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1 "Feed the Hungry," for the Acts of Mercy, pen
and wash, 27.3 x 25.4 cm. University College,
London.

2 "Hercules in the Garden of the Hesperides,"
vase, blue jasper, white relief, height 31 cm.
City Museum and Art Gallery, Stoke-on-Trent.

3 Superflax: Zorrrrrrrrrm (Idee: Homer;
Zeichnungen: John Flaxman; Buch und Regie:
Achim Lipp; paperback, 25 pp).

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RUTHVEN TODD, one of the great Blake scholars of
our time, died in Mallorca in 1978.
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Since my last survey of sales (Blake: An Illustrated Quarterly, Vol. 12, Summer 1978, pp. 26-38), it has become increasingly clear that there is no single Blake market, amenable to easy summary, but several. Each has its own distinct economics, group of buyers and sellers, and importance for academic Blakeans.

The stratospheric heights, beyond the reach of all but the wealthiest, have been represented during the last two years by the auction sale of Songs of Innocence and of Experience copy D (illus. 1) and the two large tempera panels, "Evening" and "Winter." The first, knocked down for $147,000 (plus the 10% surcharge now required by both Sotheby's and Christie's), not only is a record for any work by Blake, but according to Christie's is the most ever paid for a single work of English literature. Unfortunately (for the sellers) the several other illuminated books sold in 1978 and 1979 changed hands before this landmark auction. It should have considerable impact on future sales of fine illuminated books, few of which still lie in private hands; but less influence on prices for individual relief etchings and I suspect practically none on other types of Blake books. The high prices for the temperas ($30,000 for "Winter" and $21,000 for "Evening") were at least in part due to the medium, generally considered by the art world to be, like oil, more important than water color. That Blake's so-called "temperas" were probably executed in nothing more than a thicker variety of Blake's gum-or glue-fixed water color makes little difference in this context. The price for "Winter" is probably a new auction record for a painting by Blake and will tend to push up the monetary value of his other important pictures. Yet, if we compare this price to those fetched by even the second rank of old masters or important eighteenth-century continental artists, Blake looks like a bargain. His drawings and paintings still find their market among rather bookish sorts or collectors who concentrate on British art and have little appeal outside the English speaking world. If Blake should ever become part of the international art market and achieve the popularity and reputation of such masters as Frederick Remington or Andy Warhol, prices would soar.

The scene is very different if we look at the other end of the Blake picture market. The drawing "Non Angli Sed Angeli" did fairly well at £2200, at least in part because it is closely associated with the important finished water color in the Victoria and Albert. Yet prices for equally important drawings have actually descended--precipitously so if calculated in uninflated money. A case in point is "Every Man also Gave Him a Piece of Money" (illus. 2) formerly in the Robertson and Preston collections. Colnaghi offered it for £15,000 in their fall 1976 exhibition, but the drawing was stolen on the last day of the show. Recovered by the insurance company, the drawing was offered at Sotheby's with an estimate of £10,000 to £15,000. The drawing's lot number is not given in the price list, and thus it apparently failed to meet the reserve, which could not have been higher than the low estimate. Dealers continue to ask high prices for such works, but the auction record shows the true thinness and weakness of this market. Lesser works have fared even worse.
After the high prices fetched in June 1971 for leaves from the Blake-Varley Sketchbook, seven years later one would think that even a counterproof would bring more than the £45 paid for "Queen Eleanor." A similar counterproof of "Canute" went for £150 in 1976.

Impressions of Blake's intaglio engravings have fluctuated considerably, in part according to availability. Commercial engravings plucked from books have risen sharply, but their price was so low only a few years ago that 100% increases do not carry them very far in absolute terms. "Christ Trampling on Urizen" demonstrates the effects of over-supply. There would seem to be a cache of posthumous impressions somewhere, but its owner has not been releasing them slowly enough and the auction prices have steadily descended. One of the first to appear on the auction market in many years brought £189 in October 1975; the most recent sold for £15 in February 1979. Even major series such as the Job and Dante illustrations have not increased much on the average, and one can pick out individual sales that show a decline. For example, in July 1974 a complete set of the Dante made £3,700 in London; another copy of the 1892 printing, with a bit more foxing, brought £3200 in December 1979. A complete proof copy of the Job sold at a London auction in December 1973 for £3200; a similar set brought £5000 in a New York sale, May 1978. The Job—one of the greatest works of line engraving produced in any age—is my candidate for the most underpriced work by an English artist. If the market gave it a monetary value commensurate with its aesthetic value, as it does for Durer, Rembrandt, and Goya, the price should be in the neighborhood of $20,000.

The Blake book market, excluding original copies of the illuminated books, is more orderly than those already described. A few items, such as the "Wit's Magazine," suddenly take off for no apparent reason, but gradual rises are the rule. Gilchrist's "Life of Blake," 1863 and 1880, and almost all titles by Sir Geoffrey Keynes, have more than outpaced the general rate of inflation. The best performers among books with Blake's engravings have been the "Night Thoughts"—including the enormous record price of $18,150 for a beautifully colored copy—and titles that have always brought good prices, such as Hunter's "Narrative and Stuart & Revett's "Antiquities of Athens," for reasons other than their Blake associations. Quaritch has made certain that the prices for out-of-print Blake Trust items continue their steady ascent by purchasing copies that come up at auction and offering them for sale at prices a little above the rest of the market. Their price of $4000 for the 1951 "Jerusalem" is a new record for any Blake Trust volume. Important early reprints of Blake's poems, particularly those published by Pickering, have fared well. Yet, there is nothing in the record of sales to support the common opinion, held by many dealers as well as collectors, that any book bearing Blake's name automatically soars in price above all other publications.

The following compilation of Blake sales for 1978-1979 (along with a few late 1977 and early 1980 items) follows the same format as previous lists, with the addition of a concluding section on selected out-of-print secondary materials. We hope that this new section will help individuals and libraries determine appropriate prices for volumes they wish to add to their research and reference collections.

**ABBREVIATIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CL</td>
<td>Christie, Manson &amp; Woods Ltd., London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CNY</td>
<td>Christie, Manson &amp; Woods, New York</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cat.</td>
<td>catalogue or sales list issued by a dealer or auction house (usually followed by a number or letter designation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>illus.</td>
<td>the item or part thereof is reproduced in the catalogue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SB</td>
<td>Sotheby Belgravia, Motcomb St., London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SH</td>
<td>Sotheby &amp; Co., Hodgson's Rooms, Chancery Lane, London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SL</td>
<td>Sotheby &amp; Co., Main Rooms, Bond St., London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SNY</td>
<td>Sotheby Parke-Bernet, New York</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swann</td>
<td>Swann Galleries, Inc., auctioneers, New York</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>auction lot or catalogue item number</td>
<td>Auction prices are the &quot;hammer price&quot;—that is, the price the auctioneer gives as the winning bid. They do not include surcharges or commission fees.</td>
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I wish to thank G. E. Bentley, Jr., Laura Brown, Detlef M. Dörnbecker, Edwin Epps, and Ruth Fine for their assistance in compiling this list.

