The Sublime and the Millennialist in John Martin's Mezzotints for *Paradise Lost*

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John Martin's mezzotints illustrating John Milton's epic poem *Paradise Lost* were published beginning in 1825.[1] The progression of this commission is well documented. The publisher Septimus Prowett paid John Martin 3500 guineas for engraving two sets of plates, the first with images around 8 x 11 inches, and a smaller set measuring about 6 x 8 inches.[2] The images in the smaller set are inferior, but correspond in design to the larger.[3] To gain the widest audience, Prowett offered the work as four 12-month serial editions, along with loose proofs and prints.[4] The illustrations were printed on Whatman paper by two firms that specialized in steel-plate printing.[5] The last of the serial issues, including the title-pages to the whole, appeared in 1827; and the work was dedicated by the publisher to King George IV.[6]

This paper is dedicated to Dr. Patricia Rose, who helped me through troubled times and to Dr. François Bucher, whose vision I share.

1 Mezzotint, otherwise known as *la manière noire* or *la manière anglaise* was initially developed in the mid-17th century. It flourished in England especially in portraiture. See Anthony Dyson, *Pictures to Print, The 19th Century Engraving Trade* (London, 1984) 221. J.M.W. Turner was first to use mezzotint with landscape. In his *Liber Studiorum* (issued between 1807 to 1819), Turner etched outlines that were later worked into mezzotint by professional engravers. See William Feaver, *The Art of John Martin* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975) 73. Charles Turner worked on the first twenty mezzotints in this commission.

John Martin's print sources were many and varied. He must have seen the prints by Salvator Rosa, Claude, and Stefano della Bella in the collection of his teacher and mentor Boniface Musso. Martin also knew the engravers Luigi Schiavonetti and Francesco Bartolozzi. See Meg Dunwoody Hausberg, "John Martin: Painter-Engraver," *Print Review* 12 (1980/1981): 16.

Martin's earliest prints were etchings. In 1817, he made seven etchings for a volume entitled *The Character of Trees* published by Rudolf Ackermann; and in 1818, he made seven aquatints of the Sezincote House which were bound in a presentation volume. See Marcia R. Pointon, *Milton and English Art* (University of Toronto Press, 1970) 175. To explain his complicated pictures, Martin habitually issued outline etchings with numbered keys (Hausberg 16).

Martin became interested in mezzotint when he wished to popularize his exhibited paintings. Martin paid Charles Turner £500 for a copper plate 22 x 30" after his 1816 *Joshua Commanding the Sun to Stand Still*; but in 1822, it was still incomplete. See Thomas Balston, *John Martin: His Life and Works* (London: Gerald Duckworth and Co., 1947) 46, Hazel Tomey, "John Martin's Mezzotints," *The Antique Collector* (December 1986): 82, and Hausberg 16. So in 1822, Martin took up a copper plate for his *Belshazzar's Feast*, but then turned to soft steel, because it could render up to 1500 good impressions (Hausberg 16, Balston 94). Martin's *Belshazzar's Feast* became so popular, that a second plate was engraved (Hausberg 23).

2 Septimus Prowett initiated the publication in 1823. His career as a publisher is checkered; he often moved about and changed names (Balston 96).

3 Martin was paid 2000 guineas for the set measuring 10 x 14" with images about 8 x 11." He was paid 1500 guineas for the set measuring 7 1/2 x 10 1/2" with images about 6 x 8." The costs of the larger and smaller prints respectively were 10s. 6d., and 6s. (Feaver 83). The twenty-four prints are unevenly distributed over *Paradise Lost's* twelve books; books VI and VII have none.

Martin's prints demonstrate his knowledge of Miltonian illustrations back to J.B. de Medina in 1688. In 1951, twenty-four sketches after Martin's mezzotints surfaced that Feaver, Balston and Johnstone accept as the series' preliminary oil sketches. Wees, however, contends on the basis of statements made by Martin and other contemporaries that he designed and produced his images at the plate. See Dustin Wees, *Darkness Visible: The Prints of John Martin* (Williamstown, Mass., 1986) 19.

4 The Prospectus advertised (Balston 99):

> It is a circumstance which cannot fail to be highly appreciated by the Connoisseur that Mr. Martin, by a rare effort of art has wholly composed and designed the subjects on the Plates themselves: the Engravings therefore possess as originals the charm of being the first conceptions of the artist and have all the spirit and finish of the Painter's touch.

5 Made with wire mesh rather than the parallel wires of the laid mold, Whatman paper was smooth, evenly surfaced, and without visible watermarked lines. No one knows who introduced this mold. See D.C. Coleman, *The British Paper Industry 1495-1860* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958) 120, 152.

6 Complete sets of the part of all editions are very rare. Only three copies of the Imperial Folio are known, one of which belonged to King George IV, who subscribed to all four editions. A complete set of the parts to the Imperial Quarto (unlimited) edition, all in their original wrappers is possessed by Christopher Drake. Each part is bound in a light gray-blue paper wrapper. See Christopher Johnstone, *John Martin* (London: Academy Edition, 1974) 112.

In addition to the twenty-four prints that could be purchased separately, Prowett offered four editions for sale, and advertised as follows (Balston 97):

> 1. An Imperial Folio edition 15 1/4 x 21 3/4", with proofs of the larger set of engravings: limited to fifty copies, at 42 guineas.
> 2. An Imperial Quarto edition,10 7/8 x 15 1/4", with prints from the larger plates at £10 16s.

