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Newsletter

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An American Original: Mrs. Colman’s Illustrated Printings of Blake’s Poems, 1843-44

By Raymond H. Deck, Jr.

Between 1843 and 1845, Pamela Chandler Colman, an American Swedenborgian active in the production of children's books, was responsible for printing in four separate publications nine different poems from Blake's *Songs of Innocence*. Taken together, these printings constitute a remarkable "edition" of Blake's poems, both for their text and for their accompanying illustrations. As we will see, Mrs. Colman did not simply reprint a selection from Wilkinson's 1839 edition of the *Songs* or from Cunningham's *Loves* as we might expect at this time in America; she apparently used an original copy of *Innocence* and chose texts which she thought most appropriate for her young readers; she even took the liberty of attributing to Blake a rather saccharine piece entitled "Evening Hymn." Perhaps more remarkable, most of these poems, taken from Blake's illuminated pages, are accompanied by illustrations, at least one or two of which seem to have been inspired by Blake's etched design and which constitute a graphic interpretation of Blake's *Innocence*. After presenting the illustrated text of Mrs. Colman's "edition" of Blake's poems, I will consider the question of her source text and finally suggest two contexts in which to view her work: the genre of American children's books in the 1840s and the continuing interest in Blake manifested by American Swedenborgians.

Mrs. Colman's editorial career began in the 1830s, when her husband, Samuel, established himself as a successful bookseller and publisher in New York City. In addition to his adult publications and his sale of works by other publishers, Samuel Colman began by 1839 to produce children's books edited, and sometimes written, by his wife. Their most extensive effort to achieve some prominence in the field of children's literature did not begin until 1843, when the Colmans (who continued to reside and publish other works in New York) began to publish a number of children's books in Boston. Some of these productions, especially the original inventions of Mrs. Colman, were published by "T. H. Colman" of Boston, but others, including all those with Blake poems, give on their title pages only "T. H.
Carter & Co. of Boston, although they were the joint enterprise of Carter and Samuel Colman. 2

Clearly the showpiece of the Colman's juvenile productions—and the one upon which must have depended their greatest hopes for success—was the first of their Boston publications, the Boys' and Girls' Magazine3 (illus. 1). The magazine featured contributions by the genre's leading authors, and the publishers went to the special expense of having many illustrations especially designed and engraved to accompany particular texts. Unfortunately, the Boys' and Girls' Magazine seems to have proved a less successful venture than had been hoped, for no numbers were published after the twelve for 1843. As an indication of the public's disappointing response during that year, we find, in the prefatory notice integral to the third bound volume, the announcement that the next year's edition, which in fact never appeared, would be reduced in price to $1.00, "trustingly to meet the wishes of a much larger number throughout the whole country."

July 1843 Mrs. Colman seems first to have encountered Blake's poems in the middle of 1843—probably, as argued in a later section of this essay, in an original but uncolored copy of Innocence alone. She displays Blake's "Introduction" to Innocence very prominently as the leading piece of the July number (II, No. 3, 73-74), and she appends to the poem a short biography of the author in which she promises future selections from Blake's "charming, illuminated volume" (illus. 2).

For all Mrs. Colman's Blake texts we can make here the general observation that they vary from Blake's original in accidentals of capitalization and punctuation and in the normalizing of many of Blake's contracted forms, for example "vanish'd" and "pluck'd" in his "Introduction" and "wandering" and "thro" in "The Little Boy Found." In Blake's "Introduction," our Victorian editor also has altered the "chear" of Blake's lines 6 and 10 to "cheer" and has added Roman numerals as stanza numbers.

That the Victorian illustration accompanying this printing resembles Blake's design of his frontispiece to Innocence may result from Mrs. Colman's access to an original copy of Blake's work and her deliberate copying of his design (illus. 3). In considering that we may have in 1843 a graphic reinterpretation of Blake's design, it is important to establish that the editor or publisher has not simply chosen an extant engraving which seemed generally appropriate to the subject matter, as would be the usual procedure in children's books of the period. In fact, the engraving accompanying Blake's "Introduction" to Innocence was used at least once in later years, as the cover of Miss [Mary Russell] Mitford's The Rustic Wreath (Boston, 1849), published by W. J. Reynolds, who also republished several of Mrs. Colman's original works (illus. 4). But an examination of many of the works Mrs. Colman edited or wrote and of publications by likely firms, especially T. H. Carter & Co., has not revealed an earlier use of the engraving. 6 Neither have I found any other engraving related closely enough in design so as to suggest that someone in the Carter-Colman business circle was likely to have conceived of this
design without reference to Blake's original. To be sure, some of the engravings in the Boys' and Girls' Magazine antedated that publication by several years, perhaps the oldest being the ornamental design bordering the dedication page, which had been used as early as 1838 in The Metamorphoscope (Boston: T. H. Carter). Nevertheless, my survey of the productions of Mrs. Colman and her publishers makes clear that a great majority of the engravings in the Boys' and Girls' Magazine were not used earlier, although they were then frequently reused in later publications. The unusually close correlation between texts and accompanying designs supports the conclusion that new engravings usually were prepared to accompany specific texts in the Boys' and Girls' Magazine.

August 1843 "The Blossom" from Innocence appeared at the end of the next number of the Boys' and Girls' Magazine (II, No. 4, 142) (illus. 5). Mrs. Colman has made a drastic emendation of Blake's lines 6 and 12, which should read "Near my Bosom." Also, the words "hears you" belong at line 10. That this poem is the last feature in Volume II of the magazine suggests that Mrs. Colman was deliberately beginning one number and ending the next number, and the second tri-annual volume, with Blake's poems.

September 1843 A version of "Nurse's Song" from Innocence appeared in the subsequent issue of the Boys' and Girls' Magazine (III, No. 1, 9) (illus. 6). In none of Blake's texts is Mrs. Colman's brazen ear, which so handicaps her as an editor of poetry, more obvious than in her multitude of substantive emendations to this poem, most of which seem to have no special purpose and which serve to destroy Blake's meter and even his rhyme scheme. We begin with the addition of the indefinite article to the poem's title, and proceed to the syntactical inversion of the first sentence, which should begin, "When the voices of children are heard" and which should not include "When" at line 3. In the next stanza (Mrs. Colman might be excused for ignoring the stanzas divisions which are somewhat unclear on Blake's illuminated page), we should have "Then" in place of "Now" and "gone down" rather than simply "down" in line 5. In the next line, Blake tells us that the dew "arise," but Mrs. Colman, not content merely to have them "fall," tells us that they "fall fast." To complete the mutilation of this stanza, Mrs. Colman has omitted the repetition of "come" at the beginning of line 7 and has the morning appear in the "east" rather than in the "skies," which fortunately does nothing further to disturb the rhyme scheme because she has already emended the preceding rhyme word from "arise" to "fast." This trend of unfortunate emendation, which could only improve, does improve. In the last half of the poem, our editor is content to destroy the final rhymes by changing "bed" to "rest" at the end of line 12 and then by adding "for joy" after a regularized spelling of Blake's "ecchoed."

Although Mrs. Colman has not been very careful in attending to the texts of Blake's "Nurse's Song," she has produced an accompanying engraving similar to Blake's designs for that poem and for the title page of Innocence (illus. 7, 8). I have found neither an earlier nor a later use of the Victorian engraving. In the May issue of the Boys' and Girls'
A NURSE'S SONG.

BY WILLIAM BLAKE.

The voice of children is heard on the green, And we cannot go to sleep; When my heart is at rest within my breast, And everything else is still.

"Now come home, my children, the sun is down, And the dews of night fall fast;" Come, leave off play, and let us away, Till the morning appears in the east."

No, no, let us play, for it is yet day—

Illus. 6

Illus. 7, from Innocence (U)

Illus. 8, from Innocence (U)
October 1843 Blake's "Laughing Song" from Innocence, with an interesting choice for a companion piece, was the fourth of his poems to appear in successive monthly numbers of the Boys' and Girls' Magazine (III, No. 2, 66) (illus. 10). Besides emending "hill laughs" to "hills laugh" at line 4, Mrs. Colman has given, instead of the "He" which is quite clear on Blake's illuminated page, yet a third "ha" at the ends of the second and third stanzas.

1843 It was probably during the latter part of this year that "Mrs. Colman" edited—and her husband and his co-publisher, T. H. Carter offered for sale—The Little Keepsake for 1844, which, we learn from their advertisements, was intended primarily as a Christmas and New Year's gift. Included in this small volume are Blake's "A Dream" and "A Cradle Song" (illus. 11). In "A Dream," Mrs. Colman has emended the first words of several lines: "Where" to "When" at line 4, "All" to "Quite" at line 8, and "Do" to "And" at line 10. She has also given "do" for "how" at line 9, and "beetle" for "beetles" at line 19. I have found no other uses of this particular engraving, but it is very similar in style to many illustrations of animals and foliage in the Colman and Carter publications.

"A Cradle Song" is included in a story, "The Baby," which apparently was written by Mrs. Colman specifically to display Blake's poem and which reflects her continued enthusiasm for his poems as works which should be known to her young readers (illus. 12). The most substantial emendation is of line 4, which should read "By happy moony beams." Mrs. Colman has also given "weepes" for Blake's verb "weep" at line 20 and "Thus" for "Thou" at line 27. This engraving, which is not in any event notably similar to Blake's original illuminations, also appeared with Miss A. A. Gray's story "Little Charlie" in the Boys' and Girls' Library (II, 62). This issue (June 1844) follows the preparation of The Little Keepsake for 1844 by several months and is a good example of the reuse of a design which could fit several narratives; here the design seems less appropriate to Blake's poem than to Miss Gray's story, which begins: "'The Babe will not eat his breakfast; will he, mother?' said little Laura. 'No; he will eat nothing. Poor little Charlie! He is very ill.'"

June 1844 During 1844, Mrs. Colman edited the Boys' and Girls' Library (Boston: T. H. Carter and Co. (copyright 1844)), which was almost identical
STORY OF THE EMMET.

(A DREAM.)

BY WILLIAM BLAKE.

Once a dream did weave a shade,
O'er my angel guarded bed,
That an Emmet lost its way—
Where on grass merthought I lay.

Troubled, wildered, and forlorn,
Dark, benighted, travel-worn
Over many a tangled spray,
Quite heart-sore I heard her say,
Oh my children! how they cry;
And they hear their father sigh.

Now they look abroad to see,
Now return and weep for me.

Pitying, I drop'd a tear;
But I saw a glow-worm near,
Illus. 11

THE BABY.

"Oh, what a lovely little babe! Is it really my sister, and may I sometimes hold it, mamma?"
"Yes, my darling, and when it is larger and stronger, you shall hold it as much as you please."
"Oh, dear, I am afraid she is going to cry; may I sing that little song to her that I learnt in William Blake's "Songs of Innocence," mamma?"
"Yes, Helen, you may, if it is not very long."
"No, mamma, it is not,—and it is all about a little baby."

"Sleep, sleep, happy child, All creation slept and smiled:
Sweet dreams from a shade O'er my lovely infant's head,
Sweet dreams of pleasant streams Under happy, silver moonbeams.

Sweet sleep, with soft down, Weave thy brow in infant crown, Sweet sleep, angel mild, Hover o'er my happy child.

Sweet smiles in the night, Hover over my delight, Sweet smiles, mother's smiles, All the livelong night beguiles.

Sweet morns, dove-like sighs, Chase not slumber from thine eyes, Sweet morns, sweeter smiles, All the dove-like morns, beguiles.

"Mamma, she is fast asleep; how sweet she looks with her eyes shut! But don't you think that is a beautiful song?"
"Yes, indeed, my daughter; but now little sister is sleeping, you had better go out to play."
"Well, good-by, darling sister, I will come to see you again when you wake. Let me first kiss your precious little hand. There, now I'm gone.

"Sleep, sleep, happy child, All creation slept and smiled."
EVENING HYMN.

By William Blake.

I know, when I lie down to sleep
The Lord is near my bed;
That angels watch, by his command,
Around my infant head.

I know, when I kneel down to pray,
That still the Lord is there;
I hear my words, he sees my thoughts,
And listens to my prayer.

I know, when I go forth to play,
The Lord is by my side;
Through every hour, at every step,
He is my guard and guide.

I know his eye sees everything
In earth and sea and air;
That he in darkness, as in light,
Can see me everywhere.

Then let me guard each thought, each word,
Lest he should chance to find
Evil within a heart that should
Be grace, meek, and kind.

Lord, bless thou me,
And keep me safe;
I know the Lord is near me,
And he is very wise.

Little lamb, who made thee?
Dost thou know who made thee?
Gave thee life and bid thee feed
By the stream and o’er the mead;
Gave thee clothing of delight—
Softest clothing, woof and white;
Gave thee such a tender voice—
Making all the vale rejoice;
Little lamb, who made thee?
Dost thou know who made thee?

I have been unable to discover the correct attribution of this sentimental piece; the prominence which she has given Blake’s other poems and the absence of any other likely poet named William Blake indicate that she did indeed consider “Evening Hymn” and “The Lamb” works by the same poet. Mrs. Colman’s error in attribution suggests that she no longer had Blake’s original printing at hand, that she was now working with a transcription of Blake’s poems which she had apparently confused with a transcription of some other poet’s work.

July 1844 Mrs. Colman printed “The Lamb” in the next monthly number of the Boys’ and Girls’ Library (II, 87-88) (illus. 14). Instead of small mistakes which might be attributed to careless transcription, we have the substantive emendation of three important lines. Mrs. Colman has altered line 14, which should read “For he calls himself a Lamb,” and the final two lines, both of which should read “Little Lamb God bless thee.”

THE CHILD AND LAMB.

BY W. BLAKE.

Little lamb, who made thee?
Dost thou know who made thee?
Gave thee life and bid thee feed
By the stream and o’er the mead;
Gave thee clothing of delight—
Softest clothing, woof and white;
Gave thee such a tender voice—
Making all the vale rejoice:
Little lamb, who made thee?
Dost thou know who made thee?

LATE UNITED STATES BANK.

Little lamb, I’ll tell thee,
Little lamb, I’ll tell thee.
He is called by thy name,
He is called himself a Lamb.
He is meek and he is mild,
He became a little child;
I a child and thou a lamb,
We are called by his name.
Little lamb, the Lord bless thee,
Little lamb, God bless thee.

Songs of Innocence.

This picture represents a very elegant edifice of white marble, and in its design and proportions are displayed the leading features of the Parthenon at Athens.

Conclusion.—Why are poets like toys?
One difference between the Boys' and Girls' Magazine and the Boys' and Girls' Library is that, apparently as an economy measure, the Colmans frequently used engravings which were at hand from their earlier publications and from other sources rather than going to the expense of regularly producing engravings especially for particular texts. In fact, the cherub from the engraving for Blake's "Introduction" to Innocence in the Boys' and Girls' Magazine for July 1843 is used in the successor publication to illustrate a piece about the aeolian harp (III, 48) (illus. 15). The availability of the engraving with which Mrs. Colman accompanies Blake's "The Lamb" might explain why the lamb is attended in the illustration by a woman rather than by a "child" as in the text of Blake's poem and in his design. Originally, this engraving may have been prepared as an illustration of Wordsworth's "The Pet-Lamb" in Poems for the Little Folks (New York: Samuel Colman), p. 38, which is similar in typography and format to Samuel Colman's New York publications of about 1839. The engraving was later put to at least one less glorious use, as an illustration for the story, "The Dwarf in Search of a Lodging," in Miss A. A. Gray's John's Adventures, or the Little Knight Errant (Boston: S. Colman [copyright 1846 by Mrs. P. Colman]), p. 62.

1844 As in the previous year, Mrs. Colman compiled a small Christmas and New Year's gift book, the Child's Gem for 1846 (Boston: T. H. Carter & Co.), in which she included Blake's "The Little Boy Lost" and "The Little Boy Found" from Innocence (illus. 16). In the former poem, Mrs. Colman has added the word "dear" to the first line, and she has made a quite significant alteration in the sense of the poem by substituting "thick" for "away" at line 8. For "The Little Boy Found," our Victorian editor's text agrees with Blake's except for the addition of "he" to line 6.

The Source Text

A case establishing that Mrs. Colman has taken an original copy of Blake's Innocence as her source text would be substantial support of speculation about Mrs. Colman's designs as a graphic Victorian reinterpretation of Blake's art and would add to our interest in her various emendations and in her enthusiastic response to Blake's illuminated work. Similarities between the Victorian designs and Blake's originals suggest Mrs. Colman's use of an original copy; further, we can establish that she had access to Copy U of Innocence in New York in 1843, and we can discount the possibility that she has used earlier letterpress versions of the poems as her source.

Keynes gives a short history of Innocence (U):

Formerly in the possession of Robert Balmanno, an English journalist, who emigrated to New York. He had been friendly with Stothard and Fuseli and other artists who knew Blake, and may have had the books directly from him. Afterwards in the collection of E. W. Hooper, of Boston.6

On the flyleaf now found with Copy U, which is in the Houghton Library, Harvard University, is Hooper's
note which has supplied most of Keynes' information and which adds that Balmano "died in Brooklyn N. Y. about 1865 (He was formerly a Secty of Antiquaries of London?) E.W.H."

Although an investigation of the entire history of Copy U is not called for here, we should like to know enough about Balmano's situation in New York to estimate the likelihood of his association with Mrs. Colman. I have been able to piece together some idea of his American career from such secondary sources as the NUC, Allibone's Dictionary, which includes articles on Robert and Mary Balmano written in 1858, and_t the New York Historical Society's Dictionary of Artists in America (1957), which relies upon a search of records at the National Academy of Design and the American Institute. First, we can be certain that Robert Balmano (1780-1861, dates given in the NUC) had emigrated to New York by 1843, the first year of Mrs. Colman's Blake publications. A date before 1835 is suggested by Mrs. Balmano's "three poems written for special occasions (July 3-4, 1835) at Geneva, N.Y." which were added to a copy of her Poems (London, 1830; NUC NB0074878), and we know that in 1843 she was exhibiting her works at the National Academy (NYHS Dictionary). Although Robert Balmano actually made his living in New York as "a clerk at the customhouse" (NYHS Dictionary), by the later years of the 1840s and into the next decade both of the Balmanos occupied places of at least some small note in artistic and literary circles. Mary Balmano published various short poems, continued to exhibit her still life paintings, produced "the beautiful drawing of all the flowers mentioned by Shakespeare, which excited so much attention at the New York Crystal Palace in 1853-54" (Allibone), and in 1858 published Pen and Pencil (NUC NB0074877) "illustrated with cuts, a majority of which were drawn on the block by her own hand" (Allibone). This last work was published by D. Appleton & Co. as was her earlier edition of Thomas Moore's poems (1850, NUC NM0751581), a fact which suggests a specific connection with Mrs. Colman, whose Innocence of Childhood was also published by Appleton in 1850 (NUC NC0555581). Robert Balmano's literary career was quite similar. His first American work was published in 1846 (NUC NB0074881), and two years later his Stokes Church and Park (NUC NB0074882) was printed with illustrations engraved after his own designs. In addition to his few short works in the NUC, we are told by Allibone that he "contributed many articles to the London periodicals and to the New York Knickerbocker, Evening Post, and Graham's (Phila.) Magazine."

Although the preceding evidence documents the Balmanos' literary activities only after 1843, it seems reasonable to assume that their association with literary circles probably began soon after their arrival in New York. It would then seem quite possible that by 1843 the Balmanos may have found their way to Samuel Colman's successful publishing house on Broadway which was "one of the first in this country to publish illustrated books in color; and which became a gathering place for literary men and artists" (Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography, III, 546), probably including Longfellow and the dramatist Willis, whom Colman published (Dictionary of American Biography) (illus. 17). There may have been Blake's illustrated volume to the publisher's
wife, who was then editing an illustrated children's magazine. Of course *Innocence (U)* may have come to Mrs. Colman in a multitude of other ways; it is even possible that Balmanno had sold Copy U by 1843 and that she had it on loan from someone else, possibly her brother-in-law, William, a publisher of prints who was then preparing to open "the first gallery in the city for the sale of pictures" (ACAB). It is the combination of Mrs. Colman's access to Copy U of *Innocence* together with her production of designs similar to Blake's originals which most strongly supports the case that her source was this original copy of *Innocence*.

The remainder of the case for Mrs. Colman's use of *Innocence (U)* depends upon our exclusion of other possible sources. We can first discount the possibility that Mrs. Colman has used earlier letterpress versions of the poems. Wilkinson's (1839) and Tulk's (1843 or later) complete editions of the *Songs* were the only letterpress sources to include all or even most of the poems which Mrs. Colman prints. Tulk's edition of only twelve copies was printed on paper watermarked 1843 and may well have been produced after Mrs. Colman's first printing of a Blake poem, in July 1843; neither do we have any evidence that a copy was available in America. We do know that at least one copy of Wilkinson's edition had made its way across the Atlantic by 1843, for at a time almost exactly contemporaneous with Mrs. Colman's first printings, we find in the *New Church Magazine for Children* (Boston: August-December 1843) five of Blake's *Songs* given in a text following Wilkinson's almost exactly; copies belonging to Emerson and T. W. Higginson may also have been available at this early date. Mrs. Colman's texts have no recognizable pattern of similarity to the punctuation, capitalization, stanza divisions and other emendations by which Wilkinson's texts differ from Blake's originals. It is true that Mrs. Colman was not particularly careful with many of her texts: for example, in Tennyson's "The May Queen" (Boy's and Girl's Magazine, 11, No. 1, 12-13) she gives only one "black" in line 5 and contracts his "woven" to "wov'n" at line 25, both of which emendations adversely affect the meter. Yet the text in substance and accidentals clearly shows that she was cognizant, if not particularly respectful, of Tennyson's printed text, and I think it reasonable to suppose that even someone who has treated Blake's "Nurse's Song" as she has would betray some familiarity with Wilkinson's version if that were her source.