R. N. E.

**ILLUMINATED BOOKS AND POETICAL SKETCHES**

*America*. Pl. 7 only, printed in sepia. Described as a posthumous impression, but the texture of ink, color, and wiping of the borders all indicate a pull by Blake himself. Signature on verso of John Defett Francis, 1834. Not previously recorded. SH, 13 July 79, #147 illus. (A. G. Thomas, £1200). Offered by Thomas in his cat. 38, Nov. 78, #33, for £2000. Now in the collection of Mr. Raymond Lister.

**Book of Thel**, copy A. The "anonymous collector" (i.e., John E. duPont) listed as the owner in Blake Books resold it to Warren Howell in 1978. Acquired by Colin Franklin, Oxfordshire, who in turn sold the book to an anonymous private collector.


Songs of Innocence and of Experience, three pls. only: "The Echoing Green," second pl.; "The Little Black Boy," second pl.; "Holy Thursday" (from Experience). Formerly in the collection of Dr. B. E. Juel-Jensen (Blake Books, p. 430) and Colin Franklin. Zeitlin & Ver Brugge, spring 79 Portfolio 4, #3, all three illus. ($15,000). I believe that this is a record per plate price for pages from the illuminated books. These are the only known impressions of relief etchings printed by Blake on laid India paper. The coloring is incomplete on all three pls.; Christ's robe in "The Little Black Boy" colored bright scarlet. Still available, March 1980.


**DRAWINGS AND PAINTINGS**

"Evening," tempera, 91.8 x 29.7 cm., from the collection of Vaughan Johnson. SL, 18 July 79, #59, illus. color (Agnew for a private collector, £21,000).

"Every Man also Gave Him a Piece of Money." Pencil, pen, blue & gray washes, 23 x 18 cm. Formerly Tatham, Weston, Robertson, and Preston collections. SL, 19 July 79, #62, illus. color (not sold; estimate £10,000-15,000). Previously sold SL, 21 March 74, #16 to Colnaghi for £9500; offered in their Sept. 76 cat., #83, for £15,000. SEE ILLUS. 2.

"Head of a Faun," pencil sketch, 8 15/16 x 7 3/8 in. Stanhope Skelton, Suffolk, Nov. 78 ($3500).


"Non Angli Sed Angeli--St. Gregory and the British Captives" (recto); tower part of a large nude demon and five visionary heads including Thomas More, Bluff King Hal, and Hotspur (verso). Both pencil, sheet 32 x 47 cm. The recto is a preliminary sketch for the water color in the Victoria and Albert Museum. SL, 30 Nov. 78, #72, recto illus. (£2200). Now in a private New Jersey collection.


"Virgin Hushing the Young Baptist as He Approaches Jesus." Tempera, 26.3 x 38.1 cm. Illus. *Blake Quarterly*, 12 (summer, 1978), 27. Sold by Howell to a private collector.

"Visionary Head of Queen Eleanor." Pencil counter-proof by Linnell, 22.5 x 15 cm. From Linnell and E. J. Shaw collections. SL, 4 May 78, #59 (£45).

"Winter," tempera, 90.2 x 29.7 cm., from the collection of Vaughan Johnson. SL, 18 July 79, #58 illus. color (Agnew, £30,000). Now in the Tate Gallery.


**MANUSCRIPTS**

Autograph note signed, on sheet 3 x 7 1/2 in., dated 9 Sept. 1806. Receipt to Thomas Butts for six shillings, from the collection of Ruthven Todd (see Bentley, *Blake Records*, p. 575). SNY, 23 May 79, #1 illus. ($2500).

**SEPARATE PLATES AND PLATES IN SERIES**

(including plates extracted from printed books)


"Beggars Opera, Act III," after Hogarth. 4th st., two copies, SB, 2 Dec. 77, #11 (L10). 1st (etched) st. on laid paper, some tears, cut close, SL, 26 April 78, #167 (L250).


2 "Every Man also Gave Him a Piece of Money." Pencil, pen, blue and gray washes, 23 x 18 cm. Offered for sale by Sotheby's (London), 19 July 1979 lot 62 (not sold).

3 "The Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes." Varnished tempera on copper, 32.4 x 49.6 cm. Probably the painting by that title Blake exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1800. Essick collection.


"Christ Trampling on Urizen," Butts and Blake. CNY, 5 May 78, #181, on thick wove paper, slight staining ($154). CL, 6 Dec. 78, #158, on wove paper (£45). CL, 6 Feb. 79, #15, on wove paper (£15).

Cumberland's Calling card. Maggs, private offer July 78, printed in brown ($170); private offer Aug. 78, printed in black ($250). SH, 25 May 79, #506, in a lot of approx. 3670 bookplates (Thorp, £1650).

Now in a private collection. The dealer, Thomas Thorp of London, who purchased the lot has refused to give R. N. E. the name of the owner or pass along a letter of inquiry to him.

Dante, Blake's engravings to The Inferno. Swann, 4 May 78, #35, with label, on J Whatman/Turkey Mill paper (1st issue?) ($8600). CNY, 16 Nov. 78, #40a, 1892 issue with small margins, vertical fold, foxed, pl. 4 illus. (not included in price list, and thus apparently not sold). John Howell Books, Nov. 79, on laid India mounted on thick cream wove (1st issue?), from the collection of Adeline Butterworth with her signature dated 1913 ($12,000). Serendipity Books, Dec. 79 cat. 39, #P128, with label, on white wove paper with "N" watermark fragment (1st issue?) ($13,000). CL, 5 Dec. 79, #120, 1892 issue, vertical fold, foxed (same copy as sold CNY above?), pl. 1 illus. (£3200). Colnaghi, May 78 cat., pl. 4 only (£1800).

Darwin, Botanica Garden. SL, 26 May 78, #96, pls. 1 and 6 only (not sold). Edwin Epps, Dec. 78 list, #1a, pl. 2 only ($50); #1b, pl. 5 only ($45).

Gay, Fables. Woodspurge Books, Oct. 79 cat., #1a-d: pl. 3 ($20), pl. 5 ($30), pl. 10 ($25), pl. 11 ($30).