First published in 1667, John Milton's *Paradise Lost* takes as its subject the Biblical account of the creation, the fall of man, and his ultimate redemption through Christ's sacrifice.[7] Throughout Milton's epic, God's benevolence toward man is countered by the machinations of that splendid anti-hero and arch-fiend, Satan. The struggle between good and evil is waged throughout God's universe, from the celestial realm of Empyrea, to Chaos and Hell; Earth hangs as a drop from the Empyrium into Chaos. In her text *Milton and English Art*, Marcia Pointon states that between 1740 and 1820, Milton's epic increased in popularity; it went through 102 editions and its appeal to the buying public exceeded that of Shakespeare and Spenser.[8] Furthermore, an increasing number of artists during this period chose to depict scenes from Milton's life and texts.[9] Well over 100 works were exhibited based on *Paradise Lost* alone, and the epic was illustrated by notable artists such as Henry Fuseli and William Blake.[10]

Martin's illustrations to *Paradise Lost* are distinguished from its predecessors in two ways. First of all, Martin's mezzotints were the first in this medium to illustrate Milton's verse (Figure 1). Martin exploited the black of the mezzotint plate to intensify the dramatic effects and he developed different inking methods to increase the range of tonal values.[11] Secondly, the expressive power of landscape and Lilliputian staffage in Martin's imagery reciprocates the vastness of God's creation described in *Paradise Lost*. For example, in Fuseli's engraving *Satan Risen from the Flood* (Figure 2) a large-scale Michelangelesque figure dominates the scene through gesture and facial expression. While Martin's Satan (Figure 1) is clearly derived from Fuseli, here the drama is conveyed through the figure's precarious position on a ledge in dark, cavern-like surroundings.[12]

Martin evokes the atmosphere of Satan's infernal regions with darkened tones, rocky landscapes, and complexes of vast size. Scholars have noted the resemblance of this imagery to contemporary engineering and popular entertainment spots.[13] For example, Martin's *Bridge over Chaos* (Figure 3) depicts Satan's progeny Sin and Death, building a bridge to man's world after his fall. Milton's verse describes the infernal beings at their task high above a raging sea, fighting polar winds through mountains of ice.[14] Here, Martin's illustration seems to have been inspired by contemporary engineering. For example, the arches seem hewn from solid rock and resemble new railway viaducts; and the bridge's tunnel-effect suggests the Thames tunnel, that by 1825 was 300 feet deep.[15]

The overwhelming darkness and claustrophobic heaviness of Satan's realm starkly contrasts with Martin's depiction of Heaven. For example, in *Heaven: The Rivers of Bliss* (Figure 4) Martin used the mezzotint medium to create an ethereal Claudian landscape, with glistening spheres encompassing distant Heavenly Jerusalem.[16] Because it is suspended in the midst of Chaos between Heaven and Hell, Earth takes on characteristics both hospitable and inhospitable. In *Paradise: With the Approach of the Archangel Raphael* (Figure 5) Martin demonstrates his adeptness at conveying different types of light, as with the angel's celestial aura that permeates the dense forest,

3. Another Imperial Quarto edition, with proofs of the smaller set of engravings: limited to fifty copies, at 12 guineas.
4. An Imperial Octavo edition, 7 5/8 x 10 7/8", with prints from the smaller plates, at 6 guineas.

7 John Milton, *Paradise Lost* in *John Milton: Complete Poems and Major Works*, ed. Merritt Y. Hughes (Indianapolis: The Odyssey Press, 1980) 210. *Paradise Lost* is written in English Heroic Verse without rhyme.

8 Pointon xxxii.

9 Pointon xxxiii.

10 For example, Fuseli's Milton Gallery (1799-1800) failed miserably despite the Royal Academy's support. See K. Svendsen, "John Martin and the Expulsion Scene in *Paradise Lost*," *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900* I (1961): 69. Engravings from Fuseli's Milton Gallery were published in Du Rouveray's 1802 edition of *Paradise Lost* (Feaver 73).

Blake's *Milton* was his longest and most ambitious illustrated book. See as well Blake's designs for six of Milton's major works bought by patrons Rev. Joseph Thomas, Thomas Butts and John Linnell: *Comus* 1801, 1810-1815; *Paradise Lost* 1807, 1808; *Hymn on the Morning of Christ's Nativity* 1815-1816; *Paradise Regained* 1815-1818; *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* 1816. See Morton Paley, *William Blake* (Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1978) 60-61.

11 Feaver 75. Martin experimented with his medium by trying new acid recipes (Dyson 119). See Leopold Martin's account (March 9, 1889) of how his father worked in Morton D. Paley, *The Apocalyptic Sublime* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986) 138:

At the outset he would pull a plain proof of the plate, using ordinary ink; then work or mix the various inks. First, he made a stiff mixture in ink and oil; secondly one with oil and less ink; and thirdly a thin mixture of both ink and oil. Lastly he worked up various degrees of whiting and oil with just the slightest dash of burnt umber to give a warm tint to the cold white. In working or inking the plate, the thick ink #1 went to the darkest tints, #2 to the medium ones; #3 to the lightest shades; the inks consisting chiefly of whiting, the most difficult to work and the most artistic. Separate dabbers were required for each description of ink. The greatest attention was needed in the use of the canvas when wiping off, so as to blend or harmonize the various inks, especially those of whiting.

Martin's print shop was in operation from 1826 until 1848. He hired a staff of professional printers, and he acted as engraver, publisher and sometimes printer of his works. Later with failing eyesight, Martin closed his print studio, moved to a smaller house and thus made his withdrawal from printmaking final. However, other publishers issued prints from his plates (Wax 130).