Another possibility is that Mrs. Colman may have seen a manuscript transcription by a third party, who would then be held responsible for the various emendations. A third party could even have been responsible for sketching Blake's designs and thus for providing Mrs. Colman with a semblance of Blake's original. Although it is possible that Mrs. Colman may have seen a manuscript which has not been traced in Blake scholarship, I know of only one transcription—this one complete with detailed copies of Blake's designs— which eventually found its way to America, but its text differs in particulars from that given by Mrs. Colman. A final possibility is that Mrs. Colman had seen an original copy of *Innocence* or of the complete *Songs* but not Copy U. No other copies are reported by Keynes (Census) as
having been available in America at such an early date, but for our purposes, new evidence about the availability of another copy would only strengthen our most important argument: that Mrs. Colman has seen an original copy of Blake's illuminated work. Of course we should like to know exactly which copy she used as a source text, but it is more important that her texts, her enthusiastic reaction to Blake's works, and some of her illustrations may have been in response to the original form of Blake's art.

We must consider briefly some of the obvious problems and questions which remain in connection with the hypothesis that the designs in Mrs. Colman's publications derive from Blake's original illuminations. How might the design have been transmitted from Mrs. Colman in New York to T. H. Carter in Boston? Can we know who might have done the designing and engraving? A study of the signed engravings in the "Boys' and Girls'" series of 1843 and 1844 shows the services both of Boston engravers (John Greene Chandler, George T. Bevereux, Fernando E. Worcester) and of New York engravers (Alexander Anderson, Joline J. Butler, Marx M. Hart, and William Howland). These facts put us no closer to knowing who actually designed or engraved the illustrations to the Blake poems; none of these engravers seems to have been very active as a designer, and none of the signed engravings bears a particular technical resemblance to the Victorian illustrations of Blake's poems—but they do indicate that at least some of the designs and engravings issued from New York. If the engravings illustrating Blake's "Introduction" and "Nurse's Song" were prepared in New York, we can suppose, given her prominent and deliberate display of Blake's poems and the special production of the accompanying engraving, that Mrs. Colman may have shown the designer Blake's original with instructions about how she would like text and illustration arranged on the page.

American Children's Books at Mid-Century

We should also consider the immediate context in which Mrs. Colman's readers encountered Blake's poems. The Boys' and Girls' Magazine is generally representative of all four publications considered here. Although the Blake printings have previously gone unnoticed, the work has a place in the bibliography of American literature for the first printing of a Hawthorne story. In the August 1843 issue, also containing the bowdlerized version of "The Blossom," we find Hawthorne's "Little Daffydowndilly" (II, No. 4, 264-69), the story of a boy by this name who, through various encounters with a rather irksome character named Mr. Toll, learns that "diligence is not a whit more toilsome than sport or idleness" (269). Even more important for its contemporary reputation, the magazine had as contributors some of the most popular writers of juvenile stories and verse (Illus. 18). Jacob Abbott (1803-79) was a prolific writer of moral works (48 pages in the NUC), most notably The Young Christian (1832 and numerous editions thereafter) and of the extended juvenile series, the Rollo and Lucy books. Abbott had moved to New York in 1843, and his contributions may well have resulted from his personal association with the Colmans (DAB). T. S. Arthur (1809-85) was another prolific writer of children's books (36 pages in the
NUCB), although his greatest fame came from Ten Nights in a Barroom and What I Saw There (1854), a volume which enjoyed sales in the 1850s second only to those of Uncle Tom's Cabin (DAB). We should note that Arthur manifested an interest in Blake after his involvement with Mrs. Colman's publications; his The Brilliant: A Gift Book for 1850 (New York: 1850) included the text of "The Tyger" and a lengthy account of Blake's life taken from Cunningham (120-26). Later, Arthur repeated an anecdote from Cunningham in "Death of Blake, the Painter," Arthur's Home Magazine, 3 (March 1854), 220. The publications of Lydia Howard Sigourney (1791-1865) may have exceeded those of Abbott and Arthur combined, in number if not in length (ACAB, Vol. 1, 154). In the Dictionary of American Biography we read that "it is almost impossible to find a number of one of the popular magazines of the thirties or forties that does not contain a poem or an article by her"; indeed, "the inevitable regularity with which her poetic tribute followed the demise of any prominent person led a wag to declare that she had added a new terror to death." Catherine Maria Sedgwick (1789-1867) was praised by her co-contributor, Hawthorne, as "our most truthful novelist" (DAB). A series of novels published from 1825-35 and marked by "extravagant and imitative romanticism" (DAB) had established her as perhaps the most popular woman author in the country, and she continued with increasingly moral works until 1857. The only other contributors to the magazine noted in American biography (DAB and ACAB) are Hannah Flagg Gould (1789-1865), and Frances Sargent Osgood (1811-50), poets whose chief works were short, innocuous contributions to magazines and annuals. In addition, Miss Gould edited several juvenile works in this genre; Mrs. Osgood did some similar editorial work and published several volumes of verse on floral topics.

Although Mrs. Colman apparently had managed to assemble for her magazines and annuals the work of many well known writers, their contributions might seem strikingly undifferentiated to the modern reader. What we might see as an oppressive lack of innovation is not really so very surprising, for the surge of juvenile literature in the thirties and forties had actually begun with a formal code set for authors and editors by the American Sunday School Union, which published 6,000,000 volumes between 1824 and 1830. Contributions were to be adapted to the children's level, to adhere to high standards of style and content, to have an American character, and to be morally and religiously impeccable, although non-denominational (illus. 19).

This code and the strict traditions which flowed from it may help us to understand Mrs. Colman's treatment of Blake's poems. On one level, some of her emendations may be understandable attempts to present Blake's poems as correct and instructive models of the English language—as any work in her collection might have been expected to serve. This requirement certainly explains her addition of heavy punctuation as well as many of her alterations of capitalization and spelling, for example her regularization of "cheer" ("Introduction" to Innocence) to the standard Victorian American spelling, "cheer." Especially in the case of Blake, whose text was difficult to read and whose works were
almost unknown, Mrs. Colman—in the best tradition of nearly all of Blake's nineteenth century editors—apparently felt an almost complete freedom in bringing his works into conformity with the established code. An innocent but substantial example is the final line of "Nurse's Song": Blake's "And all the hills echoed" may have been intended to leave the echo pointedly unexplained, but Mrs. Colman apparently felt it necessary to make explicit for her young readers that the hills echo "for joy," lest they think otherwise. Similarly, the "dews of night" in the same poem might be said to "fall fast" rather than to "arise" because Mrs. Colman has in mind some scientific explanation which she believes accurate for the phenomenon of dew (her explanation seems no closer than Blake's to the scientific fact that dew condenses). Attention to the facts of Scripture may explain the emendation of Blake's "For he calls himself a Lamb:" ("The Lamb," line 14) to "He is called himself a Lamb." Mrs. Colman is correct in that Jesus never calls himself a lamb, although he is often so named, e.g. John 1: 29. As for the illustrations, the piper and cherub of Blake's frontispiece are draped according to popular stereotypes, while the angel is given a small harp and the shepherd a faithful dog, because they serve, as does Blake's poem, as proper introductions to a series of moral poems and tales. About the emendation to "A Blossom," we can easily understand Mrs. Colman's categorical exclusion of the word "bosom"; this emendation also suggests her idea of a Victorian order for the natural world as she would have the blossom wish the sparrow and robin to be "In the Greenwood tree" rather than "Near my bosom."

Swedenborgian Interest in Blake

Mrs. Colman's unique "edition" of Blake's poems should also be understood in the context of American Swedenborgianism. "Samuel Colman" and "Mrs. Pamela C. Colman" of New York had joined the Boston Society of the New Jerusalem in 1833, and in succeeding years Colman advertised and sold many of Swedenborg's works and such Swedenborgian collaterals as the New Jerusalem Magazine. That Mrs. Colman's Swedenborgian interests continued after 1839 is clear from her Innocence of Childhood (New York: Appleton, 1850), which was reviewed and advertised in Swedenborgian periodicals and which includes fairly direct references to Swedenborg's teachings although the master's name is not mentioned. Indeed it may well have been through the Swedenborgian connection that Colman and T. H. Carter came together to publish the volumes which are the objects of our study. Carter had joined the Boston Society in 1821 and continued as an important member in subsequent years. The fact of the Colmans', and the Carters', Swedenborgianism might itself seem a circumstance unrelated to their printing of Blake's poems except for the remarkable coincidence that almost every other printing of Blake's poems in America before the time of Gilchrist seems to have depended upon various Swedenborgians. All these coincidences may have resulted from the fact that so many Swedenborgians were involved in publishing, but I think that the evidence of specific Swedenborgian statements about Blake, especially the American view expressed in articles about Blake and Flaxman in the New Jerusalem Magazine (1831), suggests that their Swedenborgianism gave these individuals a special interest in sustaining the memory of Blake.

Unlike more conventional rationalists of the nineteenth century, the Swedenborgians had no quarrel with what the editor of the New Jerusalem Magazine called Blake's "continual intercourse with spirits" (p. 193). Swedenborg himself had conversed frequently with spirits and had been privileged to visit their heavens and hells on many occasions. The very fact that Blake had spiritual visions argued for the existence of a spiritual world, the basic tenet of the Swedenborgian world view. Blake's error, they believed, was "the strange use he made of this intercourse," and it was seen in contrast to Flaxman's rational, Swedenborgian interpretation of his spiritual vision:

But while Flaxman believed in the reality of a spiritual world, and in the actual and personal existence of spirits, as fully as Blake, in him this belief had nothing in it or with it of unregulated enthusiasm or of wild phantasy; he believed, and he knew why and what he believed, . . . But it was not so with Blake. He was gifted with perhaps an equal talent, and he appears to have embraced some of the peculiar opinions of Flaxman, but not understandingly; and these truths were, in his case, little more than broken parts of a system of which he knew not the unity and coherence; and they were mingled with falsities and made to minister to his self-conceit, and grievously distorted by the false medium through which he saw them. (p. 193)

Although Blake's interpretation of his visions was misguided, the editor believed that the worth of the visions themselves was to be acknowledged:

We do not say that their [the visions'] influence was destroyed or entirely perverted, for there was enough in his character to justify the hope that this was not the case; nevertheless, our readers will find in the following account of him frequent occasions for pity and regret. (p. 193)

We should add that this same magazine was, some ten years later, the first American publication (with the exception of American editions of Cunningham's Lives) to reprint one of Blake's poems, "The Lamb," in September 1842 (p. 40). Further, in 1843 and 1844 the New Church Magazine for Children reprinted several of Blake's Songs. Despite their criticism of Blake's excesses in interpreting his spiritual vision, the American Swedenborgians may well have agreed with J. J. Garth Wilkinson's argument, in the preface to his edition of 1839, that at least Blake's Innocence represented a vision of the eternal state of childhood in accord with Swedenborg's teachings.

Mrs. Colman had joined the Boston Society of the New Jerusalem on 7 April 1833, only a little more than a year after the articles about Flaxman and Blake appeared in the Society's publication, the New Jerusalem Magazine, and that her husband was later a New York distributor of that periodical also suggests
that she may have known the articles. Mrs. Colman may be sharing the special interest of the other Boston Swedenborgians in sustaining Blake’s memory when she chooses to introduce so prominently to her nineteenth-century readers the poems of Blake, whom, in accord with the editors of the New Jerusalem Magazine, she associates with Flaxman in her brief biographical sketch.

Mrs. Colman’s Swedenborgianism also offers one explanation of her emendations to Blake’s poems and illustrations. That she gives “the Lord” instead of Blake’s “God” in the penultimate line of “The Lamb” may possibly reflect a habit of Swedenborgian expression,20 but otherwise there is little evidence of Swedenborgian influence in her emendations. Although many of her small emendations are certainly due more to carelessness and to her insensitivity to rhyme and meter than to a deliberate, philosophical interpretation, a critical predisposition against Blake’s “unregulated enthusiasm” and “wild fancy” may have increased her discretion of the authority of Blake’s given text. As for the designs, Mrs. Colman may have agreed with Blake that his arrangement of the pipe and the angel were an appropriate illustration of his “Introduction” to *Innocence*, but instead of the naked and energetic figures which Blake may have seen in the excesses of his “unregulated enthusiasm,” Mrs. Colman has seen fit to present his design in a much more conventional and rationally acceptable manner. We should add that however strongly Mrs. Colman may have felt about the supposed Swedenborgian content of Blake’s vision of innocence, she probably would not in any event have made overtly Swedenborgian references in her emendations or in her short biographical sketch of Blake, for such reference would have violated the requirements of non-determinism. The reader familiar with Swedenborg’s writings can recognize as Swedenborgian the references in her publications to “Use” or to “Divine Providence,”21 but these are presented in such a way as to be consistent with the standard nineteenth-century Protestant view of the world. The point is that just because she makes no overt connection between Blake and Swedenborg, we should not discount the extent to which Mrs. Colman may have shared in Swedenborgian interest in Blake’s life and work and the possible significance of this interest in her decision to display prominently a number of Blake’s poems.

In Mrs. Colman we have a person who, in the years of relative public neglect which preceded the Blake revival of the 1860s, found the illuminated poems of *Innocence* so interesting that she displayed them prominently in her publications and possibly had some of Blake’s original illustrations redesigned and engraved, thus providing us with a unique graphic interpretation of Blake’s art. The context of her little “edition” is important because it indicates some of the various channels by which Blake’s reputation survived. We see the fortuitous coming together of a conv of Blake’s poems, probably *Innocence* (U), with a publisher, and we see that Blake’s poems were of interest chiefly because of their openness to interpretation as lyrics intended for the delight and edification of children. Finally, Mrs. Colman’s printings reflect the special Swedenborgian interest in Blake’s life and works which helped to sustain Blake’s reputation during the years before Gilchrist.

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1 My discoveries of six of Mrs. Colman’s insertions and of several other early printings of Blake’s poems have been noted in my “Unnoticed Printings of Blake’s Poems, 1825-51,” *Blake Newsletter* 40 (Spring 1977); with the exception of her insertions of “A Dream,” “The Little Boy Lost,” and “The Little Boy Found,” Mrs. Colman’s printings of Blake’s poems have not been noticed previously in Blake scholarship. For other early printings and mentions of Blake helpfully arranged in chronological order, see G. E. Bentley, Jr., William Blake: A Critical Heritage (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975), pp. 220-69.

2 Samuel and Pamela Colman are considered briefly in both the Dictionary of American Biography and Appleton’s Cyclopedia of American Biography as the parents of the American landscape painter Samuel Colman. My chief source of information about their publishing activities is the National Union Catalogue. Relevant to their New York activities during 1843 and 1844 are J. C. Palmer, *Thalia: A Tale of the Antarctic* (New York: Samuel Colman, 1843), and a New York edition of The *Little Keepsake for 1844* (see my note 5, below). For Samuel Colman’s early publishing activities in New York see “S. Colman’s List of Publications,” appended to Anon., *Sunday Morning Reflections* (New York: S. Colman, 1839), and his “List of Birthday and Holiday Presents Published by Samuel Colman” appended to Jane Marcy, *Willy’s Stories for Young Children* (New York: S. Colman, 1839), pp. 143-44. About the New York-Boston connection, one possibility is that the “S. Colman” of “New York” as publisher; this copy, reported by the Boston Public Library, unfortunately has disappeared from that library.


4 I have seen many publications by T. H. Carter and related firms in a unique collection at the John Green Chandler Memorial at South Lancaster, Mass. Other collections which I have examined include those at the Boston Athenaeum, the American Antiquarian Society, the Boston Public Library, Wellesley, and Harvard.

5 The *Little Keepsake for 1844*, ed. Mrs. S. Colman (Boston: T. H. Carter and Co. [copyright 1843]). The NUC (NC 0555861) lists what seems to be another copy of this same work, but which gives “Colman” of “New York” as publisher; this copy, reported by the Boston Public Library, unfortunately has disappeared from that library.


8 Sir Geoffrey Keynes describes the two known surviving copies of Tulk’s edition (now at the British Museum and Liverpool University) in “Blake, Tulk and Garth Wilkinson,” *The Library*, 4th ser. 26 (1945), 190-92.

9 Cited in my “Unnoticed Printings.” The copy of Wilkinson’s edition used by the Swedenborgians in 1843 was probably available.
to them a year earlier, when another Boston Swedenborgian publication, the New Jerusalem Magazine, reprinted Wilkinson’s text of “The Lamb” (16 (September, 1842), 460.

10 In “The 1839 Wilkinson Edition of Blake’s Songs in Transcendental America,” Blake Newsletter 16 (Winter, 1970-71), Edward J. Rose discusses two copies, those of Emerson and T. W. Higginson, which may have been in America by 1843.

11 I have compared Mrs. Colman’s text to the American edition published by W. D. Ticknor (Boston, 1842).


15 A Sketch of the History of the Boston Society of the New Jerusalem, with a list of its members (Boston: John C. Regan, 1873), p. 84. “S. Colman’s List of Publications,” op. cit., p. 9.

16 See especially pp. 11-24 for Mrs. Colman’s Swedenborgian interpretation of “Innocence.” A short review praising Mrs. Colman for having “managed to interweave some of the choicest truths and lessons of the New Church” into “a pleasant vein of fiction” appeared in the New Church Repository, 1 (New York, 1850), p. 50. Advertisements listing the work appeared on the paper cover of another New York Swedenborgian Journal, The Herald of Light, e. g., the back cover of 2, No. 1 (May 1858).

17 History of the Boston Society, pp. 82, 15, 27-28, 73.

18 All of the American reprintings included in my “Unnoticed Printings” are of Swedenborgian origin. T. S. Arthur, whose works I have mentioned in my text, was a Swedenborgian, as was Mrs. D. L. Child, the author of the popular Good Wives, which included sketches of Blake and Flaxman. Longfellow’s printings in The Bystay (1847) may have had a source with Samuel Colman, who was one of his New York publishers before 1845. Henry James, Sr., had the poems which he reprinted in The Harbinger (1848) from Garth Wilkinson.


20 See Swedenborg’s True Christian Religion, Section 81.


Additional notes on the illustrations. The “Prospectus” (illus. 1) is printed on the back of the paper cover in which the April 1843 monthly issue of the Boya’ and Girls’ Magazine was bound; identical copies, with the exception of the printed date and volume number, seem to have been used for all twelve issues of the publication. The original page size of the Boya’ and Girls’ Magazine, the Boya’ and Girls’ Library, and The Rustic Wreath is 6 3/4” by 5 1/4”. The three illustrations from Innocence (illus. 3, 7, 8) are produced from Copy U, the same copy which was probably available to Mrs. Colman and which is now at the Houghton Library, Harvard University. The two designs of the old woman (illus. 9) appear on successive pages of the May 1843 issue of the Boya’ and Girls’ Magazine (II, No. 1, 24-25) and illustrate a narrative poem, “Julia Clifford.” “A Dream” (illus. 11) appears on pages 35-37 and “The Baby” (illus. 12), including Blake’s “Cradle Song,” on pages 92-96 of the Little Keepsake for 1844; the original page size is 3 3/4” by 2 3/4”. “The Little Boy lost” and “The Little Boy Found” (illus. 16) appear on page 69 of the Child’s Gem for 1844; the print size page size is 4 1/2” by 7 1/4”. The title page of the Boya’ and Girls’ Magazine reproduced here (illus. 18) is that of the second tri-annual volume. Mrs. Colman’s “Introduction” (illus. 19) is printed on the third page of the first issue of the Boya’ and Girls’ Magazine.

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The Last Stanza of Blake’s London

by Grant C. Roti and Donald L. Kent

Blake's "London" is a bitter lament for the moral and political conditions of London, ending with these four lines:

But most thro' midnight streets I hear
How the youthful Harlots curse
Blasts the new-born Infants tear
And blights with plagues the Marriage hearse.

"London" may very well be the least controversial of Blake's poems, but this last stanza has been a problem for critics and is in need of very close explication.

The purpose of this article is not only to clarify the meaning of these lines but to show Blake's precise and detailed awareness of the social conditions of his time, and thereby to emphasize the caution expressed by some critics against moving too rapidly from fact to symbol in the interpretation of Blake's poetry.

In Blake's Apocalypse: A Study in Poetic Argument, Harold Bloom recognized "two possible readings" for this last stanza, readings which "may reinforce one another":

One is that the blasting of the tear refers to prenatal blindness due to venereal disease, the "plagues" of the poem's last line. A closer reading gives what is at first more surprising and yet finally more characteristic of Blake's individual thinking. Most of London is sounds; after the first stanza, Blake talks about what he hears as he walks the streets of his city. In the midnight streets of the city, he hears a harlot's curse against the morality of the Bromlions, who speak of her with the authority of reason and society and, as they would suppose, of nature. But it is her cry, from street to street that weaves their fate, the winding sheet of their England. They have mistaken her, for she is nature, and her plagues are subtler than those of venereal disease. A shouted curse can blast a tear in a quite literal way: the released breath can scatter the small body of moisture out of existence. Blake knows his

natural facts; he distrusted nature too much not to know them. The tear ducts of a new born infant are closed; its eyes need to be moistened before it can begin to weep. Blake ascribes a natural fact to the Harlot's curse, and so the Harlot is not just an exploited Londoner but nature herself, the Tirzah of the last Song of Experience. In this reading, London's concluding lines take a very different and greater emphasis.

The curse of nature that blights the marriage coach and turns it into a hearse is venereal infection in the first reading. But Blake is talking about any marriage, and he means literally that each rides in a hearse. The plagues are the enormous plagues that come from identifying reason, society, and nature, and the greatest of these plagues is the Jealousy of Experience, and dark secret love of the natural heart.

There are a number of reasons for questioning Bloom's literal "closer reading." First of all, although most of "London" is sounds, what the speaker of the poem hears is not the curse itself but how "the youthful Harlots curse / Blasts the new-born Infants tear, / And blights with plagues the Marriage hearse." The object of "hear" is not the curse but the indirect question, the how-clause. "Hear" in this sense means "understand the manner in which . . .": it does not refer to a literal hearing. The speaker, walking through the midnight streets, becomes aware of the conditions and effects of the "Harlots curse," how it ruins ("blasts") and blights. Secondly, it has been suggested by Erdman that the "Harlots curse" is parallel to the "Soldiers sigh" of the third stanza, and that Blake may have been thinking about a curse written on the palace walls, not shouted in the streets. Third, Bloom's "closer reading" destroys the parallel metaphorical meaning of "blast" (ruin or destroy vegetation) and "blight." In his reading the reader's attention must move rapidly from the literal blasting (the harlot's breath moistening the baby's eyes) to the more gradual onset of blight, in spite of the alliteration. Fourth, it will be shown later in our argument that Blake also
wants to link the parallel ideas of the "Infants tear" (the infant's venereal disease) and the "Marriage hearse" (the mother's venereal disease). Fifth, and last, Bloom (apparently) rejects the interpretation that the harlot's blast of breath can literally scatter the child's tear out of existence, since a newborn baby has no tear; and his point seems to be that the harlot causes the tear to come into existence by moistening the child's eyes with the breath of her cursing. But, in this case, the harlot is, logically speaking, blasting the child's eye, not the tear, unless blast is reinterpreted to mean "cause to come into existence," which considerably distorts the traditional meanings. The "Harlots curse" must refer predominantly to venereal disease, and this is what we intend to show in this article.