Job, complete. Swann, 4 May 78, #33, proofs on laid India ($5600). SNY, 23 May 78, #285, proofs on laid India, pl. 16 illus. ($5000). CL, 6 Dec. 78,
10

#159, proofs on wove paper in orange paper boards with label, pl. 14 illus. ($4000). CL, 13 Dec. 78, #63, regular issue on Whatman wove paper, pl. 3 illus. (Reed, £2900). CNY, 20 April 79, #12, proofs on laid India unbound with label, pl. 14 illus. ($7000). CL, 27 June 79, #83, late printing on laid India, pl. 5 illus. ($3200). Bernard Rosenthal, private offer Dec. 79, late printing on laid India ($5000).

Job, individual plates. SNY, 16 Feb. 79, late issue on laid India, #566-577: title-page and pls. 1-2 ($450); pl. 3, illus. ($700); pls. 4, 7 ($552); pl. 5, illus. ($650); pls. 6, 8 ($500); pl. 10, 12 ($600); pls. 11, 13 ($750); pl. 16 ($275); pls. 17, 18 ($550); pl. 19, 20 ($650); pl. 21 ($300); pl. 22 on wove paper (not sold). Colnaghi, May 78 cat., pls. 1, 10, 15, 19, 20, 21, proofs on laid India ($650 each). W. & V. Dailey, Dec. 79 cat. 12, regular issue on Whatman paper, pl. 4 ($650); pl. 7 ($1000); pl. 10 ($650). CL, 9 Oct. 79, #24, pl. 5, proof on wove paper ($200); #24, pl. 20, proof on wove paper ($200). CL, 7 Dec. 77, #149, late impressions, pls. 1-5, 7, 9-12, 14-17, 19, 21, 22 ($1400). Marilyn Pink Prints, April 79 cat., regular issue on wove, pls. 7, 13 ($500 each). CNY, 5 May 78, #177-180: pl. 7, proof on laid India (not sold); pl. 7, proof on French paper ($396); pl. 17, proof on French paper ($440); pl. 18, proof on French paper ($407). Associated American Artists, Oct. 79 cat., #12-16: proofs on laid India, pls. 1, 4 ($900 each); regular issue, pls. 13, 14, illus. ($750 each); pl. 18, proof on laid India ($750). CL, 6 Feb. 79, #13, pl. 12, late issue on laid India, stained ($100). Sotheby Los Angeles, 5 Feb. 79, #63, proof on laid India of pl. 16 and regular issue of pl. 21 with central design cut out and pasted to border, both soiled ($450). Marilyn Pink Prints, May 79 cat., #31, regular issue on wove, pl. 13 ($500). Weston Gallery, March 79 cat. 2, #3, pl. 16, proof on French paper, illus. ($900); June 78 cat. 4, #3, pl. 19, proof on French paper, illus. ($740). SNY, 3 May 78, #4A, pl. 21, proof on wove paper ($400). CL, 4 July 79, #174, pl. 21, late printing on laid India ($180).

Lavater, Essay on Physiognomy. Edwin Epps, Dec. 78 list, #2, pl. 3 only ($50); Woodspurge Books, Oct. 79 cat. 1, #9, same pl. ($50).


"Mrs. Q.," after Villiers. SB, 15 Dec. 78, #61, with another stipple print in colors ($90).


Shakespeare, Plays of, 1805 ed. illus. by Fuseli. Woodspurge Books, Oct. 79 cat. 1, #10, pl. 1, "Queen Katherine's Dream," only ($200).

Stedman, Narrative. Edwin Epps, Dec. 78 list, #4a, b, pls. 3 and 6 only ($50 each). Woodspurge Books, Oct. 79 cat. 1, #11a-c: pl. 1 ($40); pl. 7 ($40); pl. 8 ($70).


Wit's Magazine. Associated American Artists, Oct. 79 cat., #10-11, pls. 4 and 6 only ($90 each).

BOOKS WITH ENGRAVINGS BY BLAKE


Blair, The Grave, 1808 folio first ed. Deighton Bell, Nov. 78 cat. 213, #801, Dec. 79 cat. 215, #91, with pls. 8 and 9 in the second (quarto) state (£400). David O'Neal, July 79 cat. 27, described as a folio but perhaps a quarto (£550).


4 "Saint Paul Shaking off the Viper." Water color, 39.1 x 30.2 cm. Number 157a in Keynes's Blake's Illustrations to the Bible. Offered for sale by John Howell Books, San Francisco, for £60.000.
Blair, _The Grave_, 1813 folio. Murdoch MacTaggart, cat. 23, described as the "proof" (?) ed. of 1813, with pls. 8 and 9 in "quarto" (?) (£200).


Blair, _The Grave_, "1813" (i.e., 1870) small paper folio. Trebizond Books, March 78 cat. 8, #25. Oct. 79 cat. 12, #18, listed as an "1813 large folio" but actually the 1870 issue (£375). Edwin Epps, May 78, #1 (£180). Deval & Muir, April 79 cat. 51 (£315). Swann, 21 June 79, #49, pls. only in original portfolio (£275). Sanders, Nov. 79 cat. 95, #71, original cloth (£95).


Burger, _Leonora_. McDowell & Stern, June 79 cat. 17, #845 (£360).

Chaucer, _Poetical Works_. 1782. SL, 1 Aug. 78, #1, in Bell's ed. of _The Poets of Great Britain_, 106 (of 109) vols., 1777-82 (J. Booth, £150). Many copies of Bell's ed. do not contain Blake's pl.; we do not know if it is present in this copy.

Cumberland, _Thoughts on Outline_. Quaritch, March 78 cat. 983, #296. May 78 cat. 985, #27, original boards relabeled (£250).


Flaxman, _Hesiod_, 1817. Zeitlin & Ver Bruggen, Sept. 78 cat. 246, #6, in half morocco slipcase (£175). I can find no reason for this incredibly high price. Walford, Sept. 78 cat. HM/100, #145 (£110). SL, 3 Oct. 78, #45, with _Iliad & Odyssey_, all but last in original boards (Felix Pryor, £120). W. & V. Dailey, Fall 78 cat. 10, #163, bound with _Iliad & Odyssey_, 1805, minor foxing (£300). Phillips auction, N. Y., 7 March 79, with Aeschylus, 1831 (£160). SH, 22 March 79, #341, with _Iliad_, both bindings damaged, lacking half-title to Hesiod (Ayres, £35). Marlborough Books, May 79 cat. 84, #21 (£150). Gerda Bassenge auction, 8-10 Nov. 79 cat. 34, original boards (estimate £800).


Hayley, _Ballads_, 1805. Lawson, Nov. 78 cat. 194, #158 (£165).


Malkin, *A Father’s Memoir*. Quaritch, Nov. 78 cat. 992, #58 ($400).