12 Feaver 74-75.

13 Pointon 185.

14 Feaver 79.

15 Feaver 79.

16 Wees 27.

and the textural differences in the wispy clouds, the bark on the trees and the grassy clearing in the foreground.[17]

The benevolent, life-giving aspect of Paradise, as expressed in its landscape setting, changes when Satan enters. In *Satan Tempting Eve* (Figure 6) nature in Milton's terms "gives signs of woe." Eve is about to be engulfed by the gnarly, reptilian Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, on which the serpent is entwined; the pool behind her is ink-black, and in the distance, darkness quenches the light. At their expulsion from Paradise (Figure 7), Adam and Eve pass through sheer flanks of stone into the "murky everyday world of prehistory where monsters roam" under a vortex of storming clouds.[18]

Martin's mezzotints illustrating Milton's *Paradise Lost* were a critical success. The publication was reissued nine times by four different publishers over the next four decades, including an 1876 edition with small photographic prints of Martin's larger series.[19] Martin was called by the poet Robert Montgomery "that Second Milton," and another contemporary wrote that Martin's works were "stamped at first sight with the unearthly sublimity of Milton's poetry."[20]

Martin exhibited Miltonian imagery both before and after his *Paradise Lost* illustrations.[21] Furthermore, Martin's friends and family indicate that Milton's epic was for him more than mere subject matter. Leopold Martin stated that his father always had a copy of *Paradise Lost* on his easel along with Holy Scripture; he was never at a loss for a quotation from either text.[22] Apparently for Martin, the validity of Milton's *Paradise Lost* equalled that of scripture. Marcia Pointon goes so far as to say that Milton's poetry brought cohesion to Martin's *oeuvre*; even Martin's non-Biblical pictures like the 1812 *Sadak in Search of the Waters of Oblivion* have a "prophetic, elemental aura" about them which is found in Milton's epic.[23] On the basis of its popularity as subject matter, Martin's personal devotion to it, and its success as a marketing venture, it is evident that Milton's *Paradise Lost* occupied an important place in the collective consciousness of Martin's milieu. This positioning of Milton's *Paradise Lost* may be recontextualized in light of the wide-spread Millennialist phenomenon that flourished in late 18th- and 19th-century England.

Millennialism is based on the Biblical account of the imminent Second Coming of Christ, who would establish his Kingdom on Earth—the New Jerusalem—for 1000 years.[24] This would be followed by the Last Judgment. Implicit in Millennialist belief is the complete overturning of the world as it is presently constituted.[25] Millennialism was widely espoused at all levels of British society, including among its followers both leading scholars and clergy.[26] This faith provided a vision and philosophy of radical social change, and was promoted by means of pamphlets and prints.[27] Inspired by Millennialist tenets, notable artists depicted Apocalyptic subject matter; Deluge-imagery was especially popular, as with Thomas Milton's reproductive engraving after Philippe Jacques de Loutherbourg's 1790 *Deluge* (Figure 8). There were, of course, different views within this broadly-based Millennialist culture. For example, "Millenarians" believed that the Millennium would be preceded by a Deluge-like catastrophy.[28] Others known as post-Millennialists believed that the Kingdom of God would come gradually as a result of implementing enlightened doctrines of progress, political reform and scientific advancement; their New Jerusalem resembled a secularized utopia.[29]

17 Wees 24.

18 Feaver 83.

19 Subsequent editions are as follows: Charles Tilt (1832); the larger images by Charles Whittingham (1846) and Sampson Low (1866); Charles Tilt (1837 and 1838) and Henry Washbourne with the smaller and quite worn images (1849, 1850, 1853 and 1858). See Balston 96-98 and Carol Wax, *The Mezzotint: History and Technique* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 1990) 127, 128.

20 In 1830 (Balston 154).

21 Pointon 178. In 1813, Martin sent to the Royal Academy *Adam's First Sight of Eve* with Milton's quote: "Nature herself, though pure of sinful thought, Wroght on her so that, seeing me, she turned." That same year, he sent to the British Institute *The Expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise* with four lines from Milton. In 1825, Martin exhibited twenty prints at the British Artists, and six more in 1826. At the Academy in 1841, he exhibited paintings after his mezzotints: *Pandemonium, Celestial City,* and *Rivers of Bliss* (Balston 206).

22 Balston 175, 172.

23 Pointon 178.

24 My discussion of Millennialism is taken from J.F.C. Harrison *The Second Coming: Popular Millenarianism 1780-1850* (London and Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979).

25 Harrison xv.

26 Harrison 7.

27 Harrison xvi.

28 Feaver writes that when Martin painted the fall of a previous civilization, he was commenting upon contemporary England. A Deluge may well have seemed imminent in an England in which the government over-reacted to all conceivable threats, from riots to food shortages (70). Fuseli painted his *Deluge* inspired by Milton's *Paradise Lost* (XI: 742) rather than the *Genesis* version; the work was shown at the Milton Gallery. Lynn R. Matteson, "John Martin's *The Deluge*: A Study in Romantic Catastrophe," *Pantheon* XXXIX (1981): 224.

29 Harrison 4, 7. Numerous artists were interested in the phenomenon. For example, William Blake knew the Druidical mythologist named William Owen Pughe who was an elder in the circle of the prophetess Joanna Southcott. Perhaps Blake was introduced to Pughe by the line-engraver William Sharpe, who was as well a fellow elder in Joanna Southcott's "flock," and a former disciple of Richard Brothers (Harrison 84). In 1783, the first Theosophical Society featuring Swedenborg was founded by the Reverend Jacob Duché, and the meetings were attended by William Sharpe, Benjamin West, John Flaxman and P.J. de Loutherbourg (Paley 47). To connect Martin within this circle of influences, I found that he was initially close to West, and that William Sharpe called Martin's *Belshazzar's Feast* a "divine work emanating from the Almighty" (Harrison 132).