The main problem in interpreting these second and third lines of the stanza lies, we suspect, in knowing what it means to blast a tear. Bloom also is aware of this and is to be commended for wrestling with the problem; no other critic has dealt with it in such detail. We take "blast" to mean predominantly "to ruin, destroy" (OED, II, 8), especially to ruin or destroy the bud, flower, or fruit of a plant. (It should be noted here that "blast" in the sense of "ruin" may ultimately derive from the idea of a "malignant wind" (OED, II, 7) which destroys vegetation; but it destroys the vegetation by bringing disease, not by blowing the plant to pieces. So, the "Harlots curse" may figuratively operate as a "malignant wind" but only in the sense that it brings disease, not in the sense that it blows away or apart.) But what does it mean to ruin or destroy a tear? Blake could very well have in mind the effects of a particular venereal disease, gonorrhea conjunctivitis, a form of gonorrhea which was certainly widespread at Blake's time and which shortly after birth produces an ugly, pussey discharge from the eyes. The disease itself is an infection "contracted from the birth canal during delivery." Shortly after birth the newborn baby's eyelids are marked by a puffy, reddened appearance and are swollen shut by a green pussy discharge oozes through the closed lids. In the days before penicillin, this untreated disease progressed over a period of six weeks to involve the cornea (an important protector of the eye), resulting in a perforated cornea with loss of the eye. Thus, the child's "tears" appear to be quite literally "blasted": they have been changed to pus. The child's eyesight may also be "blasted" in that he may lose his sight.

Through this new reading, we can better appreciate the skillful parallelism of the last two lines of the poem. Blake is moving from the immediate effects of the youthful harlot on the newborn baby to her more pervasive effects on marriage in general; he is moving from the more concrete, more nearly literal blasting of the "Infants tear" to the more abstract, more symbolic blighting of the "Marriage hearse," and this shift is carefully reflected in his diction. Blasting and blighting in general destroy vegetation and the two actions are linked with the "bl-" alliteration; but blast refers particularly to the destruction of the bud, fruit, or flower of a plant, and so Blake uses it to refer to the actions of the harlot on the infant (the bud of the marriage plant). Blight, as a verb, refers to destruction of the plant in general; and blight, as a noun, refers to the "baleful influence" that destroys plants or "prevents their blossom from 'setting'" (OED, 1.); and so Blake uses it to refer to the destruction of marriage (the plant which produces the bud). Also, venereal disease would prevent the "blossom from 'setting'" properly.

Just as the harlot infects the child with venereal disease (the "Infants tear") so, in the last line of the poem, she more pervasively ("with plagues") destroys marriage in general through venereal disease ("Marriage hearse"). "Marriage hearse" now becomes a dynamic symbol which fuses a number of suggestive meanings. In the context of the poem it can be read grammatically as an adjective modifying a noun and as a compound noun, each form having harmonious overtones. In the first case, "hearse" is a description which interprets Blake's culture. It refers in general to the deadly condition of marriage, in that marriage, for Blake, is a restrictive institution (deadly, in a spiritual sense) which actually fosters prostitution; and individual marriages are literally and physically deadly, since the venereal disease is transferred to the wife and children. "Marriage hearse" also calls to mind the marriage coach (marriage is again spiritually dead) and the marriage bed (marriage is again physically deadly). (An early meaning of hearse is "bier," the movable stand on which a corpse, whether in a coffin or not, is placed before burial; that on which it is carried to the grave" (OED, 2.)

In the second case, "Marriage hearse" can be taken as a compound noun; here the emphasis shifts from "hearse" to "Marriage," and "hearse" virtually becomes an appositive adjective ("marriage, which is a hearse") since "Marriage" is the object of "blights." The meaning is essentially the same, "marriage, which is a deadly condition, spiritually and physically"; but the awareness of this alternate grammatical form helps to account for the ability of the two words to resonate, so to speak, to become musically dynamic. Not only are there multiple meanings which harmonize, but there are also two conforming grammatical structures by which the meanings are expressed.

Mark Schorer, years ago, remarked that although Blake could "see spiritual realities within natural objects and . . . could impose spiritual realities upon nature," in his early poems he tends to "illuminate facts by vision." The last stanza of "London" shows this tendency well. The speaker is walking the streets of London, listening; but he is also a kind of prophet, the midnight also a moral and political darkness, and he hears the facts and conditions of his city and passes judgment on them. He is aware of the details of venereal disease, but he is also aware that it is a "curse," inherited in the blood, which "blasts" the child and his crying and "blights with plagues" the institution of marriage and the mothers who must carry and give birth to the diseased children.

Preface to the Revised Edition of Blake's Notebook

by David V. Erdman

Reviewers were generous in their praise of the first edition; their welcoming of this facsimile as "an essential guide"—"both stimulating and useful" and even "something of a landmark"—lulled my critical faculties, so that when the opportunity of a reissue arose my first inclination was merely to correct the manifest errors and occasional misprints, to put a proper note of identification near the finely sketched portrait of Blake's wife Catherine on Notebook page 82 (Geoffrey Keynes having pointed out that the sketch had been copied by Frederick Shields for the 1880 Gilchrist Life and there identified), and, with the necessary rearrangement of adjacent items, to correct my mistaken dating of Poem 78 in the Table on pages 56-58 and in the explanation on page 71. I intended also to cite briefly, in the note to page 27, a clear solution to the puzzle of Emblem 10 which was proposed by Robert N. Essick in his review in Blake Newsletter 32 (Spring 1975) pp. 132-36.

When I sat down to check through the reviews for specific criticisms and suggestions, however, I was gradually drawn into a sober reappraisal of my "readings" of two of the emblem designs, one being that of the figure resting on a cloud in a star-studded sky used by Blake in his strategic "Introduction" to Songs of Experience. "On pages 73 and 75, the figure in Emblem 36 must surely be identified not as the future Bard but as the future Earth," declared Jean H. Hagstrum in his review in Philological Quarterly, 53 (Fall 1974) 643-45. "Her position resembles that of a clear but unmistakable Blakean icon . . . the position of Earth, of the Clod of Clay or Nature in Thel, of the sleeping girl in America, and of Vala in The Four Zoas." Long uncertain about this figure, I had defined it as "the alerted Soul on her cloud" as late as the galley-proof stage of the first edition, then persuaded myself that it was, after all, "the Bard on his scroll." Sir Geoffrey Keynes had once agreed that it was the Bard but in his recent facsimile edition of the Songs (1967) had come round to seeing it as Earth . . . a female figure reclining on a couch borne on a cloud among a night of stars." What finally convinced me were two pages of close

3 Bloom's "closer reading" is actually two readings: (1) a literal reading which takes the curse to be an oral imprecation moistening the baby's eyes, and (2) a symbolic reading dependent on this literal reading. In this paper we are directly questioning only the first.


5 This interpretation is something of a straw man anyway; that the harlot's breath can literally scatter the baby's tear out of existence is contrary to ordinary language and the facts of experience.

A more common interpretation would reply that Bloom is demanding too technical a knowledge of his reader and of Blake when he points out that a newborn baby has no tear (at any rate, a "newborn" baby could be two days old, and have tears). Such a reading would also take "Infants tear" as a synecdoche meaning "infant's crying." This, however, leaves the reader suspecting that Blake used "tear" largely because it rhymed with "hear"; it shows a faulty craftsmanship in Blake which we do not feel is necessarily in the poem.

6 For a complete description and a photograph of an infected child see Adler's Textbook of Ophthalmology, 8th ed., ed. Harold G. Scheie and Daniel M. Albert (Philadelphia: W. B. Sanders, 1969), p. 147. Dr. Kent is responsible for the medical information given at this point in the article; we are also partly indebted to Virginia Burpos of Bridgeport, Connecticut, for this reading of the poem.

7 Adler's Textbook of Ophthalmology, p. 147. Since gonococcal conjunctivitis is a form of gonorrhea, it is not prenatal or congenital. A number of commentators have referred to the "curse" as "prenatal," thinking, no doubt, of the blindness resulting from congenital syphilis: see Bloom, p. 141; M. H. Abrams' comments in The Norton Anthology of English Literature, ed. M. H. Abrams et al., rev. ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1968), II, 59; and Bloom's comments in The Oxford Anthology of English Literature, ed. Frank KerMODE and John Hollander, et al. (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1973), II, 27. Since venereal diseases were not differentiated until late in the nineteenth century, Blake and others could easily have thought of any form of gonorrhea as congenital and so a "curse" passed on in the blood. See Charles Clayton Dennie, History of Syphilis (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1962), esp. p. 92f.

8 E. D. Hirsch, Jr., In评委ence and Experience: An Introduction to Blake (New Haven, Conn.: Yale Univ. Press, 1964), pp. 94 and 265.

9 See Abrams' comments in The Norton Anthology of English Literature, II, 59; and Bloom, p. 142.

argument for the Earth/Soul interpretation in a copy
John E. Grant sent me of his review scheduled for
publication in the Autumn 1977 issue of Modern
Philology. It is with relief and pleasure that I now
belatedly join such a "strong" company of scholars as
Keynes, Grant, and Hagstrum.

John Grant's review also questions my reading of
Emblem 13, page 31, as did Robert Essick's. Where I
saw a gowned "Saviour" descending through a doorway,
they saw a gowned woman ascending. The essay is
quite vague; what convinces me in this case is the
early wash drawing, kindly supplied by Essick, of
what is clearly a variant of the same scene (Fig. 43).
William Rossetti had been substantially correct with
his caption, "The Soul entering Eternity. Exhibits a
maiden entering a door, guarded by two spiritual
women" (Gilchrist Life, 1863, II, 248 no. 92).

Another variant is Blake's design for Young's Night
Thoughts (p. 510), in which the woman entering "at
the door of Heaven" is welcomed by a bearded man who
pushes the door open and represents "humble Love."
(Another version, emblem size, is a slight sketch of
a figure entering a door, inscribed "Frontispiece"
above the drawing and "It is Deep Midnight" below it.
Since this sketch is drawn on the verso of Blake's
title page "For Children The Gates of HELL," the
probability is, Martin Butlin suggests, that this and
some of the other unpublished Notebook emblems were
at one time intended for a separate, unpublished
Gates of HELL.) As for Emblem 10, which I can now
see as a variant of A Breach in a City the Morning
after the Battle (1784) or War (1805), Essick has
kindly sent me an annotated tracing which helps to
identify the edges of the broken wall, the three
corpses before and within the break, a small figure
seen in the distance through the break and walking
with the variant versions makes evident, what I saw
as cloud and lightning are a clump of trees and the
outlines of the eagle. What looks like a giant leg
proves to be the space between the edge of the broken
wall and a fallen body.

Revising the account of Emblem 10, which I had
called "War," required little more than a refining
of connotations. But my erroneous accounts of
Emblems 13 and 36 had far-reaching effects. While I
was wrestling with the necessary revisions passage,
and discussing them on the telephone with John Grant,
he gently urged me to examine and reconsider the sex
of the figure I had identified as Satan in the
picture on pages 110-11. The prominent rounded
breasts ought perhaps to suggest Eve—or Satan's
daughter and paramour, Sin. (But then Christ in the
same picture looks rather like that Bard—I mean
"lapsed Soul"—in Emblem 36, hair and gown: some
suggestion of an androgynous Human Form Divine?)

Three females I had mistaken for males! I could
take some comfort from recalling the first part of
Blake's letter to the Monthly Magazine in 1806 in
which he protested the criticism of a painting by
Fuseli. The critic had mistaken a boy in Count
Ugolino's arms for a girl. "Whether a boy or girl," Blake
wrote, "signifies not." Then he added: "but
the critic must be a fool . . . who does not know a
boy from a girl. Small comfort. I have omitted the
first "who": "a fool who has not read Dante": Blake
knew that the Child was a boy. I had thought I knew,
from reading Blake, that those figures were male. By this time a simple patching
here and there and a note of errors would not do. I
have now revised the descriptions of these three
Emblems completely, put in a query about Eve or Sin,
and revised my accounts of the sequences of emblems
in Blake's various numberings. The changed readings
of the three emblem pictures fortunately make no
drastic change in the sequences of variation between
images of fear and images of hope which constitute
the dynamics of the series. Emblem 10 comes into
sharper focus as death and mourning after battle,
with permissible allusions to the English Civil War
and the American War, while "the drift of hollow
states" suggests contemporary prophecy. Emblem 13,
whether it represents the Bard returning to the
doorway toward us or a Soul going toward heaven, is
an emblem of hope. And Emblem 36, whether the Bard
watching for Earth to respond to "the Word" or the
Earth at "the World" but not yet arising, is
critically ambivalent. It can make a positive
thrust in the thematic series of the Notebook
emblems; in the context of the "Introduction" poem
and its sequel "Earth's Answer" it may lead
the viewer and reader into a lapsed condition that puts
the dawn of a future age far off. The fit of text to
picture, however, is a compelling reality: it is
the Earth as globe to whom "the starry floor," prominent in the picture, is given; the "watry shore"
is given as boundary to the earth as land (the
"slumberous mass"), and it is from that prison that
her chained spirit answers in the second poem
("Earth's Answer").

Four emblem pictures which I have added at John
Grant's suggestion, on pages 98-99, afford further
possibilities—which I leave others to explore—for
the reconstruction of Blake's numbered series of
emblems. Figures 44 and 45 are sketches on a small
sheet of paper which Grant calls to my attention as
bearing alongside their captions revised and thrice
revised numbers that seem to fit gaps in Table V
(p. 64) of emblems in numbered series. In Fig. 45
a bee-winged girl hovers with folded arms under an
archway, or possibly the branch of a tree. These
drawings are not much like those in the Notebook, but
the possibility that they may have been considered
for the Notebook series cannot be ruled out. They
are like the drawings of Figs. 46-47.

Figures 46 and 47 are less ambiguous and in a
different category. Both were added to blank verso
pages, within the areas framed by the plate printed
on the rectos, in copy C of For Children: The Gates
of Paradise, a copy which Blake's old friend George
Cumberland apparently purchased after his death.
These added emblems, a flower—woman to match the
fire-man of the emblem it faces, and a printer at
work following "Death's Door," show Blake still the
relentless emblem-maker. Perhaps they are
restorations of earlier rejected designs; the first
Fig. 46, bears a kind of sibling relation to Fig. 45.
But I have no ingenious speculations ready, nor has John Grant, who led me to these surprises.

Thanks, then, to Professors Essick, Grant, and Hagstrum, this new edition contains significant improvements that have involved minor revisions throughout, even in the index. And although I have found no way to make direct use of "Blake's Gothicised Imagination and the History of England," David Bindman's essay in William Blake, 1973 (the Keynes Festschrift edited by Morton Paley and Michael Phillips), my brief discussion of the historical sketches and of the list of topics from English history on page 116 would benefit from the wider context supplied by Bindman's survey "of Blake's interpretation of the whole panorama of English history from its mythological origins to the apocalyptic future."

Jean H. Hagstrum is to be thanked for a most interesting textual correction of "Public Address" sections 63 and 29 (N 20 and N 62). What has always been read as "Poco Pen" and "Poco Pend," but never made sense of, can now be confidently given as "Poco Piu" and "Poco Piud." Hagstrum observed that it was a misreading of u, and Geoffrey Keynes noted that what looks like e (though loopless) is indistinguishable from an undotted ə (of which the text affords frequent examples) and that Blake is attacking the slang of the "Cunning Sures" (N 40); compare his scorn of their "je ne sais quoi" in Poem 124 (N 41). The only other error of transcription noted, and corrected, is "Accusation" corrected to "Accusations" in Appendix page 95.

The 1788 Publication Date of Lavater's Aphorisms on Man

by Richard J. Schroyer

William Blake's annotated copy of the first English edition of J. C. Lavater's Aphorisms on Man (tr. H. Fuseli, pub. J. Johnson)1 is usually dated 1788 on the apparently firm evidence of the title page dated 1788 and the unsigned "Advertisement" (pp. v-vi) dated "May, 1788." This date may be especially important for the chronology of Blake's earliest illuminated books, if, as S. Foster Damon first observed, All Religions are One and the two series of There Is No Natural Religion are formally and materially indebted to Lavater's Aphorisms. In light of this, it is unsettling to find that David Erdman, in two very influential studies of Blake,4 re-dates Aphorisms 1789—and thereby pushes the terminus a quo of Blake's annotations forward by at least six months--on the authority of the following statement in John Knowles' Life and Writings of Henry Fuseli (1831):

In the beginning of the year (1789), Fuseli published, in a small duodecimo [say, for octavo] volume, a translation of Lavater's "Aphorisms on Man;" which work, written in German, was dedicated to him by this early and esteemed friend. The dedication is dated October, 1787.5

Knowles' generally valuable biography is, I would suggest, almost certainly wrong on this particular point, the victim perhaps of a printer's slip.6

Although there is some reason to believe that the first edition of Aphorisms was not widely circulated until the spring of 1789, when Christopher Moody wrote that the volume was "now before us,"7 other evidence indicates that the book was in print, and therefore available to Blake, as early as perhaps May (the date of the "Advertisement"), and very probably by June or July 1788. The July 1788 issue of Joseph Johnson's recently founded Analytical Review carried two notices of the book. Aphorisms is listed as one of the "Books and Pamphlets Published during the first six months after publication,"8 a critic identified as "N" gives a fairly extensive account of the book, with a generous selection of aphorisms:


The author of these Aphorisms seems to have proceeded from the head to the heart, or rather the study of one enabled him to trace the different forms the passions wear, and to discriminate many of their almost endless combinations. We with pleasure read the only maxims extant written by a benevolent man; and perhaps it is necessary
to love the human race, and to be one of its ornaments, before the virtues and vices which adorn and debase it can be discerned and unfolded. He must have genius who can point out its characteristics, and display the sublime he describes. [Following an accurate transcript of the "Dedication" and "Advertisement," the reviewer continues.]

Many of the aphorisms are so well expressed in the translation, that they have all the merit of an original thought almost intuitively struck off... The blemishes... are trifling; and the work, taken collectively, we think the most interesting and original production we have for a long time perused, and that it does equal honour to the goodness, discernment, and sensibility of the author.

The number of the aphorisms is 643.9

The existence of this dated review, together with the facts and inferences already available, permit us to construct a fairly detailed outline of the history of Aphorisms. During the autumn of 1787, when, as Blake later recalled, "Flaxman was taken to Italy" and "Fuseli was given to me for a season,"10 Fuseli's friend Lavater was rapidly composing his "verdicts of wisdom on the reports of experience."11 A task he evidently completed by 13 October, when the dedication to Fuseli was written. By the end of the year, part of the collection was published in German as Ver- mischte Physiognomische Regeln zur Selbst- und Menahenkenntniss, but without the dedication. The part of the collection not published in 1787 was apparently reserved for a second volume of 1788.12 Between October 1787 and May 1788, Fuseli translated Lavater's Regeln into English aphorisms which, as far as I can determine, fairly reflect the spirit of the originals. And it was probably during the same period that either Fuseli or Johnson employed Blake --who may have begun to experiment with illuminated printing—to engrave the frontispiece after Fuseli.13 By May 1788, when Blake's first plate for Lavater's major work, Sansay on Physiognomy, was issued,14 Aphorism was very probably ready for the press. By July 1788, as we have seen, the first edition was in print and was being discussed openly, at least in Johnson's house journal.

That Blake did in fact obtain his copy of the book in May-July 1788 is probable but not certain.
As the engraver of the frontispiece and as a friend of the translator, Blake seems to have had both opportunity and motive to acquire and begin to annotate his copy of *Aphorismen* as soon as it became available. Further, nothing in Blake's annotations would contradict a date of composition as early as spring or summer 1788, and the evidence of offsets gathered by G. E. Bentley, Jr. may indicate that Blake received an unbound—and therefore possibly a pre-publication--copy of the book, perhaps in partial payment for engraving the frontispiece. In sum, although several problems in Blake's chronology await better solutions (or at least more precise definitions) than are now available, the 1788 publication date of Lavater's *Aphorismen* would seem to be fairly secure, and the traditional chronology of Blake's annotations and Natural Religion tractates, as a consequence, intact.

Postscript

In his *Life of William Blake*, Alexander Gilchrist tells a story about Blake, Fuseli, and Blake's copy of Lavater's *Aphorismen* which has always seemed to me to have the ring of truth. "Blake," Gilchrist reports, "showed his notes to Fuseli; who said one could assuredly read their writer's character in them." I had hoped to find that Fuseli's revisions for the second edition of *Aphorismen* (1789) would show that he read and incorporated into his revised text some of the suggestions found in Blake's annotations. Alas, a careful comparison of the two editions against Blake's comments does not confirm or deny Gilchrist's story, and it must therefore remain in the limbo of unsubstantiated anecdote.

1 I wish to express my thanks to the authorities of the Huntington Library, San Marino, California, for supplying me with a microfilm of Blake's copy of Lavater's *Aphorismen* (shelf-mark RB 57431).


3 S. Foster Damon, *William Blake: His Philosophy and Symbols* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1924), p. 37n. Admitting the real differences between Lavater's *Aphorismen* and Blake's principles in the Natural Religion tractates, one may nevertheless agree
with Damon that Lavater's first two aphorisms (which Blake in his note called "true Christian philosophy far above all abstrac-
tion") bear a striking resemblance to All Religions are One, principles 1, 2, and 7. Although none of the extant copies of the Natural Religion tractates can be shown to have been printed as early as 1788, the scholarly consensus is that the plates were probably etched at about that time. Briefly, the evidence for this conclusion is that the size and technical imperfections in the lettering and designs suggest that Blake was experimenting with a new medium, and that the colophon to the Ghost of Abel ("1822: W Blake's Original Stereotype was 1788"), a work addressed to "Lord Byron in the wilderness" probably refers to All Religions are One, the frontispiece of which is inscribed "The Voice of One Crying in the Wilderness." If Lavater's Aphorismen is considered to be a positive influence upon the Natural Religion tractates, then, as Martin K. Nurmi plausibly argues in William Blake (London: Hutchinson Univ. Library, 1975), pp. 52-54, Bacon's maxims may be considered a negative influence.