Rees, *Cyclopaedia*, first ed. Walford, May 78 1st A/264, #214, pls. vol. 4 only, disbound ($30); #217, complete in 45 vols. ($530). Aug. 78 cat. A/268, #25, pls. vol. 1 only ($48); #26, pls. vol. 3 only ($48). Sotheby Edinburgh, 8 March 79, #201, complete in 45 vols., worn, from the Signet Library (B. Weinreb, L260).


Scott, *Poetical Works*, 1st ed., 1782, unless noted otherwise. Jarnydce Books, May 78 cat. 16, #188, 2nd ed., 1786 ($58). David Bickersteth, Nov. 78 cat. 54, #100 (L78). Maggs, June 79 cat. 994, #2774, original boards uncut ($350). Eric & Joan Stevens, Oct. 79 cat. 91, #67, lacking one pl. not by Blake (L38). SL, 22 Oct. 79, #203, some damp-stains, disbound (Quaritch, L50). Edwin Epps, special list 79-2, Nov. 79, #1, cover detached ($250); #2, missing one pl. not by Blake, uncut ($210); same copies, Woodspurge Books, March 80 special list ($185, $165).


Blake/An Illustrated Quarterly, forthcoming Clarendon Press ed. of the complete paper frame, leather portfolio, title-page to Night the Third illus. ($2400); this is the copy reproduced in Easson and Essick, William Blake: Book Illustration, 1830-1868 (L-300). BLAKE'S CIRCLE AND FOLLOWERS

Note: Materials are listed in the following order under artist's name: paintings and drawings, manuscripts and letters, separate prints, books of prints, books about the artist.


Calvert, Edward. Complete graphics, from the Carfax printing, Agnew, May 79 cat. #76-86: "Ploughman" (£300), "Flood" (£200), "Chamber Idyll" (£275), "Return Home" (£180); "Bride" (£300), "Sheep of His Pasture" (£200), "Brook" (£250), "Lady with Rooks" (£180), "Cider Feast" (£275), "Ideal Pastoral Life" (£200).


Flaxman, John. "Adoration of the Magi," a design for a bas relief, pencil, pen and gray wash, from the Dennis sale of 1876, 27 x 44 cm. SL, 22 Nov. 79, #142 illus. (£2300). A very beautiful drawing, possibly a record price for a drawing by Flaxman, at least at auction.
"Athena before Pandora," wash drawing, 32 x 50 cm. Galerie Arnoldi-Livie, Munich, June 77 cat., #13, illus. (DM 8,500). Not one of the engraved Hesiod designs, but perhaps the same subject as pl. 3, "Pandora Gifted."

"The Damned Fleeing from the Infant Christ," pencil and watercolor, 6 7/8 x 7 1/4 in. CL, 14 March 78, #35 (L350).

"The Departure," pencil, ink, and washes, 44 x 39 cm. SL, 18 Oct. 79, #20 (estimate k30-40, no price available).

Design for a frieze of dancers, a battle, a harvest, etc. Pencil, ink, and washes, 176.5 x 18 cm. SL, 22 March 79, #133 (L20).

Design for a statue base, pencil, 22.2 x 18.5 cm., watermarked 1819. Woodspurge Books, Oct. 79 cat. 91, #65 ($160).

"Giving Alms," "Mother and Two Children," both small, the first signed, pen and ink; and a watercolor view of Italy inscribed 1790. CL, 13 Nov. 79, #19 (L100).

"The Lake of Nemi," attributed to Flaxman and Mrs. Hare Naylor, watercolor, 20 1/2 x 29 1/2 in. CL, 19 June 79, #96 illus. (L450). Sheet of studies of an orator, pencil, signed or inscribed, 12 3/8 x 7 1/2 in.; small drawing of E. W. Cooke; and another pencil study. CL, 13 Nov. 79, #76 (L110).

"Sisterly Advice," ink and wash, 34 x 24 cm. SL, 22 March 79, #126 (not sold).


"Young Man with a child on his shoulders, holding a little girl at his left hand." Wash drawing, 16 x 4.8 cm. Galerie Arnoldi-Livie, Munich, June 77 cat., #12 illus. (DM 4700).

"Young Man with a child on his shoulders." Pen and wash drawing, 16.6 x 9.7 cm. Galerie Arnoldi-Livie, Munich, June 77 cat., #11 illus. (DM 4,300). Although the child is not winged and he sits on the man's shoulders, the figures strongly remind one of the frontispiece to Songs of Experience. The man strides forward with eyes fixed on the viewer or slightly above, much as in Blake's etching. Autograph letter signed, about sculptural designs for Buckingham Palace, n.p., n.d. (a. 1826). SL, 17 Dec. 79, #93 (R. Stanley-Morgan, L120). Aeschylus illustrations, 1795. Walford, Sept. 78 cat. HM/100, #149 (L40). Marlborough Books, May 79 cat. 84, #20 (L35). Swann, 7 June 79, #106, foxed ($80).


Odyssey illustrations, 1805. Woodspurge Books, Oct. 79 cat. 1, #66 (L55). See also Flaxman in the section of books with Blake's illustrations.

Fuseli, Henry. "Dr. James Paying a Bill," ink and watercolor, 29 x 21 cm. SL, 30 Nov. 78, #208 illus. (L3400).

"Head of Satan," oil on paper, 51.5 x 32.5 cm. SL, 21 Nov. 79, #22 illus. (not sold; estimate L4-6000).

The design is not related to Blake's engraving of a head of Satan or one of the damned after Fuseli.

Male nude recoiling, pen and brown ink, c. 1795, 7 5/8 x 5 1/4 in. CL, 20 Nov. 79, #16 illus. (L700).

"Martha Hess as Silence," pencil and chalk (recto); two figures, pencil (verso). Sheet 54.5 x 33 cm., c. 1780-90. SL, 30 Nov. 78, #74, recto illus. color (L21,000).


Linnell, John. Seventy-three drawings and watercolor in 14 lots, 4 illus., SL, 30 Nov. 78, #1-14. The most important are #5, The River Lea, dated 1814, 34 x 54 cm., illus. (L1580); #7, three landscapes, dated 1815 and 1819 (L1200); #8, eight tree studies, dated 1814-1847, one illus. (L660); and #10, six views in Wales, all dated 1813 (L1700). "Derbyshire," watercolor, signed, 4 x 5 3/8 in. CL, 18 Dec. 79, #55 (L120).

"From Battersea Pier," watercolor signed, 11 5/8 x 8 5/8 in., from the collection of William Beckford. CL, 29 Jan. 80, #68 (L140).

"Bystonies in Redstone Lane Dell," pencil and chalk, inscribed 1850, 10 3/8 x 12 3/4 in. CL, 19 Sept. 78, #92 (L50).

"Harvesting Time, Redhill," watercolor, dated 1862, 19 x 29 cm. SL, 16 Mar. 78, #82 illus. (L550).