Four bodies of evidence reveal John Martin's Millennialism. First of all, Martin's family members were Millennialists.[30] His mother claimed descendency from Nicholas Ridley, a martyred Protestant bishop; she was said to have seen visions and heard heavenly music on her death-bed. John Martin's older brothers followed in this family tradition: Jonathan was a religious maniac who set fire to York Minster; and Richard wrote poetry on Apocalyptic subjects. William, the eldest, printed over 200 pamphlets on his industrial inventions, his life and philosophy and was deemed an eccentric prophet.

The second source connecting Martin to Millennialism is an advertisement for a lost pamphlet, that reads: "Shortly will be published: *The Gathering Standard of the World, seen in the British Flag*....With designs by J. Martin." This lost pamphlet places Martin within the sphere of an early 19th-century Millennialist movement known as the British Israelites, founded by Richard Brothers—a naval lieutenant-turned-prophet.[31] Brothers was a rabid pamphleteer who taught that the Druids were the ten lost tribes of Israel, and their monuments at Stonehenge and Avebury were equivalent to classical or holy sites. Brothers and his British Israelites planned to return to Jerusalem to wait the coming of the New Age.[32] Other Millennialists like Philippe Jacques de Loutherbourg (Figure 8) followed the Reverend Jacob Duché's teaching that the New Jerusalem already existed internally as a collective spiritual body.[33] Still others believed that England was the locus of the Garden of Eden. Captain Francis Wilford's *On the Chronology of the Hindus* located the Garden of Eden in England, as did William Blake.[34]

Thirdly, Martin found the most progressive views of the day, like Evolution, compatible with his devotion to Biblical tenets.[35] The work of Martin's friends and associates, like the paleontologist Baron George Cuvier and the geologist William Buckland, also sought to reconcile empirical scientific data with scripture.[36] In 1840, Martin executed the mezzotint *The Sea-Dragons as They Lived* for Thomas Hawkins' text *The Book of the Great Sea-Dragons*; this book's "curious mixture of scientific thought and religious fervour" must have appealed to Martin.[37]

30 Paley's *Apocalyptic Sublime* 151 no. 105 cites Ridley's martyrdom in John Foxe's *The Third Volume of the Ecclesiastical History: Containing the Acts & Monuments of Martyrs* (London: 1641) 503-504.

John Martin was the youngest of thirteen children, of which only five survived. Under "divine guidance" in 1829, Jonathan burned York Minster's choir, 14th-century roof, 66 carved stalls, the Archbishop's throne and organ. Jonathan escaped from Gateshead Asylum in 1821 and died in London at Bedlam. See Balston 16, Paley 123, Hausberg 15, and Ruthven Todd, "The Imagination of John Martin," in *Tracks in the Snow: Studies in English Science and Art* (London: 1946) 97, 105.

31 Todd 105. See Paley's *Apocalyptic Sublime* 123, entry no. 14, that Todd found the advertisement in another Millenarian publication: *A Divine and Prophetic Warning to the British Nation (First Published July, 1832) to which is added a Prophetic Vision of the Heavenly Jerusalem and the Downfall of Babylon* (London: Christian Magia, *c.* 1845).

32 In 1794, Richard Brothers published two books of prophecies denouncing war and empire. In 1795, Brothers was arrested on breaking a Tudor law for causing dissention and disturbing the realm with prophecies. He was examined by Privy Council and placed eleven years in an insane asylum. Perhaps it is no coincidence that in 1795 Blake abandoned his illuminated books (Paley, *Blake* 35).

33 Harrison 61, Feaver 29, Paley *Apocalyptic Sublime*, 47.

34 Blake imagined England as a place where man was created and first walked with God in Paradise (Harrison 81). David Bindman's *William Blake: His Art and Times* (The Art Gallery of Ontario, 1982) 31, states that Blake thought of Jerusalem as the redeemed city of London.

35 Around 1832, Martin befriended the lawyer Ralph Thomas whose diary is quoted in Mary Pendered's biography of Martin. The first extract is dated 1832 and the last 1844. The diary is now either lost or destroyed. Thomas is not mentioned by any of Martin's family or intimates (Balston 145). Of Martin's views on evolution, Ralph Thomas' diary reads (Todd 104):

> Geology taught us that we could not calculate, but it was clear that the world was millions of years old and would continue growing older for millions of years to come, and that the world was originally peopled with inferior animals, then a degree superior and finally with man. This I thought ridiculous enough, but he said he got it all from geology; for there were no bones to be found of man, though there were the bones of all sorts of other animals.

36 In the 19th-century, two views prevailed on the geological history of the world, both of which rejected Bishop Ussher's 17th-century assertion that the earth was formed in 6000 years. The first view was posited by James Hutton, who thought the present world was being worn away, to be replaced by another already forming on the sea's bottom (Matteson 221). The second view was Georges Cuvier's "Catastrophism" or "Diluvianism." Cuvier agreed with expanded time for earth. For Cuvier, the history of the globe was constantly punctuated by cataclysmic inundations. The presence of dinosaur remains and the absence of fossilized human remains indicated man's recent appearance in earth's history. Those partial to a scriptural point of view found Cuvier acceptable, as his views seemed to endorse the Biblical tradition of man's origins as well as the most "advanced" scientific thought (Matteson 221-222).