6 As occurs elsewhere in the Life, e.g., I, 287-88, where Knowles' first meeting with Fuseli in 1808 is dated 1825, the year of Fuseli's death.

7 (Christopher) Moody, review of Lavater's Aphorismen, in The Monthly Review, 80 (June 1799), 526-28. When Moody writes that the "little book of aphorisms" is "now before us" (p. 526), he may simply mean that the work is now under review. Moody's review first noted by Allentuck, p. 97.

8 Analytical Review, 1 (July 1788), 377. Aphorismen is described here, as in Knowles above, as a duodecimo rather than an octavo volume, though I suspect that these terms were used rather loosely to indicate relative size rather than exact format.

9 Analytical Review, 1 (July 1788), 286-89. In fact, the volume contains only 633 aphorisms, numbered 1-189, 200-643; this mis-

numbering was corrected in the second edition of 1789. It is of course possible that the July number of Analytical Review came out after July (the combined title page for volume I reads "From May to August, Inclusive, 1788."), though I have no solid evidence that this in fact happened.


12 The colophon of the first volume in German reads: "Zurich Freytags den 30. Nov. 1787." I have not seen the second volume of 1788, though Miss Hilde Siegl of the Deutsche Bibliothek, Frankfurt, reports that the title page reads: Veröffentlichte unphysiognomische Regeln zur Menschen- und Selbstkenntniss Von Johann Kaspar Lavater. Zum Bessten der Armen [the last seven words handwritten, perhaps by the author]. 1788. Presumably, the aphorisms found in Fuseli's translation, but not in the Regeln of 1787, were included in the Regeln of 1788. For Lavater's habit of dedicating his works to friends, see Franz Muncker, "Lavater," in Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, 18 (1883; rpt. Berlin: Duncker & Humbolt, 1969), 783-94.

13 On the frontispiece, see Ruthven Todd, "Two Blake Prints and Two Fuseli Drawings with some possibly pertinent speculations," Blake Newsletter, 5 (Winter, 1971-72), 173-81. According to Bentley & Nurmi, p. 137, "There were no plates in the 'Third Edition' of Dublin, 1790, or the 'Fifth Edition' of Newburyport, 1793." The copy of the Dublin edition of Aphorismen in the University of Western Ontario Library, however, contains a frontispiece copied from Blake's and is inscribed "P. Maguire Sculpit." (Illus. 2.)

"P. Maguire" is very probably Patrick Maguire, an Irish engraver about whom I know very little except that he was "admitted as a student in the Dublin Society's School in 1783, and afterwards worked in Dublin for many years [c. 1790-1820], as an engraver in Trinity Place and Anglesea Street" according to Walter G. Strickland, A Dictionary of Irish Artists (Dublin: Maunsell, 1913; reprint ed., Shannon: Irish Univ. Press, 1969), 11, 86-87.


15 Bentley & Nurmi, pp. 207-08. Since Blake apparently kept his copy of Aphorismen by him until his death in 1827, it is not impossible that some of his annotations were made long after 1788. See G. E. Bentley, Jr., Blake Records (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), pp. 288-89, 355-56.

Blake's Miltonizing of Chatterton

by Robert F. Gleckner

While there is little doubt that Blake read, absorbed, and stole from Chatterton, especially early in his career, the standard assumption has been, stemming largely from Margaret Lowery's *Windows of the Morning*, that Blake's borrowings from his near contemporary merely signal his indebtedness to the eighteenth century, particularly to the minor poets of the latter half of that century. Trying to deal adequately and fairly with verbal echoes is, of course, extremely risky, as the recent counterpoint between Michael Tolley and Michael Ferber over Thel's Motto newly demonstrates (Blake Newsletter, Summer 1976). So much of the verbal poetic tradition impinges upon a poet's unconscious memory that it is more often than not impossible to assign a phrase's ultimate origin. And, especially with a poet like Blake, such assignment is all the more difficult because of his habit of wrenching, upsetting, or even oververting the sense of the original to fit his own purposes—which include frequently a turning of the echo (or quotation or near-quotation) against itself.

One of the means Blake uses to accomplish such reversals or self-destructions is the introduction into the verbal context of a contrary (or at least superficially unrelated) allusion which, in its thematic import and usually clear Blakean affinities, dominates the total verbal and imagistic context to the point where assumptions about Blake's indebtedness to the first "source" are effectively short-circuited by the second.

Let me take a simple and characteristic case in point. At the close of the Memorable Fancy preceding the Proverbs of Hell Blake's Devil "folded in black clouds" writes "with corroding fires" the following:

How do you know but ev'ry Bird that cuts the airy way,
Is an immense world of delight, clos'd by your senses five?

As has been pointed out by others, the immediate source of the first line, at least, seems to be Chatterton's *Bristowe Tragedie*:

Howe dydd I knowe thatt ev'ry darte,
Thatt cutte the airie waie,

Myghte nott fynde passage toe my harte,
And close myne eyes for aie? (ll. 133-36)

The speaker is "Syr Charles Bawdin," who is about to be executed, the particular context his memory of escapes from death in battle and the consequent irony of his present predicament. The sharpness of the contrast with Blake's context needs no comment. Indeed so obviously irrelevant to Blake's purposes are both Chatterton's context and the "darte," even if somehow manipulated to "fit," that one wonders whether there is any point to Blake's making the allusion at all. It seems merely an unconscious (or perhaps even conscious) borrowing of a felicitous phrase.

Even early, however, such borrowing of felicities is not Blake's habit. And that is not the case here either. The trope of "cutting the air" (or the water) has a long history in literature, extending certainly as far back as Homer, Virgil, and Ovid—and appearing prominently at least twice in Spenser (whose influence on Blake's Poetical Sketches is demonstrably substantial). For example, in *The Faerie Queene* the angel-attending Guyon, who is "laid in swowne," is described, in part, by Spenser thus:

two sharpe winged sheares [i.e. wings]

Decked with diverse plumes, like painted layes,
Were fixed at his backe, to cut his ayerie ways.

(II, viii, 5)

Further, Canto VIII is introduced by an account of the "care" of "heavenly spirits" who

with golden pineons, cleave

The flitting skyes, like flying Pursuivant,
Against foule feends to aide us millitant.

(stanza 2)

And this is followed by a comparison of Guyon's protector with

Cupido on Idaean hill,
When having laid his cruell bow away,
And mortall arrows, wherewith he doth fill
The world with murdrous spoiles and bloudie pray.

(stanza 6)
Here, then, is the likely "source" for Chatterton's passage, wherein he translates Spenser's heavenly spirits into the warrior martyr who, though obviously no longer protected from harm, reassures throughout the latter half of the poem the righteousness of his life and career, his readiness to die, and his faith in a future life in "the land of bliss" with "God in Heaven."

That Blake knew these lines from Spenser is, of course, a matter of speculation; but in view of his apparently wide and careful early reading of Spenser it is likely. Further, in An Hymne of Heavenly Love the nine orders of angels are presented "with nimble wings to cut the skies, / When he [God] them on his messages doth send" (II, 66-67), a passage that may have suggested to Blake his characteristic perversion of angel-messengers into the Devil who conveys his wisdom to "the minds of men" by corrosive writing.

Be that as it may, the most important point about Blake's context is that it is even more Miltonic than it may be Spenserian. In Paradise Regained "the Adversary"

with envy fraught and rage
Flies to his place, nor rests, but in mid air
To Council summons all his mighty Peers,
Within thick Clouds and dark tenfold involv'd.

Similarly, "folded in black clouds" Blake's Devil hovers "on the sides of the rock!" "on the abyss of the five senses, where a flat sided steep frowns over the present world." Milton's Satan must tempt with wand'ring feet
The dark unbottom'd infinite Abyss
And through the palpable obscure find out
His uncouth way. . . .

And:

Into this wild Abyss the wary fiend
Stood on the brink of Hell and look'd a while,
Pondering his Voyage. . . .

Blake thus draws directly on Milton's abyss to help him define his own "abyss of the five senses" and "the present world." At the same time Blake surely recalled that Satan faced another "steep" when he reached the borders of Eden, "a steep wilderness" which to him "Access deni'd" (IV, 132-37). If so, then his Devil represents both the imaginative man, the artist, whose perception will not be restrained by the senses, as well as the Miltonic Satan who longingly conveys to enter the "delicious Paradise" where, through those very senses (among other things, of course), Eve is tempted. Perhaps this duality explains why the Devil is unimaginatively "folded in black clouds" while at the same time his corrosives can melt "apparent surfaces away, and [display] the infinite which was hid" (Marriage of Heaven and Hell, pl. 14).

Although by virtue of these allusions alone the apparent allusion to Chatterton is effectively swallowed up by the thoroughly Miltonic framework, Blake may have recalled as well Eve's dream in Book V of Paradise Lost:

Forthwith up to the Clouds
With him I flew, and underneath beheld
The Earth outstretcht immense. . . . (V, 86-88)

Adam's subsequent interpretation of the dream interestingly involves, in familiar faculty-psychology terms, the senses:

of all external things,
Which the five watchful Senses represent,
She forms Imaginations, Aery shapes,
Which Reason joining or disjoining, frames
All what we affirm or what deny, and call
Our knowledge or opinion. . . . (V, 103-08)

Thus, if Blake indeed had this sequence in mind, he artfully transforms Eve's tempting prospect of the earth (engineered by Satan) from far above into the speaker's and the Devil's perspective, also from high above the earth, hovering "over the present world." But for them, of course, there is no temptation but rather the terror of the abyss of the five senses over which they may triumph not by resisting temptation but by imaginatively overhearing the constrictions of a sense-bound universe—by, in other words, perceiving (and hence creating) their own "immense world of delight" otherwise "clos'd by [their] senses five."

Finally, we should note that the word "delight" itself, a favorite of both Spenser and Milton, is steadily associated by the latter especially with Eden, with God, with man as God's creation, with Adam's relationship to Eve, and the like. While Blake was surely aware of these associations, transforming them into his own conception of imaginative bliss in a Blakean Eden, he may also have had in mind passages such as the following dealing with God's creation of a sublunary world of delight:

Beneath him with new wonder now he views
To all delight of human sense expos'd
In narrow room Nature's whole wealth, yea more,
A Heaven on Earth. . . . (IV, 205-08)

In one sense, then, the entire Memorable Fancy is a dramatic enactment of or gloss on the first part of Plate 5 of The Marriage of Heaven and Hell. Adam's interpretation of Eve's dream includes a discussion of Reason as the restraint of desire:

. . . what in sleep thou didst abhor to dream,
Waking thou never wilt consent to do. (V, 121-22)

Thus Eve's temptations, in the dream and in actuality, are clearly the models for Thel's failure in The Book of Thel and Oothoon's ill-starred triumph in Visions of the Daughters of Albion. And the transformation of Milton's Satan into the imaginative perceiver-creator-artist, whose worlds of delight are neither of the senses nor of the Miltonic God's Eden, is neatly prefigurative of Blake's later efforts in Milton to release the seventeenth-century poet from his "fetters."

We are obviously a long way from Chatterton, from the eighteenth century, and from the "influence" of both. The Bristowe Tragedie passage must be seen then as merely the vehicle for Blake's manipulation
of Milton to his own, and ultimately to Milton's, benefit. If Chatterton's "darte" (a word which Blake uses only once in Chatterton's sense—in King Edward the Third, III, 1767) and its warlike associations remained in Blake's mind at all, they too become transmogrified into "Arrows of desire," "long winged arrows of thought," "Arrows of Love," and "Arrows of Intellect"—that is, the weapons of "Mental Fight" whereby even "Bacon & Newton & Locke" as well as "Milton & Shakspear & Chaucer" may "appear in Heaven." And perhaps Chatterton as well.


4 Sherbo, e.g., cites Dryden's Aeneid, Pope's Iliad and Odyssey (in the former of which we find "airy way" as well), Sandys' Ovid's Metamorphoses, Godolphin's The Fausion of Blode for Aeneas, and Evelyn's Sarradition among others (English Poetic Diction, pp. 62-65), while Arthos lists Virgil's Aeneid and the Georgics, as well as Du Bartas, Sylvester, Chapman, Drayton, and Cowley (The Language of Natural Description, pp. 134-35).

5 We might also note, from Mulopassus, the phrase "air-cutting wings" (1. 154).

6 We should recall that part of Satan's temptation (in the dream as well as later in reality) is the achieving of godhood:

Forbidd'n here, it seems, as only fit
For Gods, yet able to make Gods of Men. (V, 69-70)

The difference between Blake's idea of "godhood" and Satan's (as well as Milton's) is a measure of both Blake's distance from the seventeenth century and the care with which he adapts Milton's Satan for his own prophetic purposes.

7 Both Spenser and Milton make heavy use of the word.

8 Milton, pl. 1: Jerusalem, pls. 33, 97, 98.

9 Another similar reversal of Chatterton, but without the assistance of Spenser or Milton, represents a more rudimentary form of Blake's absorption of his sources—and thus may suggest one way that we can conjecturally date individual poems in the Poetical Sketches (or at least determine whether they are early or late). In the second stanza of Gwin, King of Norway Blake virtually takes over whole Chatterton's stanza xli of the Bristowe Tragedie. But whereas Bawdin's speech extols the virtue of his noble father who taught him "To feed the hungry poor/ Nor let my servants drive away/ The hungry from my door," Blake's tyrants are those very nobles who "did feed/ Upon the hungry poor" and "drive/ The needy from my door." A more elaborate transformation, though still without the conversion factors of a Milton or a Spenser, is Blake's rewrite of Chatterton's stanza lxi in "The Chimney Sweeper" of Songs of Innocence, where Chatterton's ballad stanza is elongated into fourteeners and the "councilmen" escorting Bawdin to his beheading become the "Grey headed beadles" leading the children into St. Paul's cathedral. Since Lowery concentrated on apparent similarities in wording, form, and tone, she ignores passages such as these which involve major transmutations by Blake.
A Tentative Note on the Economics of The Canterbury Pilgrims

by Ruthven Todd

The printing of intaglio plates was never a driving impulse with William Blake, despite The Book of Ahania and The Book of Los. During the years of his apprenticeship to James Basire, 1772-1779, he undoubtedly learned how to pull a proof of any plate upon which he happened to be working, in order to see what further work was needed upon the plate, but such a proof did not have to be more than competent. He was trained as an engraver, not as a printer.

The copperplate-printer served an apprenticeship of at least five years and, like all indentured and trained craftsmen, was naturally most protective of his trade and his skills. It is, perhaps, noteworthy that the only two published works for which William and Catherine Blake actually printed the plates, Designs to a Series of Ballads, 1802, by William Hayley and the first two volumes of the same author's The Life and Posthumous Writings of William Coopar, 1803, were provincial productions.

Although William protested otherwise, in his letter of 30 January 1803 to James Blake, anyone who has had the opportunity of examining several copies of either work alongside one another will at once see that the prints do not exhibit the mechanical, and often deadly, production-line perfection of those pulled by a professional plate-printer.

"The London section of Pendred's Vade Mecum of 1785 lists thirteen plate printers, fourteen engraver-printers, and one rolling-press-maker."¹ Such a listing, from a generalized work, can only be taken as a sampling of the actual total. London being a comparatively small city at that date, however, it can be accepted that it shows that there was always a plate-printer near at hand for Blake, except when he lived in Lambeth and at Felpham. The natural thing for him to do would be to take any plate upon which he was working round to the nearest plate-printer and have a proof or two pulled. The cost was little and was far outweighed by the trouble of setting up the press and all the paraphernalia to do such a tiny job at home.

The Longman accounts referring to Flaxman's Dante, 1807, and Hesiod, 1817, show that the plate-printers Cox & Barnett received 3d. a pull for proofs and 5s. per hundred prints, in a run, in 1807, and 6d. a proof and 6s. a hundred in 1817.² Paper for the various classical designs by Flaxman, between April 1805 and 1817, all of it "medium plate," varied from as much as £6.10s. to as little as £4 a ream. As a ream consists of five hundred sheets, this breaks down to as little as about 1yd. to about 2yd. a sheet. Of course, these sheets would be smaller than those required to print "The Canterbury Pilgrims," but an estimate of 1s. a sheet for paper of the requisite size does not seem out of order.

The firm of Dixon & Ross, c.1835, charged 1s. 1d. an impression or £8 per hundred in a run in Double Elephant folio, i.e. 20 x 27 in.³ The smallest paper upon which "The Canterbury Pilgrims" could have been printed is about 19 x 42 in. I know that paper was made which was about 40 x 54 in., although I cannot recollect what it was called in the trade. Such a sheet would provide for two prints.

There was no difference for a shorter run than that of a hundred, and, allowing for a general increase in prices between 1810 and 1835, it seems likely that a proportion of £6 per hundred would still apply.

Copper has always fluctuated in value, so it is difficult to decide what the plate would have cost. The plates for the Hesiod, bought through Blake, averaged just over 7s. each. But it seems likely that Blake brought down the price by buying secondhand plates of which he would use the back or plane off the previous design with a snake-stone.

The top price for any of the plates for Illustrations of the Book of Job was 3s.10d. I think that the price of copper, as always during wartime, was high around 1810, and it is likely that the Job plates might have cost 4s. at that time.

As the plate of "The Canterbury Pilgrims" measures 35.5 x 97.5 cm., which is roughly seven
times that of the *Job* plates, 22 x 17 cm., it may be assumed that the large plate would have cost about £1.8s., or, even if Blake had used a thicker gauge of copper in view of the size of the plate (I am trying to find out the gauges of the *Job* and "The Canterbury Pilgrims"), as much as £1.10s.

Although I doubt whether Blake produced a printing of the first state of "The Canterbury Pilgrims" of as many copies as 25, I have made an estimate based upon that number:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cost of copperplate</th>
<th>£1.10s.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cost of paper (1 sheet, 2 prints)</td>
<td>£0.12s.6d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost of printing 25 copies</td>
<td>£2.00s.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**total £4.02s.6d.**

Allowing for extras, including perhaps a pint of porter for the pressman, the price might well be leveled off at £4.4s., which was the price of one subscription, paid in advance, and it seems more than likely that Thomas Butts, who bought the tempera painting of "The Canterbury Pilgrims," would have provided this.

(I have never seen a copy, and no such copy is mentioned in Sir Geoffrey Keynes's *Separate Plates*, but it would seem from the Linnell accounts that some proofs, presumably of the fourth state, were printed on India paper, since John Linnell, on behalf of Catherine Blake, sold one, so described, to a Mr. Flowers of Islington for £2.12s.6d. on 29 September 1827.)

The above *jeu d'esprit*, of course, takes no account of the immense amount of work which went into turning 30s. worth of copper into a most impressive work of art. An impression of the final state, given to me by Charles Sessler in Philadelphia in 1947, faces me across my room as I write and makes me feel rather ashamed at having pointed out that the material base of the work cost so little. But the same can be said of the materials with which any artist works, and the costs are the same for the bad artist as for the great one. The limbo of forgotten engravings of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries contains many larger and more pretentious plates which cost about the same to fabricate. It is the work of art upon the plate which makes it memorable.

I hope that these notes will be of some interest in giving a part of the economic background of a poor artist during a difficult time, and also hope that anyone who has any information about the costs of commercial plate-printers during Blake's lifetime will pass it on to me.

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3 Iain Bain, p. 9.
5 G. E. Bentley, Jr., *Blake Records*, p. 594.
Minute Particulars

Blake Echoes in Victorian Dublin

by Vivian Merrier

At Morton Paley's request, I went through the file of Kottabos in the library of Trinity College, Dublin: it consists of three volumes in the original series and two in the new series, running from 1869 to 1895, with a pause between the series in the 1880's. Edited by the distinguished classical scholar Robert Yelverton Tyrrell, Kottabos normally appeared three times a year. Each issue, looking like a bound set of examination papers in spite of its pink paper cover, was dated according to the term in which it appeared—Michaelmas, Hilary, or Trinity. Apart from an occasional prose parody tucked in at the end of an issue, it consisted entirely of original verse and translations (usually verse) into and out of various classical and modern languages, but chiefly from English into Latin and Greek.

Most of the so-called original verse was extremely derivative; often the author made it perfectly clear that he was attempting only parody or pastiche. The series of "Poems Written in Discipleship" to which John Todhunter contributed his two imitations of Blake was usually accompanied by a footnote: "These poems are in no sense parodies, but intend to be affectionate studies or sketches in the manner of some of the masters of song." In other words, they are exercises in pastiche. No doubt a parallel could be found in Songs of Innocence or Songs of Experience for virtually every line of Todhunter's "Paradise Lost" and "Paradise Found." The most interesting aspect of these poems "Of the School of William Blake" may well be their date, since they appeared in the issue for Michaelmas Term (i.e. Fall Quarter), 1871. Another point worth noting, though it may be the result of pure chance, is Blake's apparent high position in the batting order of the masters of song. Only Browning and Tennyson, in that order, had preceded him, both imitated by Edward Dowden, Professor of English Literature at Trinity, still remembered for his books on Shakespeare and Shelley. After Blake in the series came Longfellow (imitated by the otherwise unknown Percy S. Payne), Wordsworth (by Todhunter), "The Earlier Style of Euripides" (by R. Y. Tyrrell, in Greek), and Whitman (by Todhunter again). One might ask why Swinburne did not appear; the obvious answer is that practically all the "original" poetry showed his influence, especially that written by Oscar Wilde and his brother William. One might have expected Oscar to be aware of Blake, but his work for Kottabos offers no proof of this.