"Harvest Scene—Stacking Barley near Witley, Surrey," watercolor, signed and dated 1863, 22 x 53.5 cm. SL, 22 Nov. 79, #76 illus. (L850).

"Jeanie Deans and Magde Wildfire in the Churchyard," oil, signed and dated 1835, 28 x 37.5 cm. SL, 21 Nov. 79, #30 illus. (not sold; estimate L6-800). Landscape near Ashbourne, Derbyshire, watercolor, signed, 9.2 x 12.1 cm. Agnew, Jan. 79 exhibition cat., #125 (L200).

Mother and child, pencil, signed, 19.5 x 16 cm. SL, 27 July 78, #164 (L65).

"Mountain Shepherds," pencil and ink, signed and dated 1870, 22.5 x 31 cm. SL, 27 July 78, #165 (L160).

Portrait of W. Williams, watercolor, dated 1814, with a portrait of Mr. Palmer, father of Samuel, on the verso, 14.5 x 11 cm. SL, 30 Nov. 78, #66 illus. (L400).

"River Lea Hertfordshire," watercolor, signed and dated 1814, 34.3 x 54 cm. Colnaghi, Nov. 79 cat., #58 illus. (L3000). For Colnaghi's purchase of this drawing at auction, see first Linnell entry. "Southampton Wall," pencil, inscribed 1814, 10 1/4 x 15 in. CL, 19 Sept. 78, #91 (L80). In 1969, this drawing sold at auction for L187.

"Woodcutters," oil, c. 1838, 60.5 x 47.5 cm. Galerie Arnoldi-Livie, Munich, June 77 cat., #26 illus. (DM 18,000).


John Flaxman. "Slay-good." Pencil and ink sketch, 5.8 x 16.4 cm., based on a passage in Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress. The Blake signature lower right, although quite similar to some of his copperplate signatures, is clearly a forgery. Essick collection.

Woodspurge Books, Oct. 79 cat. 1, #70 ($100).
Two views in Norway, Incorrectly described as views in the Lake District in the sale, etchings from one plate. SL, 28 June 79, #47 ($40).
"Woodcutters at Rest," etching, 1818. SL, 28 June 79, #48 ($20).

Palmer, Samuel. "Backways, Tintagel," water color, c. 1835, 19 x 27.3 cm., from the A. N. S. Burnett collection. Galerie Arnoldi-Livie, Munich, June 77 cat., #28 illus. (DM 13,500).
"Bay of Baiae from Monte Nuovo," water color, 14.5 x 40 cm. SL, 16 March 78, #132 illus. color ($3200).
"Caernarvon Castle," water color, c. 1837, 11 1/4 x 16 7/8 in. CL, 19 June 79, #184 illus. ($5000).
"Eventide," water color, dated 1841, 19 x 40 cm. SL, 30 Nov. 78, #198 illus. color (not sold).
"From Hurstmonceaux Park, Sussex," bistre over pencil, signed, 1821, 19 x 27 cm. SL, 22 Nov. 79, #172 illus. ($480).
"From Richmond Hill, Surrey," bistre over pencil, signed, 1821, 19 x 26.5 cm. SL, 22 Nov. 79, #173 illus. ($950).
"Harlech Castle at Sunset," water color, 36.8 x 44.5 cm. Agnew, Jan. 79 exhibition cat., #130 ($6500).
"A Mountain Road in Italy," water color, c. 1839, 11 3/4 x 17 7/8 in. CL, 20 Nov. 79, #155 illus. color ($5500).
"Shanklin Church, Isle of Wight," pencil study of, extensively inscribed, c. 1845, 7 3/8 x 9 in. CL, 20 March 79, #175 ($80).
"View from the North Downs, near Sevenoaks," water color, 24 x 35.5 cm., inscribed by George Richmond. Galerie Arnoldi-Livie, Munich, June 77 cat., #27 illus. (DM 42,000).

"Early Ploughman," etching. SB, 2 Dec. 77, #17, 8th st. ($110); #18, 7th st. ($140). SL, 21 Feb. 78, #348, 4th st., with a print by Haden ($160); #349, 4th st. ($120). SL, 26 April 78, #198, 4th st., pencil signature, from George Richmond's collection ($460). Yaneff Gallery, advertisement in Art News, Nov. 78, 7th st., signed ($850). SNY, 18 Jan. 79, #239, 8th st. ($200). CL, 6 Feb. 79, #231, 5th st., foxed and stained ($110); #232, 8th st., foxed ($120). SNY, 15 Feb. 79, #292, 8th st., foxed

"Herdsman's Cottage," etching. SB, 2 Dec. 77, #14, 2nd st. ($80); #15, 2nd st. ($100); #16, 1st st., with pencil and pen additions to the image, illus. ($160). SL, 21 Feb. 78, #347, 2nd st. ($110); #350, 2nd st. ($80). SL, 26 April 78, #193, 1st st., on Japan paper, pencil signature, from George Richmond's collection (not sold). Colnaghi, May 78 cat., 1st st., trial proof ($1200); 2nd st. ($335).


Richmond, George. Twelve drawings in Colnaghi's Nov. 79 cat., #1-12. The most important, both illus., are a portrait of Welby Sherman, 15.9 x
13.1 cm. (£1500), and "Figure of Plague," 33.3 x 21.6 cm. (£1500).

"Figure Weeping over a Grave," pen and ink, dated 1829, 8 x 12.5 cm. SL, 16 March 78, #55 illus. (£550).

Good Samaritan helping his charge onto the donkey, pencil sketch, 33 x 21.5 cm., eight pen sketches of a man's face on verso. Woodspurge Books, Oct. 79 cat. 1, #73 ($320); Special list 79-4, #80 ($450). "Margaretta Reading," pen and ink, 22.5 x 13 cm. SL, 16 March 78, #54 (£220).

"Sisterly Affection," pen and ink, 17.5 x 16 cm. SL, 16 March 78, #53 illus. (£380).

Romney, George. "Family Affection," pen and ink, cat. 1776, 16.5 x 19.5 cm. SL, 30 Nov. 78, #67 (£150). "Iphigenia Asleep under a Tree," pencil, ink, and wash, 26.4 x 42.2 cm. Colnaghi, Nov. 79 cat., #28 illus. (£1500).


Sketchbook of studies, chiefly based on Paradise Lost, 5 1/2 x 9 1/4 in. CL, 20 Nov. 79, #12 illus. (£1600).

Study of a man in profile, pencil and ink, 14 1/4 x 7 5/8 in. 20 Nov. 79, #13 (£380). "Young Lovers Espied by a Child," pencil and wash, cat. 1794, 37.5 x 54.5 cm. SL, 30 Nov. 78, #68 (£1650).