Martin's connections with the scientific community were well-placed. Beginning in the 1820s, Martin held socials at his home that laid the foundations of permanent relations with writers and scientists (Balston 85). Martin may have known Cuvier through the Literary Union, in which Martin was a founding member. Cuvier also visited Martin's studio and saw his *Deluge*. Furthermore, Martin was friends with William Buckland, Reader in Geology at Oxford, and the most outspoken proponent of Cuvier's views in England. Martin owned an engraved portrait of Buckland, and Adam Sedgwick—another religious catastrophist (Matteson 223 and Balston 256). In 1834, Martin also visited the geologist Dr. Gideon Mantell to see iguanadon remains. Martin painted at Dr. Mantell's request *The Country of the Iguanadon*. This painting was praised by Adam Sedgewick and an anonymous reproductive mezzotint appeared of the painting as the frontispiece in Mantell's *Wonders of Geology* of 1838 (Balston 190).

37 Thomas Hawkins also authored *Wars of Jehovah* (1844). Martin made the frontispiece and ten mezzotints to *Book of the Great Sea-Dragons* of 1840 (Balston 191).

The final body of evidence for Martin's Millennialism is his many enlightened plans for restructuring London, that were published as pamphlets with print illustrations.[38] Martin stated that from 1827, his plans occupied over two-thirds of his time.[39] He made plans for improving London's air and water, for constructing sewers along the Thames, recycling sewage, underground railways and ventilation of mines.[40] Martin's schemes were unsuccessfully presented before Parliamentary committees, but his agitation did result in better water qualities and the establishment of a Board of Health.[41] If consistently implemented, Martin's plans would have contributed towards the development of the secularized utopia—the New Jerusalem—looked for by Millennialists.

Martin and other Millennialists found much in Milton compatible with their thoughts and beliefs. Because of his outspoken advocacy of personal and political freedom, Milton seemed to Martin's milieu the "great prototype of the English radical and nonconformist."[42] Furthermore, the epic *Paradise Lost* is circumscribed and interwoven with the ultimate Millennialist promise of the coming New Jerusalem.[43] John Milton's *Paradise Lost* also makes extensive use of Deluge-imagery. Throughout the epic, waves of fire or water signify a state of confusion, helplessness or ultimate termination for all beings who strive against the order in God's limitless creation.[44] Enthusiasm for Milton's sublime poem spawned a genre of literature with catastrophic subject matter.[45] The poet Daniel Webb wrote:[46]

> Milton is like a flood, whose Tide
> Swell'd with tempestuous Deluge, roars
> Which from some lofty Mountain's side
> Resistless foams and knows no shore.

In 1830, John Martin's brother Richard contributed to this genre with his *Last Days of the Antediluvian World*; the frontispiece was designed and engraved by John.[47] Both Milton's *Paradise Lost* and its countless derivatives signify the Millennialist hope of the extinguishing of the old order, and the advent of the new. Furthermore, Milton's *Areopagita* of 1644 buttressed the Millennialist view that England was the locus of primordial

38 Martin regretted not becoming an engineer, and told Leopold: "Instead of benefiting myself and few only, I should have added to the comfort, prosperity and health of mankind in general" (Balston 129). Martin's preoccupations with his plans cost him £10,000 according to a friend's estimate (157).

39 The most detailed survey of the plans and inventions are in Balston. Martin said this in the *Illustrated London News*, and his preoccupation with engineering resulted in a drastic reduction of exhibited paintings: one oil and two watercolors between 1827 and 1832 Balston 106).

The most extensive of his plans was that published in 1827 with four etchings. Known as "Mr. Martin's Plan," it concerned the improvement of London's water supply by bringing in pure water from the River Colne (Balston 120). The plan was reworked several times with changes to the sewage system, erecting a dam and making promenades. In 1836, the plan was approved at a meeting of the Institute of British Architects and described Martin's "Magnificent Promenade...where the Public would be admitted...The brilliant illumination by gas of the great walks and if necessary of the wharfs, is calculated to secure the protection of property on the river by night" (Balston 125).

40 Influenced by his brother William, John Martin's *Outlines of Several Inventions for Maritime and Inland Purposes* of 1828-1829 contained five plans: Elastic Iron Ship; New Principle of Steam Navigation; Elastic Chain Cable; Coast Lights on a New Principle; Plan for purifying the Air and preventing Explosions in Coal Mines (Balston 130-131).

41 Balston 129 and Todd 103. Martin's Metropolitan Sewage Manure Company obtained its Act of Parliament in 1846, but was quickly divided through serious internal quarrels and external opposition. "By 1848, Martin ceased to be a director and received no reward for all his labour and expense" (Balston 220). Balston writes that if Martin's schemes could have been effected, later generations would have been saved infinite worry and expense (130).

42 Pointon 95. John Milton (1608-1673) was a political radical. He published pamphlets in favor of Cromwell's regime and defended the execution of Charles I. Milton endorsed divorce on the grounds of incompatibility, and his *Areopagita* promoted free press.

Martin was also a political radical and often expressed anti-Tory sentiments. He once hissed at the national anthem, and supported the Great Reform Bill of 1832 that would place more power into the hands of the people (Balston 162). Martin's dedication of *Paradise Lost* and the *Belshazzar* mezzotint to King George IV was most likely motivated by irony.

John Martin was never accepted as a Royal Academician. At the same time, Martin was honored by royals from the continent. He was once a roommate of the future King Leopold of Belgium, after whom Martin named his son. In 1816, Prince Leopold appointed Martin as Royal Historical Landscape Painter. Leopold's wife Charlotte was Martin's pupil. Joseph and Louis Napoleon also visited him (Johnstone 14, Balston 111-112).