In the scholarly world of the time—and to a large extent in the literary world, too—Kottabos owed its reputation primarily to its contributors' felicity in turning English poetry into Latin and Greek verse, a Renaissance accomplishment still highly prized among the Victorians. Shakespeare naturally offered the greatest challenge and was probably the most frequently translated author: classicists could not resist trying to turn Hamlet's soliloquies into the rhetoric of the Greek tragedians. Milton and Pope, steeped as they were in the classics, went easily enough into Latin, though Dryden, perhaps because of his Catholicism, was neglected by the staunch Protestants of Trinity (Pope of course was Catholic, too; it was Dryden's well publicized conversion to Catholicism in the reign of James II that caused Protestant resentment). Swinburne, as the author of Atlanta in Calydon, provoked attempts to translate him into Greek as well as Latin. On the other hand, those who cared more for grammar and meter than for belle lettres often turned to translating humorous stage-Irish ballads or mediocre album verse. R. Y. Tyrrell, over a number of years, hammered out a complete Latin version of Thomas Hood's "The Bridge of Sighs" in the meter of the original—itself derived from medieval Latin verse. Given the above facts, you can imagine my surprise and delight at finding a Latin rendering of a Blake poem in the issue for Trinity Term, 1876. Blake's "The Fly" is translated into eleven lines of Catullan hendecasyllabics under the hackneyed but appropriate title "Carpe Diem." The Latin is signed "W. G. T."—the initials of William Gerald Tyrrell, as we learn elsewhere in the issue. No doubt he was a relative of the editor.

It was shrewd of the translator to see how neatly Blake's poem would fit into a classical sub-genre. Too often we glibly categorize Blake as Romantic and ignore the "Augustan" element in his earlier work. By the way, Catullus, whom W. G. naturally offered the greatest challenge and was probably the most frequently translated author: classicists could not resist trying to turn Hamlet's soliloquies into the rhetoric of the Greek tragedians. Milton and Pope, steeped as they were in the classics, went easily enough into Latin, though Dryden, perhaps because of his Catholicism, was neglected by the staunch Protestants of Trinity (Pope of course was Catholic, too; it was Dryden's well publicized conversion to Catholicism in the reign of James II that caused Protestant resentment). Swinburne, as the author of Atlanta in Calydon, provoked attempts to translate him into Greek as well as Latin. On the other hand, those who cared more for grammar and meter than for belle lettres often turned to translating humorous stage-Irish ballads or mediocre album verse. R. Y. Tyrrell, over a number of years, hammered out a complete Latin version of Thomas Hood's "The Bridge of Sighs" in the meter of the original—itself derived from medieval Latin verse. Given the above facts, you can imagine my surprise and delight at finding a Latin rendering of a Blake poem in the issue for Trinity Term, 1876. Blake's "The Fly" is translated into eleven lines of Catullan hendecasyllabics under the hackneyed but appropriate title "Carpe Diem." The Latin is signed "W. G. T."—the initials of William Gerald Tyrrell, as we learn elsewhere in the issue. No doubt he was a relative of the editor.

Portrait of Dr. John Todhunter, by H. M. Paget (posthumous portrait from Elliott & Dry, photographed 1899).
POEMS WRITTEN IN DISCIPLESHIP.*

III. OF THE SCHOOL OF WILLIAM BLAKE.

Paradise Lost.

In the woodlands wild
I was once a child,
Singing, free from care,
Wandering everywhere.

Angels went and came,
Like spires of blissful flame—
All among the flowers,
Fed with virgin showers,
Angels went and came,
Call'd me by my name.

But a Serpent crept
On me as I slept,
Stung me on the eyes,
Woke with sick surprise.

And a Demon came
With a face of shame,
Spoke my sudden doom,
Naked in the gloom.

Then a dreadful sound
Peck'd through heaven's profound;
All my lonesome places
Were filled with dreadful faces;
Everywhere a face
Full of my disgrace.

* These poems are in no sense parodies, but intended to express the same states of mind as the present work.

Then raising her voice to a strain
The sweetest that ear ever heard,
She sung of the slave's broken chain
Wherever her glory appeared.

Some clouds, which had o'er us hung,
Fled, chased by her melody clear,
And methought while she liberty sung,
'Twas liberty only to hear.

Little fly,
With thy summer's play
My thoughtless hand
Has brush'd away.

Am not I
A fly like thee?
Or art not thou
A man like me?

For I dance,
And drink, and sing,
Till some blind hand
Shall brush my wing.

If thought is life,
And strength, and breath,
And the want
Of thought is death,
Then am I
A happy fly,
If I live,
Or if I die.

Then liquid tenors interdicit voce canores
Quis equidem excepto dulcius aure nilul;
Vincula enim cecinit servis casura soluta
Vindique qua, visa splendida, forset iter.

Nubila, quae cymbae rara imminucrc per auras,
Fugerunt magis exsperata modis;
Et reliet mecum, dum iura sequienda canebat,
Audiet hacc quisquis carmina, liber erit.

Carpe Diem.

Hours volatiles, misella muscis,
Per solum, temeraria peristi
Nos nostra manu, nec hoc putavi
Nos viri vero mutare modoque.

Me restis simul impinde fatum,
Seque ubiqvua cum choros frequento,
Ducce caeca manus recidat ahs.

At si melos anima est vigorque vivi,
Hac autem percepsit deperimetros,
Carpe quid spatio superstit acis,
Mortemque impavidos moritur astrum.
Tyrrell seems to be imitating, was not himself an Augustan in the Roman sense: he died nearly thirty years before Octavian took the title of Augustus. Tyrrell's version is surprisingly faithful to Blake, if we allow for the vast difference in philosophic and stylistic assumptions between Rome of the first century B.C. and late eighteenth-century England. After being in contact with so much translation and imitation, I could not resist giving my own line-by-line version of Tyrrell's Latin: it is much more literal than it may appear at first sight.

Pluck the Day

Unlucky little fly, just lately fluttering brashly in the sun, you perished caught in my hand, and I never thought of this till now: you and I have the same life style and are involved in each other's fate. I too dance and sing often at parties till a blind hand clip my wings. But if mind be the soul and strength of the living creature and when it's dead we're gone for good, then I'm going to enjoy the rest of life and wait for gloomy death without a qualm.


Blake's Derbyshire: A Visionary Locale in Jerusalem

by David Worrall

In the design to Jerusalem 23 where Albion utters "his last words, relapsing! / Hoarse from his rocks, from caverns of Derbyshire & Wales / And Scotland" (J 23:26-28, E 167), Blake shows a series of separate, enclosed human forms who are apparently the inhabitants of these caverns. If Blake is making a specific reference here it is probably to the Devil's Arse cavern in Derbyshire (see Damon, Blake Dictionary) which was inhabited by the poor during Blake's lifetime. Charles Leigh's The Natural History Of Lancashire, Cheshire, And The Peak, in Derbyshire, Oxford, 1700, has a large, unsigned engraving of the Devil's Arse showing "the Area where the Persons and the Houses are, where a great many of the poor Inhabitants live" (Bk. 1, p. 192). Blake's knowledge is accurate then, but what of the "fables" of the "caverns in Cornwall, Wales, Derbyshire, and Scotland" which had been the subject of his "visionary contemplations" in A Descriptive Catalogue (40; E 533)?

The absorption of the Peak, East Moor and the caverns and mines of Derbyshire (see Blake Concordance) into Blake's myth in Jerusalem may stem from his imaginative reading or recollection of another of Leigh's plates which illustrated the interior of Poole's Hole in the same county. This plate shows a guide and a pair of tourists undergoing
"the Diversion of beholding various Representations produced by the petrifying Water continually dripping from the Roof and Sides of the Rock" (Bk. 3, p. 43). The shapes produced are stalactites and stalagmites plus the strong visual fancy of the beholder. Leigh explains their popular interpretations as (E) a lion; (F) the "Queen of Scots Pillar"; (H) and (I) as globes of "Alabaster Sparr" called "the Font" and "Mr. Cotton's Haycocks"; (K) "the Flitch of Bacon" and (L) "the Chairs" (Bk. 1, pp. 189-90).

The most interesting figure from the Blakean point of view, however, is that of (G) "the Figure of a Human Corps, formed likewise by the Dropping of the Water from the Top of the Arch and the Sides." It is probable that B. knew of this figure in Leigh's plate and associated its identification by the local people as a memorial or "fable" of Albion who, in Jerusalem, is also "petrified" (J 34:38:1, 7, E 177-78; J 46:32:1:5, E 193) has as its cruelly if reason usurps, & he took his Seat upon the Rock" (J 57:15-16, E 205). With this interpretation the solitary pillar now standing beside the human figure can be recognized as a remnant of the sixteen pillars erected when:

the merciful Saviour in his arms
Receive'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 built with immortal labour,
Of gold & jewels a sublime Ornament, a Couch of repose,
With Sixteen pillars: canopied with emblems & written verse. (J 48:1-7, E 194)

These crucial differences between vision and mere degenerate fancy make it clear why the eighteenth century visitor to Pooles Hole saw a similarity between the cave's interior and the interior of a church. Instead of the "Spiritual Verse" of the Decalogue, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Psalms, Prophets, Gospels and Revelation (J 48:8-11, E 194) which surrounds Albion's sleeping form, they only saw the rock shapes as an "Organ and Choir-work" and Font (Bk. 3, p. 43).

Albion's movements in Jerusalem imply that his resting place is a variant of Pooles Hole. After a temporary manifestation of rebellion when his "Great Voice of the Atlantic howled over Druid Altars" and "Round the Rocky Peak of Derbyshire London Stone & Rosamonds Bower" (J 57:5,7, E 205), Albion "fled beneath the Plow / Till he came to the Rock of Ages.
& he took his Seat upon the Rock" (J 57:15-16, E 205). The Peak's prophetic elevation (but capable of druid cruelty if reason usurps, J 21:34, E 165) has as its contrary the "horrid Chasm" beneath ("the most terrible Chasm that I ever yet beheld" Leigh on Pooles Hole, Bk. 1, p. 187), where a more deadly liquid drips:

Derby Peak yawnd a horrid Chasm at the Cries of Gwendolen, & at
The stamping feet of Ragan upon the flaming Treddles of her Loom
That drop with crimson gore with the Loves of Albion & Canaan
Opening along the Valley of Rephaim, weaving over the Caves of Machpelah. (J 64:35-38, E 213)

An intermediate, earthly plain of existence is indicated as East Moor in Derbyshire, a level state with the potential for either reasoning slavery or prophetic independence:

Hyle on East Moor in rocky Derbyshire, rav'd to the Moon
For Gwendolen: she took up in bitter tears his anguished heart
That apparent to all in Eternity, glows like the Sun in the breast:
She hid it in his ribs & back . . .
. . . raving he ran among the rocks,
Compel'd into a shape of Moral Virtue against the Lamb. (J 80:66-69, 76-77, E 235)

The Mothers love of obedience is forgotten & you seek a Love
Of the pride of dominion, that will Divorce Ocalythron & Elynittria
Upon the East Moor in Derbyshire & along the Valleys of Cheviot. (J 93:4-6, E 251)

Enitharmon's words in the latter passage unconsciously reflect how the moor of the surface of the physical land of Albion is the level on which the battle for vision is fought.

Blake's use of the three levels of Derbyshire, peak, moor and cavern, illustrates how neatly geographical locale can be adapted for an imaginative purpose.

Blake's Babe in the Woods

by Thomas R. Dilworth

Blake's longest lyric fable, "The Little Girl Lost" and "The Little Girl Found," appears to be influenced, in its plot and illustration, by the English ballad called "Babes in the Wood" or "Children in the Wood." The sixteenth century ballad Blake would have known from the copy he owned of Percy's Reliques of Ancient English Poetry (1765). The ballad, moreover, was popular in contemporary chapbooks. Not many of these survive from the eighteenth century, and few of those that do are illustrated. But we have some chapbooks from the early nineteenth century which contain the ballad "Babes in the Wood" and illustrate it in a manner indicating that Blake's illustration of "The Little
Girl Lost" may be based on illustrations of the ballad in the chapbooks of his time. In fact, the picture on Blake's first page of the song can hardly be called an illustration, since nowhere in the song's lyrics does a young man embrace Lyca. Rather, Blake's human figures embracing beneath a tree seem to be a pictorial allusion to the ballad as it would have been illustrated in Blake's time.

The climax of the ballad, which is the episode most conducive to illustration, occurs after a boy and his sister have failed to find their way out of a forest in which they have been abandoned by their wicked uncle. They lie down and die for lack of nourishment. As Thomas Percy records the ballad,

Thus wandered these poor innocents
Till death did end their grief,
In one another's arms they dyed,
As wanting due relief:
No burial 'this' pretty 'pair'
Of any man received,
Till Robin-red-breast piously
Did cover them with leaves. (III, p. 176)

This is the passage illustrated in a Banbury chapbook published by J. G. Rusher in about 1815 (Illus. 1), and in a chapbook published by Benjamin Tabart in 1804 (Illus. 2), reprinted by William Godwin in Tabart's Collection of Popular Stories in 1809. The illustration on the first page of "The

These pretty babes thus wander'd long,
Without the least relief,
The woods, the briers, and thorns among,
Till death did end their grief.

These pretty babes from any man,
No funeral rite receives;
But Robin Redbreast forms the plan,
To cover them with leaves.
Little Girl Lost" is remarkably similar in composition to the ballad illustrations. Blake's Lyca and her companion embrace beneath a tree that grows out of the picture's left-hand side. Above them flies a bird corresponding to the robin in the Banbury chapbook illustration. In fact, Lyca appears to be pointing to the bird directly overhead.

The similarity between the ballad and Blake's songs extends further. Lyca, lost in a forest, sleeps in a protracted manner that suggests death. Moreover, lions befriend her, and in "Night" lions are shown to be amiable only after death. (The Lyca songs were originally grouped along with "Night" in the Songs of Innocence.) Her transfer to a cave by beasts seems a sort of funeral and recalls the kindliness of the ballad's robin. The children in the ballad die of starvation. In "The Little Girl Found," Lyca's searching parents dream she has starved. In the ballad, seven years elapse before their bodies are discovered by humans. This period may have a numerical echo in the seven days that pass before Lyca is found. The seven years of the ballad may also be reflected in the age given to Lyca who, though she is obviously post-pubescent in the illustrations to the songs, is said to be "Seven summers old."

The focus of the relationship between the ballad and Blake's songs is death's double meaning. Blake's illustrations indicate that nubile Lyca's dying is sexual and takes place in her lover's arms. If Blake did have the ballad in mind as he wrote his two songs about Lyca, his sexual theme may have been suggested to him by two lines already quoted from Percy that seem especially charged with sexual connotations: "In one another's arms they dyed, / As wanting due relief."


2 The reproductions of the chapbook illustrations appear by courtesy of The Osborne Collection of English Children's Books, Toronto Public Library.

Errors in the Signet Classic Edition of The Selected Poetry of Blake by David V. Erdman

In the "Selected Bibliography" on page xvii the Keynes edition of Complete Writings should be said to contain "Modernized punctuation" but not spelling. The Erdman-Stevenson edition of 1971 should be described as containing "Modernized spelling and punctuation."

Page 133, note 16:14 should read: "... the year of this Prophecy (1793) ...

Page 199, note 11:32 should read: "Sin, daughter of Satan and mother of Death."

I deny any responsibility for--or any awareness of, before they were fait accomplis--the weird montage on the front cover and the deathly prose on the back ("richly representative . . . extraordinary blending . . . vividly immediate and tantalizingly ambiguous" and so on).

George Frederick Cooke:
Another Grave Subscriber Heard From

By Dennis Read

In Memoirs of George Frederick Cooke, 2 vols., ed. William Dunlap (London: Henry Colburn, 1813), is a reference to Blake which has not been previously noted. Cooke (1756-1811), a well-known actor, was a subscriber to The Grave, and among his diary entries (recorded in his Memoirs, II, 65-70) are several dealing with the arrival of his copy:

Thursday, Jan. 5th [1809]
Received a note from a Mr. Cromek, informing me that a work I subscribed two guineas for, at Liverpool, above two years ago, 1 and which I had entirely forgotten, is published, and requesting my address, that my copy might be sent. 2

Friday, Jan. 6th
Wrote an answer to Mr. Cromek's note, . . .

Thursday, Jan. 12th.
Received and looked over "Blake's Illustrations of Blair's Poem of The Grave." 3 The etchings seem finely executed, and the printing, the letter press I mean, done in the fine style. 4

Cooke's diary shows that Cromek was in Liverpool for at least part of the time that Cooke was there during the latter part of August and first weeks of September, 1806. Cromek's stay was apparently worthwhile, for the "List of Subscribers" in The Grave includes fifty-one Liverpool residents. Cromek probably had come to Liverpool from Birmingham, where he ran nearly identical advertisements for The Grave in the 28 July 1806 Birmingham Gazette and Commercial Herald; 5 he then left Liverpool probably for his native Yorkshire, where he gathered Grave subscriptions in Halifax, Pontefract, Leeds, and, finally, Wakefield, where he married Mrs. Elizabeth Charge in the parish church on 24 October 1806.

Cooke clearly is no intimate of either Cromek or Blake, and while he does not seem to regard his two guineas as ill-spent, his interest in his new acquisition is less than consuming. One wonders, in fact, if he ever opened his copy of The Grave again.

Roscoe, his son, and many of his friends and associates are listed as Grave subscribers.

2 On the "List of Subscribers" is "George Frederick Cooke, Esq. Covent Garden Theatre." Since the theatre burned down on 20 September 1808, Cromek needed a new address for Cooke.

3 Cooke's title approximates that on the label glued to the boards of the folio "Subscriber's Copy": "Blake's Illustrations of Blair's Grave, Engraved by Schiavonetti. 13 Plates.--Price Four Guineas."

4 Thomas Bensley, Bolt Street, the printer of The Grave, was known for his quality work.

5 The Gazette advertisement is reproduced in Geoffrey Keynes, "Blake in the Provinces," Blake Newsletter 34 (Fall 1975), p. 41.

Blake's Baptismal Font

by C.M. Henning

St. James's Church, Piccadilly, is the only West End Church designed by Wren. Blake was baptized in the church when Charles Moss was rector, in a font designed by Grinling Gibbons. It is one of few Gibbons sculptures in marble. The bowl shows three bas-reliefs: of Noah's Ark, the baptism of Jesus, and the baptism of the Treasurer of Candace by St. Philip. The stand represents the tree in the Garden of Eden, with the serpent coiled about it and Adam and Eve on either side.

By a strange twist of fate, William Pitt the elder was also baptized in the font.

In the north vestibule of the church is a tablet by Flaxman commemorating James Dodsley (d. 1797), the brother and partner of Robert Dodsley, the publisher-patron of Johnson, and a modern tablet commemorating Blake's baptism.

Holy Thursday

By M.

Sir Geoffrey Keynes recently called our attention to the following letter, which appeared in the Monthly Magazine, 23 (1 July 1807), 554-56.

To the Editor of the Monthly Magazine.

SIR,

HAVING attended the annual meeting of the charity-children at St. Paul's, on the 28th of last month, I can hardly find words to express how highly I was gratified, as well with the spectacle of upwards of six thousand poor children clothed, maintained and educated at the public expense, as with the astonishing effect produced by the union of sounds from so many voices, chanting the praises of their great Creator.

I should not, however, have troubled you with this, were it not at the same time to transmit some observations I made whilst there, in the hope, that by communicating them to the public through your widely-extended miscellany, they...
may be attended to by those concerned, and the effect of the whole improved to the greatest degree possible.

As I was there pretty early, and before many of the children had taken their places, the first observation I made was that, notwithstanding the immense theatre erected and provision made, there was yet hardly sufficient room to accommodate the whole of the different schools; many of the children finding a difficulty in seating themselves, and, when settled, were much crowded. Owing to this probably it was, that some few were occasionally had down to the schoolmistresses below, to be plied with smelling-bottles to be kept from fainting. And this would perhaps have happened to a much greater degree, had not the day been as favourable as possibly could have been for the purpose, without either rain or extreme heat.

As each school must doubtless be acquainted with the number of seats allotted to it, this inconvenience might certainly be remedied, by leaving as many of the younger children behind, (whose voices can hardly be expected to add much to the general effect,) as may enable the remainder to be well accommodated.

My next observation was upon the performance of the charity-children themselves, whose extreme steadiness and accuracy was astonishing; and did the highest credit as well to themselves, as to the persons that had instructed them. In, however, the beginning of the 100th Psalm, with which the service commenced, the effect was not so great as I had expected, owing probably to a want of courage in many of the children, which might prevent their putting out their voices so much as they did in the latter verses. But in the 115th Psalm, before the Sermon, they made ample amends, as nothing, I think, could exceed the wonderful and striking effect occasioned by the transition from the full chorus, to the voices of the girls alone on one side, and thence again to the full chorus, as was also the case in the Hallelujah succeeding it. The cathedral responses and amens too were very accurately performed by them, and well in time. I cannot, however, help thinking, but that, in the Coronation-Anthem, and Hallelujah chorus from the Messiah, a considerable improvement in the effect may yet be made, by a different arrangement of the air, or tune, in the parts where the children join, by not merely taking the treble notes, to which the melody is by no means confined. For when the composer thus formed his score, he naturally supposed that the different voices would in general be pretty equally arranged, and that therefore it would be of little consequence whether the principal air was in the treble or any other part. Could he however have foreseen that, upon some future occasions, there would be about two thousand trebles, (supposing only a third part of the children to sing in those chorusses,) to about three or four tenors and basses, or had the present annual meeting and performance been instituted in his time, he would undoubtedly in the full chorus have thrown the air as much as possible into that
part, which cannot so justly be said to
predominate over the others, as to drown
and annihilate them. My principal al­
lusion is to the first three bars of the last
movement of the Coronation-Anthem,
"God save the King," &c. and the same as
repeated towards the end, which as a
loyal exclamation in unison, appears
striking enough, but can hardly be called
singing, being nearly all upon one note.
As, therefore, the air is here evidently
sung by the counter-tenors and tenors,
supported by the violins in the octave
above, I should propose in these three
bars, the boys taking the counter-tenor
part, and the girls the tenor in the octave
above, or in unison with the second
violin part. And this, being in fact but
one bar three times repeated, need not
startle those who with great reason ob­
ject to the children being taught to sing
in parts, to which I would make this the
sole exception. In like manner, as at
the repetition of the same words in the
key of A at the 37th bar, the principal
air is in the tenor part; I would have the
children taught to sing that part in the
octave above, instead of the proper
treble part, as being likely to produce
a more striking effect.

In other parts of the Coronation-An­
them, and in the Hallelujah chorus, si­
milar improvements may be made, by
selecting such parts from the score, as
have most air or time in them, for the
children to sing, either in unison or in
the octave above, as may best suit their
voices.