Stothard, Thomas. Architectural monuments, two pencil and wash sketches for, 10.5 x 12 and 11 x 8 cm. Woodspurge Books, Dec. 79 Special list 79-4, #82, 83 (£40 each).

Man rescuing a woman from stampeding horses, pencil, pen and wash studies, with 5 other drawings. CL, 19 June 79, #24 illus. (£240).

# FACSIMILES, EDITIONS, CATALOGUES, BIOGRAPHIES, CRITICISM #

Note: "Special issue" in reference to Blake Trust facsimiles indicates a copy with trial proofs, stencils, and other additional materials related to the production of the volume.


Binyon, Relics of Blake, 1925. Swann, 18 Jan. 79, worn (£45). SH, 21 March 79, #130 (Hatchard's, £100).


Blake Trust Facsimiles. Quaritch, Nov. 78 cat. 992, #41-54, and summer 79 cat. 997, #259-72 (prices from latter in italic): All Religions are One (£36); Book of Ahania (£64, £86.50); Book of Los (£80, £88); Jerusalem, 1974 color facsimile (£275, £285); Lasscoo (£60, £82); Song of Los (£200, £194); Songs of Innocence (£150); Songs of Innocence and of Experience (£900, £1160); Book of Thel (£290); Gates of Paradise (£800); Marriage of Heaven and Hell (£400); Visions of the Daughters of Albion (£300); Dante Illustrations (£378); There is No Natural Religion, special issue (£175), regular issue (£70); Grey Illustrations, special issue (£1,920, £1,960), regular issue, bound (£1,280, £1,810), regular issue, unbound, boxed (£1,240, £1,810); Complete Portraiture of Blake, signed by Keynes (£110).

Blake Trust Facsimiles. Alan Thomas, Nov. 78 cat. 38, #38; Songs of Innocence (£55); Milton (£135); Gates of Paradise (£40); There is No Natural Religion (£35); Grey Illustrations (£90); Book of Ahania (£32); Jerusalem, 1974 color facsimile (£130); Song of Los (£95); Book of Los (£40); Lasscoo (£30); Complete Portraiture of Blake (£55). See also individual titles in this list.


Book of Thel, Muir facsimile, 1888. SH, 13 July 78, #150 (Quaritch, £60); Quaritch, Nov. 78 cat. 992, #38 (£300).


Deighton Bell, Dec. 79 cat. 215, #94 (£110).


Butlin, ed., Blake-Varley Sketchbook, facsimile. SH, 21 March 79, #231 (Reed & Sims, £28).

Butterworth, Blake Mystic, 1911. SL, 22 March 79, #228 (1£0).

Cary, Art of Blake, 1907. Swann, 21 June 79, #5 ($15).

Damon, Blake. Howes, Oct. 79, #228 (4£10).


Jerusalem, Blake Trust black and white facsimile of the Rinder copy, 1952. Edwin Epps, Dec. 78 list, #5 ($45). Woodspurge Books, Oct. 79 cat. 1, #17 ($45); #18, with Wicksteed's study ($115).


Keynes, Bibliotheca Bibliographici. SH, 11 May 79, #351 (Maggs, L35).


Duschnes, March 78 cat. 220, #37, limited ed. signed ($100). Alan Thomas, Nov. 78 cat. 38, #30, limited ed. signed (45). Quarritch, Nov. 78 cat. 992, #435, limited ed. signed ($90). Swann, 18 Jan. 79, limited ed. signed ($80). Edwin Epps, special list 79-2, Nov. 79, #44, limited ed. signed ($240); special 1st March 80 ($195). Duschnes, March 78 cat. 220, #38, regular issue ($45).

*Keynes, Writings of Blake*, 3 vols., 1925.


Muir facsimiles, Swann, 10 May 79, #35-40: America and Europe, both colored ($650); Marriage of Heaven and Hell ($375); Gates of Paradise ($325); Song of Loa, color printed ($325); Book of Thel ($275); Songs of Innocence and of Experience, 1884-1885 ($425).

Muir facsimiles, Quarritch, Nov. 78 cat. 992, #37, Book of Thel, Marriage of Heaven and Hell, Visions of the Daughters of Albion, There is No Natural Religion, bound in four vols. ($1250). See also individual titles in this list.


Roe, Blake's Illustrations to the Divine Comedy. Edwin Epps, Oct. 78 list ($22.50).


Songs of Innocence, Blake Trust facsimile. Sh., 13 July 78, #162 (Blackwell's, L35). Duschnes, March 78 cat. 220, #33 ($100); Aug. 79 cat. 226, #22 ($100). Woodspurge Books, Feb. 80 cat. 80-3, #37 ($135); special 1st March 80 ($100).

Songs of Innocence and of Experience, Contemporary facsimile "alpha" of 1825, as listed in Bentley, "Two Contemporary Facsimiles of Songs of Innocence and of Experience," Publications of the Bibliographical Society of America, 64 (1970), 450-63. Acquired in Jan. 79 by Colin Franklin, Oxfordshire, from John Howell Books. Copy "beta" is in the collection of Paul Mellon. Mr. Franklin believes that the only person who would make such a manuscript copy of the poems with the illuminations colored in a very Blakean manner, as he calls it, must have been Blake himself.
Songs of Innocence and of Experience, pub. Pickering, SL. 3 July 79, #63, second issue lacking "The Little Vagabond," from the Pollard collection, with a number of manuscript additions and corrections in the margins. A note on the front free endpaper reads 'I have always understood that the pencil corrections in this book were made by D. G. Rossetti. James Gilchrist.' (A. K. Henderson, L270). Mr. Henderson has not responded to R. N. E.'s inquiries about this volume. Bernard Rosenthal, Dec. 79 private offer ($650).

Songs of Innocence and of Experience, pub. Pickering, 1866. Swann, 21 June 79, #48, the Frederick Locker copy, "first state without omissions that were later made in the fifth stanza of 'Mary' and lines 113-14 in 'Auguries of Innocence,"' with Pickering's pamphlet, William Blake and His Editors ($150). Woodspurge Books, Oct. 79 cat. 1, #24 ($72.50).


Songs of Innocence and of Experience, facsimile, Liverpool, 1923. Claude Cox, June 79 cat. 12, uncolored (L15). Bernard Rosenthal, Dec. 79 private offer, hand colored ($3000). This is a very beautiful, although little known, facsimile in its hand colored state. The Publisher's Note states that "the colouring and gilding have been done by Mr. Samuel Hurd, of London, who worked from Blake's original in the British Museum. Mr. Hurd promised to colour 100 copies, but the work proved to be so much more arduous than he had anticipated or could endure, that he felt compelled to call a permanent halt when, after a struggle lasting eight and a half years, he had finished, to his own satisfaction and ours, 51 copies." The facsimile is based on copy T.