43 See Book I on the Last Judgment, the destruction of the old world order and the coming of the new in Book XII: 545-549.

44 *Deluge:* I: 68, 354 and XI: 843. *Flood:* I: 195, 239, 312, 324, 419; II: 577, 587, 640; III: 535, 715; IV: 231; VII: 57; XI: 472, 748, 756, 831, 840, 893; XII: 117. *Waves:* I: 193, II: 1042; III: 539; V: 193, 194, 687; VII: 298, 402; IX: 496; XI: 845.

45 Matteson writes (220) that the genre was established by the Swiss writer Solomon Gessner (1739-1788), who also spear-headed the Miltonian Revival in Germany and Switzerland. Gessner wrote *Death of Abel* (1758) and *The Deluge* (1802). The former was translated into English in 1761 and by 1799 had twenty editions. Gessner's godson was Fuseli. Among the many English followers are Byron's *Heaven and Earth* and *Cain*; John Galt's *The Ouranoulogos*; and Robert Montgomery's *Satan* (1830) and *The Messiah* (1832) with reproductive print illustrations after Martin (Balston 154).

46 Daniel Webb's *Remarks on the Beauties of Poetry* (1762) in Pointon 90.

47 Richard's 1830 *Last Days of the Antediluvian World* was printed by John's sometime printers: Plummer and Brewis. It contained a frontispiece designed and engraved by John. Balston states that the text reflects John's ideas about the Deluge (134).

Biblical wisdom. In one place, Milton declared that:[48]

> Writers of good antiquity, and ablest judgement have bin persuaded that ev'n the school of Pythagoras and the Persian wisdom took beginning from the old Philosophy of this Iland.

Hence, John Milton's *Paradise Lost* was of poignant concern to Millennialists. Certainly many in Martin's milieu understood Milton's Satan to symbolize the industrial forces wreaking havoc in "Paradise Lost," their England.[49] It is no wonder that Martin used contemporary industry in his depictions of Satan's infernal domain. Critics of industrialism held that if directed by greedy self-interest, industry was satanic, corrupting both itself and its environs. On the other hand, industry could be beneficial to humanity—if aligned with nature and guided by enlightened individuals. Martin's plans and inventions should be understood in this light.

Apparently Martin knew his audience. He regarded his paintings as public property, and embarked on printmaking to make his works more accessible to them.[50] In fact, after the success of his *Paradise Lost* illustrations, Martin set up his own printmaking shop, where he illustrated the Bible, made reproductive prints after his own paintings, and pamphlets promoting his inventions and engineering plans.[51] The high cost of Martin's paintings often prevented their sale, but his prints were less expensive and widely marketed.[52] John Martin's *Deluge* is a case in point.[53] In 1826, he painted a *Deluge* that did not sell, and is now lost; but its reproductive mezzotint (Figure 9) sold over 482 impressions and earned Martin over £1500. The success of this mezzotint encouraged Martin in 1834 to paint another *Deluge* that eventually sold in 1844. Indeed, between 1823 and 1840 Martin earned over £20,000 from the sale of his prints: a veritable small fortune.[54] In the last years of his life, Martin executed three large Apocalyptic paintings: *The Great Day of His Wrath*; *The Last Judgment* (in which appears his martyred protestant ancestor); and *The Plains of Heaven*.[55] After Martin's death in 1854, these paintings toured for twenty years;[56] and the 1861 best-seller *East Lynne* describes a pilgrimage of sorts to see them.[57] In the 1870s, mezzotint reproductions of these last Apocalyptic paintings were still given 'star-billing' (Figure 10).[58]

48 Milton, *Areopagita* 742.

49 Late 18th-century industrialization promised widespread social and economic improvement, as its laws of science and technology were thought to be rooted in nature. But in the 19th-century, railways and industry were predominantly viewed as destructive forces. Martin continued the conventional association of Satan and science, but with a difference derived from Milton: Satan and industrial technology are powers perverted from virtue into vice (Svendsen 71-72). His plans and inventions reveal his belief that industry and engineering could be used for the benefit of mankind.

50 Martin sent pictures to the Royal Academy throughout his life; he considered his paintings public property and exhibition his right. See Mary L. Pendered, *John Martin, Painter: His Life and Times* (London: 1923) 95. Martin testified before the 1836 Select Committee on the Arts that he began engraving because his labor priced his paintings from £1000-2000 and very few could afford such sums (Balston 176). Paradoxically, Martin had both financial and altruistic reasons for embarking in making prints.

51 Hausberg states that Martin planned his *History of the Bible* because of the *Paradise Lost* success (21). He began the series in 1831 and ended it in 1835 with only ten parts of the Old Testament completed. It was sold to Charles Tilt, who issued illustrations in an 1838 volume and a second edition in 1839. The failure may be explained by the following: (a) amateurish presentation; (b) less original compositions; (c) more etched outlines with the mezzotints; (d) the images in the first Tilt edition were already worn and poorly inked (Hausberg 21-22).

Balston discusses four small poorly designed and executed mezzotints from 1835. They were lettered "Designed on the plate and Engraved by John Martin, I.L.B. 1835" and titled *Flight into Egypt*; *Christ Feeds the 5000*; *Christ's Entry into Jerusalem*; and *The Crucifixion*. Balston supposes they are the set executed for the Society for the Diffusion of Christian Knowledge described in the pamphlet to the Apocalyptic pictures that sold 200,000 copies (156).

