowball much increased perhaps in the descent."

As for "Saxon" attitudes, a sample passage from Hill reads,

Marchamont Nedham in 1650 and An Historical Essay on the English Constitution in 1771 both observed that, in the words of the last named, "this Saxon model of government, when reduced to its first principles, has a strong resemblance to the natural state of things, under which mankind was found to live at the discovery of the New World by Columbus". Many anthropologists have confirmed this resemblance, and extended the parallel to the Jews of the Pentateuch, and (as Hobbes did in the seventeenth century) to the Homeric Greeks. 23

The Saxon consciousness here begins to merge with "noble savage" ideals.

Hill thinks that the theory of a Norman Yoke had great historical significance as a "rudimentary class theory of politics" because "It was entirely secular, whereas most popular opposition theories before the seventeenth century had been religious." As its principal feature the theory

...suggested that the ruling class is alien to the interests of the majority of the population. Even if
they no longer speak French, whether or not they are of Norman descent, the upper classes are isolated from the life of the working population, to whose interests theirs are opposed. The people could conduct its own affairs better without its Norman rulers, whose wealth and privileges are an obstacle to equality. The nation is the people.

If the theory was secular, and if it did posit the political ability of "the people" to conduct their own affairs, it did, nevertheless, bear resemblance to ancient myths and it did exist in a religious version. As Hill himself puts it,

Theories of lost rights, of a primitive happy state, have existed in nearly all communities. The Fall of Man; the Gold Age; Arcadia; the Noble Savage—all these in their different ways express a belief that inequality and the exploitation of man by man have a historical origin, and a hope that the period of equality which survived in popular imagination may one day be restored.

The ancient Adam from before the Fall became inextricably linked with the myth which became the theory of the Norman yoke in the seventeenth century. In about 1500

...Henry VIII's minister listed among the enemies of tranquillity a character called Arragoncy, who said to the common people, "Ye be the children and right inheritors to Adam, as well as they [the gentry]. Why should they have these great honours, royal castles, and manors, with so much lands and possess- sions, and ye but poor cottages and tenements?" This "old seditious argument", as it appeared to a Royalist, was still being used in 1641: "We are all the sons of Adam, borne free; some of them say, the Gospell hath made them free. And Law once subverted, it will appear good equitie, to such Chancellours, to share the earth equally. They will plead Scripture for it, that we should all live by the sweat of our brows."

But the poor and disenfranchised could not so easily appropriate the Fall of Man for their own purposes. The ruling classes also had a version:

The Fall of Man not only testifies to the existence of
a happier condition before the introduction of man is too sinful ever to maintain such a condition on earth. Paradise can be regained only in heaven, and meanwhile sin justifies inequality and social subordination. "If Paradise were to be replanted on earth," wrote a bishop in 1653, "God had never expelled man from Paradise". The argument was frequently used against Levellers and any other reformers who wished to improve man's estate.27

Hill believes that "This dual use of the legend of the Fall reflects the fact that economic advance in primitive society was necessarily accompanied by social inequality".28 The Hidas and Prometheus myths, says Hill, derive from just this dynamic.

Despite the uses to which the ruling classes put the legend of The Fall of Man, Hill concludes unequivocally that

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it was generally agreed that there had been a state of primitive communism which was also a Golden Age, and that both had ended when private property and political authority were introduced.29

For my purpose here it is important to note that the ruling classes —those, roughly, of the Roman-Norman consciousness— had their own version of a Golden Age. Hill makes a slanted statement when he attributes to the ruling classes the belief that the Fall "shows that man is too sinful ever to maintain Eden on earth," and therefore that "meanwhile sin justifies inequality and social subordination."30 Less slanted would be some such argument as the following: a return to Eden is impossible, a lovely but unrealistic dream; since that is true man must make what temporal order, peace, and justice he can; the noblest model man has for this enterprise is Rome and the Roman Empire; therefore man would do well to strive to match that ideal. With those who accepted, in however modified or qualified a form, some version of this syllogism the
inequality and subordination which Hill mentions were descriptive fact rather than something their own cunning manipulation produced, maintained, and profited by.

Implicit in these rival Golden Ages and in these rival versions of the Fall of Man are rival understandings of the nature of man. For those who looked to Eden and longed for the restoration of their natural rights man was naturally good but was crushed, maimed, deformed, and made nasty and brutish by economic, social, legal, and political forces which kept him in poverty, forced him to perform against his own best ends and needs (by, for example, fighting wars, working for masters, succumbing to priestcraft), and crushed and frustrated his best instincts. For those who looked to Rome and longed for the creation of an orderly, clean, noble, rational and peaceful civilization, man was simply depraved.

To expose the depravity of man was a central obligation of Roman-Normans. The remarkable rhetoric of disgust which this "obligation" inspired is well known. Typical is this passage from a Swift sermon:

The holy Scripture is full of Expressions to set forth the miserable Condition of Man during the whole Progress of his Life; his Weakness, Pride, and Vanity; his unmeasurable Desires, and perpetual Disappointments; the Prevalency of his Passions, and the real, as well as imaginary Fears; his natural Diseases of his Body, and the Diseases of his Mind; the Shortness of his Life; his Dread of a future State, and his Carelessness to prepare for it; And the wise Men of all Ages have made the same Reflections....all these are general Calamities, from which none are excepted.

If Pope, in his turn, sinks his Dunces to cloacal depths, he is merely following tradition, albeit a bit enthusiastically. It should be noted that so pervasive was such talk of the depravity of man in the
eighteenth century that it became a bore. Paul Fussell reports that

By 1775, conservative society had grown so accustomed
to new-Augustinian social talk about the depravity of
human nature that even Johnson on occasion hungered
for fresher topics. In July of this year Mrs. Thrale
attended a very elegant regatta, and Johnson playfully
advised her to exploit the experience fully for con-
versational purposes: "It is the good of publick life
that it supplies agreeable topics and general conver-
sation. Therefore wherever you are, and whatever you see,
talk not of the Punick was / a topic of which Johnson had
become thoroughly sick/; nor of the depravity of human
nature; nor of the slender motives of human actions;
but talk, and talk, and talk of the regatta...."

However boring the topic of the depravity of man may have become,
the assumption of man's depravity had enormous effect on English life.
Child-rearing, for example, operated almost exclusively on a "spare
the rod" philosophy. This statement by John Wesley is notable not
only for what it says, but for the fact that nearly everyone in
English society agreed with him:

"Break their will betimes. Begin this work before
they can run alone, before they can speak plain,
perhaps before they can speak at all. Whatever
pains it costs, break the will if you would not
damn the child. Let a child from a year old be
taught to fear the rod and to cry softly; from
that age make him do as he is bid, if you whip
him ten times running to effect it....Break his
will now, and his soul shall live, and he will
probably bless you to all eternity."34

Too, the assumption, that man is depraved led to the notion that human
institutions must function to "humanize" and "soften" mankind, thence
to the Burkean notion that "...no traditional institution should be
jettisoned so long as it retains the slightest capacity for 'raising'
man from his naturally depraved state".35
But let it not seem that I am denying that there were strong reasons why men of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries would be pre-occupied with the depravity of man. The transformation of a traditional feudal society into a modern social order, and the shock of the "industrial revolution" served to make the "depravity" of man highly visible. During this period, says historian Michael Walzer,

...men faced dramatic new problems, symptoms of the collapse of old beliefs and the dissolution of old bonds. These can be summed up most sharply in the appearance of the "masterless man," alien from the feudal world, vagabond and criminal, hero of the new picaresque. In the eyes of their sober, prosperous and fearful fellows, these uprooted peasants, disbanded soldiers, and discharged retainers were the most hated villains of the age, carriers of the social diseases of violence and crime. Taken together, however, their desperation, the cruel difficulty of their lives, their riotous and occasionally rebellious activity, did not produce at any single moment a total crisis. 36

The "problem" of "masterless men" and of violence and crime, even worsened, between 1640 and 1820. The history of riots during the eighteenth century is well-known. E. P. Thompson states that

When Wyvill warned Major Cartwright of the "wild work" of the "lawless and furious rabble" he was not raising imaginary objections. The British people were noted throughout Europe for their turbulence, and people of London astonished foreign visitors by their lack of deference. The 18th and early 19th century are punctuated by riot, occasioned by bread prices, turnpikes and tolls, excise, "rescue", strikes, new machinery, enclosures, press-gangs and a score of other grievances. 37

But however visible this "wild work" of the "lawless and furious rabble" may have been, and however much it may have seemed a sign of the depravity of man, things were not quite that simple. Thompson points out that the bread and food riots which beset every town and country up to the 1840's
rarely a mere uproar which culminated in the breaking open of barns or the looting of shops. It was legitimised by the assumptions of an older moral economy, which taught the immorality of any unfair method of forcing up the price of provisions by profiteering upon the necessities of the people.\textsuperscript{38}

The "older moral economy" here represents a link with the myths of Goth-Anglo-Saxons. To those of the latter consciousness that "older moral economy" was the proper economy of free men, for it was a face-to-face economy rather than being a mysterious "supply and demand" economy. To "the rabble" such 'riots' were popularly regarded as acts of justice, and their leaders held as heroes.\textsuperscript{39}

Thus, there were riots. The "rabble" was prone to commit "depraved acts." Besides the riots—collective acts—there were, of course, innumerable individual acts of "depravity"—see the Newgate Calendar. As with most other phenomena of the seventeenth and eighteenth century, "depravity" was in the eye of the beholder. To Roman-Normans it represented the innate condition of mankind. And be it noted here, so that the fact not go unnoticed, this was the belief of Puritans too. "The wickedness of men," Michael Walzer reminds us, "and the eternal need for control and restraint are ever-present axioms of Calvinist politics."\textsuperscript{40} Walzer elsewhere sums up the Calvinist view of the nature of man:

The Fall had created a second nature and an asocial man, a creature hating submission and continually striving to dominate others. "I say that the nature of man is such that every man would be a lord and master over his neighbors and no man by his good will would be a subject." Calvin also referred frequently to some lingering remnant of Adam's original innocence, but he showed little concern with this primary nature and little interest in fixing its precise form. A remnant it surely was, and painfully obscure amidst human corruption.\textsuperscript{41}
I pursue this point here because it is a motif which haunts any attempt to present a description of Roman-Norman and Goth-Anglo-Saxon consciousness. The motif, specifically, is this: the religious movements which gathered in the poor and disenfranchised, the "masterless men" of seventeenth and eighteenth century England, were by intention authoritarian but were in fact egalitarian in important ways. They were ideologically related to the Roman-Norman consciousness, but in practice provided "aid and comfort" to the egalitarian drives of the Goth-Anglo-Saxon consciousness. This was true of Calvinism in the seventeenth, and of Methodism in the eighteenth century.

English Calvinists were as guilty of playing "good-days-gone-by" as were Parliamentary antiquarians—and were, of course, sometimes the antiquarians themselves. In the hands of Calvinists, the myth of good-days-gone-by was re-worked to emphasize the "stern and patriotic virtue" of their yeomen forefathers (as opposed to the emphasis of "jovial hospitality" which more genteel writers favored). The message which crept in at the backdoor, however, was that men were corrupt in the present because different political, social, economic, and, perhaps, religious arrangements had replaced older arrangements. From that it followed, not that man is innately depraved, but that he is depraved because he is the victim of exploitation and oppression.

In the latter half of the eighteenth century, it was Methodism which was intended to be authoritarian but which was in practice largely democratic. E. P. Thompson says,
...throughout the early history of Methodism we can see a shaping democratic spirit which struggled against the doctrines and the organisational forms which Wesley imposed. Lay preachers, the break with the Established Church, self-governing forms within the societies—on all these questions Wesley resisted or temporised or followed after the event. Wesley could not escape the consequences of his own spiritual egalitarianism. If Christ's poor care to believe that their souls were as good as aristocratic or bourgeois souls then it might lead them on to the arguments of the Rights of Man.43

But however much Methodism may have contributed to a flow of egalitarianism and dissent consonant with the spirit of the Gothic-Anglo-Saxon consciousness, it contributed more to a gloomy repression of the human spirit:

'A more appalling system of religious terrorism, one more fitted to unhinge a tottering intellect and to darken and embitter a sensitive nature, has seldom existed.'44

Blake, for one, would have none of this aspect of Methodism. As E. P. Thompson puts it,

It is against this all-enveloping "Thou Shalt Not!" which permeated all religious persuasions in varying degree in these years, that we can appreciate at its full height the stature of William Blake. It was in 1812 that he emerged from his densely-allegorical prophetic books into a last phase of gnomic clarity in The Everlasting Gospel. Here he reasserted the values, the almost-Antinomian affirmation of the joy of sexuality, and the affirmation of innocence, which were present in his earlier songs. Almost every line may be seen as a declaration of 'mental war' against Methodism and Evangelicism. Their "Vision of Christ" was his vision's 'greatest Enemy'. Above all, Blake drew his bow at the teaching of humility and submission. It was this nay-saying humility—in 'Does the Sun & Moon blot out', 'Distorts the Heavens from Pole to Pole'

'Rooting over with thorns & stems
The buried Soul & all its Gems.'45

Blake's attitude here exactly parallels his attitude toward Pope, for, to him, Pope too, was a pronouncer of "Thou Shalt Not."
Similarly, if Blake's vision of Christ was profoundly at odds with that of the Methodists and others of that ilk, so was it at odds with Pope's "vision of Christ." Since this is properly a topic for a later section, I will simply point out here that just as there were, in the conflict between Roman-Norman and Goth-Anglo-Saxon consciousnesses, two "Golden Ages," two Falls and two natures of man, so too were there two Jesuses. The Roman-Norman simply could not believe that Christ could be any other than a Christ of order and obedience—"gentle Jesus, meek and mild." The Goth-Anglo-Saxon simply could not believe that Christ could be any other than a Christ of "universal community and freedom."46

And so the Roman-Norman and Goth-Anglo-Saxon nodes of consciousness sought legitimacy in both history and the Bible, and each found it in both places. Nothing was settled, therefore, and temporal strife and political disease resulted. Christopher Hill points out that

It is easier to reject institutions which cannot be found in the sacred texts than to agree on what should take their place. Men quoted those texts or precedents which proved what they wished to prove, and ignored those which made against them. The Bible was ambiguous, voluminous, contradictory, providing a text for every occasion: Anglo-Saxon precedent was unknown or doubtful. "Afarro off it seems a monarchy, but in approach discovers more of a Democracy," wrote Nathaniel Bacon of the old constitution; and he piously hoped that "we may attain the happiness of our Fore-Fathers, the ancient Saxons."47

Neither Bacon, writing in 1647, nor Blake, by 1810, can be said to have found the "happiness" of "the ancient Saxons." Nor had either approached near the New Jerusalem. And Pope, for his part, saw more of anti-Christ than Christ, more of Walpole venality than of "Augustan wisdom." So appeals for legitimacy to Bible and history were
disappointing to all.

Beside appeals to history and to the Bible yet another appeal was made, to archetypes. Roman-Nomans appealed to the "patriarchal node," Goth-Anglo-Saxons to the "fraternal node." From mid-seventeenth to early nineteenth century theorists were fond of metaphors based on fatherhood or brotherhood. Norman O. Brown, in a Freud-tinged examination of archetypes has said that

Freud's myth of the rebellion of the sons against the father in the primal, prehistoric horde is not a historical explanation of origins, but a supra-historical archetype: eternally recurrent; a myth; an old, old story.48

The conflict between fathers and sons is indeed an old, old story.

But, as Brown indicates in the following passage, the conflict was peculiarly entangled with seventeenth-politics:

Freud seems to project into prehistoric times the constitutional crisis of seventeenth-century England. The primal father is absolute monarch of the horde; the females are his property. The sons form a conspiracy to overthrow the despot, and in the end substitute a social contract with equal rights for all. This synchronistic history directs us to look for the recurrence of the archetype in the seventeenth century.49

Brown does, of course, manage to find "the recurrence of the archetype" in the seventeenth century:

In the First Treatise of Civil Government, Locke attacks Sir Robert Filmer's defense of absolute monarchy, entitled Patriarcha. Sir Robert Filmer, like Freud, identifies patriarchy and monarchy, political and paternal power. Filmer, like Freud, derives constitutional structure from a primal or prehistoric mythical family, from the paternal powers of our father Adam. Like Freud, Filmer attributes to the primal father unlimited power over his sons, including the power and propensity to castrate them.50

But this power of the primal father denies liberty.
Liberty means equality among the brothers (sons). Locke rejects Filmer's rule of primogeniture, which transmits the full power of father Adam to one of his sons, and makes one brother the father of his brethren. How can a man get power not only over his own children, but over his brethren, asks Locke. 'Brother,' he says, 'is the name of friendship and equality, and not of jurisdiction and authority.' Against Filmer's fatherhood Locke champions liberty, equality, fraternity. Locke has father Adam's property divided equally among all his sons. Liberty, equality: it is all a dispute over the inheritance of the paternal estate. 51

Broom is, of course, weaving into this account many of the most important abstractions of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century political struggles—monarchy, liberty, property. More—particularly "leveling"—show up in the following passage in which Broom explains what becomes of the father in Locke's espousal of the brothers:

But the equality of brotherhood is a leveling in the presence of a father; it is a way of dividing what belongs to a father—'the father's equal love.' Locke's equality in the state of nature belongs to men as sons of God. Liberty means sonship. To make all men free and equal in the state of nature, Locke allows no man the status of father, and makes all men sons of the Heavenly Father. The phantom of fatherhood is banished from the earth, and elevated to the skies. The state of nature has a law to govern it, and reason, which is that law, teaches all mankind who will but consult it, that being equal and independent, no one ought to harm another in his life, health, liberty or possessions; for men being all the servants of one omnipotent and infinitely wise Maker, all the servants of one sovereign Master, sent into the world by his order and about his business; they are his property.' Procreative power itself is transferred from the earthly to the heavenly father. The parents are only guardians of the children they had begotten, 'not as their own workmanship, but the workmanship of their own Maker, the Almighty.' God is the 'author and giver of life.' Parents are only the guardians of their children; fathers are not even fathers of their children. Filmer's sons were subject to castration; Locke castrates the earthly fathers. Thus the defense of sonship turns into the discovery of another father, the 'real' father; and the real question in politics is Jesus' question, 'Who is my father?' 52
This makes it appear that Locke's "brotherhood" depends upon a sleight-of-hand trick which results, actually, in the continuing presence of the primal father. As Brown says, "Locke's sons, like Freud's, cannot free themselves from father psychology..."53

Locke's entrapment in "father psychology" has a certain neatness of parallel with the entrapment of Englishmen generally in the "father psychology" of the "Settlement of 1688." Since that time, despite minor stragglings, the English king has become increasingly more a "father figure" than a ruler, filling a role much like that to which Locke assigned God. Both this political tale, and a full description of the conflict between paternity and fraternity are much too tortuous for further examination here. Perhaps the matter can be summarized by referring to the famous Putney debates between Cromwell's officers and the Levellers and other "army agitators," and to an equally famous "debate" between Burke and Paine in the 1790's.

At Putney the Levellers posed a challenge to the identification of political with property rights. E. P. Thompson says,

In the crucial debate, at Putney, the representatives of the soldiers argued that since they had won the victory they should benefit by being admitted to a greatly extended popular franchise. The claim of the Leveller Colonel Rainborough is well known: "For really I think that the poorest he that is in England hath a life to live, as the greatest he; and therefore truly, sir, I think it's clear, that every man that is to live under a government ought first by his own consent to put himself under that government .... I should doubt whether he was an Englishman or no, that should doubt of these things.' The reply of Cromwell's son-in-law, General Ireton—the spokesman of the 'Grandees'—was that 'no person hath a right to and interest or share in the disposing of the affairs of the kingdom...that hath not a permanent fixed interest in this kingdom.' When Rainborough pressed him, Ireton grew warm in return: 'All the main thing that I speak for, is because I would have an eye to property.
I hope we do not come to contend for victory— but let every man consider with himself that he do not go that way to take away all property. For here is the case of the most fundamental part of the constitution of the kingdom, which if you take away, you take away all by that.  

An exasperated Rainborough later said,

I see that it is impossible to have liberty but all property must be taken away. If it be laid down for a rule...it must be so. But I would fain know what the soldier hath fought for all this while? He hath fought to enslave himself, to give power to men of riches, men of estates, to make him a perpetual slave.  

To this, Ireton and Cromwell responded, says Thompson,

...with arguments which seem like prescient apologetics for the compromise of 1688. The common soldier had fought for three things: the limitation of the prerogative of the Crown to infringe his personal rights and liberty of conscience: the right to be governed by representatives, even though he had no part in choosing them; and the 'freedom of trading to get money, to get estates by' and of entering upon political rights in this way. On such terms, 'liberty may be had and property not be destroyed.'  

Thompson adds that

For 100 years after 1688 this compromise—the oligarchy of landed and commercial property—remained unchallenged, although with a thickening texture of corruption, purchase, and interest whose complexities have been lovingly chronicled by Sir Lewis Harriar and his school. The Leveller challenge was altogether dispersed— although the spectre of a Leveller revival was often conjured up, as the Scylla to the Charybdis of Papists and Jacobites between which the good ship Constitution must steer her course. But until the last quarter of the 18th century the temperate republican and libertarian impulses of the 'Eighteenth-Century Commonwealthman' seem to be transfixed within the limits of Ireton's definition.

Burke and Paine each begin with precisely the "Revolution of 1688." Says Burke,

If the principles of the Revolution of 1688 are anywhere to be found, it is in the statute called the Declaration of Right. In that most wise, sober, and considerate declaration, drawn up by great lawyers and great statesmen, and
not by warm and inexperienced enthusiasts, not one word is said, nor one suggestion made, of a general right 'to choose our own governors, to cashier them for misconduct, and to form a government for ourselves.'

This Declaration of Right (the act of the 1st of William and Mary, sess.2, ch. 2) is the cornerstone of our constitution as reinforced, explained, improved, and in its fundamental principles for ever settled. 53

Says Paine,

The English Parliament of 1686 did a certain thing, which, for themselves and their constituents, they had a right to do, and which it appeared right should be done: But, in addition to this right, which they possessed by delegation, they set up another right by assumption, that of binding and controlling posterity to the end of time. The case, therefore, divides itself into two parts; the right which they possessed by delegation, and the right which they set up by assumption. The first is admitted; but, with respect to the second, I reply—There never did, there never will, and there never can exist a parliament, or any description of men, or any generation of men, in any country, possessed of the right or the power of binding and controlling posterity to the 'end of time', or of commanding for ever how the world shall be governed, or who shall govern it; and therefore, all such clauses, acts or declaration, by which the makers of them attempt to do what they have neither the right nor the power to do, nor the power to execute, are in themselves null and void.—Every age and generation must be as free to act for itself, in all cases, as the ages and generations which preceded it. 59

These arguments thunder everywhere during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In 1649, William Everard, Gerrard Winstanley and other Levellers say

In the beginning of time, the great Creator, Reason, made the earth to be a common treasury, to preserve beasts, birds, fishes, and man, the lord that was to govern this creation. For man had domination given to to him over the beasts, birds, and fishes. But not one word was spoken in the beginning, that one branch of mankind should rule over another. 60

And they complain of what has, nevertheless happened
And hereupon the earth, which was made to be a common treasury of relief for all, both beasts and men, was hedged into enclosures by the teachers and rulers, and the others were made servants and slaves. And that earth that is within this creation made a common storehouse for all, is bought and sold and kept in the hands of a few, whereby the great Creator is mightily dishonored: as if he were a respecter of persons, delighting in the comfortable livelihood of some, and rejoicing in the miserable poverty and straits of others.

In 1738, Pope’s friend, Bolingbroke, writes,

To espouse no party, but to govern like the common father of his people, is so essential to the character of a Patriot King, that he who does otherwise forfeits the title. It is the peculiar privilege and glory of this character, that princes who maintain it, and they alone, are so far from the necessity, that they are not exposed to the temptation, of governing by a party: which must always end in the government of a faction: the faction of the prince, if he has ability; the faction of his ministers, if he has not; and, either one way or other, in the oppression of the people. For faction is to party what the superlative is to the positive: party is a political evil, and faction is the worst of all parties. The true image of a free people, governed by a Patriot King, is that of a patriarchal family, where the head and all the members are united by one common interest, and animated by one common spirit: and where, if any are porvorose enough to have another, they will be soon borne down by the superiority of those who have the same; and, far from making a division they will but confirm the union of the little state.

Whether spokesmen for Roman-Norman and Gothic-Anglo-Saxon consciousness appealed to history, Bible, or archetype, all was double-bind. Absolute legitimacy was unobtainable by either side. Absolute truth belonged to both sides, and to neither.