Songs of Innocence and Songs of Experience, Muir facsimiles, 1884-1885. Quaritch, Nov. 78 cat. 992, #40 ($500).

Songs of Innocence and of Experience, facsimile, Benn facsimiles, 1926-1927. Quaritch, Nov. 78 cat. 992, #34 ($180).

Songs of Innocence and Songs of Experience, Muir-Quaritch facsimiles, 1927. Black Sun Books, June 79 cat. 54, #11-12 ($400 each).


There is No Natural Religion, Blake Trust facsimile. Quaritch, May 78 cat. 985, special issue ($88); regular issue ($35). Duschnes, Aug. 79 cat. 226, #24, special issue ($275); regular issue ($95).

Thomson, James, Shelley, A Poem . . . with the Essay on Blake, 1884. Woodspurge Books, Oct. 79 cat. 1, #59, limited issue ($100).


Wright, Life of Blake, 1929. Quaritch, Nov. 78 cat. 999, #60 ($200).


Any who missed the Flaxman exhibition but wanted a lively introduction to the man and his work might be well (if anachronistically) advised to begin with a replay of the Schorn interview, extracts from which are given in the exhibition catalogue. The German art historian and journalist Ludwig Schorn visited the aging sculptor in the spring of 1826; from notes made at the time, he compiled reminiscences published as a series of three articles in the Kunst-Blatt a year later, after Flaxman's death.

Schorn presents his encounter with Flaxman with a skill which many of our contemporary television interviewers might learn from. Having long admired Flaxman as the draughtsman of those outlines to Homer, Aeschylus and Dante which, through engravings, had already secured Flaxman's European reputation, Schorn secures a personal introduction to him. Arriving in London, he prepares for his interview by going to see (and through his enthusiastic but not uncritical descriptions showing us, almost as if he had a television camera at his command) works by Flaxman currently on display: sculptures such as the Nelson Monument in St. Paul's and the Mansfield Monument in Westminster Abbey, models for busts of Raphael and Michelangelo in the Royal Academy's newly-opened exhibition, and, in the silversmiths' shop on Ludgate Hill of Messrs. Rundell & Bridge ("suppliers of costly and tastefully executed deluxe vessels") a copy of the Achilles Shield. Ornamented with episodes from the Iliad and acclaimed as a "masterpiece of modern art," designed and modeled by the master himself but cast and chased in metal by the firm's workers, four replicas had already been made in silver, for the King, the Duke of York, the Duke of Northumberland and Lord Lonsdale ("gilded, the article costs 2000 pounds, ungilded 1900. In bronze it is to be had for 450 pounds... "). Having done his ground-work, Schorn goes to Flaxman's house off Fitzroy Square ("a small, simple house, but nice and well-kept": just what one might expect from a plain-living Low Churchman) to meet the great man himself. After a short wait in the drawing-room, "a very small, thin and exceedingly hunched man" came in (Flaxman, never robust, had been a cripple from youth). Schorn quickly perceives that this unprepossessing exterior radiates "mildness," "seriousness" and "sweetness of conduct." He begins byavowing his long admiration for Flaxman's outlines to Homer and Aechylus: Flaxman remarks that they have been over-praised, adding that artists who imitated them (and they were by now as much part of an artist's training as Le Brun's Physiognomy) "would have done better to follow nature." Schorn leads Flaxman on to his role as Professor of Sculpture at the Royal Academy: Flaxman declares that his purpose both as artist and teacher has been to show that "Art in Christianity can rise higher than in paganism, since Christian ideas are more sublime than pagan ones." Cut to Flaxman's workshop, where the sculptor uncovers a clay model of the figure of Hope, "still damp," on which he is currently working: Schorn notes the sensitivity of the modeling, which achieves tenderness without sentimentality.

Discussion of Flaxman's art then develops along two main lines: the relative importance of classical and Christian themes in his art, and the extent (if any) to which he worked from nature. Admiring two small reliefs of Justice and Innocence in the workshop, Schorn praises the naturalness and simplicity of their poses, and exclaims "One sees here how the gifted mind may find enough beauties
and motives in nature, and once arrived at the realization of beauty, have no need to imitate the ancients." He has struck absolutely the right chord: "in a particularly melodious voice and with a cheerful look which seemed to project the innermost depths of his soul," Flaxman responds with his credo: "The works of God are always better than the works of man, and nature, even if imperfect in particulars, still remains forever unattainable. The artist unites in his works the most beautiful he has seen in it: yet it is not the beauty of nature that is the highest but that of the idea... All the beauty which we can portray is... individual, not merely because it appears only individually in nature itself, but because it also results from the character peculiar to the artist and is, as it were, the blossoming of noble powers which are laid on him and which he must carefully preserve and develop."

Chief honor for initiating and presenting an exhibition in which Flaxman's "noble powers" were shown in all possible aspects belongs to Ludwig Schorn's latterday compatriot Dr. Werner Hofmann, Director of the Kunsthalle in Hamburg, where the exhibition was first shown (20 April to 3 June 1979) as one of Professor Hofmann's great series of exhibitions devoted to "Kunst um 1800." It was then seen at the Thorvaldsen Museum in Copenhagen, and finally (26 October to 9 December 1979) at the Royal Academy of Arts in London. Professor Hofmann was fortunate in being able to count on the assistance of Dr. David Bindman, both in helping to select an exhibition of 260 works and (no doubt a heavier task) in coordinating the work of thirteen Flaxman scholars in his capacity as editor of a catalogue which now becomes the most comprehensive work on Flaxman ever published.

In his introductory essay, Dr. Bindman predicted that the chief surprise for visitors to the exhibition would be the range of Flaxman's activity. It was certainly true that the stuff of the objects shown ranged from paper through plaster and wax to marble, and from pottery to bronze, silver and gold; and each of the materially-different sections of the exhibition, which included "Flaxman as sculptor," "Flaxman and Wedgwood," "Flaxman and designs for medals and coins" and "Flaxman as a designer of silverwork," was intelligently selected and catalogued. But two reservations concerning "the range of Flaxman's activity" insistently obtrude themselves. First, although Flaxman's style is invariably graceful and often moving, it was not profoundly original in inspiration. Its elements were taken initially from his study of Greek vase painting, Roman sarcophagi and Gothic sculpture: Flaxman's own contribution lay in deploying these elements, freshly and inventively, in sensitive and restrained designs infused with moral sentiments. Secondly, "the range of Flaxman's activity" does not mean that all the works connected with his name (even the products of his own sculpture workshop) were produced by his own hand. Flaxman was in fact primarily a designer. He was always aware, in whatever he drew, that he was designing potentially plastic shapes: but through whose hands and in what various materials they took eventual form was of less importance to him than the cultivat-

1 "Come thou Blessed," plaster sketch-model for the monument to Agnes Cromwell, c. 1797-98. 52 x 26 cm. University College, London.