52 The reviewer of *The Art Journal* (April 1854) writes: "His illustrations of Milton added to his reputation: upon these, we think, and the engravings from his pictures, rather than on the pictures themselves his fame rests" (Balston 240).

53 Martin's *Deluge* series combines scientific knowledge, Biblical theory and Romantic pathos. Martin's 1826 *Deluge* is lost, but his 1828 mezzotint grossed over £1500 (Matteson 220). The oil copy of 1834 did not sell until 1844. See Leslie Parris, *Landscape in Britain* (London: Tate Gallery, 1974) 116.

54 Martin's print shop ran from 1826 to 1848. "Prices ran from ten guineas for an unlettered proof of the *Deluge* to one guinea for a run-of-the-mill impression" (Feaver 84-85).

55 Martin began *The Last Judgment* in 1851. This work was apparently inspired by Robert Montgomery's texts *The Messiah* and *Omnipresence of the Deity*. Martin wrote to the poet: "I shall not fail to avail myself of your suggestions, and have marked several passages in both poems which are most happily applicable to my pictures" (Balston 233). By June 1852, *Last Judgment* had become part of a larger scheme, in which it was to take its place between two works of almost the same dimensions: *The Great Day of His Wrath*; and *The Plains of Heaven* (235-236).

56 Martin contracted with Thomas Maclean to market these paintings. Maclean had the pictures engraved by an artist approved by Martin. He paid Martin one-third of its profits, and Maclean exhibited the pictures at his own expense to promote orders for the engravings (Balston 233). Martin died in 1854, and by the Spring of 1855, the three pictures were touring the provinces.

57 Balston 247.

58 This Apocalyptic trilogy was engraved by Charles Mottram and published by Thomas Maclean in 1856 (Wax 130). Many of the sets were colored (Dyson 79).

For the last Apocalyptic paintings, most critics were favorable. But one from the *Art Journal* said Martin's imagination had been thrown "off balance...it had so long dwelt among the unearthly, that he had lost all control over it in his works. But what can be said of the public who follow eagerly after such things? Surely there is something most unhealthy..." (Balston 245).

The popular nature of John Martin's Millennialist imagery did not set well with some critics.[59] They considered Martin's frequently out-of-phase palette and expansive architectural vistas as cheap emotive devices for an indiscriminating audience; certainly, they said, the public overestimated Martin's accomplishments.[60] In *The Stones of Venice*, John Ruskin included John Martin along with Carlo Dolci, Guercino and Benjamin West as the four artists who have had the "most influence on the ordinary Protestant Christian Mind."[61] Ironically, the popularity of Martin's prints spawned so many plagiarists, that Martin himself was forced from the market.[62]

Millennialism was essential to the socio-cultural framework of late 18th- and 19th-century England. As such, it contributes to the continued popularity of Milton's *Paradise Lost* and the taste for Apocalyptic subjects—both literary and pictorial. Because beliefs like Millennialism are held in clusters, they define a collective exhibiting similiar behavioral traits.[63] In addition to exposing John Martin's intentions and clarifying his choice of subject matter, Millennialism also integrates Martin's public projects within his *oeuvre*, reveals his audience and explains the popular nature of his art.

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59 Martin's critics run hot or cold. In his *England and the English* (1833), Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton endorsed the religious nature of Martin's works with the well-known quip: "Vastness is his sphere" (Balston 149). *The Times* stated that Martin's 1844 oils *Morning in Paradise* and *Evening in Paradise* "dazzled the eyes," while Thackery thought them unsophisticated and wrote (Balston 216):

> One looks upon these strange pieces, and wonders how people can be found to admire, and yet they do. To the child lollipops may be the truthful and beautiful and why should not some men find Martin's pictures as much to their taste as Milton?

After Martin's death in 1854 the *Illustrated London News* wrote (Balston 241):

> He was not raised in the pumpkin bed of any Academy... (Charles) Lamb was never more wrong when he taxed him with a want of imagination. His fault was too much imagination....His honourable hereafter is secure in the annals of English art. No man is safer....Like Hogarth (that great original) he was the engraver of his own works. Of no other artist of name in England can it be said that they were equally excellent as painters and as engravers.

60 Todd 95-96.

61 Balston 215.

62 In 1836, Martin testified before the Select Committee on the Arts to secure more protection for his prints. He also recommended that "the copyright should remain in the person of the designer so long as he lives, and of his heirs so long as they possess the work, the same as any other property, unless of course, there be a distinct written agreement to the contrary" (Balston 176). In 1849, he told the *Illustrated London News* (177):

> Owing to the imperfect laws of copyright, my property being so constantly and variously infringed that it became ruinous to contend with those who robbed me; and I was driven from the market by inferior copies of my own work, to the manifest injury of my credit and pecuniary resources.

The Hogarth Act of 1735 granted protection for original images only. This was amended in 1776 and 1777 to cover reproductive prints, but was difficult to enforce in England and did not apply internationally. In 1852, international protection was granted but could not be enforced (Wax 67-68).

63 Harrison xiv, xv.

Figure 1. [*left*] John Martin, *Satan Rousing the Fallen Angels*, mezzotint, plate 14 1/8 x 9 15/16" with image 10 1/2 x 7 15/16," 1824. From *Paradise Lost* Book I: 299-330:

> Nathless he so endur'd, till on the Beach
> Of that inflamed Sea, he stood and call'd
> His Legions, Angel Forms, who lay intrans't
> Thick as Autumnal Leaves that strow
> the Brooks
> ...
> Abject and lost lay these, covering
> the Flood,
> Under amazement of thir hideous change.
> He call'd so loud, that all the hollow Deep
> Of Hell resounded. Princes, Potentates
> Warriors, the Flow'r of Heav'n once yours,
> now lost,
> ...
> Awake, arise, or be for ever fall'n.