When spokesmen for the two sides interpreted events or ideas, they produced two events and two ideas. Each phenomenon became two phenomena. Did "the mob" become increasingly audacious and self-serving? A portent, said Roman-Normans, of the decay of civilization—the depravity of man, unchecked, will bring doom and destruction,
Old Night and chaos. An indication, said Goth-Anglo-Saxons, that common men can be responsible for their own destinies. Did the Popular Press show a remarkable growth during the eighteenth century? A contribution, said Roman-Normans, to the decay of taste and hence of morality. A contribution, said Goth-Anglo-Saxons, to the de-mystification of knowledge.

Arthur O. Lovejoy has shown in a famous essay the "Parallel of Deism and Classicism." In my terms it would be possible to show the parallel of Deism to both Roman-Norman and Goth-Anglo-Saxon consciousness. In part, Lovejoy has done just that. He lists as the second characteristic of Deism, "Rationalistic Individualism," and says,

The term 'individualism' has been a pregnant source of confusion and false generalizations in the historiography of ideas; for it has often been applied to two precisely opposite tendencies, one of them highly characteristic of the Enlightenment, the other equally characteristic of the Romantic age. By rationalistic individualism I mean the belief that—precisely because all individuals, qua rational, are fundamentally alike, and because this uniform element in them is the only important element—truth is to be attained by every individual for himself, by the exercise of his private judgment uninfluenced by tradition or external authority; in other words, by 'the pure light of nature' which shines in all alike. To defer to tradition or to submit to authority was to turn away from that light. 63

The third characteristic of Deism, the "appeal to the 'consensus gentium';" could also be used by both Roman-Normans and Goth-Anglo-Saxons. Lovejoy defines this "appeal" as follows:

Since that which is 'according to nature' should be common to all mankind, you cannot, it should seem, miss it if you accept the beliefs and valuations which have in fact been common to all mankind. 64

Thus, for Roman-Normans, Augustans, Classicists, these doctrines
confirmed tradition, for if all men were bound to discover what all men at all times inevitably discover, why should men do otherwise than give their allegiance to the truths passed down from the past? "Enthusiasm" was the folly of believing that a private search for truth or wisdom would produce anything new, anything new which wasn't "mad." On the other hand, Goth-Anglo-Saxons found in these deistical doctrines encouragement to believe that all men, even common men, could discover truth and wisdom for themselves and that reliance upon other men's truths might well be reliance upon "madness." Deism, therefore, lent doctrinal support to all sides.

Add to this endless contention of the two sides, certain dynamics of change and an understanding of the opposition of Roman-Normans and Goth-Anglo-Saxons becomes a bit more confusing. Goth-Anglo-Saxons have here been identified with the poor and with the cause of the disenfranchised. In fact, many were allies of the "lower orders." In both the 1640-1660 and the 1790-1800 periods these "allies" sometimes switched allegiance. Christopher Hill reports, for example, that John Milton and Henry Parker, who had both expressed strong "Anglo-Saxon" sentiments, came, in the mid-1640's and thereafter to alter their tunes:

...Milton had written proudly in 1641 of 'our progenitors that wrested their liberties out of the Norman grip with their dearest blood and highest prowess'.

...Milton's description of the Saxons on the eve of the Norman Conquest in his History of Britain is extremely unflattering. Hill interprets this shift succinctly: "The challenge to the men of property came no longer from royal absolutism but from popular de-
Leo Lowenthal (with Harjorie Fiske) has described a similar dynamic of changing allegiances as they occurred in the eighteenth century. He is speaking of the battle over "taste," but in the process summarizes much of what I have been writing about in this chapter.

In the early half of the century, the middle class struggled successfully to assert its values and interests against those prevailing among the aristocracy. The increasing industrialization and the new importance attaching to the role of the worker in the latter half of the century, however, brought about a shift in focus: the middle class now began to suspect that its most dangerous enemies were below instead of above it.

The issue became intertwined with the aspirations of the "lower orders" and with the growth of the popular press. Those who felt threatened from below were motivated by unattractive sentiments:

As the charity schools and the Sunday schools went about fulfilling their missions of increasing the literacy rate among the workers and farmers, the problem of who should read soon became even more controversial than the problem of who should be written about. In this case the anxiety seems not to have originated with the literati. Insofar as it can be located at all, it seems, rather, to have originated with the non-intellectuals of the middle class. The issues they raised were not aesthetic; they did not fear that literature might become debased in order to meet the tastes and capacities of a working-class audience. The problem was one of economic self-interest: if workers developed a strong predilection for reading, might they not acquire a distaste for manual work along with it?

The economic self-interest of the "non-intellectuals of the middle-class" and the prerogatives of royalty had, for observers like Blake, a remarkably similar dynamic. It was easy, as well, however unfair it may have been to do so, to identify the ideas of, say, Pope's Essay on Man with the ideas of the "non-intellectuals of the middle-class." One can imagine the reactions of Blake and Pope to
the following:

The gist of the argument against workers reading was that the poor will remain tractable and useful only so long as they are kept in some degree of ignorance. The Bible, perhaps, might be permitted, but any other type of reading is more than likely to make workers dissatisfied with the manual labor which is destined to occupy their lives.

Correctives proposed ranged from putting a complete stop to the teaching of reading to children of the lower classes to censoring their reading so that only religious works would be accessible to them. A letter-to-the-editor in the Gentleman's Magazine proposed a rather modern-sounding method of censorship: a citizens' book-revisioning board should be established which would draw up approved reading lists for youth, workers, and other lower orders. This committee, made up of worthy persons, would peruse the novel output annually, print their lists in a monthly publication, and point out such as were of an improper tendency with candour, and recommending those of merit.

Was it descriptive fact that the "lower orders" were destined to be poor and to have to do manual labor all their lives, or was this to be their lot because of the machinations of the "upper orders?" Blake would have agreed with J. L. and Barbara Hammond about England in the 1790s:

'At the time when half Europe was intoxicated and the other half terrified by the new magic of the word citizen, the English nation was in the hands of men who regarded the idea of citizenship as a challenge to their religion and their civilisation; who deliberately sought to make the inequalities of life the basis of the state, and to emphasise and perpetuate the position of the workpeople as a subject class. Hence it happened that the French Revolution has divided the people of France less than the Industrial Revolution has divided the people of England...'

But what of Pope? Clearly, he spoke from a different perspective. Lovelatt reminds us that:

In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries the slowly expanding upper-middle class, composed of men of business and men of property, had tended to identify with the aesthetic tastes
and aspirations of the aristocracy. There was no need for writers to adjust to the professed interests of this new audience because it was indistinguishable from the reading public which had existed before. The problems of the literati had not so much to do with who was to judge literature as with the role of literature in relation to other intellectual pursuits, the limits of the genres, and the place of the poet in the wide scheme of things. Questions might be raised whether the poet excelled the philosopher in his function as teacher (this in the sixteenth century); or about the comparative status of writer and scientist (this in the seventeenth century); or whether the classical rules were the only yardsticks to be legitimately applied in judging a work of literature (this in the early eighteenth).[7]

It would, of course, be simplistic to say that this was Pope's point of view, for Pope, especially in the *Dunciad*, put his essentially Renaissance values boldly into conflict with the new world. In any event, it is ironic, and bitterly so, that his ideas and ideals can in any way be identified with the "economic self-interest" of the "non-intellectual middle-class."

Is there any justification for the belief that the "lower orders" can be a serious threat to social order and stability? Of course there is. In his remarkable book, *The Pursuit of the Millenium*, Norman Gohn has described the sociological status of "revolutionary millenarians":

*Revolutionary millenarianism drew its strength from a population living on the margin of society—peasants without land or with too little land even for subsistence; journeymen and unskilled workers living under the continuous threat of unemployment; beggars and vagabonds—in fact from the amorphous mass of people who were not simply poor but who could find no assured and recognized place in society at all. These people lacked the material and emotional support afforded by traditional social groups; their kinship-groups had disintegrated and they were not effectively organized in village communities or in guilds; for them there existed no regular, institutionalized methods of voicing their grievances or pressing their claims. Instead they waited for a prophet* to bind them together in a group of their own.
Because these people found themselves in such an exposed and defenceless position they were liable to react very sharply to any disruption of the normal, familiar, pattern of life. Again and again one finds that a particular outbreak of revolutionary millenarianism took place against a background of disaster. 73

Cohn goes on to cite specific plagues, famines and price fluctuations which "caused" specific outbursts of millenarianism.

The prophets who catalyzed millenarian revolts were seldom of the class just described. Each prophet offered a charisma which legitimized him as one with a special role to play, and each had a powerful effect on his followers;

For what the prophets offered his followers was not simply a chance to improve their lot and to escape from pressing anxieties—it was also, and above all, the prospect of carrying out a divinely ordained mission of stupendous, unique importance. This phantasy performed a real function for them, both as an escape from their isolated and atomized condition and as an emotional compensation for their abject status; so it quickly came to enthral them in their turn. And what emerged then was a new group—restlessly dynamic and utterly ruthless group which, obsessed by the apocalyptic phantasy and filled with the conviction of its own infallibility, set itself infinitely above the rest of humanity and recognized no claims save that of its own supposed mission. And finally this group might—though it did not always—succeed in imposing its leadership on the great mass of the disoriented, the perplexed and the frightened. 73

It is against this background that Blake's "prophecy" in Jerusalem must be examined. This is the reality behind the warning of a Pope against "enthusiasm."

One of the fascinating aspects of both the Dunciad and Jerusalem is the struggle of each author to defend himself (or his ideas)
against the charge of being in league with the oppressors and exploiters (Pope) or of being in league with "Millenarian revolutionaries" (Blake). If Pope offered aid and comfort to "non-intellecuals of the middle-class" in their struggles to protect their "economic self-interest," then Blake did likewise for the prophet Hitler. 74

Actually this is too stark an opposition. It might be better to conceive of the middle-class as a third force developing somewhere between the arguments of Pope and Blake. Clearly the middle-class had its origin less in theories than in economic and social realities. In a sense, the middle-class merely rationalized the terms of the historical events which produced the Industrial Revolution. These rationalizations were expedient rather than ethical. If some parts of them seem Popean, such was the case only because something in Pope could be borrowed to serve middle-class ends. Similarly, if something in Blake suggests "superman" ideas, then that something might conceivably be useful to "Fascists." Obviously, the middle-class "triumph" of the nineteenth century was inspired by something other than doctrines that could be traced either to Pope or to Blake. Nor could it be traced to anything which was purely Roman-Norman or Goth-Anglo-Saxon. This perhaps explains why both Pope and Blake can be so incontestably "right" in their social criticisms, though they spoke from such radically opposed perspectives.

I have attempted in this chapter to describe the rival forms of consciousness which I have called Roman-Norman and Goth-Anglo-Saxon.
I have identified Pope with the former and Blake with the latter. In many ways, and from several perspectives, I have sought to link those modes of consciousness to historical events of the period circa 1640-1820 and to ideas like "monarchy," "liberty," "levelling," and "enthusiasm" commonly spoken of in our literary textbooks when we deal with that period. The subject is obviously very complex; one is tempted to follow many interesting byways. I have confined myself to suggesting the background of intellectual conflict against which I believe the Dunciad and Jerusalem can properly be understood as poems themselves in conflict.

The two modes of consciousness shaped each other during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, fixing each other with a wealth of historical, Biblical, archetypal, political, economic, social, and religious mythologies and ideologies, fixing each other with mutually irreconcilable inner forms of logic and fantasy. Pope and Blake give classic expression to these opposed modes of consciousness. It will be the task of the next chapter to demonstrate these rival modes of consciousness as they exist in the Dunciad and in Jerusalem.

Before turning to that task I want to acknowledge two problems which may logically be raised by the arguments of this chapter. The first problem is the continuity, or lack of it, of the Goth-Anglo-Saxon tradition during the eighteenth century. Certainly this tradition "peaked" in about 1650 and again in about 1795: I have sought to point up obvious parallels between the arguments of the two peak periods—heavy reliance on the researches of "antiquarians," to demonstrate
an egalitarian past, for example. Yet, between these peak periods, where was this tradition?

The Whigs carried some boudlerized and genteel versions of it during the century, of course; references to the "good old cause" are easy enough to find. But the more radical versions seem largely to have gone underground. Blake scholars have long since pointed out Blake's relationship to an Antinomian tradition. But this does not make clear how powerfully present this tradition was during Pope's lifetime. My own sense is that Pope's awareness of the rival tradition was largely conditioned by his own tradition. I don't think that the Roman-Norman tradition would have had such a powerful "life" if the rival tradition had not always been somehow exerting pressure. Additionally, the memory of the Interregnum was a strong mover of the "life" of Roman-Norman consciousness; Goth-Anglo-Saxon consciousness had, it was widely believed, "caused" the turmoil and fratricidal horror of that time. In our time we would at least mitigate this judgment to read, the perpetrators of the Puritan Revolution contributed to a climate of "rising expectations" among the sociologically and psychologically dispossessed, and these in turn contributed to the production of numerous intellectual aberrations. However this may be, Pope was among those who "remembered" the Interregnum as a time when "enthusiasm" produced confusion, disorder, and bloodshed, not to mention regicide.

The second problem I wish to acknowledge is Blake's "mysticism." Here I am emphasizing Blake's relationship to what is largely a political tradition among disenfranchised Englishmen of the seventeenth and
eighteenth centuries. Many capable Blake scholars have linked Blake to a tradition of Gnosticism. Though there is no reason to argue this case in this study I would like to state my position: I think the political and Gnostic traditions are mutually reinforcing and that they are entirely compatible. In fact it will be impossible during the remainder of this study to divorce the two; the Gnostic symbols and myths are everywhere the expressive vehicle of the political Goth-Anglo-Saxon consciousness I have outlines. If there are special qualities in *Jerusalem* which are not tied to Goth-Anglo-Saxon consciousness, they must be the subject of someone else's study.

It is time to consider the poems themselves.
FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER THREE

1. Alexander Koére, From the Closed World to the Infinite Universe, pp. v-vi.

2. Ibid., p. 3.

3. Ibid., p. 4.

4. Charles A. Reich, The Greening of America, p. 14. I have seized upon Reich's definition of "consciousness" because it was at hand and because it so adequately expresses what I mean about Pope and Blake, namely that their ideas fall within patterns of thought which both poets shared with large numbers of their contemporaries.

5. Ibid., p. 15.

6. See ibid., p. 16.


8. Ibid., pp. 1-2.

9. Ibid., pp. 2-3.

10. Ibid., p. 3.


13. See Kliger, pp. 66ff.


15. Ibid., p. 35.

16. Ibid., p. 35.

17. Ibid., p. 36.

18. Ibid., p. 40.

19. See ibid., p. 65.


23. Ibid., p. 55.
24. Ibid., pp. 57-8.
25. Ibid., p. 50.
26. Ibid., pp. 50-1.
27. Ibid., p. 51.
28. Ibid., p. 51.
29. Ibid., p. 52.
30. Ibid., p. 50.
32. Ibid., p. 70.
33. Ibid., pp. 71-2.
35. Fussell, p. 73.
37. E. P. Thompson, p. 62.
38. Ibid., p. 63.
39. Ibid., p. 60.
41. Ibid., p. 31.
42. Ibid., p. 206.
43. E. P. Thompson, p. 42.
44. Ibid., p. 374.
45. Ibid., p. 374.
46. "The True Lovellars' Standard Advanced" (1649), by William
47. Christopher Hill, *Puritanism and Revolution*, p. 70.


49. Ibid., p. 3.

50. Ibid., p. 4.

51. Ibid., p. 4.

52. Ibid., p. 5.

53. Ibid., p. 5.

54. E. P. Thompson, p. 22.

55. Ibid., p. 23.

56. Ibid., p. 23.

57. Ibid., p. 23.


61. Ibid., p. 175.


64. Ibid., p. 83.


66. Ibid., p. 71.


68. Ibid., p. 93.

69. Ibid., p. 93.
70. Quoted in E. P. Thompson, pp. 196-7.
71. Loventhal, p. 97.
73. Ibid., p. 225.
74. See Elgar, p. 239.
75. Dunciad I. 165.
76. See A. L. Morton, The Everlasting Gospel; Desiree Hirst, Hidden Riches; David Lidran, Prophet Against Empire; and J. Bronowski, The Man Without a Mask.
77. See Peter Quennell, Alexander Pope, The Education of Genius, 1688-1722, p. 2.
78. See Northrop Frye, Fearful Symmetry; Desiree Hirst, Hidden Riches; and Kathleen Raine, Plate and Tradition.
CHAPTER FOUR

I want now to demonstrate, in the texts themselves, the pervasive pattern of thematic and structural complementarities and antagonisms to be found in the *Dunciad* and *Jerusalem*. Secondarily I want to comment on the significance of this pervasive pattern, freely referring to sources other than the poems whenever doing so seems useful. I will organize these tasks around five propositions. First, Pope and Blake are themselves the "heroes" of their own epics. Second, the Heroic task undertaken in each poem is the redemption of a fallen society. And third, fourth, and fifth, both poets seek to validate their own roles and tasks in religious, historical, and poetic terms. Ultimately, the poems themselves are the heroic acts of their hero-poets. In following this organizational plan it will be necessary everywhere to deal with the numerous facets of the poems which reflect arguments and preoccupations specific to eighteenth-century English society. At the same time, of course, other facets of the poems refer to the universal and archetypal.

It is quite useful to think of Pope and Blake as the heroes of their epics. In the first place, as I have earlier noted, the relationships of the poets to their poems have long been vexing critical issues.
Is the *Dunciad* a work of personal vengeance? a work of high moral intent? something between these two poles? merely a poem of confused intent? or a poem in which the means vitiate the end? Is *Jerusalem* the work of a madman, albeit an inspired one? Is it the frothings of a mystic? the casual code message of a political dissenter? the message of a true prophet? Shall we take Blake's word that his "song" was "dictated by God?" These questions largely disappear if one is willing to view Pope and Blake as "epic heroes." There is, moreover, ample textual reason for doing so.

In Pope's case this "textual reason" involves, first of all, the genre in which he worked. Satire implies the set of propositions, values, ideas, and beliefs held by the satirist. It is on behalf of these that he "wages satire" and he aims his satiric barbs against the enemies of his propositions, values, ideas, beliefs. Thus, when Pope takes up arms against hacks, publishers, booksellers, party writers, critics, pedants, nodding prelates, hanging judges, virtuosi, grand tour fops, venal Prime Ministers, and stupid kings his struggle is all of a piece. It begins with his petty personal squabbles in the London literary world and ascends to his noblest metaphysical clashes with the English philosophical and governmental worlds. Along the entire spectrum between these two poles Pope's motivations shift, but his ideas remain constant. And finally, if his means seem excessive or scatological, it is because, on the one hand, he is personally passionately engaged in what he experiences as mortal combat, and, on the other, because, as an epic hero who is all-too-human, he has affinity with that familiar modern non-hero who is a swap of contra-
n o
dictorj'" depravities and nobilities.

A second reason why it is possible to think of Pope as his own epic hero is that the epic task of the poet is one which can be undertaken by a poet. The formal "proposition" of the Dunciad reads,

The mighty Mother, and her Son who brings
The Smithfield Luses to the ear of Kings,

(1.1-3)

We do not understand the epic hero to be this "Son", Colley Cibber, despite the elaborate holism of "Picardus Aristarchus" in the prologomena essay, "Of the Hero of the Poem" (T3, pp.254ff.). Nor do we perceive of the epic task as being the bringing of "the Smithfield Luses to the ear of Kings." The epic hero must defeat the "Mighty Mother" and her "Son." The hero's task is to prevent the entropy of taste, wit, "Art and Science," and wisdom, represented by the movement from the Smithfield Luses toward "the ear of Kings." It is the satirist, Pope, who undertakes this task, undertakes it in the act of writing the Dunciad. And in this regard, Pope, the satirist-epic-hero, has affinity with tragic heroes; by his own admission, his task is too great, he is overwhelmed, and, by poem's close, "Universal Darkness buries All." Yet that ending is only rhetoric; Pope's heroic task consists of warning the citizens of the consequences of their present behavior, and one consequence is the laping of all civilization into the "Chaos and eternal night" (1.12) which ruled mankind "In eldest time, o'or mortals writ or read" (1.6). Pope's heroic task includes championing the Logos, which he does both by argumentation and by "setting a good example" in his own Art. In this respect, it is the judgment of history that Pope has triumphed
over the Dunces. Modern commentators find it easy to grant him this artistic triumph, difficult to grant him an ideological triumph.

A third reason for positing Pope as his own epic hero is that in many ways the "huge and quite fanciful textual apparatus" added to the poem beginning with the 1729 Variorum edition tends to suggest just such a role for the poet. Aubrey Williams, in arguing that this textual apparatus ought to be considered an integral part of the poem, draws several conclusions which seem to me to support my placing Pope in the position of epic hero. Williams argues, in the first place, that the massive notes added by editors since Pope's day have emphasized the factual history relevant to the Dunces and their activities, thereby contravening the effect of the apparatus attributable to Pope and his circle. "The simple fact is," says Williams,

that historical truth is distorted by Pope so as to be more metaphorical; with a large residue of actual duncery still clinging about them, he alters the personages of his poem to make them appear more perfect vehicles for his subject—dulness in human kind. At the same time, one is always conscious of the fact that the dunces were real people. But where the reality leaves off and the fancy begins is difficult for the reader to discover; we are faced with dunces who are neither wholly here— in the poem—nor there—in history."

Thus, Pope, by granting ever greater metaphorical duncery to his victims, suggested ever greater stature for himself, but himself as a metaphor only, a metaphor for an epic hero.

At another point in his argument Williams says,

As the epic hero is 'distanced' by the epic convention—must have certain physical and moral virtues, engage in certain exalted enterprises, 'live' on a higher plane of existence—so the dunces are 'distanced', projected into
the realm of art, by a contrary convention. If the epic hero has certain expected attributes, so has the dunce: his morals will not be of the best, his sensitivity not of the finest, his enterprises questionable. Hence, says Hilliaris, in the conventions of the epic hero, "Ordinary mortality is heightened and exalted," whereas according to Pope's handling of the Dunces, their "ordinary mortality" is "lowered and debased." Again I argue that the more Pope granted greater and greater mythical status and greater and greater "uncivilizing power" to the Dunces, the more he simultaneously suggested a more mythical status for the satirist, a status heightened and exalted to that of an epic hero. On another level, the more Pope fictionalized the Dunces, and the more he fictionalized the conquest of civilization by hordes of Dunces, the more he fictionalized himself as a Thermopoleae- or Alamo-style epic hero. If the Dunces fell asleep, he at least could keep himself awake.

The final reasons for accepting Pope as the epic hero of the Dunciad derive from myth and biography respectively. Pope has undertaken a task commonly undertaken by heroes in myths, and he has done so both on the level of the satirist of the Dunciad and on the level of Alexander Pope of Twickenham. Once again, as has been the case throughout this discussion of Pope-as-epic-hero, the distinction between biographical fact and literary role—in this case mythic role—blurs and becomes indistinct. R. H. Griffith has said of Pope's experience of his own time,

A wave of wrong methods, wrong standards was threatening the extinction of Learning in England. This Pope "experienced." Thus he saw it. He was mistaken—doubtless. His was the
mistake of all who bemoan the departure of 'the

good old days.' He could perceive the passing

away of the good and helpful in the old order; but

the good and helpful in what was to come was not

yet manifest. 4

But Griffith's is the perspective of history. If we choose the

perspective of myth, however, a different picture emerges. Speaking

of "The Function of Myth, Cult, and Meditation," Joseph Campbell says,

In his life-form the individual is necessarily

only a fraction and distortion of the total image

of man. He is limited either as male or as female;

at any given period of his life he is again limited

as child, youth, mature adult, or ancient;

furthermore, in his life-role he is necessarily

specialized as craftsman, tradesman, servant, or

thief, priest, leader, wife, nun, or harlot; he

cannot be all. Hence, the totality—the fullness

of man—is not in the separate member, but in the

body of the society as a whole; the individual

can be only an organ. From his group he has

derived his techniques of life, the language in

which he thinks, the ideas on which he thrives;

through the past of that society descended the

genes that built his body. If he presumes to cut

himself off, either in deed or in thought and

feeling, he only breaks connection with the sources

of his existence. 5

It is correct to say, I think, that Pope saw the Dunces as creatures

who had indeed cut themselves off from the sources of their existence.