I have yet a fourth observation to
mention which I made, viz. the want of
an organ of more power in the bass to
qualify the prodigious strength of treble;
although Mr. Attwood, by his full and
judicious accompaniment, made the most
that he could of that. (upon all other oc­
casions as it may be reckoned,) compleat
and noble instrument. Indeed, since
these annual meetings have been esta­
blished, one cannot but lament that the
proposal of Mr. Renatus Harris, men­
tioned in the 552d number of the Spec-
tator, of erecting an organ of the greatest
powers and dimensions over the great
west door of the cathedral, has not since
been carried into execution. The pre­
sent organ, however, might be enlarged
for this occasion, by the exchange of the
trumpet stop for one of more power than
the present, and addition of a double
trumpet bass, with likewise (if room
should be found,) a clarion, or octave
trumpet. With these powerful reed
stops, and additional voices proposed,
there would be something considerable
left when the children's voices cease in
the Coronation Anthem, &c. and in
the full chorus the great force of the
trebles would be qualified and contrasted
by a bass bearing some proportion to it,
and a grandeur would be given to the
whole, which would wonderfully improve
the general effect. Should however the
additions to the organ here proposed, be
not found practicable or expedient, then
perhaps one or two bass trombones,
used merely when all the children sing,
might answer the purpose.

I cannot conclude without paying my
small tribute of approbation to Mr.
Page, as well for the very great pains he
must have taken, and time he must have
bestowed, in preparing the children at
the different schools so as to enable them
to perform by ear, and without the least
knowledge of the science, with such great
accuracy and precision; as for his clear,
distinct, and animated manner of con­
ducting so large an assemblage of voices,
actuated as it were by one mind; thereby
producing an effect that is probably not
equalled in Europe. {Your's, &c.

M.
This publication consists of the complete text of Richard Edwards' 1797 edition of Edward Young's Night Thoughts, accompanied by reproductions, reduced 35% from the originals, of Blake's forty-three engravings, as well as editorial material—a two-page introduction, a thirteen page critical commentary, and a two-page annotated bibliography. Though the 1797 Night Thoughts isn't scarce—copies appear each season at auction and in booksellers' catalogues—it has become increasingly costly, and its importance for any study of Blake's art, as well as its intrinsic beauty, have made a facsimile desirable. There is still such a need, but the present edition, along with the descriptive bibliographic notes in Easson and Essick's William Blake: Book Illustrator, is a useful substitute for the original.

Let's consider the quality of the reproductions in the present edition before turning to the usefulness of the supplementary material and commentary. Something of the compelling beauty of Blake's original engravings was conveyed in the Library Companion (1824) by Thomas Frognall Dibdin who recounted how "amidst the wild uproar of the wintry elements—when piping winds are howling for entrance round every corner of the turretted chamber" he loved to read "the text of Young which has been embellished by the pencil of Blake." Scale was an arresting feature of Blake's originals—especially when viewed next to Stothard's or even Westall's designs. The reduction in the present edition makes the overall page appear busy, gray and even claustrophobic. The airy personification of Night on page 1, for example, has no room to soar. The figure of the sleepless shepherd-poet becomes more decorative than engaging. And when Death, with his emblems, appears to the sleepless poet, on page 7, the urgency conveyed by the original scene is absent. Airy supernaturalish, dynamic confrontations, the recognition of giant forms who inhabit at once several dimensions—these aspects, ineffables perhaps, are distorted by reduction. Of course, to claim that on page 17 Time's scythe—in the original as long as this reader's forearm—is decoratively tame rather than menacing is rather subjective. But when, as on page 37, in the ambiguous depiction of Christ as a good Samaritan, the mood of a scene is conveyed by hanging that scene on a vast tree, which expresses the oppressiveness of the vegetable world, then diminution becomes a critical element of interpretation.

Two last niggling points about the printing of this Dover edition. Because of the complex and remarkable way the 1797 Night Thoughts was printed, there are numerous variations in the copies of the first edition, and my comparison of this reproduction with the 1797 edition in the Toronto Public Library turned up an anticipated number of variations, such as the presence of inscriptions on different pages. An unexpected difference, however, was found in the use of borders in the reproduction. We can see this clearly on page 24, where the word "Pub." is cut off in Essick's original inscription, which should, therefore, begin "June" at the exact left-hand edge of the page. Instead, there's a border of approximately 7/16 of an inch. Such borders—appearing along the bottom and the top, as well as, more irregularly, along the inner and outer edges—make Blake's designs, which no longer occupy the whole space, rather picturesque, as borders and frames tend to do. Christ triumphant, page (65), who leaps up in the original design, is now tamed. Finally, although the tonal quality is generally not problematic, on page 80 the feeling of reflected light on the man who prays by the seashore, and the delicate gradations in tone in the whole engraving, have disappeared, so that the man, who looks awestruck in the original, appears fearful in the reproduction.

The editorial material—introduction, commentary, and bibliography—is excellent, concise, and sensitive to Blake's iconography. And it also acknowledges Young's importance for Blake. The plate-by-plate commentary is non-partisan and stimulating. In discussing, for example, the hunter Nimrod on page 70, Essick and Labelle point to both the Genesis reference and iconographic resemblances in Blake's later and earlier work. Similarly, they present several translations for the Hebrew letters on the scroll of the King of Terrors, page 63. Yet, partly as a result of brevity, and partly because of problems in their critical stance, a few "little monsters" of caution appear.

Even had we not Blake's enormous output of Night Thought designs as evidence, we need to assume that Blake respected the poet whose work he agreed to illustrate. And the poem enjoyed a considerable contemporary reputation. The Night Thoughts was an international best-seller and a major artistic force— influencing Goethe's Werther and Klopstock's Messiah. Burns quoted the poem in his letters; Coleridge and Wordsworth echoed it in verse. I think that Essick and La Belle overstress the illustrations where Blake criticizes Young. And when Blake does criticize, it is quite legitimate in his task as an illustrator. To criticize is not to disparage. On page 72, for example, there is a moving hymn by Young in which he would "drink the spirit of the golden day." Surely here the poet has not, as the editors contend, "forgot the visionary themes of salvation and resurrection." And the editors might allow that on page 80 the poet is rejecting the "nameless HE" for Christ, a position Blake would commend.

Let's leave the question of attitude and look briefly at tactical issues. First a caveat against explaining any of Blake's designs with quotations from his poetry of a later period. Essick and Labelle unnecessarily quote Milton plate 26, to
explicate the title page to the first Night; also against assuming Blake's "iconographic consistency" (p. xiii). Would the editors explain the cup held by the child about to be cut down by Time, on page 26? Such a cup is often associated in Blake with bacchic figures and with the Scarlet Whore. Hence, it is ordinarily a sinister icon. Odd that it appears in the hands of a child. It is true that the editors express a mild reservation about iconographic consistency (p. viii), but the assumption should be that Blake adapted his images to his context.

The editors' commendable compression of iconographic material has led to small omissions and overstatements. The design, on page 90, of Christ touching an "afflicted" man is said to be "almost identical" to the frontispiece for Blake's There Is No Natural Religion, second series, and to those two figures in the lower right corner of "The Divine Image" in Songs of Innocence. The "same basic motif" is pointed out in "The Chimney Sweeper" in Innocence. Yet, among these designs the editors should have drawn an important distinction. In "The Chimney Sweeper" and the Night Thoughts designs the two figures touch; in "The Divine Image" and There Is No Natural Religion they do not. Hence, while all four designs share the theme of resurrection, in only two is there a touch which humanizes the action.

The process of iconographic selection is always complex. Very rarely in this edition does that selection appear indelicate. It does seem significant, however, that the "spiritual presences," "Angels," on page 93, are wingless. In the Night Thoughts Blake often uses winged creatures for ascension, and wingless beings for visitations.

I think that it is more often in the designs with clear Biblical referents (particularly pages [43], 72, 80, 88) that the editors' interpretations seem to demand the reader's critical attention. On the title page for the third Night, the woman clothed in the sun is pregnant. Through her pregnancy she may escape the endless revolutions of time, turn time to eternity. (Nonetheless, the verso in the water colors shows her even more a prisoner.) On page 88, where Jacob wrestles with an "angel," it is the equality of man and God that Blake seems to stress, an equality quite consistent with the Biblical account and with Blake's emphasis throughout the Night Thoughts. (It's an emphasis which also shows Blake's preparedness for the Bible illustrations done for Butts.)

Can we offer an overall interpretation for the Night Thoughts engravings? The editors don't suggest one, though many of their comments are interpretative. The repetition of images and of the figures of Death, Time, and Christ do unify the designs and suggest, as Fuseli wrote of Blake's designs for Blair's Grave, that they "form of themselves a most interesting Poem." With one exception all of the Christ images appear in the fourth Night. Thus, the grouping of the figures suggests a progression from the world of Time and Death to a world informed by Christ—a progression in keeping with the movement of the poem.

Since the Dover edition is for the general reader, its annotated bibliography is quite properly short. It is short as well because there's been little work done on the Night Thoughts. The major studies are listed, though some interesting brief mentions of the Night Thoughts, such as John Grant's in Blake Newsletter 13, pp. 23-24, are omitted. The first entry in the chronological bibliography is out of order. If the editors wish to consider Thomas Edwards as their first entry, his name should be listed, along with the titles of his catalogues. I must quarrel as well with the fifth entry, which dismisses Adeline Butterworth's William Blake, Mystic. Butterworth was, after all, the first to reproduce both the engravings and the full text of the first two Nights. Her reproductions of the engravings are by no means "poor-quality"; the paper stock on which they are printed is superior to that of the Dover edition.

Despite its minor failings, many of them deriving, as I have suggested, from compression and the exigencies of commercial printing, Essick and La Belle have performed a service for students of Blake. Like Robespierre, we can all go to the guillotine with the Night Thoughts, now "embellished by the pencil of Blake," in our pockets.


Reviewed by John Beer

This new edition of The Marriage of Heaven and Hell, issued as it is at a reasonable price, marks an important step in making Blake's work available to the ordinary reader in the form in which he meant it to be seen. For the Blake specialist who already has access to existing facsimiles through a good library it will serve a further important purpose. In recent years it has become clear that a new dimension of Blake's work opens when one looks at the various copies which he executed throughout his life, since almost all of them show interesting variations from one another. It is in some ways a subsidiary enterprise, since there is no evidence that these various executions betray any fundamental change of mind about a book, once constructed, but they can still give evidence of the continuing processes of his mind: the themes which he may now wish to emphasize by rearrangement, by the insertion of an additional plate or plates, or by the different perspectives on a text which can be given through the choice of different colors or the emphasis on particular visual motifs.

The pioneers in this enterprise have been David Erdman and his associates, who have described such variations in detail, but there is a limit to what an individual scholar can do, particularly when, as must often happen, he is forced to carry some differences in his head from one copy to another. It is even more difficult to convey them to other readers.
through the printed description. The slide lecture (as David Erdman has found) is often the best way of communicating such discoveries.

The publication of this edition marks an important step in remedying this situation, since the copy it reproduces, copy I (Keynes-Wolf) in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, often thought to be the finest of all, is one that has not so far been available. (It could not be produced as the original Trianon Press facsimile, since the Fitzwilliam, for understandable reasons, has been unwilling to send its copies to Paris for the dismantling which would be inevitable under that process.) As a result of this initiative, a scholar anywhere in the world now has the chance of comparing three versions: this one, copy H (Keynes-Wolf) in the Fitzwilliam (reproduced in Max Plowman's 1927 facsimile); and the Rosenwald copy, reproduced in the Trianon Press facsimile. No printed description can reproduce the experience of comparing say, the slightly sombre effect of copy H, with its cavernous enclosures here and there, and the brighter, rainbow effect of copy I.

The new edition is reproduced with an introduction, a reading text and an arrangement of the reproduction so that two pages of reproduction are regularly interspersed with two of commentary, allowing the plates to appear facing one another as in the original. This is the most satisfactory way of reproducing within the traditional book format, though it might be worthwhile to experiment with an arrangement which would make it possible for pages of interpretation to be pulled out beyond the plates and so to be read side by side with the open text.

The commentary, as we have come to expect from Sir Geoffrey Keynes, is uncluttered, clear and very much to the point. He wastes little time over previous interpretations, with the important exception of David Erdman's 1973 essay on the interlinear drawings. He is, indeed, brisk to the point of being almost cavalier with his predecessors: of the two books he does mention, Erdman's Blake: Prophet against Empire is given only the second part of its title, together with a date which is that of the second, revised edition, no mention being made of the first, while Sabri-Tabrizi is turned into Fabri-Tabrizi.

The problem with any running commentary on Blake is that it cannot give the reader the initial bearings that he needs before entering the world of the prophetic books. Simple identifications of Blake's personages with human qualities or physical functions will not normally do unless the reader has some grasp of the larger pattern of what is going on. I do not think there is a simple answer to this problem: each reader has to match readings of the larger interpretations against scrutiny of the text itself until he finds a reading that works for him. So far as running commentary is possible, however, this one is good. Some important points are missed out: the reader will not learn anywhere that the Memorable Fancies are satirical versions of Swedenborg's Memorable Relations, for example. Some of the identifications strike one as over-simplistic: to see Rintrrah simply as "Wrath," for instance, is to suggest a kind of crude animism which is not characteristic of Blake's work. I am also unhappy with references to "materialism" and "the spiritual" in the commentaries on Blake, for when run together they suggest adherence to a dichotomy between the material and the spiritual which was foreign to his purposes. When, for example, the illustration at the head of plate II, showing various figures of land and sea, is described as "nature in its spiritual form," I find it more natural to refer to the text immediately beneath ("The Ancient Poets animated all sensible objects with Gods or Geniuses," etc.) which it seems to be illustrating very closely. Blake's spirits interpenetrate the material to an extraordinary and unaccustomed degree, drastically changing the meaning of the word "spiritual" from conventional usage.

One or two other disagreements may be briefly noted. Keynes interprets "Now is the dominion of Edom and the return of Adam into Paradise" as meaning that Adam has already returned into Paradise; I would read it more in the Biblical form which would suggest "Now is the time for...": that is, as an announcement of potentiality and anticipation rather than a statement of achieved fact. On plate II he remarks that "a serpent was not infrequently Blake's symbol for the priest of organized religion." Although the Prester Serpent of The Four Zoas might support such an identification, I cannot offhand think of other instances where it is explicit. The serpent is always, primarily, Blake's figure for energy (this is one of the few instances where a straightforward identification does work); only a fallen, sneaking serpent would do for the organized priesthood. Similarly I would not agree that the male figure shackled in flames on page 4 "can only be Blake's devil": he can also, for example, be the male shackled under the Law. In such cases, Keynes's own caveat on interpretations of the interlinear decorations—that they are "not always easy and must be regarded as sometimes conjectural"—may profitably be extended to interpretations of the text as well.

The interpretation of the interlinear figures just referred to are, on the other hand, one of the most valuable features of the new edition. The main problem is to know whether in some cases they are straightforward illustrations of the neighboring texts, or counterpointing images of energy (as sometimes seems to be the case in the Song of Liberty). Cautious as one has to be with Blake's emphasis on energy as one looks along to the left.

What of the reproduction? Arnold Fawcus, of the Trianon Press, states in his foreword—"The result, we feel, is as close to the original as can be obtained by a photo-mechanical process"—which is fair. The blurb on the dust-jacket, however, claims that the reproduced plates are "of an accuracy which Blake himself would have admired"—which is at the very least questionable—and speaks of their "excellence"—which is certainly too strong a word. The editor, likewise, claims that the reproduction is "in all respects... most satisfactory"—which again is somewhat misleading—and is at pains to dispel doubts about the accuracy of register in the lettering which are in fact well founded—at least on the highest standards.
For the plain fact (which will no doubt come as a surprise to many readers) is that the facsimile reproduction which H. John Dent made of the other Fitzwilliam copy of the Marriage fifty years ago, though by no means perfect, is a good deal closer to its original than is this one. In Dent's facsimile, colors are sometimes darker than the original, Blake's brown is a little too orange and occasionally a background tint is out; but in other respects the rendering is extremely faithful. This is less so in the present case. The most glaring difference is that Blake used gilt on many of the plates, which both added a touch of subtle brilliance and pointed the imagery of energy. It was no doubt impossible to manage this with a reproduction based on photography (though, again, Dent managed it for his facsimile in 1927), but the omission should at least have been noted somewhere in the edition; I can find no mention of it. I have also noted a number of further differences, primarily in coloring, from the original: this is not intended in any way to be an exhaustive list, simply a note of those differences which have struck me most forcibly in comparing the plates.

Plate 2 The colors rendered as yellow and orange-brown in the trees and foliage are green and green-brown in the original.
3 The "line effect" on the flames is not as defined as, and the colors are more purple than, the original, which is more orange-brown.
4-5 In the original, colors are lighter and more delicate, giving better definition to the faces, in particular.
8 There is a strong orange effect throughout here, as against the dominant yellow-green effect of the original.
9 A light brown appears, similarly—as against the orange-red of the original.
10 The blues are much stronger, throughout, than in the original.
12 The head title is mauve, as against the brown of the original.
14 & 16 (and elsewhere). The lettering gives a fuzzier and lighter effect than in the original.
18-19 The lettering in the blue-green passages is much darker than in the originals, giving a false effect of strong contrast between these and other sections of the text.
21 In the head design the purple is very much exaggerated; in the darker sections of the first five lines there is a red effect which is absent from the original.
24 The effect is much bolder than in the original.

In many cases of course the effect is surprisingly good, and it is obviously necessary to preserve a sense of proportion in making such criticisms. This copy is on any terms a beautiful book, reasonable value at the price and one which most people, including myself, will be glad to have on their shelves. For many purposes, and especially that of comparison with other reproduced versions, mentioned earlier, it will be invaluable. The point at issue is simply that the imprint of the Trianon Press, along with the superlatives used in descriptions of the reproductions, may give many readers the impression that this book is of the same quality as that of the limited editions. An extra qualifying word here or there would have been enough to guard against such a false impression. This reservation aside, Arnold Fawcus, Sir Geoffrey Keynes and the Oxford University Press are to be congratulated (—can hardly, indeed, be sufficiently praised) for bringing this book within the grasp of the ordinary reader.

Blake Goes German: A Critical Review of Exhibitions in Hamburg and Frankfurt 1975 *

by Detlef W. Dörrecker


... our object is to draw the attention of Germany to a man in whom all the elements of greatness are unquestionably to be found, even though those elements are disproportionately mingled. ... but this assuredly cannot lessen the interest which all men, Germans in a higher degree even than Englishmen, must take in the contemplation of such a character.1

These words, written by Henry Crabb Robinson, passed almost unnoticed when first published in the Hamburg journal Vaterländisches Museum in 1811. One hundred sixty-four years later Blake and the Germans were given a second chance, and again it was the city of Hamburg where the action took place. A team of young art historians at the Hamburger Kunsthalle, led by Prof. Werner Hofmann, is concerned with organizing a series of magnificent exhibitions entitled "Kunst um 1800" ("Art around 1800"). Here the works of William Blake were shown from 6 March to 27 April 1975, and then, from 15 May to 27 July 1975, they were to be seen at another important German museum, the Städelisches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main. Following the showing of the works of his friend Henry Fuseli in Hamburg the exhibition of a great number of Blake's most important engravings, water-colors, illuminated books and color-prints was placed...

* I am very much indebted to Donna Giromini-Rathkopf who read the manuscript and helped me to improve its diction, and thus its readability.
in a proper context. This first major exhibition of Blake's visual art in Germany presented more than 200 works and was the most representative showing of the artist's oeuvre the Continent had ever seen (including the 1947 show at Zurich and Paris). It was visited by almost 30,000 people—and this is a respectable number under present day German conditions. Credits must go to the British Council (and to David Fuller, arts director, in particular), as well as to David Bindman, who successfully persuaded collectors and museums of Great Britain, the United States and even Australia to lend the unique works in their possession.

The exhibition was divided into five sections: the first dealing with Blake's early work, watercolors (from the 1780s) and the first of the illuminated books—including an incomplete copy of the two Religion series (Victoria & Albert Museum, London; not in the Census), an incomplete copy of the Songs (private collection, Great Britain; also not in the Census), and an engraving of Heaven and Hell (copy K).

The second section was dedicated to the prophetic books and centered around three main points: copy K of Europe, five of the 1795 color-prints, and copy B together with several proofs from Jerusalem (including those from Canberra). Section III consisted mostly of examples taken from Blake's illustrations for Butts. In a fourth division Blake's work as an illustrator of other authors' works was documented by a copy of Mary Wollstonecraft's Original Stories, and an edition of the engraved designs for Night Thoughts (newly acquired by the Hamburger Kunsthalle). These were supplemented by a selection of ten of the watercolors from the British Museum, a copy of Blake's Grave illustrations, and, among other designs illustrating Milton's poems, the complete Paradise Regained series from the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. The last part of the exhibition was devoted to Blake's artistic output in his last decade; the "Ghost of a Flea" (two pencil drawings), the Virgil woodcuts, the Illustrations of the Book of Job, and twelve of the Dante designs (seven from the Melbourne collection) were shown. One of the highlights of the exhibition was Bindman's successful bringing together of the four consecutive illustrations for Purgatorio XXVII-XXXII as originally planned by Blake. This was certainly an extraordinary experience for the careful observer, nowadays not easy to achieve by viewing any of the various collections possessing some of the 102 water-colors for the Divine Comedy.

With the supplementary showing of the Blake Trust facsimiles of the illuminated books ("William Blake, Poet, Printer, Prophet") all the necessary ingredients were offered to awaken "the interest which all men... must take in the contemplation of such a character." (It might, however, be regretted that the commercial engravings of Blake were not represented.) Now we all know that the contemplation of Blake's works does not easily nor necessarily lead to the "right" understanding of his extraordinary productions; to lend the visitor a helping hand, a thoroughly prepared catalog written by David Bindman, Werner Hofmann, Johannes Kleinstueck and Siegmar Holsten accompanied the exhibition.