Figure 2. Henry Fuseli, *Satan Risen from the Flood*, engraving, 3 1/2 x 4 1/2" from Du Rouveray's edition of *Paradise Lost*.

Figure 3. John Martin, *The Bridge over Chaos,* 1826, mezzotint, 9 15/16 x 13 5/8" with image 7 5/8 x 10 5/8," 1802. From *Paradise Lost* Book X: 285-293:

Hovering upon the Waters; what they met
Solid or slimy, as in raging Sea
Tost up and down, together crowded drove
From each side shoaling towards the mouth of Hell
As when two Polar Winds blowing adverse
Upon the Cronian Sea, together drive
Mountains of Ice, that stop th'imagin'd way
Beyond Petsora Eastward, to the rich
Cathaian Coast...

Figure 5. John Martin, *Paradise: With the Approach of the Archangel Raphael,* mezzotint, 10 1/16 x 14 1/16" with image 7 1/2 x 10 7/8," 1827. From *Paradise Lost* Book V: 308-313:

Haste hither Eve, and worth thy sight behold
Eastward among those Trees, what glorious shape
Comes this way moving; seems another Morn
Ris'n on mid-noon; some great behest from Heav'n
To us perhaps he brings, and will voutsafe
This day to be our Guest...

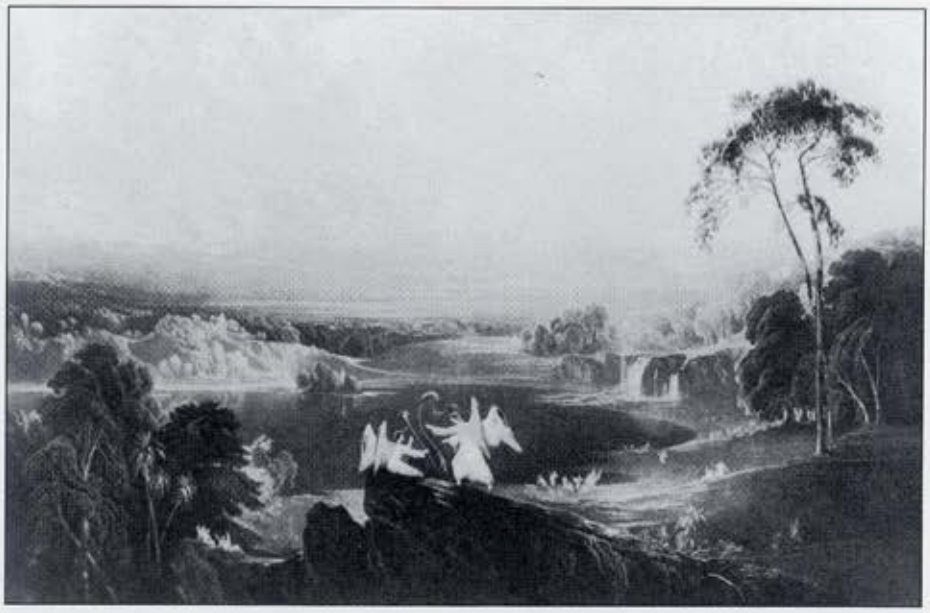

Figure 4. John Martin, *Heaven—The Rivers of Bliss*, mezzotint, 9 7/8 x 14" with image 7 5/8 x 11 1/8," 1826. From *Paradise Lost* Book XI: 79-84:

By the waters of Life, where'er they sat
In fellowships of joy: the Sons of Light
Hasted, resorting to the Summons high,
And took thir Seats; till from his Throne supreme
Th' Almighty thus pronounc'd his sovran Will.

Figure 6. John Martin, *Satan Tempting Eve*, mezzotint, 10 x 13 15/16" with image 7 9/16 x 11," 1826. From *Paradise Lost* Book IX: 776-784:

Here grows the Cure of all, this Fruit Divine,
Fair to the Eye, inviting to the Taste
Of virtue to make wise: what hinders then
To reach and feed at once both Body and Mind?
So saying, her rash hand in evil hour
Forth reaching to the Fruit, she pluck'd, she eat:
Earth felt the wound, and Nature from her seat
Sighing through all her Works gave signs of woe,
That all was lost.

Figure 7. John Martin, *Adam and Eve Driven out of Paradise*, mezzotint 10 x 13 7/8" with image 7 9/16 x 10 13/16," 1827. From *Paradise Lost* Book XII: 641-649:

They looking back, all th' Eastern side beheld
Of Paradise, so late thir happy seat
Wav'd over by that flaming Brand, the Gate
With dreadful Faces throng'd and fiery Arms:
Some natural tears they dropp'd, but wip'd them soon;
The World was all before them, where to choose
Thir place of rest, and Providence thir guide:
They hand in hand with wand'ring steps and slow,
Through Eden took thir solitary way.

Figure 8. *The Deluge*, Philippe Jacques de Loutherbourg, reproductive engraving by Thomas Milton, *c.* 1790, 12 x 10." Courtesy of Trustees, British Museum, London.

Figure 9. John Martin, *The Deluge*, 18 1/2 x 27," 1828. Courtesy of Trustees, British Museum, London.

Figure 10. John Martin, *Great Day of His Wrath,* reproductive mezzotint by Charles Mottram, 28 X 40 1/2," 1857. Courtesy of Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, New Haven, Connecticut.