From the point of view described by Campbell, man has no existence

outside his society. The ceremonies of his society demonstrate the

total form of that society and show him his place as a cell in a total

organism. Social duties continue the lesson of the ceremonies, but

in everyday life. If we consider Pope's life as a myth we can see

how closely he adheres to the general outline of Campbell's description:

The hero, therefore, is the man or woman who

has been able to battle past his personal and

local historical limitations to the generally
valid, normally human forms. Such a one's visions, ideas, and inspirations come pristine from the primary springs of human life and thought. Hence they are eloquent, not of the present, disintegrating society and psyche, but of the unquenched source through which society is reborn.

Pope was born in London during a year of rioting. His parents were Catholics, hence outcasts to their society. This was the "special birth" of the mythic hero. During his childhood he was stricken with spinal tuberculosis, an early trial. As is well known, Pope became the apprentice to a long series of "father figures," from Walsh, Trumbull, and Congreve in his youth to Bolingbroke in later life. The earliest of these gave him special help, encouragement, and "instruction;" he was, so to speak, initiated into the secrets and mysteries of the literary world and of polite society. He served a long "apprenticeship," enjoyed early success with Rape of the Lock, then underwent a 10-year period of drudgery, romantic disappointment, and general "wandering in the wilderness." When he emerged from this period he was able to establish himself in the social, political, and literary roles which he chose and which chose him.

The hero has died as a modern man; but as eternal man—perfected, unspecific, universal man—he has been reborn. His second solemn task and deed therefore (as Toynbee declares and as all the mythologies of mankind indicate) is to return then to us, transfigured, and teach the lesson he has learned of life renewed.

Pope had during his 10-year hiatus established the independence and rectitude which would enable him to embody the Essay on Criticism and the Essay on Man and to write the Dunciad as a defense of the living values of the two Essays against the enemies of those values.

Thus Pope's life and his role were essentially one and insepar-
able. This is difficult to accept in our day when roles are so often
darned as diminished and diminishing versions of the individual. Yet
Pope sought to live his role, both privately and publicly. In the
Dunciad we see this role fictionalized to epic proportions, yet
undermined by personal, "savage misanthropy." We see this role both
validated by Pope's art and vitiated by Pope's human preoccupation
with scatology. And from our perspective we are prone to deny any
validity to Pope's role. Williams argues that the notes added to the
Dunciad between 1729 and 1743 represent an attempt to improve the
appearance of the "ethical vision" of the poet; "the satire is
broadened in scope and the quality of more abuse is diminished." It
should be remembered at this point that Pope's Ethical Epistles,
Political Satires, and especially his Arbuthnot appeared during the
1730's, a time when Pope became much more self-conscious about his
own role, and more serious about it. Thus, the 1743 Dunciad, while
it contains the residue of a more frivolous satire, was still capable
of serving as the basic structure of Pope's mature vision and of
satisfying his more mature self-image.

In sum, Pope styled himself an epic hero in verse just as he
sought to style himself an 

*bono homine, a vir bonus* in life. It
is difficult at all points to separate Pope's biography from his
poetic and public roles. As a satirist, he consistently championed
the values he had set forth in the Essay on Criticism and the Essay
on *Ian*; his views were well known. The values championed in the
Essays can be described as reverence for the Logos and allegiance to
Christian humanism—I speak very broadly. Values such as these are
values which can be "championed" by a poet, with pen rather than with sword, with poetic rather than with athletic skill, with satire rather than with force of arms. Pope fused these values with baser materials, with malarkey and vituperation related to his real and imagined personal experiences with Grub Street. From 1729 to 1743, through the addition of textual apparatus, through alterations in the text, and through the addition of a fourth book, the poet sought to intensify the ethical and to depress the vindictive elements of the Dunciad. He has been partially defeated in this effort by editors who re-emphasize what he has tried to depress, partially by flaws in his own character. Nevertheless, he played a traditional mythic heroic role in life and in poetic art: he overcame serious handicaps—Catholicism in a Protestant society, crippling and deforming disease, meager education—to achieve local fame and reputation, serving a long and arduous apprenticeship in the process; he fought the difficult battles of translating and editing to the point where he could match his artistic skills and ethical point-of-view with a degree of independence rare in his day; and finally he performed his ethical duty as he saw it despite the absence of external forces making him do so. His ethical duty and his human frailties clashed repeatedly, in life and in the Dunciad.

No matter how one turns it, Pope’s real life frailties and noble aspirations are inextricably at war in the structure of the Dunciad. If he is the hero of the epic implied by the mock-epic poem, as I think he is, he is a very difficult kind of hero who is at once, like any epic hero, larger than life, yet, unlike a traditional epic hero,
a mere flawed mortal. As I will argue shortly, there is a matching paradox in Pope's ethical vision. Ultimately, in the *Dunciad*, implied epic and mock-epic become one at the close of the poem, where it is suggested that the action of the real-life Pope and of the epic-hero Pope is doomed to defeat. At that point satire becomes tragedy.

In the second section of this chapter I will examine the heroic task of the epic hero of the *Dunciad*; I consider that to be an essential element of the argument here, the argument about Pope as the epic hero of the *Dunciad*. I might add in advance that the description of his heroic task is essential to the discussion of Blake as epic hero as well.

There are to be found some similar confusions between the real Blake and Blake as an epic hero to those which haunted the discussion of Pope. However, *Jerusalem* is an epic, not an implied epic. There is an epic hero denominated as such by the poet—I refer to Los. But Blake identifies himself rather explicitly with Los, so it is no great stretch to call Blake the epic hero of his poem.

The prophetic stance, like the satiric, begins with the propositions, values, ideas, and beliefs of the prophet; he speaks on his own behalf. In that respect, *Jerusalem* is a dramatic presentation of Blake's ideas, just as the *Dunciad* is a dramatic presentation of Pope's. But, this could be said of all literature, admitting only that the prophet and satirist may speak more directly to their audience, and with greater emotional intensity than would be the case in other literary forms. I tread this area carefully for I know that it could
excite arguments from all sides. I only want to make the very
general point that we are more conscious of the urgency of the
message, and the directness of the message, when it comes from a
prophet or a satirist than we would be if we were receiving Shakes-
peare’s "message" through Hamlet, or Jane Austen’s through Pride and
Prejudice. Blake and Pope intend propaganda, intend to move us to
action, rather than get us to contemplate or understand. We are
being urged to change our ways.

Blake’s task, like Pope’s, is of a kind which can be undertaken
by a poet. Let me put the "propositions" of the Dunciad and
Jerusalem side by side for comparison:

The Mighty Mother, and her Son who brings
The Smithfield Huses to the ear of Kings,
I sing. (Dun.I.1-3)

Of the Sleep of Ulro! and of the passage through
Eternal Death! and of the awaking to Eternal Life.

This theme calls me in sleep night after night, &
every morn
Awakes me at sun-rise, then I see the Saviour over me
Spreading his beams of love, & dictating the words
of this mild song. (Jer.I.4;1-5)

The poet-prophet intends to deal with the "Sleep of Ulro," and this
"sleep" has to do with man’s mental state, and with society’s mental
state, just as Pope’s "Smithfield Huses" have to do with individual
and societal mental states. But note that in lines 3-5, Blake identi-
fies himself as the "speaker," while, of course, simultaneously
proclaiming his prophetic mission. The phrasing of these lines suggests
that Blake is going to write a poem about a certain event, or cycle of
events. Yet, unlike writing about, say, the siege of Troy or the
adventures of Odysseus, writing about the "Sleep of Ulro" is writing
about something one can have experienced or participated in. The numerous references to "current events" in Jerusalem tend to place the epic in time contemporary with the author's life.

There was no reason to note the invocation to the Dunciad, for it is rather formal and does not truly thrust Pope into the action of his own poem. The invocation to Jerusalem, however, does thrust Blake into the action of his poem.

Trembling I sit day and night, my friends are astonished at me. Yet they forgive my wanderings, I rest not from my great task! To open the Eternal Worlds, to open the immortal Eyes Of man inwards into the Worlds of Thought: into Eternity Ever expanding in the Bosom of God, the Human Imagination

(J.I.5;16-20)

It is Blake's "great task" in the mundane world "to open the Eternal Worlds," just as it is Los's task to do this in the mythical realm of the poem, just as, in Blake's view, it had been Jesus' task in the Christian religious myth, and just as it is the great task of all prophets in history.

In the prose preface to Chapter I of Jerusalem, Blake begins on a very personal note:

After my three years slumber on the banks of the Ocean, I again display my Giant forms to the Public: my former Giants & Fairies having receiv'd the highest reward possible: the [love] and [friendship] of those with whom to be connected, is to be [blessed]; I cannot doubt that this more consolidated & extended Jork, will be as kindly received. (J.I.3)

Succeeding prefaces to the other three chapters do not contain this first-person intimacy, yet in tone, style, and content, they are unmistakably Blakean, unmistakably continuations of the first preface.
Thus, Blake both in the prefaces and in the text of the poem gives himself a place in his epic. Occasional reminders of Blake's presence abound in the poem; in fact each mention of London or of London places tends to serve this purpose, for the person in London is Blake: "The Wound I see in South Molton Street & Stratford place..." (J.III.74.55), is such a line which reminds us of Blake's presence. In a passage of central importance in the poem, Los moves into London:

But Los
Search'd in vain: closed from the minutia he walk'd,
difficult.
He came down from Highgate thro Hackney & Holloway
Towards London
Till he came to old Stratford... (J.II.45/31/.12-15)

A subsequent speech attributed to Los seems equally to be attributable to Blake:

What shall I do! what could I do, if I could find these Criminals
I could not dare to take vengeance; for all things are so constructed
And builded by the Divine hand, that the sinner shall always escape,
And he who takes vengeance alone is the criminal of Providence;
If I should dare to lay my finger on a grain of sand
In way of vengeance; I punish the already punish'd:
(J.II.45/31/.29-35)

The tone and style of the prefaces is clearly repeated in many passages in the poem proper, so that, again, it is difficult not to remember the very real, very human Blake looking upon the "darkness and horrid solitude" (J.II45/31/.39) of a very real London.

Just as we are conscious of one remaining vigilant poet even when "Universal Darkness buries All" at the close of the Dunciad, so we are conscious of a vigilant poet at the apocalypse which closes
Jerusalem; the final line of the poem reads, "And I heard the Name
of their Emanations they are named Jerusalem." It would be difficult
not to think of the "I" as Blake.

Jerusalem contains numerous autobiographical touches. I have
already mentioned the way in which geographical details about London
are often suggestive of the presence of Blake; there are many more than
I have indicated. The best known is probably contained in the familiar
verse which precedes Chapter II:

The fields from Islington to Marybone,
To Primrose Hill and Saint Johns Wood:
Were builded over with pillars of gold,
And there Jerusalems pillars stood.

Her Little-ones ran on the fields
The Lamb of God among them seen
And fair Jerusalem his Bride:
Among the little meadows green.

Panocrass & Kentish-town repose
Among her golden pillars high:
Among her golden arches which
Shine upon the starry sky.

The Jews-harp-house & the Green Man;
The Ponds where Boys to bathe delight:
The fields of Cows by Willans farm:
Shine in Jerusalems pleasant sight.

(J.II.27;1-16)

These lines may be less autobiographical than they seem, but that
is another topic. Certainly the first statement of the first pre-
face is autobiographical: "After my three years slumber on the banks
of the Ocean, I again display my Giant Forms to the Public...", except
that very few people were ever to see Jerusalem in Blake's life-time.
The following lines from a speech by "Erin" have definite autobi-
ographical overtones:
The Visions of Eternity, by reason of narrowed perceptions,
Are become weak Visions of Time & Space, fix'd into furrows of death;
Till deep dissimulation if the only defence an honest man has left (J.II.49:21-23)

This same theme is continued in the lines, "...the Sons of Eden praise Urthonas Spectre [Los] in songs //Because he kept the Divine Vision in time of trouble" (J.IV.95:19-20). This and the preceding quote suggest Blake's sense that oppression was so severe that "dissimulation" was forced upon him and that, nevertheless, his mission was to keep "the Divine Visions in time of trouble."

The same lines referred to in the paragraph next above imply some of the same aspects of the mythic hero for Blake's life which I outlined for Pope's. In Blake's case, I would emphasize the long apprenticeship in his Arts under trying financial condition, the "dark night of the soul" he suffered following the decline of his Jacobin hopes of the '90's and the agonies and spiritual dislocations suffered at Felpham under the "care" of Hayley, and the "reawakening" and spiritual reintegration he seemed to achieve at about the time he first conceived of Jerusalem. Blake returned to fulfill the "second solemn task" of the mythic hero, teaching us "the lesson he has learned of life renewed." If Pope warns us, on the basis of "the lesson he has learned of life renewed," that if we continue our ways our fate will be dire, Blake attempts to inspire us with what might be if we heed his teaching.

To conclude, then, it is as difficult to remove Blake from Jerusalem as it is to remove Pope from the Dunciad. Too, Blake's actual life and his fictionalized, heroic life within the poem merge
and become difficult to separate. I think that, like Pope, Blake has finally adopted a public role, as prophet, which he seeks to live in his poem. Just as Pope has to validate his role in the example of his poetry, so too must Blake. Just as Pope's topic involves him both as man and poet, so does Blake's. And just as Pope's poem is involved with its historic moment, so is Blake's.

It may finally seem an exaggeration to call Pope and Blake epic heroes. Yet I think that the Dunciad and Jerusalem were produced by men who thought of their poems not as materials for study in graduate schools but as part of the central business of human affairs. Each poet had consciously developed a "literary personality," a serious public role, and a role with a serious public function. Both poets, as will be seen, thought of poetry as an essential element in the health of human societies. Each poet spoke not alone from private vision but, more importantly, from a sense of duty as well. Each addressed himself "to the public," to a public consisting of fellow citizens in a particular society at a particular time and place. And the Dunciad and Jerusalem were never intended merely to amuse, but to instruct as well. This instruction was not in trivial matters, but in matters of cosmic importance; for Pope and Blake, from perspectives poles apart, sought no less than to redeem a fallen world through their art. Such a task requires no less than an epic hero.

2.

There is no such thing as a fallen world just as there is no such thing as a mother. "Mother" is a name we give to a role and function
which some human beings assume for some periods of time under certain circumstances. There can only be, barring Armageddon, a falling world or a rising world, a world in process of Fall or in process of Redemption. Further, these processes, commonly figured in spatial metaphors, take place not in the "world" but primarily in the minds and emotions of men. Thus, one man's "fallen world" can be another man's Eden, at least figuratively speaking it can. Pope and Blake, observing exactly the same data, would no doubt see the processes of Fall and Redemption moving in different direction. All of which means, for my purposes here, that Jerusalem, a romance, implies a satire which would not be the Dunciad, and vice versa. If Blake had written a satire, his targets would probably have been those whose actions would, if unchanged, produced the "Sleep of Ulro." If Pope had written a romance, his hero would have defeated the monstrous minions of Dulness and created the conditions for a "New Rome."

As it is, Blake's theme involves a process announced in the opening lines of his poem:

Of the Sleep of Ulro! and of the passage through Eternal Death! and of the awaking to Eternal Life.

This theme calls me in sleep night after night, &
ev'ry morn
Awakes me at sun-rise..... (J.I.4:1-4)

Thus, Blake's fallen world he calls Ulro, and he identifies it with sleep, clearly a sleep as serious as death. Pope's fallen world too has affinity with "sleep." Books II and IV end with universal snoozes. In IV, just after Dulness delivers her final charge to the Dunces—"My Sons! be proud, be selfish, and be dull" (I.552)—an irresistible drowsiness flows over the nation:
More she had spoke, but yawn — All Nature nods:
What Mortal can resist the Yawn of Gods?
Churches and Chapels instantly it reach'd;
(St. James's the Schools; for leaden Gilbert preach'd)
Then catch'd the Schools; the Hall scarce kept awake;
The Convocation gap'd, but could not speal:
Lost was the Nation's Sense, nor could be found,
While the long solemn Unison went round:
Wide, and more wide, it spread o'er all the realm;
Ev'n Palinurus nodded at the Helm;
The Vapour mild o'er each Committee crept;
Unfinish'd Treaties in each Office slept;
And Chiefless Armies doz'd out the Campaign;
And Havies yawn'd for Orders on the main.
(IV.605-618)

The more cosmic drowsiness of the great final movement toward Universal Darkness in the poem, lines 628-656, follows the parochial drowsiness in the lines just quoted.

But while both poets characterize their fallen worlds with the same term, each means something different by "sleep." More correctly, each is describing a different process which results in "sleep." This sleep—I wish to emphasize this—has reference both to death and death-in-life. The fallen world which can be characterized by this most threatening "sleep" is a world devoid of life and a world of life which has no life. The heroic task in both poems involves a struggle against "sleep." Victory, triumph in both poems would be marked by an "awakening," by the redemption of a fallen world.

"Sleep" in both poems is manifest myth by individuals and by "society." It has historico-political, religious, and mythico-literary dimensions—in both poems. These latter dimensions are properly subjects for later sections of this chapter. Here I am concerned with the heroic task of the poets. Everywhere in this study I must deal with the complementary and antagonistic nature of the assumptions, ideas,
processes, themes, and all other aspects of the poems. It is no different with the two versions of "sleep" and with the two processes which produce a "fallen world."

Rival assumptions. Blake:

The Primeval State of Ian, was Wisdom, Art; and Science.  

(Pl. 3)

Pope:

In eldest time, e'er mortals writ or read,  
3'er Pallas issu'd from the Thunderer's head,  
Dulness o'er all possess'd her ancient right,  
Daughter of Chaos and eternal Night:  
Fate in their dotage this fair Idiot gave,  
Gross as her sire, and as her mother grave,  
Laborious, heavy, busy, bold, and blind,  
She rul'd, in native Anarchy, the mind.  

(1.9-16)

The "Primeval State" of the mind of man was "Wisdom, Art, and, Science": the primeval state of the mind was "Anarchy." Native wisdom versus native anarchy. Note that these basic assumptions both appear very early in the poems. As is generally the case, such seemingly simple, such elementat assumptions, make all the difference.

The opposite of native anarchy is nurtured orderliness. The opposite of native wisdom is nurtured ignorance. Whatever induces "sleep" in the Dunciad does so by undermining "nurtured orderliness." Whatever induces "sleep" in Jerusalem does so by smothering native wisdom with nurture (mystification). As will be seen, categories of "nurture"—religion, education, poetry, the press, etc.—are very important in the economy of both poems. "Nurtured orderliness" and all the agents and agencies of nurture are, in the Dunciad defeated from below, by dunces, by "rabble," by barbarians. "Native wisdom," in Jerusalem, is defeated from above by the agents and agencies of
nurture—kings, priests, educators, newspaper reporters; government, churches, schools, newspapers. This is a simplified schema, but it is accurate enough to serve as a map of the discussion here.

It is, to reiterate, the process which induces "sleep" or "wakefulness" which is most important in the poems. This process is figured in both poems by patterns of "expansion" and "contraction." Alvin B. Kernan thinks that an "...expansion-contraction pattern is central in the Dunciad". He says that the "action" of the poem involves an

...ever-widening spread of dulness into the professions, the arts, politics, social life, religion, and all areas of culture. In the end, slipping, floundering, and meandering about, dulness buries London, England, western Civilization, and the cosmos:4

However, Kernan adds,

At the very moment that dulness becomes everything, everything becomes nothing, for dulness is finall: nothingness, vacuity, matter without form or idea.15

Referring to the "action" of bringing "the Smithfield luses to the ear of Kings," Kernan says,

This suggests the corruption of taste and the translation of vulgarity from the City to the Court, from the center of commerce to the polite world, and each episode shows the spread of debased and false artistic standards to further areas of English life and culture.15

Thus, translating Kernan's terms into mine, "sleep" expands throughout English society, defeating more and more agents and agencies of nurture, until nothingness, the ultimate contraction is achieved. Nothingness and contraction equate with the sleep which is death.

Kernan makes another point worth considering:
The most consistent subject of satire has always been some variety of overly optimistic belief in progress which ignores the hard realities and inevitable complications of life.  

This suggests that there is an outer limitation on the expansion of human capacities, a boundary beyond which the human mind cannot go. "Hard realities" and "complications" make infinite, or even vast though yet finite expansion impossible. Hence, and this I believe to be schematically correct, in the world of the Dunciad there is an outer limit to expansion and an inner limit to contraction; beyond the former was madness, self-deception and delusion, while beyond the latter was "native anarchy." An accurate reflection, this, of the "middling way" which Augustan gentlemen aspired to follow.

When, in book III, Settle tells Cibber about the role he will play in spreading dullness, he uses an image of expansion-contraction: "All nonsense thus, of old or modern date, //Shall in thee centre, from thee circulate" (11.59-60). Though here Cibber is made the center of "nonsense," a fairly mild aberration, this is schematically the center of cosmic madness. Another exchange between Settle and Cibber is revealing. Cibber asks,

What pow'r, he cries, what pow'r these wonders wrought?

To which Settle replies,

Son, what thou seest is in thee! Look and find
Each monster meets his likeness in thy mind.

(III.250-252)

Pope is explicit in equating the "monsters" of Cibber's and all of his Grub-Street brothers' minds both with actual madness and with the "literature" produced by those "monsters:"
Close to those walls where Folly holds her throne,
And laughs to thinkkonroe would take her down,
Where o'er the gates, by his fm'd father's hand
Great Gibber's brazen, brainless brothers stand;
One Cell there is, conceal'd from vulgar eye,
The Cave of Poverty and Poetry.
Keen, hollow winds howl thro' the bleak recess,
Emblem of Music caus'd by Raptiness.
Hence, Bards, Like Proteus long in vain ty'd down,
Escape in Monsters, and sneeze the town.
Hence Miscellanies spring, the weekly boast
Of Curl's chaste press, and Lintot's rubric post:
Hence Ryming Tyburn's elegies lines,
Honey Journals, Medleys, merc'ries, Magazines:
Sepulchral lies, our holy walls to grace,
And New-year Odes, and all the Grub-Street race.

(Dun. I. 29-44)

These monsters of the mind represent an expansion which is actually
a contraction.

The expansion which is contraction in the Dunciad, Keman
concludes, figures

...a bathetic world in which the grand scheme of a
divinely ordered universe is contracted to a mechanical
operation, in which religion falls off to elaborate
cookery, and in which all forms of virtue, intelligence,
and art are scaled down to their corresponding, or
antithetical, forms of dulness. The cause of all the
specific reductions is an ultimate and general reduction of
all the world to self:

'Make God Man's Image, Man the final Cause,
Find Virtue local, all Relation scorn,
See all in Self, and but for self be born:
Of nought so certain as our Reason still,
Of nought so doubtful as of Soul and Will.'(476-482)

By making self-interest the moral touchstone, by
trusting to what he alone can see and understand, by
turning away from the literary productions and
social values bequeathed by the past—in short,
by pride—man reduces all the world to his own puny
size.

Pride, and, to use another Popean epithet, "enthusiasm" (I. 255.),
are just those qualities in men which cause over-reaching toward the
outer boundary of expansion. They are forms of "selfishness" which produce, finally, only contractions to puny, private, partial values, ideas, beliefs.

All that is according to Pope's view.

But expansion and contraction becomes an entirely different, though related, motif in Jerusalem. While I think that the central "action" of the Dunciad has been equally well described by terms other than "expansion-contraction" I am, at least for now, convinced that those terms do describe the central "action" of Jerusalem. The topic is too broad for the present study, so I will merely outline it so that the comparison with the Dunciad can be made.

Blake says, in lines already quoted, that his "great task" in Jerusalem is

To open the Eternal Worlds, to open the immortal Eye
Of man inwards into the Worlds of Thought: into
Eternity
Ever expanding in the Bosom of God, the Human
Imagination (I.5.18-25)

This movement "inwards into the Worlds of Thought," is, as I will show, a movement toward whatever "in man, in society, in religion, in the cosmos, or even in a poet, is that contracted remnant of "Wisdom, Art, and Science" which existed "before time" in the "Primeval State."

Finding that remnant, the "great task" then becomes to nourish it, to do whatever can be done to move it "into Eternity//Ever expanding in the Bosom of God, the Human Imagination."

Blake is quite explicit about contraction and expansion; Los

"explains" to Albion that

There is a limit of Opakeness, and a limit of Contraction;
In every Individual Man, and the limit of
Opakeness,
Is named Satan; and the limit of Contraction
is named Adam.