With the exception of Kleinstueck's essay on "Blake as a Poet" (pp. 31-37), a conglomerate of misreadings I had thought virtually impossible nowadays, this catalog is a fine piece of introduction to Blake's thought, and with its 506 plates it makes up a most useful reference book for his art. Throughout the work David Bindman succeeds in what seems to have been his primary aim: a short but not at all oversimplified interpretation of Blake's iconography is supplied for the visitor, assume to be someone who does not know anything about Blake. Here lies the great merit of this endeavor. Nevertheless, one must criticize the catalog as well as the exhibition in two respects. First, the author finds no way to bind an objective appreciation of the "purely" visual qualities of Blake's prints, drawings and paintings with their complex iconographic meaning within Blake's mythopoetic systems; that is to say, he argues on a rather abstract level, which exists seemingly isolated from the formal difficulties presented to the unschooled viewer of Blake. For example, discussing Blake's "Newton" color-print Bindman writes that the "posture, as Blunt has pointed out, refers back to the figure of Abraham on the Sistine Chapel ceiling" (p. 139, cat. no. 61), forgetting however to provide the reader with an explanation of why Blake had to use this scheme. In the same context he interprets the compasses as a "familiar symbol of materialism" (ibid.), but the power of Blake's use of this pictorial sign derives from the artist's negation of the formerly positive meaning of this symbol as well as from its appearance as a rigidly geometrical composition. Secondly—and this I think is indissolubly connected to the first point—Bindman's otherwise fine comments border on the incorrect when presented almost completely without reference to the political and social implications of Blake's visionary art. Though he mentions Erdman's Poet Against Empire, he does not seem to have a very high estimate of the importance of this standard work, when he sums up a very short paragraph on Blake's revolutionary sympathies with this laconic sentence: "Many people in Blake's circle were also political radicals, and others like him eventually sought spiritual comfort, not in the hope of the renewal of this world, but in the world beyond" (p. 112). I cannot agree that Blake's search for "spiritual comfort" necessarily had to exclude "the hope of the renewal of this world." With many other critics I would say that this search rather began in the hope for an apocalyptic renovation of this world. The expression of frustration and disillusionment that Bindman alludes to could only stem from Blake's daily environment, from his society and his times. Further, the religious, visionary and political thoughts are interwoven in his art in such a way, that it must be a vain pursuit to disentangle them and thus try to decompose the wholeness of Blake's productions into political and religious parts. Yet it was refreshing to hear David Bindman speaking at length of "the rebel in Blake" in his opening address both at Hamburg and Frankfurt; apparently he is well aware of the importance of the discussion of these areas when viewing Blake's art. It is too bad that he excluded them from his catalog text. On the other hand, it would certainly be unfair to blame David Bindman for all this: in fact, I believe that in the short time he was given to compile the enormous amount of information necessary, he could not have achieved much more.

Yet here we come to the general dilemma that makes me stress these two points of criticism more than
the many positive things that might be said about the catalog. The problem I am interested in drawing attention to will bother us again and again when faced with presenting Blake's work to the public. The failure of the German exhibitions and the catalog— "failure" also because most of the visitors were rather irritated and could find no way into the works of art displayed and thus no way to experience their potential of broadening one's consciousness—is probably the result of two major problems. First, art historians until now (with few exceptions) have left the task of interpreting Blake's visual productions mostly to literary critics, who—fair enough, one has to admit—rather saw Blake's illuminations and paintings because of their explanatory value as a kind of visual commentary or complementary code for the understanding of his poetic creations. The problem of form—not just the question of what is symbolized by the object perceived (a strong young man rising out of a sea of flames = Orc), but the question of how that object is visually organized and of the meaning of some visually minuscule detail to the literary text—this problem seldom appeared to the literary critics, and the art historian dealing with Blake until now seems to have been almost compelled to choose the iconographic approach. 8 It has long been generally accepted that Blake's work as an engraver and painter is much more than a literal illustration of his writings—this finally has to be taken seriously. In the future more attention should be paid to the specially visual qualities of his art (and their inalienable necessity as such in a given context). This, I am almost sure, will throw new light on the iconographical "content" of his designs and enable us to reach the visitors of a Blake exhibition much more easily. We certainly cannot leave the viewer of Blake's art—or the reader of his poetry—alone with his subjective "taste." Instead, we have to develop new concepts for exhibiting and teaching Blake that try to integrate the viewer's and the reader's first-sight experiences as well as "appeal to the Public." The hermeticism of the artist's visual worlds itself has to become a problem for the scholar, the student, and the visitor in the museum. Only then might we make sure that Blake's "failure" was but for a season.9 Is it not our responsibility to bring back—or rather to help establish for the first time—that "visionary faculty" Blake demanded from his public not less than from the artist himself—the ability to really perceive that "more is meant than meets the eye"? In Hamburg and Frankfurt one could observe the necessity of developing a didactic program for the understanding of Blake's art. Here the audience had no means of deceiving itself through acquaintance with some of this strange character's poems, as might often be the case (or not) in English-speaking countries. By now we all know that William Blake was not simply a madman—does the public know as well? Our fear we are deceiving ourselves, in fact, when we believe this discussion to be over just because we know.

With a thousand Orcs throughout the cities of Hamburg and Frankfurt—the poster for the exhibition was based on America 10—the event prompted a massive demand for information on Blake. Thus, many a German journalist suddenly had to face the task of writing an article on an artist he possibly had never heard of before. The outcome you might already guess: most of the numerous reviews of the exhibition and the catalog in German newspapers and magazines can easily be forgotton by the serious critic, if he is not specifically interested in the reception of Blake's art and his reputation in Germany. Sadly enough, the standard of Henry Crabb Robinson's essay from 1811 is but seldom reached in 1975, though many of that author's prejudices are reproduced once more (Robinson's article is reprinted in the catalog, pp. 75-83).10 Other Blake activities connected with the showing of his works included lectures on Blake by Prof. Helmut Viebrock (University of Frankfurt) at the Städelisches Kunstinstitut and myself at the Hamburger Kunsthalle; a Blake symposium was organized by the Department of English at the University of Frankfurt.

Apart from the catalog, two other books recently published in Germany are really noteworthy; both are relatively inexpensive color-facsimiles of two of Blake's illuminated books. The first reproduces The Marriage of Heaven and Hell (copy H, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge) and is published in connection with the Trianon Press. Whereas in the original the plates are printed on both sides of the sheet, in the facsimile they are printed on one side only, but the high quality that we have come to expect from Trianon Press. Whereas in the original the plates are printed on both sides of the sheet, in the facsimile they are printed on one side only, but arranged to form the same double openings; the blank versos are utilized "to bring the commentary [and translation] into close relation to the plates discussed" (p. 11). The size of the leaves is the same as in the original, and the colors seem as true as one can achieve with color-offset printing (however, I have not been able to compare the facsimile directly with the original at the Fitzwilliam Museum, and my memory might be cheating).

The quality of reproduction is very high. All twenty-seven plates are printed in six- or seven-color offset on paper specially made to match Blake's. Each page of the small volume is characterized by extensive bibliographical data. But the German edition contains only a small portion of Keynes's commentary written for the Oxford edition—in fact, not more than what appears as the "Summary" on pages v ff. in the Oxford version. Lilian Schacherl's German translation of Blake's text, which is often quite precarious in its freedom, takes up the space occupied in the Oxford edition by a much more satisfying analysis by Keynes of Blake's prose and designs, based chiefly on the study of The Marriage by David V. Erdman and others that were published in the Keynes festivities (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973, pp. 162-207). The numerous enlargements of details from Marriage that appear in the English edition are also missing from the German. This austerity and Keynes's occasionally light treatment of other scholars' arguments 12 are the only weak points that I can detect in an otherwise splendidly produced book.

The A German edition of the Songs of Innocence and of Experience, copy Z (the same reproduction as distributed by Oxford University Press), has been available for some years. Now a facsimile of copy T of the Songs (British Museum, London) has been published in paperback by the Insel Verlag, Frankfurt.13
The "Afterword" by Werner Hofmann (pp. 105-15) provides the so-called common reader with an introduction to Blake's ideas as developed in the Songs, and to his "infernal methods" of printing, which is more likely to satisfy the reader's needs than Keynes's. Hofmann addresses himself to the non-specialist; he touches briefly on the socio-historical background setting, draws attention to the eschatological, millenarian current in Blake's art, and to some of his central pictorial motifs employed in the Songs. He explains to his reader that Blake's strange printing process was a necessary act of refusal for an artist who did not want to create works of "comfortable familiarity" (p. 107), for an artist who had to work his way through a printing house in hell to find a method of production appropriate for his emancipatory message.13 Significantly, it is Werner Hofmann's essay on "The Fulfillment of Time" ("Die Erfüllung der Zeit") in the exhibition catalog (pp. 11-30) which approaches somewhat the questions raised in the first part of this review; and significantly, Hofmann comes closest, through consideration of the forms as well as the iconographic motifs employed by Blake, to an evaluation of the possible meaning of "visionary art" today.

On the other hand, this volume has to be judged much more cautiously in regards to the accuracy of its reproductions than the Marriage Facsimile. The glossy high quality paper used here is a far cry from Blake's. Of the two framing lines on thirty-eight plates of the original, only one is to be seen. Blake's foliation has been cut off and is replaced by a printed pagination which does not at all correspond with the plate numbers. Ironically here the plates are reproduced on both the recto and verso of each leaf, while in the original most of them are printed on one side of the sheet only, and the size of the facsimile pages is different from the original. In addition, the brilliant colors and the gold used by Blake for a number of plates in copy T are hardly to be imagined when looking at this reproduction. Yet, what can one justly expect from a color-facsimile at about $3.50?

It is this that we must aim at: the actualization of visionary art and its consequent realization for the reader of Blake's poetry as well as the visitor to an exhibition of his artistic work such as those held in Hamburg and Frankfurt last year. Otherwise we will be trapped in the self-sufficiency of "the wearisome industry of source-hunting, of allusion-counting."14 The difficulties of putting this abstraction into life and action are well known; perhaps the Newsletter might provide the right forum for discussing again the problems connected with teaching and exhibiting William Blake.


2 This was the same selection from Fuseli's oeuvre that was later shown at the Tate Gallery, London, and at the Petit Palais, Paris.

3 See Blake Newsletter 31 (Winter 1974-75), pp. 5-52.

4 On the other hand it was just the more disappointing to see the twelve water-colors hung completely out of order in the rooms of the Städelisches Kunstinstitut (Frankfurt) for so-called "aesthetic" reasons. According to the "Stadel-aesthetic-theory" strong colors such as red, blue, green, and black ("Dante Running from the Three Beasts," "The Schismatics and Sowers of Discord," etc.) have their rightful place at the head of exhibitions representing particular such colors are even more strengthened in their impact when viewed--almost triptic-like--left and right of the Städel library door, where six of the three-colors found their home, the room was turned into a more shady corner cabinet. By this method "Beatrice on the Car, Dante and Matilda" (British Museum) again was separated from "Beatrice Addressing Dante from the Car" (Tate Gallery, London)--this time not by a few miles, but by a massive pillar on which the viewer was shown "The Stygian Lake" (National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne) illustrating Inferno VII; "The Laborious Passage along the Rocks," Inferno XXIV, was next to this reproduction. Yet, "The Queen of Heaven in Glory," Paradiso XLI. So the misunderstanding at the Städelisches Kunstinstitut continued. The major concern of Dr. Gallwitz, director at the Frankfurt Gallery, was the presentation of a "harmonious overall effect," and this is a good example of the bad influence of certain museum methods on the display of an artist's works. Just the more one certainly has to praise Hofmann's attempt at Hamburg to arrange the prints and paintings according to Blake's own plans and thus to bring the artist's intentions as close as possible to the public.


6 Mr. Kleinstueck appears to be unaware of the frontiers opened up in Blake scholarship within the last thirty years. The only recent book he seems to have known when writing his critique is David G. Gillham's last (William Blake, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973). Even worse than with Gillham here we find a curious feature: A picture pointed out by Alica Ostriker in her review of Gillham's work "It seems to me interesting that a man who... does not understand most of the major works of a major English poet should undertake to write a Critical Introductory to that poet" (Blake Newsletter 32, Vol. VIII [Spring 1975], p. 137; cf. Kleinstueck in the exhibition catalog, p. 32 and passim).

7 There are some minor misprints in the catalog only, and these are mostly due to the fact that neither David Bindman nor the author of this review, who translated Bindman's catalog-entries into German, was given a chance to read proof. Thus, Durch 7 is erroneously called a "frontispiece" (cat. no. 54, p. 106), "Mexico" instead of "Albuquerque, New Mexico" (p. 243) appears as the place of publication of the Blake Newsletter, etc.

8 Anne Mellor, in her recent book on Blake's Human Form Divine (Berkeley, Los Angeles & London: Univ. of California Press, 1974), put forward similar questions and many hints towards the answers. I do not quite agree with W. J. T. Mitchell's statement that "most of the studies of Blake in the last twenty years have addressed themselves to the question of form;" to my knowledge one has ever been displaced by Blake with such art historical criteria as utilized by Mellor. In spite of the mistakes in her work that are justly criticized by Mitchell, I still feel that the central problem discussed makes this an important study of Blake's visual art (for Mitchell's review see Blake Newsletter 32, Vol. VIII [Spring 1975], pp. 117-19).


10 William Blake, Die Vermählung von Himmel und Hölle--The Marriage of Heaven and Hell, ed. Sir Geoffrey Keynes (Paris and Munich: Prestel Verlag, 1975), limited edn. of 2,000 copies; an English edition has been published by Oxford University Press.

11 Many of us will nevertheless share the criticism of G. R. Sabri-Tabrizi's book on MRR, that Keynes implies (See p. 12, also the reviews of Sabri-Tabrizi's book in Blake Newsletter 32 [Spring 1975], p. 138, and J. T. Wills in Blake Studies, 6 [1974], 201-02).

12 William Blake, Lieber der Ungewißheit und Erfahrung, ed. W. Hofmann (with a German trans. of Blake's poems by W. Wilhelm), Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag, 1975. As far as I know, copy T has never been reproduced before.
It should be understood that the following bibliography of Blake references in Germany 1973-75—especially entry nos. 1-67—is interesting not as "scholarship" in the proper sense but as documentation of Blake's reception in 20th century Germany (yet a few articles published in Austria, the Netherlands, and Switzerland are also included). Nonetheless, one might find some wheat among the chaff, even among the shorter essays (see particularly nos. 44, 78, 85), most of which were written merely as notices of the exhibition.

This checklist, it has to be said, is probably far from being complete; I am convinced that many more (and even more remote) newspapers and journals published reviews of the exhibition or the German "Blake books" listed in section two. Nevertheless, I hope that most of the longer and more important articles actually are included here, and that the second part is almost complete. Not mentioned are the many two- or three-line references which merely gave the dates of the exhibition, opening-hours etc.; also excluded are books dealing only incidentally with Blake while discussing a different or larger subject (e.g., general introductions into the history of English painting and some important Fuseli publications are not listed here). These omissions might be bettered in a future list of Continental material relevant for the study of Blake, the poetry, art, and history of his age.

**Abbreviations**

FAN Frankfurter Abendblatt-Nachtausgabe, Frankfurt am Main
FAZ Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Frankfurt am Main
FNP Frankfurter Neue Presse, Frankfurt am Main
FR Frankfurter Rundschau, Frankfurt am Main

**Articles. Published in Newspapers, Weekly and Monthly Magazines**

1. Anon., (Untitled), *Die Welt*, Hamburg, 5 May 1975
2. (Untitled), Schaubildliche Donau-Zeitung, Ulm, 6 May 1975
3. (Untitled), *A. Z. München*, 8 June 1975
4. (Untitled), *Collesage Zeitung*, Celle, 11 June 1975
5. (Untitled), Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Frankfurt (hereafter "FAZ"), 5 July 1975
6. (Untitled), *FAZ*, 11 July 1975
11. "Blake-Ausstellung jetzt in Frankfurt," Offenbach-Post, Offenbach/Main, 16 May 1975
15. "Die Erfahrungen eines Geistersehers," Frankfurter Neue Presse, Frankfurt (hereafter "FNP"), 15/16 May 1975
20. "Grosser Aufakt zur Entdeckung eines 'grossen Unbekannten,'" Hamburger Abendblatt, Hamburg, 6 March 1975 (signed "ptb"); probably Paul Theodor Hoffmann
22. "Hoffmannsschimmer," FAZ, 16 May 1975 (signed "roh")
23. "Kirchentag mit viel Kultur," FNP, 9 May 1975
25. Kurze Kulturnotizen., Pforzheimer Zeitung, Pforzheim, 6 May 1975
27. "Letzte Folge 'Kunst um 1800,'" Braunschweiger Zeitung, Braunschweig, 10 May 1975 (signed "J. Sch.")
30. "Eine phantastische Blüte aus dem trockenen Engl.," FR, 17 May 1975 (signed "thb")
32. "Städte zeigt Blake-Werke," Hannover Anzeiger, Hannover, 5 May 1975
34. "Städte zeigt William Blake," Hannover Anzeiger, HannewMain, 17 May 1975
37. "William Blake" (Tip der Woche), Nationales, Basel (Switzerland), 27 March 1975
38. "William Blake in Deutschland," Die Tat, Zurich (Switzerland), 12 April 1975 (signed "EJ").
41. "William Blake im Städte," FAZ, 14 May 1975
42. "Wirklichkeit aus der Eingebung," Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Mainz, 25 May 1975 (signed "A.G.")
43. Beaucamp, Eduard, "Blake oder Der Ausstieg aus der Geschichte," FNP, 22 March 1975
44. Bohrer, Karl Heinz, "In den Wäldern der Nacht," FAZ, 1 January 1975
46. Eckert, Karla, "Erfindungskraft auf kleinstem Format," A. Luebeker Nachrichten, Lübeck, 7 March 1975; B. Plenburger Tagblatt, Flensburg; C. Basilese Neustate Nachrichten; D. Karlruhe; E. Glaesener Allgemeine, Glaesener Allgemeine, 8 March 1975

52. Eckert, Karla, "Zwischen Schrecken und Lieblichkeit," Neue Heidingskunde, Bielefeld, 7 March 1975
(Though the titles differ, all the articles by Mrs. Eckert listed above have virtually the same text, which was published by the German press agency "dpa"; one might find even more curious little newspapers that printed this exhibition review, DOK)
60. Helmolt, Christa von, "Die Vermählung von Himmel und Hölle," PAW, 15 May 1975
61. Hofmann, Dietmar, "Blake is beautiful," FNP, 16 May 1975
68. Lenz, Christian, "William Blake," hectograph published by the Städelisches Kunstinstitut in a 5-page abstract of the exhibition catalog, Frankfurt am Main, 1975 (contributors to the catalog which also includes a reprint of Henry Crabb Robinson's famous article of 1811: see nos. 98, 95, 97, 98, 100, 102 and 105
69. Hofmann, Werner, "Vorwort," see no. 96 below, pp. 9 ff.
70. Hofmann, Werner, ed., William Blake 1757-1827, exhibition catalog (A.) of the Hamburger Kunsthalle and (B.) the Städelisches Kunstinstitut (with a different foreword), Munich, 1975 (contributors to the catalog which also includes a reprint of Henry Crabb Robinson's famous article of 1811: see nos. 98, 95, 97, 98, 100, 102 and 105
73. Hofmann, Werner, "Die Vermählung von Himmel und Hölle" (Blake), see no. 89 above
75. Keynes, Geoffrey, "Einführung," see no. 89 above, pp. 7 ff.
76. Keynes, Geoffrey, "Einleitung," see no. 96 above, pp. 12 ff.
77. Kleinstück, Johannes, "Blake als Dichter," see no. 96 above, pp. 31 ff.
78. Schacherl, Lilian, Tr., "Die Vermählung von Himmel und Hölle" (Blake), see no. 89 above
80. Syamken, Georg, Tr., "Glossar" and "ikonographisches Register," see no. 96 above

Blake Scholarship (Books and Journal Articles)
85. Blake, William, Lieder der Unschuld und Erfahrung, ed. Werner Hofmann (Ranga, facsimile of copy T), Frankfurt am Main, 1975
86. Bohrer, Karl Heinz, "Das Beispiel William Blake" (and the two following chapters) in Der Lauf des Frühling, Die ladierte Utopie und die Dichter, Munich, 1973; pp. 16 ff.
88. Dörrbecker, Detlef W., Tr., "Katalog" (Bindman), see nos. 88 & 96
89. Dörrbecker, Detlef W., Tr., "Einführung" (Kennes), see nos. 89 & 101
91. Galowitz, Klaus, "Vorwort," see no. 96 B. Below, pp. 9 f.
92. Hofmann, Werner, ed., William Blake 1757-1827, exhibition catalog (A.) of the Hamburger Kunsthalle and (B.) the Städelisches Kunstinstitut (with a different foreword), Munich, 1975 (contributors to the catalog which also includes a reprint of Henry Crabb Robinson's famous article of 1811: see nos. 98, 95, 97, 98, 100, 102 and 105
93. Hofmann, Werner, "Vorwort," see no. 96 A. above, pp. 7 ff.
97. Keynes, Geoffrey, "Einführung," see no. 89 above, pp. 7 ff.
98. Kleinstück, Johannes, "Blake als Dichter," see no. 96 above, pp. 31 ff.
99. Schacherl, Lilian, Tr., "Die Vermählung von Himmel und Hölle" (Blake), see no. 89 above
101. Syamken, Georg, Tr., "Glossar" and "ikonographisches Register," see no. 96 above
103. Wilhelm, Walter, Tr., "Lieder der Unschuld und Erfahrung" (Blake), see no. 90 above
Checklists

Blake Among the Slavs: A Checklist

by G. E. Bentley, Jr.

In the summer of 1973, when work took me to Åbo, Finland, I paused to relish the bizarre neo-classical splendors of Leningrad, and while I was there I went to the enormous M. E. Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library, where Lenin had worked. It is an enormous building, housing, it is said, some 20,000,000 works, and is rather difficult of access, partly because the entrance is hard to find. Inside, one is asked for a pass—or at least I assumed that is what we were asked for. My daughter, who speaks some Russian, managed to get us in touch with Miss Fanny Barnofsky, who very kindly took us up to the catalogues. I had hoped to look up Blake, but I was prevented by my total ignorance of the Russian alphabet from even finding the correct drawer.1 I was about to give up in self-disgust, when the head of the catalogue department came up to help me and, on finding that I just wanted to discover what non-English works they had on William Blake, very generously said that he would have such a list compiled for me. On my protesting (not very convincingly, I fear) that I couldn't possibly allow him to undertake so much labor on my behalf, he told me patiently that this was a normal service of the library and that, if I would simply leave my address, the list would be sent to me. I acquiesced joyfully (having no fruitful alternative) and went off to be shown the extraordinary riches of the library in loving detail by Miss Barnofsky.