But there is no limit of Expansion! there is no
Limit of Translucence
In the bosom of Man for ever from eternity to
eternity. (J.II.42.29-31,35-36)

That this directly contradicts Pope should be clear enough. It
partakes of the eighteenth-century argument over what Pope and
others of the Tory-Augustan persuasion referred to contemptuously
as "pride" or "enthusiasm." Blake blatantly embraces "enthusiasm":

The Enthusiasm of the following Poem, the Author
hopes / no Reader will think presumptuousness or
arrogance e/;when he is reminded that the ancients
entrusted their love to their writing, to the full
as Enthusiastically; as I have who acknowledge
nine for my Saviour and Lord, for they were wholly
absor'd in their God. (J.I.3)

To embrace "enthusiasm" is, for Blake, merely to reach for eternity
through exercise of the imagination. Nor is "enthusiasm" the path
to madness, delusion, irrationality, social instability, religious
fanaticism, or Laputa silliness. This question of whether or not
"expansion of the imagination" leads to madness of mental health is
still vexing human discourse. The question is sufficiently important
to this study of Pope and Blake that I would like to quote a modern
ally of Blake's on the subject. Abraham Haslow says,

Many people still think of "the unconscious," of
regression, and of primary process cognition as
necessarily unhealthy, or dangerous or bad.
Psychotherapeutic experience is slowly teaching us
otherwise. Our depths can also be good, or beautiful
or desirable. This is also becoming clear from the
general findings from investigations of the sources
of love, creativeness, play, humor, art, etc.
Their roots are deep in the inner, deeper self, i.e., in the unconscious. To recover them and to be able to enjoy and use them we must be able to "regress." Haslov's declaration, of course, does not settle the matter. It should show, however, that the issue of "madness," as it is argued by Pope and Blake, cannot be dismissed by casually awarding all the debaters points out of hand to one or the other poet.

In the expansion-contraction motif in Jerusalem, the limit of contraction does not represent "madness" either. It is "madness" which compels the individual and society toward contraction, though some forms of contraction are self-inflicted. The forces which compel contraction will be examined in both their political and religious dimensions below.

Blake figures the expansion-contraction motif in a pervasive "gate" symbolism. This is rendered visually, particularly in the frontispiece and on plate 97. Since my attention was drawn to this visual rendering by Jean Hagstrum, I will entrust the description of same to him:

In the frontispiece...a very human figure, dressed humbly in contemporary dress and wearing the hat of the earthy pilgrim, showing fear on his simple, Cockney face, enters a postern gate. The humble Londoner is really Los. The lantern he carries is a mystical disc (later called 'globe of fire'), the postern gate is Death's Door—its stones suggesting the chains and the spiky wings of Urizenic rule, its shape suggesting the Gothic that will ultimately triumph. In a parallel design...near the end the humble man who had entered the gate with a flickering light emerges as a heroic nude in a blaze of apocalyptic light, bearing a luminous ball, as a Urizenic star and the crescent moon fade on the horizon. Los's cri du coeur—"Arise O Lord, & rend the Veil!"—has been answered. "Because he kept the Divine Vision in time of trouble," he has been transformed from a humble poetic traveler, not unlike
Bunyan's Christian, to a Pilgrim of Eternity. Albion rising from his couch of death to the splendors of unity with himself, his wife, and his children, cries out to Jesus in his final unclouded vision,

'I see thee in the likeness & similitude of Los my Friend' and he wonders equally 'at the Divine Mercy & at Los's sublime honour.' I do not agree that the "pilgrim" enters a postern gate, nor that the gate is really "Death's Door," nor with other aspects of this description, as will appear hereafter. The gate being entered by Los has affinity with the gate described by Ezekiel in the Bible (Chap. 6 ff.). I hasten to add that Blake has adapted Ezekiel's account to his own purposes. Ezekiel says that God appeared to him and lifted him up "by a lock of mine head" to use Ezekiel's own words, and brought him "in the vision of God to Jerusalem, to the door of the inner gate that looketh toward the north..." (Ezekiel 3:3). Ezekiel was led through a series of doors and gates, the last one of which he had to discover after digging in a wall. Finally he is enjoined by God to "Go in, and behold the wicked abominations that they do here" (3:9). Los's mission involves entering through the gate; that he observes "abominations" is obvious;

Los took his globe of fire to search the interiors of Albion's bosom, in all the terrors of friendship, entering the caves of despair and death, to search the tempters out, walking among Albion's rocks & precipices! caves of solitude & dark despair. And saw every minute Particular of Albion degraded and murdered.
But saw not by whom; they were hidden within in
the minute particulars
Of which they had possessed themselves; and there
they take up
The articulations of a man's soul, and laughing
throw it down
Into the frame, then knock it out upon the plank,
& souls are bal'd
In bricks to build the pyramids of Heber & Terah.
(J.II 45/31/.2-12)

One notes the symbols of contraction here, caves and rocks; non are
being formed into bricks, just as Blake had seen London workmen
"knock out" bricks, and the non-bricks became the building stones of
pyramids—a complex symbol of tyranny and oppression. 22

Los has entered "the interiors of Albion's Bosom." Albion
is both England and the father of all mankind.23 It soon becomes
clear in subsequent lines that Los has entered London, and by the
association I mentioned earlier, Blake too enters London:

But Los
Searchd in vain: closed from the minitia he walked,
difficult.
He came down from Highgate thro Hackney & Holloway
towards London.
Till he came to old Stratford & thence to Stephney &
the Isle
Of Louthis Dogs, thence thro the narrows of the
Rivers side
And saw every minute particular, the jewels of
Albion, running down
The kennels of the streets & lanes as if they were
abhor'd.
Every Universal Form, was become barren mountains
of Ideal
Virtue; and every Minute Particular hardened into
grains of sand:
And all the tendernesses of the soul cast forth
as filth & hire,
Among the winding places of deep contemplation
intricate
To where the Tower of London frowned dreadful over Jerusalem:
A building of Luvah builded in Jerusalem's eastern gate to be
His secluded Court: thence to Bethlehem where was builded
Dens of despair in the house of bread: enquiring in vain
Of stones and rocks he took his way, for human form was nons:....
(J.II.45/31/.12-27)

Again there are the images of contraction—grains of sand, stones and rocks. There are references here to local matters which Blake himself, on the level of history, as well as Los, on the level of myth, might deal with. Thus, as Los poses, in the lines following those just quoted, what David Erdman terms the "central question" of the poem, the mortal Blake and the prophet Blake pose the same question:

What shall I do? what could I do, if I could find these Criminals
I would not dare to take vengeance; for all things are so constructed
And builded by the Divine hand, that the sinner shall always escape,
And he who takes vengeance alone is the criminal of Providence;
If I should dare to lay my finger on a grain of sand
In way of vengeance; I punish the already punished:
0 whom
Should I pity if I pity not the sinner who is gone astray!
0 Albion, if thou takest vengeance; if thou revengest thy wrongs
Thou art for ever lost! what can I do to hinder the Sons
Of Albion from taking vengeance? or how shall I then persuade.
(J.II.45/31/29-36)

The question of vengeance is related to the question of contraction-expansion by the following path: it is "moral virtue" which contributes to human contraction simply because all law—religious, political, social, cultural—limits human potential; the agents of moral virtue therefore become enemies, and possible targets for vengeance. Thus
Blake (Los) is questioning the means by which the process producing contraction might be overcome.

The "globe of fire" carried within the gate by Los is Blake's symbol for "inspiration"—poetic, spiritual. Damon says that Blake associates fire with "the creative spirit of Love," 25 and this "Spiritual fire consumes nothing but error." 26 Thus, a "globe of fire" can equally well be carried by a poet. The globe of fire in the frontispiece has affinity with a simple lantern which can help a man make his way in the dark.

The "gate" image is repeated in several forms both in the text and in the illustrations. Albion is associated with stones piled into the form of a Druid, Stonehenge arch (Plate 70). Satan is said to have "withered up Jerusalem's Gates" (Plate 27), reminding us of Ezekiel, but suggesting Blake's meaning for "Jerusalem"—man's total imagination. In the same verses we are reminded of Jesus' entry throu' the Gates of Birth//And passing throu' the Gates of Death" (J.II.27.63-64). Jesus' earthly mission corresponds to Los's and Blake's mission in "the bosom of Albion" and London respectively.

This is confirmed in lines which appear later:

...thus Babab is reveal'd
Mystery Babylon the Great: the Abomination of Desolation
Religion hid in War: a Dragon red, and hidden Harlot
But Jesus breaking throu' the Central Zones of Death & Hell
Opens Eternity in Time & Space; triumphant in Mercy
(J.III.75.10-22)

Although Jesus' mission is here figured in its religious dimension its "action" exactly corresponds to the "action" of a "passage through//
Eternal Death! and of awaking to Eternal Life" which, we recall, is the "proposition" of the Epic Poet. A further reference to a "gate" appears on Plate 77:

I give you the end of a golden string,
Only wind it into a ball:
It will lead you in at Heaven's gate,
built in Jerusalem's wall.

(J.III.77)

The "I" is ambiguous; it could be Los, Blake, or Jesus. Jerusalem is ambiguous; it could be the imagination, the heavenly city, or Ezekiel's Jerusalem filled with abomination. Thus several equally valid meanings are suggested: the Blake-Los "mission" is like a mission to slay the minotaur; Blake is offering a guide to eternal life through the imagination; Jesus' example is the way to follow to the New Jerusalem.

There are many "gates" in Jerusalem.

Similarly there are many "characters" who enter these gates and many kinds of abominations encountered within. Thus, when Los struggles against his spectre, Urthona (e.g., Plate 10), or with his emanation, Enitharmon (e.g., Plate 86), he has actually entered his own psyche. Blake, we know, struggled against his own Selfhood ("all to "make money" or "be famous") and emanation (wife Catherine) in order to free himself spiritually to write Milton and Jerusalem. Los enters Albion's bosom, and by extension Blake "enters London." Jesus enters mortal life. Each "character" encounters abomination, and each abomination is a form of contraction. Blake struggles with himself, Los with Albion, Jesus with mankind: all struggle to create the process of expansion by which a man, or all men, can "build up
Jerusalem." This pattern is, as I say, pervasive in Jerusalem. It suggests that the "mental war" in the poem takes place on many fronts and on many levels. It accounts for the sense one gets when reading the poem that the "central question" is posed over and over again, each time from a slightly different perspective, and each time calling forth a dramatic confrontation of new forces which partake in some ways of the qualities of the forces they have succeeded. Los's struggle with his emanation, Enitharon, has a mythological and eternal cast which does and does not accord with the proverbial "battle of the sexes" or with the facts of Blake's personal experience. By a reverse process, Blake's lonely marital problems partake of the cosmic process by which contraction is overcome and man can expand into eternity.

Pope would find the promise of "expansion into eternity" pretentious nonsense, though he would no doubt find a more colorful way to express his feelings. Blake would class Pope with the "fiends of righteousness" and with all processes which result in a circumscribed and contracted imagination and which, in general, oppress and brutalize man. Pope would counter that man is innately brutal and brutish. And so forth.

One aspect of the "quarrel" figured in terms of contraction-expansion is an obvious disagreement over the powers and proper uses of the mind. This quarrel is, in part, figured in the poems in the forms of rival "goddesses," Dulness and Jerusalem. Dulness and Jerusalem are related, in turn, to key terms in the configuration of ideas held by Pope and Blake respectively, Wit and Imagination. This general topic has been overworked with regard to both poets, so I will
Wit was for Pope primarily a judgmental ability inseparable from knowledge, experience, and good character. One might have a certain degree of native wit, but True Wit could only be acquired, acquired through acquisition of knowledge and through experience of the world. As his satire on "education" in Book IV of the Dunciad (ll. 149ff) shows, Pope was aware that some forms of "knowledge" produce ignorance. As his general attacks on "venality" in the Dunciad and in Walpole's government show, he recognized that "experience" coupled with "bad character" produced only cynicism and corruption. As always, then, we, along with Pope, enter into a balancing act when discussing what he meant by Wit. It was a term which he defined by a balancing act, leaving us to puzzle over the phrase "what oft was thought, but ne'er so well expressed" and over the connection with "concordia discors." Then the instruction to "follow Nature" is likely to occur to us. I refer the reader back to the discussion of Lovejoy's essay on "The Parallelism of Deism and Classicism."

There is an element of "uniformitarianism" in Pope's thought, which we understand in the phrase "what oft was thought, but ne'er so well expressed." He tries in the Dunciad to eschew any personal connection to Deism. He satirizes those who "See Nature in some partial narrow shape, //And let the Author of the Whole escape" (IV.455-456). He attributes to a "free-thinker" (see TE, p. 335n.) a speech in which we see several things, Pope denouncing Deism, Pope satirizing "enthusiasm" and "minute philosophy," and Pope defining Wit by implication; in this speech the free-thinker addresses Dulness:
be that task: (replies a gloomy Clerk,
Sworn foe to mystery, yet divinely dark;
Whose pious hope aspires to see the day
When moral Evidence shall quite decay,
And damn implicit faith, and holy lies,
Prompt to impose, and fond to addict:
Let others creep by timid steps, and slow,
On plain Experience lay foundations low,
By common sense to common knowledge bred,
And last, to Nature's Cause thro' Nature led.
All-seeing in thy mists, we want no guide,
Mother of Arrogance, and Source of Pride!
Ve nobly take the high Priori Road,
And reason downward, till we doubt of God:
Make Nature still incroach upon his plan;
And shove him off as far as e'er we can:
Thrust some Mechanic Cause into his place;
Or bind in Matter, or diffuse in Space.
Or, at one bound o'er-loaping all his laws,
Make God Man's Image, Man the final Cause,
Find Virtue local, all Relation scorn,
See all in Self, and but for self born:
Of nought so certain as our Reason still,
Of nought so doubtful as of Soul and Mind.
(IV.459-422)

Thus, Wit, to turn Pope's negative to positive, proceeds slowly,
built on "plain Experience," is "by common sense to common knowledge bred," and is led through Nature to God. It is not the province of wit to "make God Man's Image, Man the final Cause," but to discover God's "laws" as evidenced in Nature. "Virtue" is, presumably universal, hence, I would say, uniformitarian in nature.

The point of this is simply that for Pope there was a discernible nature of God, nature of man, and ultimately a discernible right and wrong as regards man's duty to self, society, and Maker. Yet wherever he turns his ideas to satire he commences his balancing act. William Empson notes this well:

The government of his own day is despised for not giving pensions. The wit in need of a pension he could also despise for not being a lord; so that the line gives him a full superiority all round.
Encouraged thus, Wit's Titans braved the skies
And the press groaned with licensed blasphemies. (553)

It may be either wits or Titans who are ridiculously
inadequate for this purpose; wit may also have its gods,
genuine good writers who are at home in the skies.

Empson adds,

...I mean if it is clear that the same machinery would allow
him to despise any writer who deviated into infidelity;
already a wit, such a man would automatically become a
comic kind of wit.

Through his satiric persona, Pope judges, presumably on the basis
of a firm conviction; yet close analysis reveals his "conviction"
to be very elusive. Empson again:

The only final question about Pope, I think, since
you cannot think him wrong after a full analysis
of his meaning, is as to the quality of the contempt
through whose action his meaning is imposed; whether
you find this a nasty little view of human affairs
or a nobly stern one.

Thus Empson suggests that behind Pope's satire there is no firm
definition of "wit," no firm "conviction"; there is only the satiric
act of the poet Pope, there is only the "wit" of the poem itself.

This corresponds with the expansion-contraction motif of the
Dunciad; that is, the poem contains satiric barbs against both over-
reachings of "wit," such as an enthusiast or free-thinker might attempt,
and underachievements of "wit," such as the Dunces are guilty of.
Despite the implication that there is some "law," some universal law
written by God, which sets forth the lower and upper limits of "wit,"
it is difficult not to think of Pope as a law unto himself. And
this feeling corresponds to a built-in contradiction in the ideas we
associate with Pope, particularly those set forth in the Essay on Man.
We are told that man cannot comprehend God's plan, can only assure that
the plan is "good," and so, and yet, must abide by the plan.

Having established this in the Essay, Pope contradicts it in his own practice. As J. H. Cameron says,

...The rest of the poem is simply inconsistent with this contention that man's ignorance is such that he is incapable of knowing the complex harmonies of the cosmos and of finding a justification of those detailed cosmic arrangements which seem inconsistent with the postulated Divine goodness. In the remaining three Epistles we are offered a variety of arguments designed to show precisely how the constitution of human nature and the situation of man vis-a-vis the forces of nature and the brutes are arranged with a view to the good of the individual and the whole.

A cynic might say, then, that Pope's "message" in the Essay on Man and his implied "message" in the satires is that "man" cannot know God's plan other than to be assured that it is "good," but that Pope knows God's plan well enough to be its spokesman. To be fair, Pope's position is no different from that of anyone who upholds a formal or informal "code" of morality, be he Catholic Pope, Baptist preacher, school teacher, or Cargo cultist; if you share his assumptions, then the organic configuration of feelings and ideas is satisfying, complete, harmonious. In this aspect, satire, at least Pope's satire in the Dunciad, is entirely pragmatic, dedicated not to explaining or defending propositions and assumptions but to hardening individuals and groups back within bounds which are felt to be "rational" and "proper."

The Goddess Dulness, then, is simply a power or force which tempts, tricks, or otherwise causes individuals and groups to drift or leap "out of bounds." She is associated on the one hand with mists, fogs, clouds and vapors and, on the other, with impertinence, violence,
and volatility. The phrase "chaos and anarchy" with which she is associated suggests furious activity. But the phrase "one dead level ev'ry mind," with which she is also associated, suggests drowsy passivity. In any event, Dulness' attributes, and the imagery with which she is associated have been so much explicated that I will proceed no further.32 My point is that Dulness, in producing both active over-reachings and perversions of wit and passive failures of wit produces an effect on the reader much like that produced by Pope's satire—described in preceding paragraph.

One sees Dulness best, in both her activity—and passivity—producing aspects, in Book II where she inspires not only the frenzied activity of the "games" but also the torpor of the readings by critics. Again the satire is pragmatic, seemingly saying that "man," that the Dunces, ought not to be too active or too passive. I exaggerate, and twist the meaning, in order to make the point. The point is that, once again with "Dulness" as with "Hit," Pope seems to be in charge of a "mystery." He possesses "secret knowledge," which he claims men can achieve for themselves, but which he implies to be "dictated by God." I intend this to be paradoxical; Blake claims that his poem is "dictated by God," yet, as should be becoming clear, the poem itself suggests a more human author. Pope makes no such claim, but implies in the textures of the poem that his ideas and values are "dictated by God." The question suggested by an analysis of "Dulness" is the same as that suggested by an analysis of "Hit": is Pope's a "nasty little view of human affairs or a nobly stern one?"
That that question is worth asking is evidenced by the reaction
the Dunciad has always elicited from readers, a feeling of having been
indicted by laws which are forever flexible at Pope's will, making
every Dunce guilty at Pope's will, a Kafkaesque situation. The Feeling
of anxiety, or frustration, or abused innocence the victim suffers
is undoubtedly heightened by the justness and accuracy of so many
of Pope's indictments: if he is right so often, may he not be right
always?

On behalf of those who feel vaguely victimized, yet vaguely
guilty-as-charged as a result of Pope's indictment, Blake has mounted
a massive counter-attack. I earlier associated Pope's point of view
with one described by Joseph Campbell:

\[
\text{The totality—the fullness of man—is not in the separate member, but in the body of the society as a whole; the individual can be only an organ. From his group he has derived his techniques of life, the language in which he thinks, the ideas on which he thrives; through the past of that society descended the genes that built his body. If he presumes to cut himself off, either in deed or in thought and feeling, he only breaks connection with the sources of his existence.}^{33}
\]

In these terms, Pope is attempting to keep the Dunces within the
bounds of society because, "From the standpoint of the social unit,
the broken-off individual is simply nothing—waste."^{34} Too, the
broken-off individual threatens the order and stability of the social
unit. Pope might say that his satire does not represent arbitrary
indictments of the Dunces but an agile reaction on his part to the
myriad ways Dunces can find to break away from the social unit, and
thereby to undercut their own best individual interests.

From Blake's point of view, however, breaking off from the community
means something else; "this exile," as Joseph Campbell puts it, "is the first step in the quest. Each carries within himself the all; therefore it may be sought and discovered within." 35 Blake would agree with Campbell that "it is not society that is to guide and save the creative hero, but precisely the reverse." 36

The quality the creative hero must exhibit if he is to guide and save society is Imagination. Blake had said that "One Power alone makes a Poet: Imagination, the Divine Vision" ("On Wordsworth," K-762). S. Foster Damon notes that

The IMAGINATION in the Age of Reason was considered a degenerative malady of the intellect. Dr. Johnson could write: 'All power of fancy over reason is a degree of insanity!' (Rasselas, Chap. xxi, "The Dangerous Prevalence of Imagination"). And to this day, the word 'imagination' is sometimes a polite substitute for 'falsehood.' 37

Damon also provides a guide to the numerous "definitions" of Imagination contained in Jerusalem:

Imagination is the 'Divine-Humanity' (J.70:19); it is 'the Divine Body of the Lord Jesus' (J.5:52; 24:23; 60:57; 74:13); ... It is existence. "All Things Exist in the Human Imagination" (J.69:25). "All Animals & Vegetations, the Earth & Heaven are contain'd in the All Glorious Imagination" (J.45:13). "In your own bosom you bear your Heaven and Earth: all you behold, tho' it appears Without, it is Within, in your Imagination, of which this World of Mortality is but a Shadow" (J.71:17). ...It is "the real & eternal World of which this Vegetable Universe is but a faint shadow, & in which we shall live in our Eternal or Imaginative Bodies when these Vegetable Mortal Bodies are no more" (J.77).

It is the basis of all art. ..."I know of no other Christianity and of no other Gospel than the liberty both of body & mind to exercise the Divine Arts of Imagination" (J.77). It is the exploring "inwards into the Worlds of Thought, into Eternity ever expanding in the bosom of God, the Human Imagination" (J.5:19).
The last quote is confirming of the contraction-expansion motif in Jerusalem. For Blake imagination is a human power which can expand into infinity and eternity. Where Pope advocates following nature, Blake argues that nature is not "without" like a billboard or a stone tablet, but "within." Nature is merely a projection of the human imagination. The perception of nature depends not upon itself but upon the "organs of sense." Thus, in a vision of a fallen world, Blake has "Erin" say,

The vegetating Cities are burned and consumed from the Earth:
And the Bodies in which all Animals & Vegetations, the Earth & Heaven were contained in the All Glorious Imagination are witherd & darkend;

The Visions of Eternity, by reason of narrowed perceptions, are become weak Visions of Time & Space, fix'd into furrows of death;
Till deep simulation is the only defence an honest man has left/. (J.II.49:12-14;21-23)

This fall, this contraction and withering, is dependent upon the mutual contraction of imagination and the organs of sense. "Erin" says,

Ah! weak & wide astray! Ah shut in narrow doleful form!
Creeping in reptile flesh upon the boson of the ground!
The Eye of Man, a little narrow orb, closed up & dark;
Scarcely beholding the Great Light; conversing with the /Void/;
The Ear, a little shell, in small volutions shutting out True Harmonics, & comprehending great, as very small:
The nostrils bent down to the earth & clos'd with senseless flesh;
The odours cannot then expand, nor joy on then exult:
The Tongue, a little moisture fills, a little food it cloys,
A little sound it utters, & its cries are faintly heard. (J.II.49:32-41)

Pope views "Sense" and "Reason" as mutually dependent, each as a restraining force on the other. He is explicit about what happens if Sense is unrestrained by Reason:

But in her Temple's last recess inclos'd
On Dulness' lap th' Anointed head repos'd.
Him close she curtains round with Vapours blue,
And soft besprinkles with Cimmerian dew.
Then raptures high the seat of Sense o'erflow,
Which only heads refin'd from Reason know.
Hence, from the straw where Bedlam's Prophet nods,
He hears loud Oracles, and talks with Gods:
Hence the Fool's Paradise, the Statesman's Scheme,
The air-built Castle, and the golden Dream,
the Maid's romantic wish, the Chemist's flame,
And Poet's vision of eternal Fame. (D.III.1-12)

In Blake's scheme, on the other hand, Reason suppresses Imagination and thereby creates the major horrors of human existence:

Entering into the Reasoning Power, forsaking
Imagination
They the Four Zoas became Spectres....

The Spectre is the Reasoning Power in Man; &
when separated
From Imagination, and closing itself as in steel,
in a Ratio
of the Things of Memory. It thence frames Laws & Moralties
To destroy Imagination! the Divine Body, by
Martyrdoms & Wars (J.III.4:10-13)

To balance the scale, let it here be noted that just as Blake associates Reason with violence, Pope associates Dulness, "enthusiasm," expansive Dullness, with violence:

In peace, great Goddess, ever be ador'd;
How keen the war, if Dulness draw the sword!
Thus visit not thy own! on this blest age
Oh spread they Influence, but restrain they Rage.

(D.III.119-122)
And Pope associates Reason with peace, by implication from the above quote, while Blake associates his goddess, Jerusalem, with peace, but of course "Jerusalem" means "city of peace."

According to Davenport,

**Jerusalem is Liberty** (J.26:3; 54:5). As the Emanation of Albion, she is the inspiration of all mankind. She is the Divine Vision in every individual (J.54:3). She is also the Holy City of Peace, which is the perfect society. As the Bride of the Lamb (Rev xxi:2), she is communion with God, "the Mystical Union of the Emanation in the Lord" (J.53:24).

The marriage of the Lamb and Jerusalem is conventionally interpreted as the union of Christ and his church. Blake expanded the meaning of "church" to signify all mankind and (as Nature is a projection of man) all Nature as well, united in the mystical ecstasy (J.99:1-5).

To a certain extent Pope equates Dulness with liberty too, but he is preoccupied with the results of unrestrained activity whether among dunces—

**Blockheads with reason wicked wits abhor,**
But fool with fool is barbarous civil war.
Embrace, embrace my sons! be foes no more!
Nor glad vile Poets with true Critic's gore.

(D.III:175-178)

—or among kings—

**Equal in wit, and equally polite,**
Shall this a Pasquin, that a Grumbler write;
Like are their merits, like rewards they share,
That shins a consul, this Commissioner."

"But who is he, in closet close y- pent,
Of sober face, with learned dust besprent?"
"Right well nine eyes arede the myster nght,
On parchment scraps y-fod, and Worimiis night.

(D.III.181-188)

Liberty, for Blake, on the other hand, is necessary if man is to build up Jerusalem through exercise of the "Divine Arts of Imagination."

This is not to say that Blake recognizes no necessity for "restraints."
In fact he agonizes over this problem as a central motif in the poem. The key phrases in his treating of this problem are "Forgiveness of Sin" and "Annihilation of Self." On a more mundane level, Blake's problem is that of all "revolutionaries" and "liberators," avoiding inflicting a quantity of horror equal to that which he seeks to overcome:

What shall I do! what could I do, if I could find those Criminals
I could not dare to take vengeance; for all things are so constructed
And builded by the Divine hand, that the sinner shall always escape,
And he who takes vengeance alone is the criminal of Providence;
If I should dare to lay my finger on a grain of sand
In way of vengeance; I punish the already punished:
O whom
Should I pity if I pity not the sinner who is gone astray!
O Albion, if thou takes vengeance; if thou revengest thy wrongs
Thou art for ever lost! What can I do to hinder the Sons
Of Albion from taking vengeance? or how shall I then persuade. (J.II.45/31:29-33)

Blake's analysis of man and society show him a world in which all are victims of others or of impersonal forces. However much evil one may do he is nevertheless a victim as well as a victimizer. The point with Blake is not to take vengeance but to redirect all men and all social, political, and religious systems away from contraction toward expansion.

Now, if I have set the state properly, the matters of expansion/contraction and of Blake's meaning for "Imagination" and "Jerusalem," as well as his conception of his heroic task coupled to the problem of "vengeance," can all be summarized by quoting a speech attributed
And this is the manner of the Sons of Albion in their strength. They take the two Contraries which are called Qualities, with which Every Substance is clothed, they name then Good & Evil. From them they make an Abstract, which is a Negation. Not only of the Substance from which it is derived. A murderer of its own Body: but also a murderer Of every Divine member: it is the Reasoning Power. An Abstract objecting power, that Negatives every thing. This is the Spectre of Man: the Holy Reasoning Power. And in its Holiness is closed the Abomination of Desolation.

......

I must Create a System, or be enslav'd by another Man. I will not Reason & Compare: my business is to Create (J.I.10:7-16;20-21)

So Blake created Jerusalem. He practiced the "Divine Arts of Imagination" in order to create a system so that he would not be enslaved by another man's system. Having entered the gate with a globe of fire, having witnessed the abomination of desolation, he has undertaken the heroic task of redeeming a fallen, contracted world. His quest is to discover, and his task is to create, a New Jerusalem, which is infinity, eternity, peace, liberty, brotherhood.

If Pope and Blake, each according to his own terms, seek to redeem a fallen world, poetry is the means by which each poet will accomplish his task. Each gave poetry a central place in human affairs. Pope felt that if poetry contracted or expanded beyond the bounds, disaster would result. He makes the Dunces the object of his satire precisely because, in his view, they debased poetry, hence undercut the Logos, the "creating word." The "word" created meaning and order out
of chaos and nothingness. The "Word" made civilization possible.

To debase poetry, and the Logos, was threaten to return man to
the slime and anarchy from which he had so laboriously raised himself.

Where Pope is concerned that poetry be "debased," Blake is
concerned that it be "fettered."

Poetry Fetter'd, Fetters the Human Race! Nations
are Destroy'd, or Flourish, in proportion as Their
Poetry Painting and Music, are Destroy'd or
Flourish! The Proneval State of Man, was Wisdom,
Art, and Science. (J.I.3)

Blake means "fettered" in both the sense that arbitrary rules or laws
night fetter poetry and in the sense that political or psychological
oppression might fetter it.

"Shame" is a key word in both the Dunciad and Jerusalem. I
want to consider it here in relation to the heroic task of the
authors. It will reappear in a more detailed way in the discussion
of the religious aspects of the poems below.

Prior to the concluding movements of both poems, "shame" is
given important place. In the Dunciad, Pope addresses his Muse:

O Muse! relate (for you can tell alone,
Wits have short Memories, and Dunces none)
Relate, who first, who last resign'd to rest;
Whose Heads she partly, whose completely blest;
What Charms could Faction, what Ambition lull,
The Venal quiet, and intrance the Dull;
Till drown'd was Sense, and Shame, and Right, and Wrong—
O sing, and hush the Nations with thy Song!

(D.IV:619-626)

It is not surprising that "Shame" keeps company here with "Sense"
and "Right and Wrong." Sense is the ability to know, Shame the
ability to feel, the difference between Right and Wrong. To fail
to behave according to the Right is to commit Sin. To know that one
has Sinned is, if one has Sense, to feel Shame. And so on.

To Blake, the proper business of Man is, not accusation and
punishment of sin, but forgiveness of sin and annihilation of self.
He associates sin and shame with Albion's "Fall." In his agony, the
fallen Albion cries out,

O Vala! 0 Jerusalem! do you delight in my groans
You O lovely forms, you have prepared by death-cup:
The disease of Shame covers me from head to feet:
I have no hope
Every boil upon my body is a separate and deadly Sin.
Doubt first assailed me, then Shame took possession
of me
Shame divides Families. Shame hath divided Albion
in sunder!
First fled my Sons & then my Daughters, then my
Wild Animations
My Cattle next, Last ev'n the Dog of my Gate. the
Forests fled
The Corn-fields, & the breathing Gardens outside
separated
The Sea; the Stars: the Sun: the Moon: driv'n forth
by my disease
All is Eternal Death unless you can weave a chaste
Body over an unchast Mind!  

Albion hastens the "Fall" by setting himself up as a "punisher &
judge," and the "Fall" here is the one we all know from

**Genesis:**

Every ornament of perfection, and every labour of
love,
In all the Garden of Eden & in all the golden
mountains
Was become an envied horror, and a remembrance
of jealousy:
And every Act a Crime, and Albion the punisher
& judge.

And Albion spoke from his secret seat and said

All these ornaments are crimes, they are made by
the labours
Of loves: of unnatural consanguinities and
friendships
Horrid to think of when enquired deeply into;
and all
Those hills & valleys are accursed, witness of Sin
I therefore condense them into solid rocks, stedfast!
A foundation and certainty and demonstrative truth;
That man be separate from man, & here I plant my seat. (J.II.28:1-12)

Albion has moved "From willing sacrifice of Self, to sacrifice of (miscall'd) enemies//For Atonement" (J.29:20-21). He erects altars for human sacrifice and names the altars "Justice" and "Truth" (J.28:23). Among the first victims are his own sons, presumably Cain and Abel. But the sons flee Albion,

...building a Strong Fortification against the Divine Humanity and Mercy, in Shame & Jealousy to annihilate Jerusalem! (J.22:25-27)

Albion's "disease of shame," like Adam's, is now spread to all mankind.

This "disease of shame" is cured at the apocalypse with which Jerusalem closes. Men are surprised to be eased of this burden and ask,

Where is the Covenant of Priam, the Moral Virtues of the Heathen
Where is the Tree of Good & Evil that rooted beneath the cruel heel
Of Albion's Spectre the Patriarch Druid! where are all his Human Sacrifices
For Sin in War & in the Druid Temples of the Accuser of Sin: beneath
The Oak Groves of Albion that covered the whole Earth beneath his Spectre
Where are the Kingdoms of the World & all their glory that grew on Desolation
The Fruit of Albion's Poverty Tree when the Triple Headed Gog-Iagog Giant
Of Albion Taxed the Nations into Desolation & then gave the Spectrous Oath (J.IV.98:46-53)

Thus, Blake's heroic task involves an attempt to cure man of the
"disease of shame," which is a powerful producer of "contraction."

Obviously a sense of shame inhibits the imagination.

Just as obviously, in Pope's view, shame inhibits immorality.

For him, then, shame is as essential to human affairs as it is inessential to Blake. Blake says,

He who despises & mocks a Mental Gift in another; calling it pride & selfishness & sin; mocks Jesus the giver of every Mental Gift, which always appear to the ignorance-loving hypocrite, as Sins, but that which is a Sin in the sight of cruel man, is not so in the sight of our kind God. (J.77)

Yet what Blake reviles, despising and mocking and imputing pride and selfishness, and sin, Pope utilizes as his principal satirical-rhetorical techniques, though he would not give his techniques pejorative labels.

The Dunciad is a massive attempt to shame the Dunces. Pope shames the Dunces by associating them with madness (I.29ff), and with "lowly" origins:

Here she beholds the Chaos dark and deep,
Where nameless Somethings in their causes sleep,
'Till genial Jacob, or a warm Third day,
Call forth each mass, a Poem, or a Play:
How hints, like spam, scarce quick in embryo lie,
How new-born nonsense first is taught to cry,
Naggots half-form'd in rhyme exactly neat,
And learn to crawl upon poetic feet. (D.I:55-62)

In those lines, and elsewhere, Pope shames the Dunces by the example of his art and by casting aspersions on their talents. He shames them by insulting their "looks":

A Poet's form she plac'd before their eyes,
And bade the nimblest racer seize the prize;
No negro, must-rid rags, adust and thin,
In a dun night-gown of his own loose skin;
Twelve starv'ling bards of these degenerate days.
All as a partridge plump, full-fed, and fair,
She form'd this image of well-body'd air;  
With perlmut eyes she window'd well its head;  
A brain of feather, and a heart of lead;  
(D.II:35-44)

He shames them by associating them with "ordure":

Renew'd by ordure's sympathetic force,  
As oil'd with magic juices for the course,  
Vig'rous he rises; from th' effluvia strong  
Inhales new life, and scours and stinks along;  
Re-passes lintot, vindicates the race,  
Nor heeds the brown dishonours of his face.  
(D.II:103-108)

He also associates the Dunces with animals:

Now thousand tongues are heard in one loud din:  
The Monkey-clinics rush discordant in;

As when the long-ear'd milky mothers wait  
At some sick miser's triple-bolted gate,  
For their defrauded, absent foals they make  
A noan so loud, that all the guild awake;  
Sore sighs Sir Gilbert, starting at the bray,  
From dreams of millions, and three groats to pay.  
So swells each wind-pipe; Ass intones to Ass,  
Harmonic twang! of leather, horn, and brass;  
Such as from lab'ring lungs th' Enthusiast blows,  
High Sound, att'esp'red to the vocal nose;  
Of such as bellow from the deep Divine;  
(D.II: 235-6; 247-253)

And the Dunces are shamed by being associated with filth:

And Hilo-like surveys his arms and hands;  
Then sighing, thus, 'And am I now three-score?  
'Ah why, ye Gods! should two and two make four?  
He said, and clin'd a stranded lighter's height,  
Shot to the black abyss, and plung'd down-right.  
The Senior's judgment all the crowd admire,  
Who but to sink the deeper, rose the higher.  
(D.II:233-290)

And of course these "associations" are intended to shame the Dunces in terms of their morality and wit.
Pope attempts, further, to shame the Dunces for being blasphemous and irreligious (see III. 213-224). He attempts to shame them for causing cosmic calamity:

Now flam'd the Dog-star's unpropitious ray,
Smote ev'ry Brain, and wither'd ev'ry Bay;
Sick was the Sun, the Owl forsook his bow'r,
The moon-struck Prophet felt the madding hour:
Then rose the Seed of Chaos, and of Night,
To blot out Order, and extinguish Light,
Of dull and venal a new World to mold,
And bring Saturnian days of Lead and Gold.

(D. IV:9-16)

And of course these lines reveal what Pope stands for, order and light.

A note, supplied by Pope and Warburton, explains about line 14, "To blot out Order, and extinguish Light":

The two great Ends of her Mission; the one in quality of Daughter of Chaos, the other as Daughter of Night. Order here is to be understood extensively, both as Civil and Moral, the distinctions between high and low in Society, and true and false in Individuals: Light, as Intellectual only, Wit, Science, Arts. P.W. (TE, pp. 340-41n)

In every case the Dunces are shamed for threatening order, and order understood in terms of "the distinctions between high and low in Society, the true and false in Individuals." They are shamed for threatening "to bring to one dead level ev'ry mind" (IV.68).

Let it here be noted that this process of shaming relates to what the Dunces and many subsequent readers have felt was an arbitrariness in Pope's satiric norms. Pope's preoccupation with his ends, that is, with shaming, with preserving order, made him prone to use whatever means came to hand. His victims were often accused, then, not of specific crimes but of activities which threatened Pope's sense of metaphysical order. This results in moral "enthusiasts" being shamed for not being moral Augustans—I speak generically in
order to illustrate my point. Put another way, a man might be immortalized as a Dunce for belonging to the wrong party, for committing an isolated folly, for holding beliefs other than ones Pope liked, for having bad manners, and, seemingly, damn near for anything. It is from this perspective that many people have accused Pope of throwing stones in a glass house.

One power Dulness possesses is that of being able to erase any sense of shame from the Dunces. Thus, introduced to a Young Dunce just returned from the Grand Tour with his whore, Dulness is pleased: "Pleas'd, she accepts the Hero, and the Dam, // Wraps in her veil, and frees from sense of Shame." (IV.335-6)

The Dunces are shamed for having loyalty to "No cause, no Trust, no Duty, and no Friend" (IV. 340). Dulness is the "Mother of Arrogance, and Source of Pride" (IV.470), and teaches the Dunces to 'want no guide,' for which the Dunces are duly shamed by Pope. In the same vein, Pope says of Dulness:

But she, good Goddess, sent to ev'ry child
Firm Impudence, or Stupefaction mild;
And strait succeeded, leaving shame no room,
Cibberian forehead, or Cimmerian gloom.
(D.IV.529-532)

The Dunces are shamed for being rebellious (IV.508), for being prone to support faction (IV.538), for not being prone to blush (IV.563), and so on. They must be able to remember that the "division" of faction is "bad," but the "division" of distinction in social level is "good."

Thus, for Pope, the absence of a sense of shame is a form of sickness, or of madness. The success of his satire depends upon the
degree of shame his victims can be made to feel. In a sense, civilization rests on shame, as Freud has confirmed for moderns:

we repress our "bad" impulses; repressed energy is deflected to serve social ends; and repressions are experienced as mysterious, not-to-be questioned imperatives. Joseph Campbell, a thorough-going Freudian, whom I have quoted before, says that

The problem of mankind today, therefore, is precisely the opposite to that of men in the comparatively stable periods of those great co-ordinating mythologies which now are known as lies. Then all meaning was in the group, in the great anonymous forms, none in the self-expressive individual; today no meaning is in the group—none in the world: all is in the individual. But there the meaning is absolutely unconscious. One does not know toward what one moves. One does not know by what one is propelled. The lines of communication between the conscious and the unconscious zones of the human psyche have all been cut, and we have been split in two."

If it is true that the lines between the conscious and unconscious mind in modern man is broken, at least there are repairmen busy doing what they can. One such was Abraham Maslow. He speaks of "Pure spontaneity" where Blake, I think, would speak of "the Divine Arts of the Imagination." Otherwise the sense of Maslow's words is Blakean:

Pure spontaneity consists of free, uninhibited, uncontrolled, trusting, unpremeditated expression of the self, i.e., of the psychic forces, with minimal interference by consciousness. Control, will, caution, self-criticism, measure, deliberateness are the brakes upon this expression made intrinsically necessary by the laws of the social and natural worlds outside the psychic world, and secondarily, made necessary by fear of the psyche itself (intrinsic counter-cathexis). Speaking in a very broad way, controls upon the psyche which come from fear of the psyche are largely neurotic or psychotic, or not intrinsically or theoretically necessary. (The healthy psyche is not terrible or horrible and
therefore doesn't have to be feared, as it has been for thousands of years. Of course, the unhealthy psyche is another story.) This kind of control is usually lessened by psychological health, by deep psycho-therapy, or by any deeper self-knowledge and self-acceptance. There are also, however, controls upon the psyche which do not come out of fear, but out of the necessities for keeping it integrated, organized and unified (intrinsic counter-cathexes). And there are also "controls," probably in another sense, which are necessary as capacities are actualized, and as higher forms of expression are sought for, e.g. acquisition of skills through hard work by the artist, the intellectual, the athlete. But these controls are eventually transcended and become aspects of spontaneity, as they become self. I propose that we call these desirable and necessary controls "Apollonizing controls" because they do not call into question the desirability of the gratification, but rather enhance pleasure by organizing, estheticizing, pacing, styling and savoring the gratification, e.g., as in sex, eating, drinking, etc. The contrast is with repressive or suppressive controls.

I would quote less at length if possible, but I think that that passage sheds light on Blake's position. Surely Blake had practiced "Apollonizing controls." Just as surely he opposed "repressive and suppressive" controls.

Maslow goes on to argue for a balance between pure spontaneity and pure control, neither one of which is long possible by itself because the former does not accord with external reality and because the latter soon kills the psyche. In the apocalypse he envisions, Blake indicates that his heroic task is to redress the balance toward pure spontaneity, or Imagination; in the apocalypse, distinctions, fitness, order, and other hints of control return:

...Men converse together in Visionary forms
dramatic which bright
Redounded from their Tongues in thunderous majesty,
in Visions
In new Expanses, creating exemplars of Memory and of Intellect
Creating Space, Creating Time according to the wonders Divine
Of Human Imagination, throughout all the Three Regions immense
Of Childhood, Manhood & Old Age & the all tremendous unfathomable Non Ens
Of Death was seen in regenerations terrific or complacent varying
According to the subject of discourse & every Word & Every Character
Was Human according to the Expansion or Contraction, the Translucence or
Opakeness of Nervous fibres such was the variation of Time & Space
Which vary according as the Organs of Perception vary & they walked
To & fro in Eternity as One Man reflecting each in each & clearly seen
And seeing; according to fitness & order. (J.IV.98:28-40)

Pope, on the other hand, experiencing what he considered to be an excess of pure spontaneity, could not envision any new order arising from it. He could only envision cosmic disaster, which the concluding lines of the Dunciad describes. Yet as always with Pope, there is a "pauser;" in this case it is his own "pure spontaneity," exhibited even in the Dunciad where the form and manner are in no way bound by "rules."

At the farthest, most ideal reaches of the contention between Pope and Blake, something like the following, described by Joseph Campbell, occurs:

...Just as the way of social participation may lead in the end to a realization of the All in the individual, so that of exile brings the hero to the Self in all.

In this, and in the aspect of pure spontaneity and pure control, the Dunciad and Jerusalem would be the complements of each other, representing not unalterably opposed arguments but complementary values of a single cycle or alternation.
If Pope had "created an apocalypse" it would no doubt have begun with fitness and order and proceeded to "the wonders Divine//Of the Human Imagination." In some ways his poem is an exhibition of just such "wonders." Experiencing what he perceived as impending chaos, Pope attempted the heroic task of recalling his society to order and stability. Experiencing oppressive and suppressive controls, Blake attempted the heroic task of freeing the Imagination so that men might build up Jerusalem. "Shame" was for Pope an ally, for Blake a foe. The ending of the Dunciad expresses Pope's fears: the ending of Jerusalem expresses Blake's desires. On these abstract levels we have little reason to think that their fears and desires did not ultimately amount to the same thing. On the level of "minute particulars," on the other hand, we have no reason to believe that they were not fiercely antagonistic.

In the next section I will deal with the "minute particulars" of the historico-political facets of the Dunciad and Jerusalem.
Pope and Blake were called to their "heroic tasks" by the conditions of their time. Their allegiances were determined by their particular experiences of their times as well as by the configuration of consciousness each possessed. Pope fought in the "War of the Dunces" on the side of the "Augustans"—to use the simplest available term. Blake waged a lonely underground anti-war campaign against the national priorities of the era of Napoleonic Wars; there was some sympathy for Blake's position, but no power behind it to reverse the national course. Both poets waged their battles in a "real" London, and both gave London symbolic meaning in their poems. And, while a specific date could be assigned to their "battles"—Pope, 1728, and Blake, 1804—actually each was fighting a skirmish in a much longer "war," the war between "Roman-Normans" and "Goth-Anglo-Saxons."

This was a national war of long standing, and it was a war rooted in the historical and social upheavals of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Ultimately Pope and Blake "debate" the issues of this longer war, the Roman-Norman v. Goth-Anglo-Saxon versions of history, the rise of the middle-class and of the "new" economy, the uses and abuses of the popular press, and the merits or horrors of the ideas of "Bacon, Newton and Locke."

Martinus Scriblerus—actually Pope—says that Pope...lived in those days, when (after providence had permitted the Invention of Printing as a scourge for the Sins of the learned) Paper also became so cheap,
and printers so numerous, that a deluge of authors cover'd the land: Whereby not only the peace of the honest unwriting subject was daily molested, but unmerciful demands were made of his applause, yea of his money, by such as would neither earn the one, or deserve the other: At the same time, the Liberty of the Press was so unlimited, that it grew dangerous to refuse them either: For they would forthwith publish slanders unpunish'd, the authors being anonymous; nay the immediate publishers thereof lay sculking under the wings of an Act of Parliament, assuredly intended for better purposes. (TE. p. 49, 16-28)

Given these appalling conditions, Pope, we are told, "did conceive it an endeavor well worthy an honest satyrist, to dissuade the dull and punish the malicious, "the only way that was left"(TE, p. 50, Pope's emphasis). If the law would not do it, then the honest satyrist would have to draw up an indictment, try the accused, and mete out (satiric) punishment.