In due course, a long list of works in the Saltykov-Shchedrin Library followed me to Toronto. I had intended to use the titles to amplify the revised Blake bibliography, but many of the titles proved to be irrelevant for that purpose—being transcriptions of single poems, reviews, and the like. However, it appeared to me that most of the titles were quite unknown to Western Blake scholars (or at least to me) and that such a collection of Blake studies in Russian and other Slavic languages might be very difficult for a Western scholar to reproduce by other means, as I can testify from repeated attempts to do so.

I am, of course, only the instigator of the information here. The bibliography was apparently compiled by M. V. Brestkina (Bibliographer of the Saltykov-Shchedrin Library), approved by P. S. Bogomolova (Head of the Bibliography Department), sent to me by I. F. Grigorjeva (Chief of Foreign Acquisitions & International Exchange), and translated in Toronto by Lisa Schneider (and a little by Sarah Bentley), and the whole put into sensible order (so far as the Slavic parts are concerned) by my friend and colleague Professor Orest Rudzik.2 In particular, the Slavic conventions for representing titles, identifying journal volume-numbers, etc., are considerably different from those in the West (or at least in English), and often I could not distinguish between a publisher and a journal title, or between a volume-number and the number of pages in an article. For all such details I have depended upon my learned friends, though doubtless my misunderstanding of their patient explanations has created some needless confusions. For all this help I am profoundly grateful. The most extraordinary generosity seems to me to be that shown by the staff of the Saltykov-Shchedrin Library.

In the following list, the primary organization is by language, the sub-headings being Translations and Criticism. Under these sub-headings, the order is chronological. Note that almost all essays published in 1957 were probably bicentennial in inspiration. Naturally all the information has been transliterated. Because some of these languages may be as puzzling to others as they are to me, the titles have often been translated within square brackets as well.

In terms of historical development, the Saltykov-Shchedrin Blake collection in Slavic languages reveals very clear patterns.3 There are eight Russian works in the pre-Communist era (mostly 1896-1917), five in the Stalin years (1929-1945), a sudden dozen in the bicentennial year (1957), and thereafter a small but steady stream (thirty), including three books devoted entirely to Blake. The most prolific translator of Blake into Russian is clearly S. I. Marshak, and the most productive Blake scholars are T. N. Vasil'eva, A. A. Elistratova, and E. A. Nekrasova.

In other Slavic languages (Belorussian, Czech, Polish and Ukrainian) plus Estonian, Georgian, Latvian, Lithuanian, and Rumanian, the first Blake publications come in 1957-58 (nineteen), with a trickle thereafter (four). Of course, for these languages, especially Czech, Polish, and Rumanian, the Saltykov-Shchedrin is likely to be less comprehensive and representative in its holdings than for Russian works; it is notable that Estonia and Latvia, Lithuania, with five or six works each, are republics near Leningrad, whereas all the other languages have only one or two.

These lists of Blake works in the Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library suggest to me that there are probably numerous writings about Blake published in the Communist world which are unknown to Western Blake scholars but that many of them are probably somewhat ephemeral, translations of individual poems, bicentennial essays, and the like. I should welcome more information about such works and exchanges of information with scholars in Russia.

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1 Note that the question of how to transliterate is sometimes a difficult one and that, for example, the same letter may apparently be transliterated as “B” or “V”—or at least it was by my learned friends.

2 With further friendly assistance by and through Professor Thomas Minnig.

3 I was subsequently sent a List of Literature on William Blake's Life and Work Published in the Russian Language after 1917 in the Lenin State Library of the U.S.S.R. (Moscow) compiled by Kushnerева and forwarded by Kopylova of the Department of Bibliographical Information. The Moscow list contains three translations (1900-1965) and twenty-one works of criticism.
The M. E. Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library
REFERENCE AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DIVISION

William Blake

A List of Translations of his Poetry, and Critical Literature, in the Languages of the U.S.S.R. and Foreign Languages (English, French and German Excepted), a Fond of the Public Library.

Leningrad, 1973

RUSSIAN

A. Translations

"[Cradle Song.]" Tr. K. Balmont. Detskoe Chtenie [Children's Literature], (May, 1900), pp. 222-223.


"Radost'-Ditia [Infant Joy]", "Malen'kii mal'chik potoravshiisia [The Little Boy Lost]", "Malen'kii mel'chik naidennyi [The Little Boy Found]", "Kolybel'-naia pesnia [Cradle Song]", "Noch [Night]", "Taina tufyvi [? The Secret of Love]", "Tigr [The Tyger]", "Kniaza Tel [The Book of Thel]."

Tr. K. D. Balmont. In chuzhems'emykh poezii [Foreign Poetry]. (1908), 4-22; (1909), 4-22.

"[The Little Vagabond.""] Tr. S. I. Marshak. Argus, III (1917), 89.


Includes "Laughing Song", "The Little Black Boy", epigrams.

"[The School Boy.""] Tr. S. I. Marshak. Literaturnaia Gazeta [Literary Gazette], (3 July 1955)


Apparently reprinted in the next work.


Includes V. Zhirmunskii, "[William Blake (1757-1827)]", pp. 5-34. The poems are from Poetical Sketches, Songs of Innocence and of Experience, the Prophecies, and aphorisms. Evidently first printed in the previous work.


B. Criticism

"[Artist, Poet and Madman: The Life of William Blake.""] Tr. from the English [of Allan Cunningham, Lives of British Artists]. [Telescope], (1834), Chapter 22, pp. 67-97.

Bengerov, Z. "William Blake." [Literary Characterletaj], I (1897), 151-182


Anon. "Blake, William (1757-1827)." Bol'sheika Sovetskaia entsiklopediya [The Great Soviet Encyclopedia]. Ed. S. I. Vavilov... B. Second Edition. (Moscow, 1950.) Vol. V, pp. 292-293. This is the only Russian work on Blake known to GEB that is not on the Saltykov-Shchedrin list.


"Elistratova, A. "Bleik (K 200-letiiu so dnya roshdenia) [Blake (For the Bicentenary of his Birth)]." Inostrannaya Literaturnaia [Foreign Literature], X (1957), 189-192. With a portrait.


"Rogov, V. "William Blake." Kul'tura i Zhizn' [Culture and Life], XII (1957), 72-74. For the bicentenary of his birth, with a portrait.


Sarnov, B. "[Each Time is an Exception]." Kishinevskaya Gazeta [Kishinev Gazette], LXI (26 May 1966). On the mastery of S. I. Marshak, the translator of Blake's poetry.

Vasl'eva, T. N. "Epigrammy Vil'iamia Bleika [The Epigrams of William Blake]." Literaturovedoved [Literary Studies], LXXXVII (1967), 103-114.


BELORUSSIAN
A. Translations
"[Excerpts from 'Auguries of Innocence' and Songs of Experience.]." Tr. I. Semishen. Literatura i Mastaatav [a newspaper], (30 November 1957).

B. Criticism

CZECH
B. Criticism

ESTONIAN
A. Translations
"[London]." Tr. L. Metsar. Edasi [Forward], (1 December 1957).
"[(The Husbandry of) Urizen, 'This city and this country has brought forth many mayors', 'Laughing Song', 'The Fly', 'The Tyger']." Tr. R. Sepp. [Looming], XII (1957), 1867-1869.

B. Criticism

GEORGIAN
A. Translations

LATVIAN
B. Criticism

LITHUANIAN
A. Translations
"['Night' (from Innocence), 'Holy Thursday' (from Experience)]." Tr. K. Puras. Komjaunino Tiesa [Komsomol Truth], (29 November 1957), [newspaper].
"[The Tyger]." Tr. A. Churinas. Literatura ir Menas [Literature and Art], (30 November 1957).

B. Criticism
Puras, K. "[The Poet-Artist.]." Komjaunino Tiesa [Komsomol Truth], (29 November 1957).

POLISH
B. Criticism

RUMANIAN
B. Criticism

Dissertations on Blake: 1963-1975

By Rochelle C. Gross and C. M. Henning*

This bibliography deals with all doctoral dissertations concerning Blake and his work between the years 1964-74 and part of 1975. Entries are taken from the Fine Arts, Music, Religious Studies, and Language and Literature sections of Dissertation Abstracts and Dissertation Abstracts International, 1964-1976. All the information for ordering any dissertation directly from this bibliography is given below with each entry, except in rare cases in which it must be ordered directly from the University. In these cases, of course, no Xerox order number is given. The list is arranged chronologically by the date of the dissertation, and alphabetically within each year.

1966


1967


* As editorial assistant for the Newsletter in 1974-74, Judith Wallick Page made substantial additions to the checklist.
University of Oregon, 1967. 250 pp. DA 28(March), 1968, 3632A.


1969


Heppner, Christopher Andreas Etzel. The Problem of Form in Blake's Prophecies. DAI 32(July) 1971, 433A.


Jackson, Mary Vera. A Study of the Use of Poetic Myth in the Work of William Blake From 1783-1794. Order
No. 70-10,958. Washington University, 1969. 199 pp. DAI 30(June) 1970, 5410A.


1970


1971


1972


1973


1974

Baine, Mary Rion. Satan and the Satan Figure in the Poetry of William Blake. Order No. 75-2554. University of Georgia, 1974. 137 pp. DAI 35(February) 1975, 5335A.


Lento, Thomas Vincent. The Epic Consciousness in Four Romantic and Modern Epics by Blake, Byron, Eliot and Hart Crane. Order No. 75-13,784. University of Iowa, 1974. 258 pp. DAI 35(June) 1975, 7911A.


1975


University of California at Riverside, 1975. 236 pp. DAI 36(October) 1975, 2215A.


Newsletter

Blake An Illustrated Quarterly

With this issue the Blake Newsletter celebrates its tenth anniversary. The first issue was edited and published by Morton Paley from the University of California at Berkeley in the summer of 1967. In 1970 Paley divided the editorial responsibilities with Morris Eaves, and the production office of the Newsletter was moved to the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque. With the sponsorship of the English Department there, the Newsletter was able to change its format: first from multilith to photo-offset, which allowed us to reproduce pictures, and then from photo-offset in single columns to a double-column format that allowed the pictures to be integrated more flexibly with the text. We published our first color illustration in 1974-75, and another last year. Bibliographical work gradually became a sort of sub-specialty, beginning with the supplement to the Bentley-Nurmi Blake Bibliography that appeared in one of the early issues, which was followed by Robert Essick's handlist of reproductions, Bentley's checklist of the Blake collection at the British Museum, Ruth Lehrer's checklist of the Rosenwald collections, Everett Frost's checklist of Blake slides, and a host of others. Finally, in 1976 Thomas Minnick was added to the editorial staff as Bibliographer, to handle all our bibliographical projects, including the annual checklist of Blake scholarship, which was joined a couple of years ago by Robert Essick's annual checklist of sales, "Blake in the Marketplace." We published our first special thematic issue, on Blake among Victorians, in 1974, and another, on The Textbook Blake, with a long bibliographical essay with checklist by Mary Lynn Johnson, in 1976. We contributed resources for discussion to the annual MLA Blake seminar for the first time in 1975, with a supplemental booklet by W. J. T. Mitchell on Blake's pictures of the Last Judgment, and again in 1976, with an essay by Irene Tailer on Blake's Laocoön. In 1975 we went outside the confines of the journal itself to publish an inexpensive classroom facsimile of America, a feat we hope to duplicate with other works in illuminated printing before too long.

Now, in 1977, with issue number 41, the first in our eleventh volume, we are changing our name to bring it in line with what we think is the truth--dropping "Newsletter" from the title to become simply Blake An Illustrated Quarterly, and reminding ourselves of our origins by making our "News" section the "Newsletter." We have already grown, we believe, to be the quarterly that our new name asserts we are, and therefore we plan no special changes in format or extent, except that we shall now welcome from contributors some of the longer and more "interpretive" articles that we have never solicited in the past.

The change in the price of a subscription that also goes into effect with this volume is an anniversary present that we did not want to give to our subscribers. We want to assure you that the raise in price has nothing to do with the change in our name--only with the steady change in the costs of goods and services. If history consoles, a subscription in 1967 cost $2; in 1970, $3 and $4; in 1971, $3 and $5; and by early 1972, $4 and $5--the present rate, which has held steady for more than half a decade (to put it as strongly as possible). The new rate is $6 for individuals, $7 for institutions. MORRIS EAVES AND MORTON D. PALEY, CO-EDITORS, BLAKE AN ILLUSTRATED QUARTERLY.

New Address for Paley

By the time this issue is mailed, Morton Paley's address will be Department of English, University of California, Berkeley, California 94720.

Fragments from Songs of Innocence

Four fragments from Songs of Innocence have recently come to light and were auctioned in London on 5 April 1977 by Sotheby's Belgravia. Two of the Songs have particular interest by virtue of being the only known instances of Blake's application of his color-printing technique to the Songs of
Innocence. These fragments, the illustration to "The Shepherd" and the headpiece to "Spring," are rather crudely printed in murky colors; the lack of assurance evinced by this handling of the technique allies them closely with Blake's other experiments with color-printing between 1794 and 1796; the Small Book of Designs (British Museum, copy A) and, above all, the color-printed pages of the variegated Songs of Experience in the British Museum (copy T), bear the same characteristics. The remaining fragments, the tailpieces to "Night" and "Spring" respectively, are hand-colored; the delicate washes of the former are associated with early copies of Songs of Innocence, but the condition of the latter renders its dating uncertain. FRANCES CAREY, DEPARTMENT OF PRINTS & DRAWINGS, BRITISH MUSEUM.

Graham Robertson Color Prints

Abbott and Holder, the London dealers, recently exhibited a group of color prints, together with some of the original blocks, executed by W. Graham Robertson, in imitation of Blake's monotype technique. Robert Essick has already drawn attention to their existence in his last review of the London sales (Newsletter 88). In addition to the information he provides, it should be noted that Graham Robertson, like Blake, appears to have taken three impressions from each block, the experiment having been occasioned by the exhibition of his work, held at the Carfax Gallery in 1906. The Tate Gallery has acquired one of the prints, Paolo and Francesca, and the British Museum now owns two impressions and the block for Girl in a Landscape (SL 10 March 1975, no. 125). FRANCES CAREY, DEPARTMENT OF PRINTS & DRAWINGS, BRITISH MUSEUM.

Jerusalem in Hamburg

Late last summer (1976) Colnaghi's in London offered for sale Blake's preparatory drawing for Jerusalem 51 (see pl. 4 and Butlin's description in Blake Newsletter 28, Summer 1973, p. 7). This pencil study, which formerly belonged to the collection of David J. Black, Edinburgh, has found its new home in the print room of Hamburger Kunsthalle. With at least a copy of Young's Night Thoughts containing Blake's engravings, an incomplete set of Illustrations of the Book of Job, an almost complete set of the Blake Trust facsimiles (which to my knowledge is unique in a German library), a large selection of other Blake books, and this new acquisition of one of Blake's most finished pencil drawings, the Hamburger Kunsthalle is showing signs of building a respectable Blake collection. DETLEF DÖRRBECKER, FRANKFURT.

Blake and the Communists

The Literature Group of the Communist Party announced a one-day conference for 19 March 1977, at the Architectural Association, 34-36 Bedford Square, London, with sessions on Radical Politics and the London Artisans; Painters, Engravers, and Eighteenth-Century Art; Blake as Poet; Blake as Visual Artist. Speakers were to include Gordon Fyfe, John Hayles, Paul Fauivet, and Ray Watkinson. DETLEF DÖRRBECKER, FRANKFURT.

Blake at the SCSECS

At the second annual meeting of the South Central Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies, 3-5 March 1977, in Houston, Texas, Roberta D. Gates (Southern Technical Institute) read a paper on "William Blake's The Everlasting Gospel" at the session on Religious Values in the Eighteenth Century, and, at the session on Art and Literature, Stuart Peterfreund (University of Arkansas, Little Rock) read "Blake, Stubbs, and 'The Tyger': A New Interpretation," and Michael M. Cohen (Murray State University) read "Blake's 'The Fly': Visual Metaphor vs. Literary Criticism." Friday afternoon Blake's engravings were presented to the accompaniment of musical settings. Professor Charles McCabe (Department of English, University of Houston) explained the engravings; musicians included Jeffrey Lerner (School of Music, University of Houston), clarinet; Albert Hirsh (same), piano; and Martha Wiliford (Texas Opera Company), soprano. The program lists "In a Myrtle Shade" in the version set by Charles T. Griffes; "The Wild Flowers Song," Paul Hindemith; "Leave, O Leave Me to My Sorrows," Nicholas Flagello; selections from Vaughan Williams' "Ten Blake Songs for Voice and Clarinet"; "Three Songs of Innocence," Arnold Cooke; "Daybreak," Henry Cowell; "The Lamb," Theodore Chanler; and "The Tiger," Virgil Thomson.
Blake in the News

"Eight years ago a girl of 20 [Margaret Trudeau] met a prime minister of 49 [Pierre Trudeau, Prime Minister of Canada] on the island of Tahiti. They shared a passion for William Blake, the poet who once wrote, 'Love to faults is always blind / Always is to joy inclin'd.'" Quoted from Ellen Goodman in her syndicated newspaper column At Large, for Thursday, 31 March 1977.

On 28 April CBS-TV aired "Tiger, Tiger," a documentary on the Bengal tiger, an endangered species.

Correction: Island Tape

I am very grateful for Martin Nurmi's appreciative remarks (Newsletter 40) about our audio-tape production of Blake's Island in the Moon. I'm sorry to have to inform readers, however, that the assertion in the review that the tape is now available for sale is incorrect (and I hasten to add that the responsibility for this misinformation may well not lie with the reviewer). Alas, as with many worthy things done with too little money, the tape is frozen into a complicated limbo of rights, residuals, union stipulations, and the like. Mr. Cansino and I labor towards that happy day when all can have an Island that everyone will joy to hear, but we cannot now foresee it.

In the meantime the tape is authorized only for rental to noncommercial radio stations for broadcast purposes (the rates varying according to the size, character, and relationship to Pacifica of the local station). Readers with a cooperative college or community radio station at hand can have the station arrange a broadcast through Pacifica Program Services, 5316 Venice Boulevard, Los Angeles, California 90027.

My personal copy of the tape can also be sometimes loaned to substantial Blake gatherings; but it is beyond both my capacity and my contractual restrictions to satisfy personal, scholarly, or classroom needs. Again, alas.

Finally, it ought to be noted that we have come this far at least with partial financial assistance from the National Endowment for the Arts (on the genial principle that when empire puts money into art, such recognition encourages them to keep doing it). EVERETT FROST, CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, FRESNO.

★ A Query from Ruthven Todd

Ruthven Todd is now gathering material for a final working over of his edition of Gilchrist's biography of Blake. He asks our readers to send him notes containing material that they think should be added to the biography. Contributors will be credited in print for their assistance. Todd's address is Ca'n Bield, Galilea, Mallorca, Spain.

Two New Blake Catalogues


A catalogue of the exhibition held in conjunction with last year's conference on Blake in the Art of His Time at the University of California, Santa Barbara, has been published as a joint faculty-graduate student project organized by Corlette Walker of the Department of Art. The catalogue is 102 pages long, with many black-and-white illustrations and several in color. For a copy write Corlette Rossiter Walker, University Art Galleries, University of California, Santa Barbara.
The journal **Blake Studies**, edited by Kay and Roger Easson, and their American Blake Foundation have a new address: Department of English, Memphis State University, Memphis, Tennessee 38152.

**Adelphi Blake Festival (with T-Shirts)**

The Blake Festival that was held at Adelphi University in Garden City, New York, from 19 March until 29 May included a number of events (see reproduction). A catalogue is forthcoming. T-shirts are probably still available. They are silk-screened with Blake's autograph ("William Blake one who is very much delighted . . ."), in colors white, yellow, blue, red, royal, and brown, sizes small, medium, large, and extra-large, $5 each + .50 for shipping. Write Erica Doctorow, Head, Fine Arts Library, Adelphi, Garden City, New York 11530.

**Morgan Library’s New Blakes**

The Times Literary Supplement recently printed an article by Charles Ryskamp, Director of the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, describing a new purchase from "a Continental library" of a "specially bound life of Blake from the 1830 edition of Lives of the Most Eminent British Painters by Allan Cunningham," and perhaps copied by Cunningham. The volume was extra-illustrated with a number of impressions of Blake's engravings and etchings and two letters, one by John Varley to Cunningham, the other from Bernard Barton, the Quaker poet, to Cunningham. Heretofore unrecorded impressions from the illuminated books include *Jerusalem* 2, 41, 59 and *America* 12, 13, 14, all posthumous impressions pulled by Tatham; contemporary impressions include *Europe* ii, 3, 4, *Book of Los* 5, and *Jerusalem* 28, 70, 75, some with differences from the "published" states, some with changes apparently by Blake. There are a number of Blake's book illustrations, an "unexplained variant" of Blake's illustration for the article on gem engraving for Rees' *Cyclopaedia*, and impressions of...
five of the "separate plates" listed by Keynes: the portraits of Wilson Lowry and Lavater, Morning Amusement and Evening Amusement (both in black), and Joseph of Arimathea among the Rooks of Albion, second state, touched with wash. For further details see Charles Ryskamp, "A Blake Discovery," TLS, 14 January 1977, pp. 40-41.

1978 MLA Seminar

Unfortunately, the Modern Language Association has rejected Anne Mellor's petition for a Blake seminar this December because there were not enough panelists committed by a certain date in advance. Therefore Mellor requests that prospective participants in the seminar for December 1978 send her an abstract and a copy of their proposed papers by October of this year.

The topic is "Blake's Self-Portraits," broadly conceived to include Blake's imagery in his poetry and art of himself as poet, painter, illustrator, and print-maker; his conceptions of the creative process, the self, masculinity (as opposed to femininity); his use of autobiographical materials; etc. Write to Anne Mellor, English Department, Stanford University, Stanford, California 94305.

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English Language Notes is soliciting contributions for a special winter 1978 issue devoted to nineteenth-century English literature. Essays should be no longer than 5000 words and must be received by 15 April 1978. Please send manuscripts to Professor Charles L. Proudfit, Editor, ELN, Department of English, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado 80309.

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