If, indeed, a "deluge of (bad) authors cover'd the land," the threat to national health was caused by "Dulness and Poverty; the one born with them (the authors), the other contracted, by neglect of their proper talent thro' self conceit of greater abilities" (TE, p. 50). In order to "dissuade the dull and punish the malicious," and in order, like a little Dutch boy, to hold back the "deluge" of authors which threatened the nation, Pope wrote the Dunciad. In it he "exemplified" the power of the Goddesses Dulness and Poverty in "one, great and remarkable action"(TE. p. 50, Pope's emphasis). This "action" Pope described as

...the introduction of the lowest diversions of the rabble in Smithfield to be the entertainment of the court and town; or in other words, the Action of the Dunciad is the Removal of the Imperial seat of Dulness from the City to the
polite world; as that of the Aeneid is the Removal of the empire of Troy to Latium. (TE. pp. 50-51)

By this route the "action" of the Dunciad arrives in London. London was, of course, the place where the Dunces had their figurative "throne." The "War of the Dunces" was a local fracas; Swift complained to Pope that readers who lived twenty miles out of town would not recognize the names of the Dunces.44

Aubrey Williams has shown, by the expedient of taking Pope at his word, that the allegorical "Removal of the Imperial seat of Dulness from the city to the polite world," and the spread of "the lowest diversion of the rabble in Smithfield to be the entertainment of the court and town" are matched by a geographical progression of epical Dunces. "Smithfield," as everyone knows by now, is "the place where Bartholomew Fair was kept, whose Shews, Machines, and Dramatical Entertainments, formerly agreeable only to the Taste of the Rabble," became "the reigning Pleasures of the Court and Town" (TE, p. 60n). "The City" represents commercial and middle-class values.45 These two debased value modes "invade the aristocratic province and corrupt the standards traditionally associated with the king and nobility."46 The standards associated with the aristocracy were those of classical and humane letters as these were bound up with humanistic ethics and ideals.47 The City, not surprisingly, was a Whig stronghold.48

The progress of the Dunces follows, in a general way, the path of the Lord Mayor's Day processions. Williams says that

Since the Lord Mayor's procession journeyed from that symbol of City interest, Guildhall, to the world of the court represented by Westminster
Hall, this progress could be seen by Pope as offering an analogy to the spreading influence of dulness, the translation of empire, the deterioration in art and morals, that his poem postulated. 49

The Court was located to the West, at Westminster. Williams explains that

The City itself, comprising the wards within the old wall and the wards and liberties without, was set off clearly in the minds of Pope's contemporaries from the fashionable and court world westward. As a result of the two-fold disaster of plague and fire in the seventeenth century, many of the nobility had fled the City never to take up residence there again. Instead, in the reign of the later Stuarts, there began the great aristocratic settlement and development of the West End; the age of the London squares began then, and Covent Garden, Lincoln's Inn Fields, St. James's, Leicester Fields, Red Lion, Golden, and Soho squares were laid out for the aristocracy. Fearful as they were that overcrowding by the lower Classes might result in a repetition of plague and fire, the nobility reserved, as much as possible, the western part in the division, for with the increased use of coal, the dust of which was carried eastward by the prevailing west winds, there was an even more marked distinction between the two regions. 50

So without laboring the point, the Dunces swarm through London and, figuratively speaking, overwhelm and undermine the "aristocracy" both in geographical and psychic terms. 51

Describing the "progress" of the Dunces through London (in Book II), Williams says,

After a night spent at the sacred dome of Dulness near the Tower of London, the goddess and the dunces move through the City to the site of St. Mary le Strand church in the Strand, just beyond the western boundary of the City, that is, just beyond the ward of Farringdon Without and Temple Bar. The spot is highly significant, for at the Strand began the jurisdiction of Westminster. 52

Williams' most impressive illustration of the use Pope makes of "London" has to do with "the noise-making contest in which Sir Richard Blackmore
is victor." The lines in question are these:

Then lights the structure, with averted eyes:
The rolling smokes involve the sacrifice.
The Op'ning clouds disclose each work by turns,
Now flames the Cid, and now Perolla burns;
Great Caesar roars, and hisses in the fires;
King John in silence modestly expires:
No merit now the dear Nonjuror claims,
Moliere's old stubble in a moment flames.
Tears gush'd again, as from pale Prian's eyes
When the last blaze sent Ilion to the skies.

(D.II:247-256)

Williams explains:

A glance at the map of eighteenth-century London
will reveal that the places echoing back Blackmore's
'song' constitute clear boundary markers for the
court world, the fashionable districts to the west
of the City.53

So it is that the progress through London threatens the ethical
health of the realm.

It remains only to be briefly noted that, in its mock-epic
aspect, the "action" of the Dunciad parallels the "removal" of
Aeneas from Troy to establish a new empire, Rome. London, too,
had a "Trojan" inception and was often called Troy-novant, a fact
often noted by City poets on Lord Mayors' days. If we are to accept
the suggestion of the Dunciad, Troy-novant, like another city of
Trojan inception, was threatened by an invasion of barbarians.

Blake, for his part, laments the extent to which London
resembles Imperial Rome, sending out its "legions" to cover the earth
like a hideous polypus. His was a minority point of view.

Blake locates himself on South Molton Street in London. He is
in the center of the fallen world, in the bosom of Albion. If, in
the Dunciad, Pope's perspective enables him to see London from afar,
say from Twickenham, Blake persistently places himself in the midst of the city. Where Pope sees the "rabble" and the "middle-class" as threats to stability and order, Blake sees the "rabble"—the masses of the poor—and the middle-class as victims of oppressive systems. Where Pope blames the victims, as he does when he locates the cause of Dunces' "poverty" in their "neglect of their proper talent thro' self conceit of greater abilities" (TE, p. 50), Blake blames "poverty" for victimizing the "rabble" in extensive ways to be detailed momentarily. And if the "action" of the Dunciad sends Dunces streaming through the streets of London, at least one important "action" in Jerusalem finds Blake (Los) conducting a solitary search through the streets of London for the cause and cure of Albion's malady.

"In his walk," says David Erdman,

...he conducted a Diogenes-like search with 'globe of fire' through the 'darkness & horrid solitude' of teeming London—a search which is the central action of the whole poem and is shown beginning in the frontispiece. He traveled with the sun clockwise through the eastern, southern, and western districts, and then 'sat on London Stone' to meditate. At the meridian of his journey he questioned the 'stones and rocks' of the new Bethlehem Hospital, 'Dens of despair in the house of bread,' which had been 'builted' but not yet occupied: in Bedlam there might have been minds free of vengeance, 'mad as a refuge.' But ominously 'human form was none.' Where he did find humans, in the crowded alleys of the poor—the location, be it noted, of 'the winding places of deep contemplation intricate' of Albions's brain—he saw 'every minute particular, the jewels of Albion, running down the kennels of the streets & lanes as if they were abhorred.'

The Blakean reversal here is typical: oppressors talked of casting pearls before the swinish multitude; Blake 'saw' that the people were the pearls and that they had been 'hardened' by the contempt of those who
treated them like swine and who cast forth "all the
tendernesses of the soul...as filth & mire." Here
was the core of his answer.54

I have already argued that this "action" is but one instance of a
broader pattern of "action" in the poem. That aside, it seems
appropriate here to quote the lines upon which Erdman's explication
above is based:

Los took his globe of fire to search the interiors of
Albion
Bosom, in all the terrors of friendship, entering the
caves
Of despair & death, to search the tempters out,
walking among
Albion's rocks & precipices! caves of solitude &
dark despair,
And saw every Minute Particular of Albion
degraded & murd'rd
But saw not by whom; they were hidden within in
the minute particulars
Of which they had possesd themselves; and there
they take up
The articulations of a mans soul, and laughing
throw it down
Into the frame, then knock it out upon the plank,
& souls are bsk'd
In bricks to build the pyramids of Heber & Terah.
But Los
Searchd in vain: close from the minutia he walkd,
difficult.
He came down from Highgate thro Hackney & Holloway
towards London.
Till he came to old Stratford & thence to Stepney
& the Isle
Of Leuthaas Dogs, thence thro the narrows of the
Rivers side
And saw every minute particular, the jewels of
Albion, running down
The kennels of the streets & lanes as if they
were abhorrd.
Every Universal Form, was become barren mountains
of Moral
Virtue: and every Minute Particular hardend into
grains of sand:
And all the tendernesses of the soul cast forth as
filth & mire,
Among the winding places of deep contemplation intricate
To where the Tower of London frowned dreadful over Jerusalem:
A building of Javah builded in Jerusalem's eastern gate to be
His secluded Court: thence to Bethlehem where was builded
Dens of despair in the house of bread: enquiring in vain
Of stones and rocks he took his way, for human form was none:
And thus he spoke, looking on Albions City with many tears

(J.H.45/31/:2-28)

Such lines are oft-repeated in Jerusalem, displaying a fallen
Albion and a London full of sufferers and victims; for example, the following—

I see Albion sitting upon his Rock in the first Winter
And thence I see the Chaos of Satan & the World of Adam
When the Divine Hand went forth on Albion in the mid Winter
And at the place of Death when Albion sat in Eternal Death
Among the Furnaces of Los in the Valley of the Son of Hinnom

Plate 16
Hampstead Highgate Finchley Hendon Muswell hill: rage loud
Before Bromions iron Tongs & glowing Poker reddening fierce
Hertfordshire glows with fierce Vegetation! in the Forests
The Oak frowns terrible, the Beech & Ash & Elm enroot
Among the Spiritual fires; loud the Corn fields thunder along
The Soldiers fife; the Harlots shriek; the Virgins dismal groan
The Parents fear: the Brothers jealousy: the Sisters curse
Beneath the Storms of Theotormon/; & the thundring Bellows
Heaves in the hand of Palamabron who in London's darkness
Before the Anvil, watches the bellowing flames:

(J.I.15:30: 16;1-10)
It is the "action" of the entire poem to pass through the gate of Jerusalem, liberty, to search out the "limits of contraction" and to find a way to compel an expansion in the "Divine Arts of Imagination" in order to build up Jerusalem, the heavenly city.

But if London is a scene of horror and suffering, it is also a reminder of better times: "You have a tradition, that Man anciently contained in his mighty limbs all things in Heaven & Earth," Blake reminds the "Jews." He then offers an "English" version of the same "tradition"; the lines are familiar:

The fields from Islington to Marybone,  
To Primrose Hill and Saint Johns Wood;  
Were builded over with pillars of gold,  
And there Jerusalem's pillars stood.

Her Little-ones ran on the fields  
The Lamb of God among them seen  
And fair Jerusalem his Bride:  
Among the little meadows green.

Pancross & Kentish-town repose  
Among her golden pillars high:  
Among her golden arches which  
Shine upon the starry sky.

The Jews-harp-house & the Green Man;  
The Ponds where Boys to bathe delight:  
The fields of Cows by Willans farm;  
Shine in Jerusalem's pleasant sight.  

(J.I.27:1-20)

It is just such "boyhood memories" which these lines suggest, serve as one intimation of what might yet be and as a base upon which to build. A corollary theme has it that Jerusalem (liberty) once covered the whole earth: "Albion gave me to the whole Earth to walk up & down; to pour/joy upon every mountain; to teach songs to the shepherd & plowman...etc." (J.79:36-37). It is upon this "tradition," too, that Los and Blake can build up Jerusalem again; what once was
can be regained. In the apocalypse, Jerusalem will "Awake and overspreading all Nations as in Ancient Time" (J.97:2). But Blake was somewhat hard pressed to find evidence of an actual building up of Jerusalem in London.

Figuratively speaking, Blake's concern for building up London (Jerusalem) is paralleled by Pope's concern for the destruction of London (Rome). Also figuratively speaking, Blake saw the "rabble" as victims (of Roman legions), while Pope saw the nation (Rome) under siege by the "rabble" (barbarians). Each poem contains its version of the old argument between Roman-Normans and Goth-Anglo-Saxons.

Blake saw England following the imperial path of Rome. A lifetime of Republicanism predisposed him, of course, to draw such a conclusion from the contemporary events which occupied his attention as he worked upon Jerusalem. Erdman says that "The contemporary frame of reference is the latter part of the war, the years of Napoleonic decline and fall and of the triumph of British and German arms..." The war policies had become self-propelling, vengeful. Blake had experienced one bitter aspect of it at his trial for "seditionous libel" in 1803. The national will was so monomaniacal that even careless words spoken in "heat" might place a man in serious jeopardy. The war was brutalizing and dehumanizing everyone.

Military roads radiated outward from London. War spread like a huge polypus, and the head of the polypus was nourished by England (see Plate 67). Erdman says,

Frequently in Jerusalem we hear echoes of Gibbon's account of the Decline and Fall of the archetypal Empire:
the border wars on the Rhine and the Danube;
the theme of imperial excess leading to imperial
decline; here, applied to press-gang methods in
Marybone, the 'inflexible maxim of Roman discipline,
that a good soldier should dread his officers far
more than the enemy.' Earlier, Satan standing on
the Euphrates and stretching his pride over Asia
(J.27) recalls Trajan (in Gibbon's first chapter)
viciously thirsting for military glory, carrying war
beyond the sensible borders of the Danube and, in
'dangerous emulation' of Alexander, beyond the
Euphrates—'against the nations of the east.'

The "Sons of Albion" cry out,

We were carried away in thousands from London;
& in tens
Of thousands from Westminster & Marybone in ships
closed up:
Chained hand & foot, compelled to fight under the
iron whips
Of our captains; fearing our officers more than
the enemy. (J.III.65:33-36)

The young soldiers are sent off with the blessings of the "church"

(Vala):

Now: now the battle rages round thy tender
limbs O Vala,
Now smile among thy bitter tears: now put on all
thy beauty
Is not the world of the sword sweet! & the broken
bone delightful?
Wilt thou now smile among the scythes when the
wounded groan in the field?/

Meanwhile the "rabble" is "kept occupied"—a Blakean description of
the effects of the "industrial Revolution"—;

Then left the Sons of Urizen the plow & harrow,
the loom
The harmer & the chisel, & the rule & compasses; from
London fleeing
They forg’d the sword on Cheviot, the chariot of
war & the battle-ax,
The trumpet fitted to mortal battle, & the flute
of summer in Amandale
And all the Arts of Life. they chang’d into the Arts of
Death in Albion.
The hour-glass contempt because its simple workmanship.
Was like the workmanship of the plowman, & the water wheel,
That raises water into cisterns: broken & burned with fire:
Because its workmanship was like the workmanship of the shepherd.
And in their stead, intricate wheel invented, wheel without wheel:
To perplex youth in their outgoings, & to bind to labours in Albion
Of day & night the myriads of eternity that they may grind
And polish brass & iron hour after hour laborious task!
Kept ignorant of its use, that they might spend the days of wisdom
In sorrowful drudgery, to obtain a scanty pittance of bread:
In ignorance to view a small portion & think that All,
And call it Demonstration: blind to all the simple rules of life. (J.III.65:12-28)

All of this because England's "Caesars" had "voted the death of Luvah (France)" (J.65:8).

Blake's allegiance to the Goth-Anglo-Saxon consciousness is evidenced in many ways in his poem. He believes that once Jerusalem (Liberty) overspread the whole earth. He states that man cannot exist "but by Brotherhood" (96:28). He espouses "egalitarianism" to a radical degree, which I will discuss more in relation to his religious beliefs. And, finally, he indicates that he is consciously involved in the Roman-Norman versus Goth-Anglo-Saxon debate; as the apocalypse approaches in Jerusalem Los cried, "What do I see? The Briton Saxon Roman Norman amalgamating//In my Furnaces into One Nation the English...(J.92:1).

Pope is equally self-conscious about the argument. He offers a recapitulation of the Fall of Rome. Settle tells Cibber,
How little, mark! that portion of the ball,
Where, faint at best, the beams of Science fall:
Soon as they dawn, from Hyperborean skies
Embody'd dark, what clouds of Vandals rise!
Lo! where Haëtis sleeps, and hardly flows
The freezing Tanais thro' a waste of snows,
The North by myriads pours her mighty sons,
Great nurse of Goths, of Alans, and of Huns!
See Alaric's stern port; the martial frame
Of Genseric! and Attila's dread name!
See the bold Ostrogoths on Latium fall;
See the fierce Visigoths on Spain and Gaul!
See, where the morning gilds the palmy shore
(The soil that arts and infant letters bore)
His conqu'ring tribes th' Arabian prophet draws,
And saving Ignorance enthrones by Laws.
See Christians, Jews, one heavy sabbath keep,
And all the western world believe and sleep.
(D.III:63-100)

So Rome. Pope also mentions "Saxon" history:

'Behold yon! Isle, by Palmers, Pilgrims trod,
Men bearded, bald, cow'd, uncow'd, shod, unshod,
Peel'd, patch'd, and pyebald, linsey-wolsey brothers,
Grave Mummies! sleeveless sons, and shirtless others,
That once was Britain—Happy! had she seen
No fiercer sons, had Easter never been.
In peace, great Goddess, ever be ador'd;
How keen the war, if Dulness draw the sword!
Thus visit not thy own! on this blast age
Oh spread thy Influence, but restrain thy Rage.
(D.III:113-122)

The rude, uncivilized linsey-wolsey brothers, barbarous and warlike,
were even more savage when "possessed" by superstitious Christian-
ity.

But Dulness is about to reassert her rule over "this Favarite
Isle," having been held back until 1640, presumably by the civilizing
effects of "Roman-Norman" influence. Warburton annotated a subsequent
line, "What aids, what armies to assert her cause," as follows:

[The aids and armies] Of Poets, Antiquaries,
Critics, Divines, Free-thinkers. But as this
Revolution is only here set on foot by the first
of these Classes, the Poets, they only are here
particularly celebrated.....(TE.325n)
This is standard "Roman-Norman" "history" of the Puritan Revolution.

But this overt "history" is, in my view, only a minor aspect of Pope's use of the Roman-Norman point of view. Much more important, and extensive, is his use of imagery suggestive of an inundation by barbarians. This imagery conveys, better than anything else, what was probably the intensity of Pope's political and ethical emotions. I have already shown that Pope associates the Dunces with dunghill spawns, both of themselves and of their "works," with filth and excrement, with animals. He also associates them with barbarians, primarily through oft-repeated massing, swarming, overrunning, and blotting-out imagery:

Hence Bards like Proteus long in vain ty'd down,
Escape in Monsters, and amaze the town. (D.I.37-38)

She sees a Mob of Metaphors advance... (D.I.67)

She ceas'd. Then swells the Chapel-royal throat:
'God save king Cibber!' mounts in ev'ry note.
Familiar White's, 'God save king Colley!' cries;
'God save king Colley!' Drury-lane replies:
To Needham's quick the voice triumphal rode,
But pious Needham dropt the name of God;
Back to the Devil the last echoes roll,
And 'Colli!' each Butcher roars at Hockley-hole. (D.I.319-326)

They summon all her Race: An endless band
Pours forth, and leaves unpeopled half the land. (D.II.19-20)

Now thousand tongues are heard in one loud din:
The Monkey-mimics rush discordant in;
'Twas ciatt'ring, grimming, mouthing, jabb'ring all,
And Noise and Norton, Brangling and Breval,
Dennis and Dissonance, and captious Art,
And Snip-snap short, and Interruption smart,
And Demonstration thin, and Theses thick,
And Major, Minor, and Conclusion quick. (II.235-242)
Thro' Lud's fam'd gates, along the well-known Fleet
Rolls the black troop, and overshades the street........
(II.359-360)

All crowd, who foremost shall be damn'd to Fame.
Some strain in rhyme; the Muses, on their racks,
Scream like the winding of ten thousand jacks:
Some free from rhyme or reason, rule or check,
Break Priscian's head, and Pegasus's neck;
Down, down they larum, with impetuous whirl,
The Pindars, and the Miltons of a Curl.
(II.158-164)

And now had Fame's posterior Trumpet blown,
And all the Nations summon'd to the Throne.
The young, the old, who feel her inward sway,
One instinct seizes, and transports away.
None need a guide, by sure Attraction led,
And strong impulsive gravity of Head:
None want a place, for all their Centre found,
Hung to the Goddess, and coher'd around.
Not closer, orb in orb, conglob'd are seen
The buzzing Bees about their dusky Queen.
The gath'ring number, as it moves along,
Involves a vast involuntary throng,
Who gently drawn, and struggling less and less,
Roll in her Vortex, and her pow'r confess.
(IV.71-84)

Now crowds on crowds around the Goddess press....
(IV.135)

Prompt at the call, around the Goddess roll
Broad hats, and hoods, and caps, a sable shoal:
Thick and more thick the black blockade extends....
(IV.189-191)

In flow'd at once a gay embroider'd race....
(IV.275)

Then thick as Locusts black'ning all the ground....
(IV.275)

The vulgar herd turn off to roll with Hogs....
(IV.525)

Such images express fear of a range of impending horrors from
suffocation to massacre. With such images Pope built perhaps his
most powerful indictment against the Dunces. Certainly such images
link the Dunces with barbarians more emphatically than could any mere
propositions.

These images reflect, too, I think, a powerful emotional re-
action to changing social conditions, namely the rise of the
middle-class and the increase in the number of "masterless men" in
England. By Blake's time the middle-class had espoused Pope's
views, more or less. They felt about the "lower orders" approximately
as Pope felt about the Dunces.

Added to the "problem" of a rising middle class was the problem
of the sudden growth of the popular press. That the Dunciad con-
tains a massive prophecy of doom about the effects of the popular
press is well known. The question of freedom is involved in this
prophecy and is worth examining in this context.

During the 1730's Pope became increasingly involved with the
Opposition party, which was, at that time,

...extolling the virtues of simplicity and independence,
pitting them against the venality, luxury and
corruption of Walpole's administration and the Court
which backed it. Led by Bolingbroke, the Opposition
championed the cause of British Liberty in the
pages of the Craftsman, and the poets added their
voices to those of the essayists.57

Pope could be disillusioned with some members of the Opposition and
with their ineffectiveness and bumpiousness.58 Nevertheless he
shared with them their affection for the "rural stabilities":

If sincerity, sturdy independence of mind,
hospitality, and an awareness of man's obligations
to his fellows are to be found anywhere in England,
they will be found only outside London, outside
the 'corrupt & corruptible world within the Vortex
of the Court & City'.59

Affection for "rural stabilities" seems to have predisposed "the
Opposition" to expect corruption of the City and Court. As the
Warburton note above indicates, Pope's circle attributed the turmoil of the interregnum at least partially to abuse of the press. The frenzied activities of the Walpole years could only increase their unease. When it was revealed that Walpole paid "no less than fifty-thousand, seventy-seven pounds, eighteen shillings" to political writers between Feb. 19, 1731 and Feb. 10, 1741 (TE. p. 311n), the power of the press to corrupt was confirmed in its most heinous aspects.

Yet, in a broader context, the Opposition's feelings about City, Court, and popular press is not quite a matter of the Opposition's love of truth and Walpole's venality. There was a power struggle in progress. Once upon a time, when most Englishmen received the Logos primarily through Sunday sermons, the aristocracy and others who were enamored of rural stabilities had felt approximately about the "Godly Preaching Ministry" as Pope and his friends felt about the Grub Street Race. Just as sermons had in the 1630's, the productions of the Dunces had a democratizing effect in the 1730's.

No longer was the Logos under the control of the aristocracy.

It is in this context that it is well to take Pope's Essay on Man seriously. Thus, "British Liberty" is dependent upon stability, or maintenance of the "Great Chain of Being." The quantity and quality of a man's "Liberty" depended upon his "place." Exercising more through "self conceit," or licensing excesses, as Walpole did when he paid political writers, created chaotic conditions which threatened everybody's "Liberty." Pope, in his own eyes, was a champion of "English Liberty." He had won his by severe "discipline"
and hard work. He possessed no more than he had earned. The Dunces, the rabble, the new barbarians, played by no such rules. Their rude, pushy (swarming), belligerent, noisy demands, and their unabashed self-conceit made them appear dangerous in the extreme. The "Great," whom he "in vain decry'd and curst" (I:3-8), were even more villainous, for their violations of "place," particularly their failure to uphold the obligations of "place" had, presumably, an even greater debilitating impact upon national stability. Theirs was the influence which somehow facilitated Dulness' greatest gain, spreading "the RIGHT DIVINE of Kings to govern wrong" (IV.188).

So once again Pope's argument has "upper" and "lower" bounds. The popular press, whether abused from below by the "rabble" or from above by the "Great," threatens disaster. From below, from Bedlam, "Bards, like Proteus long in vain ty'd down, //Escape in Monster, and amaze the town" (I.37-38). Yet, "above," where Wit and Wits should be nurtured, an "Educator" boasts:

...Since Man from beast by Words is known, Words are Man's province, Words we teach alone. When Reason doubtful, like the Samian letter, Points him two ways, the narrower is the better. Plac'd at the door of Learning, youth to guide, We never suffer it to stand too wide: To ask, to guess, to know, as they commence, As Fancy opens the quick springs of Sense, We ply the Memory, we load the brain, Bind rebel Wit, and double chain on chain, Confine the thought, to exercise the breath; And keep them in the pale of Words till death. Whate'er the talents, or howe'er design'd, We hang one jingling padlock on the mind:...

(D.IV: 148-162)

If the "educator" exercises great vigor and ingenuity in checking threatened outbreaks of true wit, his activity is but a negative
reflection of Pope's. Pope's satire shows great vigor and ingenuity in checking threatened outbreaks of barbarianism. He is not concerned to "reason and compare," to defend a fixed body of ideas. As we have already seen, this is true even of the Essay on Man. To repeat, Pope's business is to match feeling and expression in an organic rather than doctrinal way. What he feels, as a man, as a poet, and as the "master of Twickenham," is threatened, embattled. What he does as a satirist (and man and country gentleman) is defend the organic wholeness and health of his "world" against the "Vigour of Vice." Liberty for him consists of the peaceful continuity of that world.

Blake would have qualified for inclusion in the Dunciad had he lived earlier. He was nevertheless damned as a "Dunce," not by Pope but by the "popular press," specifically by The Examiner and its editors, Leigh Hunt and his two brothers. In a sense, the popular press took up Pope's position. G. E. Bentley, Jr. speculates, for example, that the Hunts mistook Blake for a Methodist, and enthusiast. In a virulent review of Blake's Exhibition of 1806, Leigh Hunt wrote in The Examiner of September 17, 1808,

If beside the stupid and mad-brained political project of their rulers, the sane part of the people of England resorted fresh proof of the alarming increase of the effects of insanity, they will be too well convinced from its having lately spread into the hitherto sober region of Art.

Hunt decries those who mistake "the ebullitions of a distempered brain" for "the sallies of genius." Such he says, is the mistake of admirers of William Blake, "an unfortunate lunatic, whose personal inoffensiveness secures him from confinement." After saying of
Blake's pictures that they are "very badly drawn," Hunt proceeds to assess the Catalogue as a "a farrago of nonsense, unintelligibleness, and egregious vanity, the wild effusions of a distempered brain." 54

If one can empathize with Blake here, one can perhaps also empathize with the Dunces. True, Pope's judgments were sounder than Hunt's; yet Pope, from his point of view, was in no position to appreciate the positive contributions of Defoe to the new literary form, the novel, or of Bentley to literary scholarship. Would he have recognized Blake's genius, or seen only an "enthusiast?" Hunt, we notice, is preoccupied with Blake's presumed "distempered brain" and "egregious vanity." Such phrases echo Popean phrases like "escape in monsters, and amaze the town," and "self-conceit."

The irony of Hunt's attack is that in some important ways he and Blake held common views and should have been allies; both, for example, opposed the war policies of the government.

Hunt's error was a common one; he interpreted Blake's universe of discourse from without, assuming the while that he "knew" what Blake was up to. For his act he is immortalized in Jerusalem as "Hand." In fact Blake has revealed, in epic form, how he "felt" about Hunt's attack against him. Roughly speaking, Hunt, in attacking Blake, perverted his (Hunt's) own best interests, his "Emanations" (visionary desires) and "infant thoughts & desires." In "contemning" Blake, Hunt supported war, thwarted the "husbandman" while "arming" "awkwardness," "folly," "weakness," and "ignorance." He became instrumental in suppressing Imagination. Blake seeks to reverse Hunt's work, hoping that Hunt (Hand) will be "snared and taken//That Enthusiasm and Life may not cease..." The entire passage reads:
Hand has absorbed all his Brethren in his might
All the infant Loves & Graces were lost, for the
mighty Hand

Plate 9
Condens'd his Emanations into hard opaque substances;
And his infant thought & desires, into cold, dark,
cliffs of death.
His hammer of gold he siezd; and his anvil of adamant.
He siezd the bars of condens'd thoughts, to
forge them:
Into the sword of war: into the bow and arrow:
Into the thundering cannon and into the murdering
gun.
I saw the limbs form'd for exercise, contem'd & the
beauty of
Eternity, look'd upon as deformity & loveliness
as a dry tree:
I saw disease forming a Body of Death around
the Lamb
Of God, to destroy Jerusalem, & to devour the body
of Albion
By war and stratagem to win the labour of the
husbanman:
Awkwardness arm'd in steel: folly in a helmet of
gold:
Weakness with horns & talons: ignorance with a rav'ning
beak!
Every Emanative joy forbidden as a Crime:
And the Emanations buried alive in the earth with
pomp of religion:
Inspiration deny'd; Genius forbidden by laws of
punishment!
I saw terrified; I took the sighs & tears, & bitter
groans:
I lifted them into my Furnaces; to form the
spiritual sword.
That lays open the hidden heart: I drew forth the
pang
Of sorrow red hot: I workd it on my resolute
anvil:
I heated it in the flames of Hand, & Hyle, & Coban
Nine times; Gwendolen & Cambel & Gwineverra
Are melted in the gold, the silver the
liquid ruby,
The crysolyte, the topaz, the jacinth, & every
precious stone.
Loud roar my Furnaces and loud my hammer is
heard:
I labour day and night, I behold the soft
affections
Condense beneath my hammer into forms of cruelty
But still I labour in hope, tho' still my tears flow down.
That he who will not defend Truth, may be compelled to defend
A Lie: that he may be snared and caught and snared and taken
That Enthusiasm and Life may not cease: arise
Spectre arise! (J.I.8:42-44, and I.9:1-31)

This passage illustrates many things. It shows of course the suffering Hunt's diatribe caused Blake, and it gives us a chance to measure Blake's method of turning experience to epic. It illustrates once again the contraction-expansion motif of the poem. It illustrates a principal theme of the poem, the "accusers"—judges, all those who measure the world out into good and evil—ultimately victimize themselves with "mind forg'd manacles." This latter is to be discussed at greater length in the next section of this chapter.

Hand, the press, is an agent in the processes which bring Albion down and drive Jerusalem off in Blake's epic. We may perhaps judge Blake's feelings about the press from the line, "The Wheel of Hand incessant turning day & night without rest..." (J.III.60:43). At another juncture, Hunt and his two brothers, and their troika editorship of The Examiner, serve Blake as a convenient way to say that Englishment compromise and inhibit each other's potential wisdom:

And this the form of might Hand sitting on Albions cliffs
Before the face of Albion, a mighty threatening Form.

His bosom wide & shoulders huge overspreading wondrous Bear Three strong sinewy Necks & Three awful & terrible Heads
Three Brains in contradictory council brooding incessantly.
Neither daring to put in act its councils, fearing each-other,
Therefore rejecting Ideas as nothing & holding all Wisdom
To consist. in the agreements & disagree/nts of Ideas.
Plotting to devour Albions Body of Humanity & Love.
(J.III.70:1-9)

This, roughly, is the function of the press as Blake sees it. Far from serving "enthusiasm," as Pope had feared, it serves only majority opinion. Yet, finally the press does serve Dulness, and it does not serve Jerusalem.

The popular press, finally, functions as the "occasion" of both poems. Both poets were stung into action by the press. This is more literally true in Pope's case than in Blake's. Yet, following the failure of his Exhibition, thanks in part to the The Examiner, Blake's last hope of a public career as a Republican artist faded. In Jerusalem he expresses his sorrow, his disillusionment, and, his lonely efforts to understand his, and England's fate. The poem stands as an heroic effort to wrest personal and prophetic triumph out of the "contraction" of his life and ideals.

The question of the popular press involves another burning issue of the eighteenth century, "Natural Philosophy," or "Deism." I am here using these terms loosely, as catch-alls meant to imply Bacon, Newton, and Locke, Voltaire, Rousseau. How "equal" are men in intellec-tual capacity? What are the limits, if any, to what a man can know? What happens to society when there is a laissez faire attitude toward language, learning, and writing? Who should read, and what is proper to be read? If such questions seem "quaint" now, they certainly weren't quaint to eighteenth-century Englishmen. Richard D. Altick
Soame Jenyns spoke for many men of his century when he maintained in 1757 that ignorance was "the appointed lot of all born to poverty and the drudgeries of life... the only opiate capable of infusing that sensibility, which can enable them to endure the miseries of the one and the fatigues of the other... a cordial, administered by the gracious hand of providence, of which they ought never to be deprived by an ill-judged and improper education." To encourage the poor man to read and think, and thus to become more conscious of his misery, would be to fly in the face of divine intention, 'the great law of subordination,' as Defoe had described it. To tempt the poor to rise by their own bootstraps was not merely impolitic but sinful. Neglect degree, and chaos was sure to come again.  

These are sentiments which Pope would seem to share. I quote the passage at this point to remind once again that in many ways Pope was the spokesman for his age, and for the next in bowdlerized ways. In any event, it was a "conservative" century. In many particulars, the Dunces were likely to at least pay lip service to Pope's ideals; I have already pointed out the "parallelism between Deism and Classicism." The difference between Pope's and, say, Walpole's answers to the questions are likely to appear to us rather slight, at least in terms of the practical implications of those answers; thus the widespread agreement with Jenyns ideas (above).  

I raise the "spectres" of Bacon, Newton, and Locke here because their ideas, and the debates they generated, are perhaps properly part of the historico-political matrices of the Dunciad and Jerusalem. However, these "spectres" can most economically be treated during the discussion of the religious matrices of the poems which follows.  

In this section I have shown to what uses Pope and Blake put "London," the "rabble," and "the popular press." Pope posits West-
minster and the Court world generally as a kind of New Rome, and
generates an "action" in a geographical London which suggests the
fall of Rome before the onslaughts of the barbarians. Blake posits
London as a fallen Jerusalem. Blake, a "grain of sand which Satan
cannot find" (limit of contraction), sets out from South Molton
street, in an "action" paralleled many times over in the poem, to
examine the "abomination" around him and to seek the causes of the
horrors he sees that he might reverse Albion's course. Pope's
"rabble," and Blake's, image, respectively, barbarians and slaves.
The popular press serves Dulness and inhibits Jerusalem. In dealing
with these matters I have sought to compare not only the uses to
which the poets put the real world and events of their times but
to compare the settings, actions, and "occasions" of the two poems.
Too, I have sought to confirm the relations between the poems and the
long standing clash of Roman-Norman and Gothic-Anglo-Saxon habits of
mind.

The poems contain radically opposed religious perspectives. These
influence a wide range of thematic antagonisms within the poems, in-
cluding a difference of opinion about the psychology of man.
Pope has smuggled a patriarchal reading of the Bible into the Dunciad. Blake has trumpeted an "infernal" or "spiritual" reading, which is fraternal, into Jerusalem. The poems display what I laid groundwork for in Chapter Three, rival versions of the Fall of Man, of the Nature of Man, of Jesus, and of God. Not surprisingly, the poems also display rival conceptions of the meaning of "the Tree of knowledge of Good and Evil"—a theme of the Dunciad only by implication—which leads us back to "Bacon, Newton, and Locke."

I say that Pope "smuggled" his reading of the Bible because it is very subtly done. The "reading" is presented by a vast number of allusions to, or verbal echoes of, Milton's Paradise Lost, and by some correspondences with, or verbal echoes of, biblical passages. By these "suggestions, hints, and allusions," says Aubrey L. Williams, whose explication of this matter is my "bible" here, "Pope correlates the history of duncery with the history of Christianity."67 Williams presents his theory somewhat hesitantly and with some reservations:

The inversions of Christian themes and situations in the Dunciad cannot be said to function as a formal, precisely determinable 'structure'. But merely as attempts to achieve rich wit in isolated instances. The inversions are too pervasive a part of the poem's texture to be seen as only scattered and local examples of Pope's ability to manipulate Christian symbols.... Though not forming a structure, the inversions do constitute a net, or a webbing, in which Pope has caught the dunces at their destructive arts.

By inference from my own argument about the Roman-Normans and Goth-Anglo-Saxon modes of consciousness, I am predisposed to expect just
such a biblical ground in the **Dunciad** as Williams outlines. Furthermore, Thomas E. Maresca has demonstrated Pope's preoccupation with Renaissance biblical commentary and has shown the use to which Pope put this commentary in the Horatian poems. Maresca's explication reveals just the sort of reading of the Bible that Williams explicates in the **Dunciad**. It is worth noting too that the Christian motif in the **Dunciad** intensifies and solidifies in Book IV of the poem, that is, in the part of the poem written primarily after the 1730's when Pope's interest in the Renaissance biblical commentaries seems to have been greatest.

It is in Book IV that Dulness's priests (the epicures) celebrate a "black mass":

*On some, a Priest succinct in amice white
Attends; all flesh is nothing in his sight!
Beeves, at his touch, at once to jelly turn,
And the huge Boar is shrunk into an Urn:
The board with specious miracles he loads,
Turns Hares to Larks, and Pigeons into Toads.
Another (for in all what one can shine?)
Explains the Save and Verdeur of the Vine.
What cannot copious Sacrifice atone?
Thy Treuffles, Perigord! they Hams, Bayonne!
With French Libation, and Italian Strain,
Wash Bladen white, and expiate Hays's stain.
Knight lifts the head, for what are crowds undone
To three essential Parts in one?*

(IV.549-562)

The epicures can only be "priests" because they serve Dulness, the inversion of God. Her "Son," identified specifically in the poem as the "Antichrist of Wit" (II.16), is the inversion, obviously, of Christ. What the Mighty Mother and her Son accomplish is the inversion of creation; against God's "creating word" they champion the "uncreating word," (IV.654). Thus, as Williams says,
The promise of Milton's Satan to the monarch of Chaos, then, and the return to Chaos and Darkness which the DunCIAD celebrates, are more than superficially linked. Milton and Pope are both attempting to dramatize the nature of evil, which in Christian thought aims always at the destruction of creation. Since the universe exists by virtue of the 'being', this imaginative restoration is the ultimate destruction—un-creation.  

The theological syllogism upon which this is based is familiar enough: God is the Creator and God is good; therefore...God is therefore, if I may state it irreverently to make my point, the Big Poet in the Sky who has ordered the world like a good poem. Schematically this makes Pope God's spokesman, if not His "son." Maresca, interpreting lines in Pope's The First Epistle of the First Book of Horace, Imitated, lines in which Pope's active life of satire and contemplative life of "retirement" are mentioned, says, 

The juncture of these two in Pope's own person defines him as a harmonic, properly ordered individual who is, moreover, fully discharging the Christian's duty to imitate Christ in leading the mixed life, combining the virtues of both active and retired states.  

So if Pope is not Christ in the schema of the DunCIAD, he is, following Maresca's suggestion, imitating Christ's example.  

It is notable, too, that Christ was conceived in the traditional theology which Pope followed, as an ideal Renaissance "prince" or Augustan gentleman, that is, as a person both active and contemplative. "God," according to this theology: and as Maresca bluntly states it, "urges man toward stability." Against this, God's "plan," "...the world and the devil call man to multiplicity and confusion." Man is prone to "create" an "...immoral substitution of his own will for the will of God." Pope, in imitation of Christ, resists any such
"immoral substitution." According to Maresca, Pope, in his imitation of Horace I.i, implies that he is a prophet of God:

Pope is the divine poet, a prophet sent to warn the world of its sins and to recall it to its true goal.

Pope has proclaimed himself God's own ordained poet, set 'over nations and over kingdoms' to preach a Jeremiah to a fallen and hellish England and to announce to those who will listen the true goal and the proper concordant pattern for life.

Wisdom has made him a friend and a prophet of God; he seeks now to perfect her image in himself, and consequently to assimilate himself completely to God.

Finally, in imitating Christ, and in serving as a prophet of God, Pope, by natural progression, is transformed "into a creator of God's own order, a 'Demi-god' who reproduces in himself and his works the pattern of God's own creation." Ultimately, as Maresca says,

The perfection of Pope's forms, the clarity and richness of his verse, achieve in the face of oncoming chaos a posture of stability; they create of the materials of complete disorder a shapely illusion of tragic beauty...

In my terms, Pope must validate his role, be it as satirist for the Opposition or as prophet of God, by the perfection of his art.

The judgments which Maresca makes, though based on the imitation of Horace I.i. are equally valid for the Dunciad. Williams says that in the latter Pope has constructed an inversion of Christian theology:

Opposed to the ordered 'nature' and light of a divinely sustained creation the poem offers the
disnature and darkness of a 'new world' ever verging on chaos; and opposed to God it offers the goddess Dulness. The Christian positives—nature, Christ, Wisdom—are faced in the Dunciad with their negative inversions—dissnature, anti-Christ, Dulness—as Pope seeks to convey the anti-religious values of duncery and to realize imaginatively the negativism of evil and duncery.

Nature, presumably, shows man God's order and light. God is a god of stability, Christ a Christ of "concordia discore." Pope imitates God's creative power and Christ's "balance of the active and contemplative." The Dunces, on the other hand "Make God Man's Image, Man the final Cause" (Dun.IV.478). To do so they "o'er-leap" "all his laws." The Dunces, like so many deistical free-thinkers, "Thrust some Mechanic Cause into [God's] place..." (Dun.IV.475). From all that has been said of Pope's conception of the nature of God, it is obvious that he could not accept the Deist's "Mechanic Cause." He could accept the Newtonian cosmos "as a description," for it was an ordered cosmos, but he rejected it as "explanation," for as explanation it denied God's eternal presence in and "control" over the affairs of men.

Pope wrote at a time when, as he puts it, "Dunce the second reigns like Dunce the first;" the "father figures" on the throne were as threatening to stability as the unruly sons, the Dunces, streaming through the streets. Order was shaken both from above and below. In fact the poem is filled with errant fathers and sons: Dulness (inversion of God) and Cibber; Cibber's father, Cibber, Cibber's son; Settle and Cibber; Blockhead (patron) and bard (Duncical post) (IV.101); Walpole and the Dunces (see IV.517-528); Silenus and his proteges (see IV.493-516); a gloomy Clerk (IV.459) and his proteges; the educator
and his pupils (IV.149-336); and so forth. Near the end of her "levee"

in Book IV, Dulness blesses her sons:

Then blessing all, 'Go Children of my care!
To Practice now from Theory repair.
All my commands are easy, short, and full:
My Sons! be proud, be selfish, and be dull.
(IV.579-582)

Warburton affixes a note to the third of these lines which we may

safely take to correctly represent Pope's view:

We should be unjust to the reign of Dulness not
to confess that her's has one advantage in it
rarely to be met with in Modern Governments,
which is, that the public Education of her
Youth fits and prepares them for the observance
of her Laws, and the exertion of those Virtues
she recommends. For what makes men prouder
than the empty knowledge of Words; more selfish
than the Free-thinker's System of Morals; or
duller than the profession of true Virtuosoship?
Nor are her Institutions less admirable in themselves
than in the fitness of these their several relations,
to promote the harmony of the whole. For she tells her Sons,
and with great truth, that 'all her commands are easy, short,
and full.' For is any thing in nature more easy than
the exertion of Pride, more short and simple than the
principle of Selfishness, or more full and ample
than the sphere of Dulness? Thus Birth, Education,
and wise Policy all concurring to support the
throne of our Goddess, great must be the
strength thereof. (TE.pp. 399-400n)

In a nation so overrun by Dulness, Pope's position is a lonely one
indeed; his is the heroic task to be both wise father and exemplary
son. Dulness has made the Dunces shameless and pert. She is the
"great Anarch," whose Empire is "CHAOS" (see IV.653 and 655). Pope
is of the law and order party.

I have used the phrase "Christian theology" as I found it,
that is, as if it were but a single body or belief. From Blake,
however, we learn differently.

His God is a brother, and says so:
I am not a God afar off, I am a brother and friend; Within your bosoms I reside, and you reside in me: Lo! we are One; forgiving all Evil; Not seeking recompense! Ye are my members O ye sleepers of Beulah, land of shades! (J.I.4:18-21)

Albion marks his own fall by denying this:

But the perturbed Man away turns down the valleys dark;

/Saying, We are not One; we are Many, thou most simulative/ Phantom of the over heated brain! (J.I.4:22-24)

Ultimately, however, Albion, God, Jesus, and Los become one:

Then Jesus appeared standing by Albion as the Good Shepherd
By the lost Sheep that he hath found & Albion knew that it Was the Lord the Universal Humanity, & Albion saw his Form A Man. & they conversed as Man with Man, in Ages of Eternity And the Divine Appearance was the likeness & similitude of Los (J.IV.96:3-7)

In the apocalypse,

All Human Forms identified even Tree Metal Earth & Stone. all Human Forms identified, living going forth & returning wearied Into the Planetary lives of Years Months Days & Hours reposing And them Awakening into his Bosom in the Life of Immortality. (J.IV.99:1-4)

Thus, where Pope's God is a father and supporter of order, Blake's is a brother and a supporter of oneness. Where Pope's God is located "out there" ("heaven," in the vernacular), Blake's resides "in here" ("heaven," in the bosom of man).

Blake's "spiritual" reading of the Bible centers about certain of the books of the Bible. These the poet lists in a scene in which the "merciful Saviour" builds a "couch" for Albion, who has uttered
his last words—"Hope is banish'd from me" (J.II.47:13). At this "limit of contraction" Albion will be protected by "Spiritual Verse":

These were his last words, and the merciful Saviour
in his arms
Receiv'd him, in the arms of tender mercy
and repos'd
The pale limbs of his Eternal Individuality
Upon the Rock of Ages. Then, surrounded with
a Cloud:
In silence the Divine Lord builded with immortal
labour,
Of gold & jewels a sublime Ornament, a Couch of
repose,
With Sixteen pillars: canopied with emblems &
written verse.
Spiritual Verse, order'd & measur'd, from whence,
time shall reveal.
The Five books of the Decalogue, the books of
Joshua & Judges,
Samuel, a double book & Kings, a double book,
the Psalms & Prophets
The Four-fold Gospel, and the Revelations
everlasting
Eternity groan'd & was troubled, at the image of
Eternal Death! (J.II.48:1-11)

This "Spiritual Verse" is the hope of mankind.

The "Spiritual" reading of the Bible which appears in Jerusalem
can best be summarized by beginning with Blake's version of the events
in the Garden of Eden and by insisting on the importance of "shame" as
a key word. The serpent who tempts Eve is a projection of the mind of
man. At the apocalypse Albion realizes the deadly effect of this
projection upon all of history:

I behold the Vision of my deadly Sleep of Six
Thousand Years
Dazling around they skirts like a Serpent of
precious stones & gold
I know it is my Self: 0 my Divine Creator & Redeemer
Jesus replied Fear not Albion unless I die thou
canst not live (J.IV.96:11-14)
The Serpent tempts man to eat of the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil—a self-temptation. Whereas in Pope this act would signify man's failure of obedience to God and his subsequent banishment to history in a fallen state, in Blake it signifies the earthly horrors which man inflicts on man when men begin to divide the world up into categories of good and evil. From an original oneness man falls into division and strife.

The first separation is between Adam and Eve, and the first gestures of division are gestures of shame, hiding behind fig leaves and hiding from God in the forest. Upon the first of these gestures of shame Blake builds an elaborate sexual motif, and upon the second an elaborate psycho-social motif. The first separation between "the parents of us all" is intimated in the following passage in which the "speakers" are ordinary mortals and "the Eternal Man" is God:

Divine Benevolence & joy, for the Eternal Man
Walketh among us, calling us his Brothers &
his Friends:
Forbidding us that Veil which Satan puts between
Eve & Adam
By which the Princes of the Dead enslave their
Votaries
Teaching them to form the Serpent of precious
stones and gold
To seize the Sons of Jerusalem & plant them in One
Mans Loins
To make One Family of Contraries: that Joseph
may be sold
Into Egypt: for Negation; a Veil the Saviour born
& dying rends. (J.III.55:9-16)

The "Veil" is, of course, the fig leaf of sexual shame. I take the phrase "One Man's Loins" to refer to Adam as the father of mankind, and the meaning, therefore, to be that the myth of Adam and Eve
falsely condemns man to a fallen state, falsely because the fallen
state is not Adam's or Eve's fault but man's; man has projected this
myth upon existence and is now condemned to suffer from his own
myth. Jesus comes to break through this myth, to rend the veil.

In its sexual aspect, the Adam and Eve story, according to
Blake, is a story of desire frustrated and closed off from its
object. The energy of frustrated desire, says Blake in anticipation
of the Freudians, inevitably breaks out in forms of cruelty and
destruction. Women are moved "In cruelties of holiness: to refuse
the joys of love..."(J.III.69:59). A victim of this "holiness"
cries out in anguish.

I am drunk with unsatiated love
I must rush again to War: for the Virgin has frowned &
refused
Sometimes I curse & sometimes bless thy fascinating
beauty
Once Man was occupied in intellectual pleasures
& energies
But now my soul is harrowed with grief & fear & love
& desire
And now I hate & now I love & Intellect is not more;
There is no time for any thing but the torments of
love & desire
The Feminine and Masculine Shadows soft, mild
& ever varying
In beauty: are Shadows now no more, but Rocks
in Horeb (J.III.68:62-70)

Eve's "veil" becomes Rahab's veil, Rahab symbolizing Patriarchal
Religion. Her church embodies Moral Virtue, that is judgments of
good and evil. The relationship of Rahab's veil and events in Eden
is reiterated in the following:

And now the Spectres of the Dead awake in Beulah:
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, not going down  
with decision  
Therefore the Male severe & cruel filled with stern  
Revenge:  
Mutual Hate returns & mutual Deceit & mutual Fear.  
Hence the Infernal Veil grows in the disobedient  
Female:  
Which Jesus rends & the whole Druid Law removes  
away  
From the Inner Sanctuary: a False Holiness hid with  
the Center,  
For the Sanctuary of Eden. is in the camp: in  
the Outline,  
In the Circumference: & every Minute Particular  
is Holy:  
Embraces are Comings: from the Head even to  
the Feet;  
And not a pompous High Priest entering by a  
Secret Place (J.III.69:32-44)

Again Blake anticipates modern psychology, this time by criticising  
the contraction of human love to genitality. Here and elsewhere he in-  
sists upon the correspondences between the sexual mores of the  
Joneses next door and the social condition of man. Genitality, for  
example, corresponds to social repression, to veils and nets of  
unwritten laws of moral propriety.  

On a mundane level, the first gesture of shame in the Garden  
of Eden symbolizes the division of the totality of human character-  
istics into masculine and feminine categories, a process paralleling  
divisions into categories of good and evil. In the following  
passage, Blake illustrates these division and shows the accompanying  
sexual frustrations:

The Feminine separates from the Masculine & both  
from Man,  
Ceasing to be His Emanation, Life to Themselves  
assuming!
And while they circumscribe his Brain, & while they
circumscribe
His Heart, & while they circumscribe his Loins!

a Veil & Net

Of Veins of red Blood grows around them like a
scarlet robe.

Covering them from the sight of Man like the woven
Veil of Sleep

Such as the Flowers of Beulah weave to be their
Funeral Mantles

But dark! opake! tender to touch, & painful!

& agonizing

To the embrace of love, & to the mingling of
soft fibres

Of tender affection. that no more the Masculine
mingles

With the Feminine. but the Sublime is shut out from
the Pathos

In howling torment, to build stone walls of
separation, compelling

The Pathos, to weave curtains of hiding secrecy from
the torment. (J.IV.90:1-13)

"Emanations" here refer both to the sexual desires man projects
upon woman and to the products of his Imagination. The frustration
or perversion of the "Divine Imagination" are thus very much of the same
dynamic.

If Blake associates the gesture of sexual shame with the church,
he associates the second gesture, hiding from God in a forest, a
gesture of intellectual shame—with government or secular rule.

Intellectual shame is associated with Reason; that which Pope reveres,
Blake despises (bearing in mind that the opposite of Reason is not
irrationality but an integration of the total capacities of man).

Blake says,

And this is the manner of the Sons of Albion in
their strength
They take the Two Contraries which are calld
Qualities, with which
Every Substance is clothed, they name them Good
& Evil
From them they make an Abstract, which is a Negation
Not only of the Substance from which it is
derived
A murderer of its own Body: but also a
murderer
Of every Divine Member: it is the Reasoning
Power
An Abstract objecting power, that Negatives
every thing
This is the Spectre of Man: the Holy Reasoning
Power
And in its Holiness is closed the Abomination
of Desolation (J.I.10:7-16)

Having "Reasoned" thus, Albion, in another passage, bewails his
separation from God and calls for vengeance against Jerusalem
(Divine Imagination), presumably for tempting him with visions and
desires which he cannot but be frustrated by. Clearly this drama
reflects an instance of "mind forg'd manacles":

God in the dreary Void
Dwells from Eternity, wide separated from the
Human Soul.
But thou deluding Image by whom imb'd the
Veil I rent.
Lo here is Valas Veil whole, for a Law, a Terror
& a Curse!
And therefore God takes vengeance on me: from my
clay-cold bosom
My children wander trembling victims of his
Moral Justice.
His snows fall on me and cover me, while in the
Veil I fold
My dying limbs. Therefore O Manhood, if thou art
sought
But a meer Phantasy, hear dying Albions Curse!
May God who swells in this dark Ulro & voidness,
vengeance take,
And draw thee down into this Abyss of sorrow
and torture,
Like me thy Victim.

(J.I.23:29-40)

Reason produces "moral Justice," systems of laws, judgments of good and
evil. These, like sexual divisions, frustrate Jerusalem.

Blake draws these and other themes together, along with commentary
on Bacon, Newton, Locke, Rousseau, and Voltaire, in a nearly pedantic
statement at the outset of Book III:

In Great Eternity, every particular Form gives forth
or Emanates
Its own peculiar Light, & the Form is the Divine
Vision
And the Light is his Garment. This is Jerusalem
in every Man
A tent & Tabernacle of Mutual Forgiveness Male &
Female Clothings.
And Jerusalem is called Liberty among the Children
of Albion

But Albion fell down a Rocky fragment from
Eternity hurl’d
By his own Spectre, who is the Reasoning Power
in every Man
Into his own Chaos which is the Memory between
Man & Man

The silent broodings of deadly revenge springing
from the
All powerful parental affection, fills Albion from
head to foot
Seeing his Sons assimilate with Luvah, bound
in the bonds
Of spiritual Hate, from which springs Sexual Love
as iron chains:
He tosses like a cloud outstretched among Jerusalem’s
Ruin’s
Which overspread all the Earth, he groans among
his ruined porches

But the Spectre like a hoar frost & a Mildew rose
over Albion
Saying, I am God 0 Sons of Men! I am your Rational
Power!
Am I not Bacon & Newton & Locke who teach Humility
to Man!
Who teach Doubt & Experiment & my two Wings Voltaire
Rousseau.
Where is that Friend of Sinners! that Rebel against
my Laws!
Who teaches Belief to the Nations, & an unknown
Eternal Life
Come hither into the Desart & turn these stones
to bread.
Vain foolish Man! wilt thou believe without
Experiment?
And build a World of Phantasy upon my
Great Abyss!
A world of Shapes in craving lust &
devouring appetite (Ili.54:1-24)

In sum, Blake links the first gesture of shame with the patriarchal
church, a church of moral laws and punishment for sin. He links the
second gesture of shame with secular laws, laws produced by Reason,
laws enforced with wars and with Druidic human sacrifice. This
relatively simple schema spreads through the poem in myriad permuta-
tions, only a few of which are illustrated here.

At the apocalypse, the divisive wounds of Eden are healed.
Albion is reunited with his emanation, Britannia, and Los with his,
Enitharmon; sexual division is no more. And Albion as mankind is
reunited with his emanation, Jerusalem; the division of good and evil
is no more. Ultimately,

All Human Forms identified even Tree Metal Earth
& Stone. all
Human Forms identified, living going forth &
returning weariest
Into the Planetary lives of Years Months Days and
Hours reposing
And then Awaking into his Bosom in the Life
of Immortality. (JIV.99:1-4)

In this schema, of course, Jesus is not an obedient son to a
wise father, but a "bright preacher of life":

I stood among my valleys of the south
And saw a flame of fire, even as a Wheel
Of fire surrounding all the heavens: it went
From west to east against the current of
Creation and devour all things in its loud
Fury & thundering course round heaven & earth
By it the Sun was roll'd into an orb:
By it the Moon faded into a globe,
Travelling thro' the night: for from its dire
And restless fury, Man himself shrunk up
Into a little root a fathom long.
And I asked a Watcher & a Holy-One
Its Name? he answered. It is the Wheel of Religion
I wept & said. Is this the law of Jesus
This terrible devouring sword turning every way
He answered: Jesus died because he strove
Against the current of this Wheel: its Name
Is Caïaphas, the dark Preacher of Death
Of sin, of sorrow, & of punishment;
Opposing Nature! It is Natural Religion
But Jesus is the bright Preacher of Life
Creating Nature from this fiery Law,
By self-denial & forgiveness of Sin. (J.IV.77:1-23)

Jesus, like Los, and Blake, sought to free the Imagination. Forgiveness of Sin consists, in Blake's terms, of not keeping score of the sins, of not being an accuser and punisher of sin, of not shaming anyone into compliance with Moral Laws. Blake near the end of his poem has Los say to the "Giants of Albion,"

Go to these Fiends of

Righteousness
Tell them to obey their Humanities, & not pretend Holiness;
When they are murderers: as far as my Hammer & Anvil permit
Go, tell them that the Worship of God, is honouring his gifts
In other men: & loving the greatest men best, each according
To his Genius: which is the Holy Ghost in Man;
there is no other God, than that God who is the intellectual fountain of Humanity;
He who envies or calumniates: which is murder & cruelty,
Murders the Holy-one: Go tell them this & overthrow their cup,
Their bread, their altar-table, their incense & their oath:
Their marriage & their baptism, their burial & consecration:
I have tried to make friends by corporeal gifts but have only
Made enemies: I never made friends but by spiritual gifts;
By severe contentions of friendship and the burning
fire of thought.
He who would see the Divinity must see him in
his Children
One first, in friendship & love; then a Divine Family,
& in the midst
Jesus will appear; so he who wishes to see a Vision;
a perfect Whole
Must see it in its Minute Particulars; Organized
& not as thou
O Fiend of Righteousness pretendest; thine is a
Discororagnized
And snowy cloud: brooder of tempests & destructive
War.
You smile with pomp & rigor: you talk of benevolence
& virtue!
I act with benevolence & Virtue and get murder'd time
after time:
You accumulate Particulars, & murder by analyzing,
that you
May take the aggregate; & you call the aggregate
Moral Law:
And you call that Swelled & bloated Form; a
Minute Particular.
But General Forms have their vitality in
Particulars; & every
Particular is a Man; a Divine Member of the Divine Jesus.
(J.IV.91:4-30)

Against the murderous abstractions of Moral Law, Blake pits "minute
particulars." Pope had vilified those who

See Nature in some partial narrow shape,
And let the Author of the Whole escape:
Learn but to trifle; or, who most observe,
To wonder at their Maker, not to serve.
(Dun. IV.455-458)

These triflers draw Pope's ire for their failure to concentrate on
important things, that is, on God's moral law which it is their duty
to serve. Pope's ilk draws general laws from the minute particulars
of experience, a practice which Blake everywhere resists.

There are two other aspects of the Blake passage worth noticing.
First, he emphasizes the stern and manly vigor of Los' activity. In
Blake's earthly experience—he no doubt was made aware that the mode of
thought he espoused was usually characterized by some version of Pope's phrase, "reduce to one dead level ev'ry mind"; Blake's ideas were thought of as "levelling" ideas. Blake, however, demonstrates the enormous vigor his mode of thinking requires. In his subsequent description of the apocalypse he uses images of warfare (bows and arrows) to carry the meaning, and these, plus the capacity of men in the apocalypse to expand and contract their mental experiences as they will, to go and come between the mundane and eternal as they wish, are directed, I think, against the notion that "levelling" meant a literal levelling of all human activity at the minimal level.

The second thing to notice about the Blake passage is the insistence upon "loving the greatest men best, each according To his Genius." To those who might take this to be a typical romantic assertion verging on being a Nietzschean "superman" statement, I would say not so. On one hand it is no more than another response to the "levelling" charge. On the other hand it is an accurate statement of the predicament of genius; as Abraham Maslow says,

The commonly seen hatred or resentment or jealousy of goodness, truth, beauty, health or intelligence ("counter-values") is largely (though not altogether) determined by threat of loss of self-esteem, as the liar is threatened by the honest man, the homely girl by the beautiful girl, or the coward by the hero. Every superior person confronts us with our own shortcomings. Still deeper than this, however, is the ultimate existential question of the fairness and justice of fate. The person with a disease may be jealous of the healthy man who is no more deserving than he. 81

Clearly, the most pernicious threat to the Liberty to practice the Divine Arts of Imagination come from just the hatreds and resentments Maslow describes. These, just as ruthlessly as the Moral Laws of church
and state, prevent the "building up of Jerusalem."

For Blake, good and evil, God and Satan, masculine and feminine reside in mankind, and must be integrated in man's Imagination if division, separation, shame, loathing, Moral Virtue, Moral Law, revenge, sacrifice, and war are not inevitably to follow. Blake's preoccupation with integrative activities can be seen in his preoccupation with innocence and experience, the tiger and the lamb, and pity and wrath. This preoccupation anticipates modern psychology once again. Gestalt therapists like Frederick S. Perls lay heavy emphasis on integrating opposed categories of psychic life—sweet, and viced, for example. And Maslow says,

At the level of self-actualizing, many dichotomies become resolved, opposites are seen to be unities and the whole dichotomous way of thinking is recognized to be immature. For self-actualizing people, there is a strong tendency for selfishness and unselfishness to fuse into a higher, superordinate unity. Work tends to be the same as play; vocation and avocation become the same thing. When duty is pleasant and pleasure is fulfillment of duty, then they lose their separateness and oppositeness. The highest maturity is discovered to include a childlike quality, and we discover healthy children to have some of the qualities of mature self-actualization. The inner-outer split, between self and all else, gets fuzzy and much less sharp, and they are seen to be permeable to each other at the highest levels of personality development. Dichotomizing seems now to be characteristic of a lower level of personality development and of psychological functioning; it is both a cause and an effect of psychopathology. 82

This seems a direct support of Blake's position. Yet Maslow also says,

The state of being without a system of values is psychopathogenic, we are learning. The human being needs a framework of values, a philosophy of life, a religion or religion-surrogate to live by and understand by, in about the same sense that he needs sunlight, calcium or love. 83
And this seems to support Pope, at least insofar as Pope emphasized the importance of some system of values. But the particular content of a system of values is very important, for if it violates men's sense of truth, it will command no allegiance. To which Pope might answer that no matter what the specific content, men always came to the same general (Humanist) conclusions. To which Blake might answer that the very fact that Pope sought to shame the experimenters out of pursuing their activities shows the hypocrisy of the Humanist position, for its general laws do inhibit the discovery of new truths. To which Pope might respond that his Dunces were neither seeking new truths nor exercising the Divine Arts of Imagination. To which Blake in turn might respond... And so it goes.

Pope's God resides in heaven, a wise father and a benevolent ruler. Blake's God resides, along with Satan, in the human bosom, neither wise nor foolish, neither benevolent nor malevolent, only taking the qualities projected by the Imagination. In comparison with God, man, in Pope's view, is depraved indeed, destined always to seek God-like status but never to reach it, destined simultaneously to be drawn toward evil, toward Satan. Thus, a war was joined in which "forces of God" fought the numerically superior "forces of Satan." In Blake's view man is potentially, not good, but capable of a fulfilling existence which is creative, life-sustaining, and productive of a totally satisfying harmony. This apocalyptic harmony is denied men as long as they bind each other down to categories of good and evil, masculine and feminine, and all other such reductive generalities. In Pope's ideal vision, the civilized realm and its civilizing
city (Rome) can exist in harmony and order because all forces of good and evil are existing in a tension (concordia discors) where good controls evil. In Blake's ideal vision, Jerusalem, the heavenly city, and its gardens, exist both in time and in eternity, both in space and infinity, and all men are at liberty to come and go as they wish, to expand and contract at will, to put on or take off what states of being they please, to contend "in friendship" with their fellows, and to participate as, or with, Emanations in mutual gratification of (intellectual and sexual) desire. Pope's heroic, satiric, poetic task is to preserve the values of civilization against the vicious and careless onslaughts of barbarians, dunces, and dullards. Blake's heroic, prophetic, poetic task is to free man of the shackles of Moral Virtue and inspire them to build up Jerusalem. Pope tries to hold back darkness, Blake to bring light.

But finally Pope and Blake are merely men, merely poets. Their heroic acts are poetic acts, scribblings hardly noticed by the world.
CHAPTER FIVE
Conclusion

A poet's manner and matter are one. This is the simple proposition I want to make about Pope and Blake. It is also the proposition with which I begin the conclusion of this study. We can associate certain literary categories with each poet and his poem: Pope and the Dunciad, allusion, satire, mock-epic; Blake and Jerusalem, myth and symbol, romance, epic. I would add to these categories only one more, taken from the realm of mythic and psychological archetypes, the paternal mode in Pope's case, the fraternal in Blake's. All such categorizations are likely to draw storms of contention when applied to the "minute particulars" of particular poems by particular poets. I am assuming here that all that has gone before in this study provides a proper background against which I can safely offer some unqualified assertions about the relation of manner to matter in the Dunciad and in Jerusalem.

Pope's is, in Reuben A. Brower's phrase, a "poetry of allusion." Pope's allusions are to the Western poetic and intellectual traditions. Brower says,

From his early reading and imitations and translations, it is clear that Pope had direct and lively contact with Homer and the greater Roman and English poets and with many lesser English and French poets of his own generation and of the century before his. Feeling no nineteenth-century compulsion to be merely original, he took pleasure in imitating the poets he read and admired, one and all.84
Allusion demands of the reader some acquaintance with the poet's tradition. Allusion is used to enrich meaning; the new meaning and the old combine in a transcendent meaning. In Mock-epic satire, both verbal and narrative allusion take on affinity with simile; the new use implies a comparison with the old to suggest certain kinds of judgments. The narrative allusions to the games and descent to hades of the Aeneid suggest that the Dunces, by comparison, are not noble and virtuous but base and servile, etc. Verbal allusions to Milton or to the Bible suggest many things: the satanic or demonic character of the Dunces; the un-Christian behavior of particular Dunces; the wildly incongruous behavior of the Dunces. Allusion in satire also produces much of the laughter which is supposed to be the curative which restores social order.

The traditions to which Pope's allusions are bound assume a quality of authority, somewhat like a body of precepts spoken by a wise father or a god. Allusions to such precepts confer upon the poet some of the powers of authority which a wise father might have. Possession of the materials of a body of tradition suggests completion of an arduous apprenticeship and the acquisition of wisdom. One becomes an authority, or, in the modern terminology, an expert; one knows what other men do not, and lesser men cannot. One is qualified to exert fatherly prerogatives, to sit at the head of the table, to order the household, to give a daughter's hand in marriage, and so forth.

Pope's couplet, with its dancing caesura and its antitheses, parallels, and other effects, is the poetic embodiment of order and
discipline, that is, of qualities one would associate with the paternal mode. It is the exact opposite of the disorder and unruliness of the Dunciæ's poetic and intellectual manner. So it is intended to be.

Blake's is a poetry of myth and symbol. Where allusion has general affinity with simile, myth and symbol have affinity with metaphor. Where allusion produces comparison and contrast, myth and symbol produce identification. Allusion controls and orders meaning. Myth and symbol creates explosions of meaning.

Obviously neither Pope nor Blake, in their poetry, neatly confirm my categorization. Pope uses myth and symbol, and Blake allusion, for example. So I am talking about tendencies and emphases, not absolutes.

Blake's symbols—Los, Albion, Jerusalem, Erin, Vala, etc.—all serve multiple purposes and all participate in meaning in many ways. Los is epic hero, divine artificer and poet, the psyche of an artificer and poet, and William Blake. Albion is England, hence the ruler of England, hence all rulers of England past; he is also all Englishmen and all mankind. Blake also uses an extensive vocabulary of symbols drawn from common sources, particularly from the Bible (Heber, Shiloh) and from the archetypal pool (tree, root, rock, ice). He also generates symbols out of his own experience (Hand, Kyle, Coban) and deliberately to fill particular needs (Golgonooza, Bowlahoola, Allamanda). And with these symbols he generates myth; Albion frozen upon a rock; Los building Golgonooza; Hand rooting around Shiloh.
I have tried to show that Blake re-writes the myth of the Garden of Eden. In one sense he is using allusion as his technique when he does so. However, it is just the conventional myth which he is trying to correct, and he cannot do so without identifying the original myth. Too, he generates new meaning out of the original symbols of the conventional myth. It is the nature of this task which causes me to say that Blake uses the fraternal mode; he is attempting to break the grip of the old myth (another man's system) and generate a newer, truer myth in its place (create his own system).

Blake, as nearly every scholar who has ever studied him has copiously noted, was preoccupied with the "generation gap" between father and son, Urizen and Orc, God and Jesus. Like the categories of good and evil and masculine and feminine, the categories of father and son produce, in Blake's view, division and strife. Whereas Pope would end just this division and strife by having men serve God, obey a king if he was also serving God, and heed his (Pope's) teachings, Blake would end this division and strife by ending all processes of division into good and evil which can generate inequalities in power or ownership (king and subject, man and woman, parent and child, rich and poor). In archetypal, psychological terms he calls for an equal division of the father's property among the sons.

Where Pope seeks an order of perfection in which everything rises up to match a vision of a traditional notion of good (civilization, Rome), Blake seeks an order of inclusion, where there is room for innocence and experience, the tiger and the lamb, all, to exercise Imagination, to gratify energy and desire.
One of the aspects of the epic hero not yet noted but important, is his importance as a representative of the group; he performs his epic task on behalf of Western Civilization, and of England as a part of that greater whole. Blake's "group" is all mankind. Where Pope seems concerned to end faction at home, he accepts as given certain factions among mankind generally, between civilized and barbaric, in broadest terms. For him there are supporters of civil- ization, and enemies—descriptive fact. Blake does not accept any such division as inevitable, fixed in the nature of man. Like anyone with eyes, he sees the cussed contentiousness and brutality of men. But, on behalf of his group, all mankind, he undertakes to generate a new history, a new myth of Adam and Eve, a new relationship with God and Satan, a new myth of Jesus. In doing this, Blake seeks to redeem man from civic, social, cultural, national and geographical patriotism. He is one of the first modern heroes of the planet earth, calling upon us to love local differences in severe contentions of friendship and to seek universal brotherhood. I mean this in the sense outlined by Joseph Campbell:

Man is that alien presence with whom the forces of egoism must come to terms...for the ideals and temporal institutions of no tribe, race, continent, social class, or century, can be the measure of the inexhaustible and multi-fariously wonderful divine existence that lives in all of us.

The modern hero...cannot, indeed must not, wait for his community to cast off its slough of pride, fear, rationalized avarice, and sanctified misunderstanding...It is not society that is to guide and save the creative hero, but precisely the reverse. And so everyone of us shares the supreme ordeal—carries the cross of the
redeemer—not in the bright moments of this tribe's great victories, but in the silences of his personal despair.85

Blake has sought precisely to cast off "pride, fear, rationalized avarice, and sanctified misunderstandings."

Had not Jesus also preached universal brotherhood and love? Yes. And had not men made of this universal brotherhood and love a new Moral Virtue with which to oppress infidels and subjugate savages? Yes.

The dialogue between Pope and Blake has no end. The paternal and the fraternal configurations of consciousness persist, not in spiritual, but in mortal conflict. If Blake is the prophet of the future, Pope is the realist of today. The threads of antagonism and complementarity woven through the Dunciad and Jerusalem are woven through the modern world as well. And for all the individual brilliance of the two poems, it is perhaps in the dialogue between them that the greatest light is to be found.
FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER FOUR:

1. The phrase is Aubrey L. Williams*, p. 60
2. Ibid., p. 64
3. Ibid., p. 75
7. Ibid., p. 20.
8. For discussions of the *Essays on Man* and *Criticism* as background to the *Dunciad* see Quennell, Williams, and Edwards.
9. Williams, p. 27.
10. See Ricardus Aristarchus, "Of the Hero of the Poem" in TE, and Mack, "The Muse of Satire" regarding the *honnête homme* and the *vir bonus*.
11. See Gardner.
12. The phrase and the consolidation of the idea—"literary personality"—I owe to Joan Webber.
13. Kerman, p. 800.
15. Ibid., p. 796.
16. Ibid., p. 791.
17. Ibid., p. 790.
18. Ibid., p. 799.
19. See Williams and Edwards.
23. Damon, see "Albion" entry.
27. See Hooker and Empson in Mack, *Essential*.
29. Ibid., p. 225.
30. Ibid., p. 226.
32. See Edwards, re. "Dulness."
33. Campbell, p. 373.
34. Ibid., p. 383.
35. Ibid., p. 385.
36. Ibid., p. 391.
38. Ibid., p. 206.
40. TE. pp. 340-41n.
41. Campbell, p. 388.
42. Maslow, pp. 97-8.
43. Campbell, p. 386.
44. Letter to Pope, 26 Nov. 1725, Correspondences, Vol. II. p. 343
45. See Williams, p. 308ff.
46. Ibid., p. 31.
47. See Ibid., p. 31.
48. Ibid., p. 32.
49. Ibid., p. 33
50. Ibid., p. 31.

51. See Williams for a guide to the geographical progress of the Dunces through London in Bk. II of the *Dunciad*.

52. Ibid., pp. 33 and 36.

53. Ibid., p. 37.


55. Ibid., p. 462.

56. Ibid., p. 468.

57. Dixon, p. 86.

58. Ibid., pp. 87-8.

59. Ibid., p. 58.

60. See Haller, p. 3ff.


62. Ibid., p. 215.

63. Ibid., p. 216.

64. Ibid., p. 216.

65. Altick, pp. 31-32.

66. See Williams, p. 10.

67. Ibid., p. 150.

68. Ibid., p. 154.

69. Maresca, see Chap. V.

70. See Williams, p. 150.

71. Ibid., p. 156.

72. Ibid., p. 141.


74. Ibid., p. 169.
75. Ibid., p. 169.
76. Ibid., pp. 183, 184, and 187.
77. Ibid., p. 187.
78. Ibid., p. 188.
79. Williams, p. 143.
80. Blake uses the "serpent" symbol in a variety of ways, only one of which I am emphasizing here.
82. Ibid., p. 207.
83. Ibid., p. 206.
85. Campbell, p. 391.
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