2 "Monument to George Steevens," marble relief, 173 x 108 cm. Diocese of London.

IN THE MIDDLE AISLE OF THIS CHAPEL LIE THE REMAINS OF
GEORGE STEEVENS ESQ.
WHO AFTER HAVING CHEERFULLY EMPLOYED
A CONSIDERABLE PORTION OF HIS LIFE AND FORTUNE
IN THE ILLUSTRATION OF SHAKESPEARE,
EXPIRED AT HAMPSTEAD THE 22d OF JANUARY 1800.
IN HIS 64th YEAR.

PEACE TO THESE RELIQUES! ONCE THE BRIGHT ATTIRE
OF SPIRIT SPARKLING WITH NO COMMON FIRE;
HOW OFT HAS PLEASURE IN THE SOCIAL HOUR
SMILED AT HIS WIT'S EXHILARATING POWER;
AND TRUTH ATTENDED WITH DELIGHT INTENSE
THE SERIOUS CHARMS OF HIS COLLOQUIAL SENSE;
HIS TALENTS VARYING AS THE DIAMOND'S RAY
COULD STROKE THE GRAVE OR FASCINATE THE GAY
HIS CRITIC LABOURS OF UNWEARIED FORCE
COLLECTED LIGHT FROM EVERY DISTANT SOURCE,
WANT WITH SUCH TRUE BENEFICENCE HE CHEER'D,
ALL THAT HIS BOUNTY GAVE HIS ZEAL ENBAIRED,
LEARNING AS VAST AS MENTAL POWER COULD SEIZE
D IN SPORT DISPLAYING AND WITH GRACEFUL EASE,
LIGHTLY THE STAGE OF CHEQUER'D LIFE HE THO' D
CARELESS OF CHANCE CONFIDING IN HIS GOD!
W.H.

IN THE SAME GRAVE REPOSE THE REMAINS OF
ELIZABETH STEEVENS,
COUSIN OF THE SAID
GEORGE STEEVENS,
SHE DIED THE 26th OF JANUARY 1801.
tion of his own role as the originator of "severely beautiful" designs. In a particularly telling passage (p. 26), Dr. Bindman instances Flaxman's confidence in the "transferability" of his designs as typical of "the tendency among Neoclassical artists (partly in reaction against the Baroque concern to please the eye) to disdain material as being of less importance than the 'idea'."

We first see Flaxman's designs taking shape in the hands of Wedgwood's potters. Wedgwood & Bentley opened their factory at Etruria in 1769, aiming to produce ornamental wares in a "truer antique taste." A few years later, scouting for talent among London plaster-cast makers (of whom Flaxman's father was one) in the hope of finding something "less hackneyed" than the usual copies or squeezes from classical, French or Italian sources, Wedgwood found that young Flaxman could produce remarkably elegant designs which, though chiefly variations on the classical theme, had a new grace and simplicity which connoisseurs such as Sir William Hamilton pronounced to be in the "true simple antique style." Flaxman was to work for Wedgwood for some fifteen years, the connection providing him with financial stability through the 1770s and 1780s and making possible his departure for Italy in 1787.

The minimal extent to which Flaxman was involved in the actual production process is succinctly summarized by Bruce Tattersall, former Curator of the Wedgwood Museum. Flaxman would send Wedgwood a drawing of his proposed design; Wedgwood would return it with notes of any necessary alterations. "Flaxman would then send Wedgwood a wax model of the design. At this stage Flaxman's involvement would cease. Once Wedgwood obtained the wax it became his property and he could do as he wished with it." Specialist modelers at Etruria would adapt the wax for reproduction, frequently simplifying or breaking up the design into component parts. Whether Flaxman's designs for Wedgwood eventually materialized in blue, green or lilac jasper or in black basalt, or whether his design of "The Dancing Hours" was used to decorate a rum kettle or a salt cellar (examples of both were exhibited) was beyond Flaxman's control; luckily it also seems to have been beyond his concern. Similarly with his designs for coins, medals and silverwork; the executants were craftsmen whom Flaxman in most cases never encountered. In these sections, then, we chiefly saw Flaxman's work at one remove, and not always to full advantage, just as Schorn had seen the Achilles Shield, sensing that the thing was permeated by a genuine spirit of antiquity," but left wondering to what extent a "somewhat superficial" execution betrayed the absence of the master's hand.

"The master's hand" was not even responsible for the final form of the monumental sculptures which provided Flaxman with most of his commissions. The point is fairly made by Mary Webster in her essay on "Flaxman as sculptor" (pp. 100-01). "Greatly admired for his sensitive work with the modelling tool, Flaxman was less adept with the chisel and he worked very little on the actual marbles; he adopted, in fact, the pernicious practice of handing over the entire execution of the marble to workmen in his studio. The sometimes flat and dull execution which resulted robs more than a few of his marbles of the merit of a fully-realized execution." But as she points out, there was an intermediary stage between the design and the execution by which Flaxman's gifts as a sculptor should more fairly be judged. This stage was the fashioning, in Flaxman's own hands, of a small sketch-model in clay, later cast in plaster.

It is in these sketch-models that Flaxman's sensitivity and poetic gifts as a sculptor are most fully demonstrated. He himself realized that these models were the fullest expression of his powers, for he kept them in their hundreds round the walls of his studio (they are now chiefly in the collection of University College, London). A judicious selection of them was exhibited, including the model for "Come thou blessed," the monument to Agnes Cromwell in Chichester Cathedral, which Flaxman himself called "one of my favourites" (illus. 1): its gently soaring rhythms are a deeply poetic expression of Christian faith.

Inevitably (for one could hardly expect large-scale monuments to be dismantled from cathedrals for exhibition) only three finished works in marble were shown in the exhibition: the Royal Academy's own charming bas-relief "Apollo and Arpessa" of c. 1790-94, later presented as Flaxman's diploma work; the Thorvaldsen Museum's strictly Neoclassical bust (for Flaxman) of the almost sensuous bust of the young Philip Hope, c. 1801-03, a sitter then in the prime of life; and the marble relief monument to George Steevens (d. 1800) from St. Matthias, Poplar, complete with William Hayley's epitaph. In its attempt to echo the departed's own attitude to life ("Lightly the stage of chequer'd life he trod"), the Steevens monument (illus. 2) was probably the most light-hearted work in the exhibition, though the nearest approximation to "light-hearted" allowed for it in the catalogue was "gential." Few smiles occur in Flaxman's work, as Hayley had already found when commissioning a medallion (not included in the exhibition) of his illegitimate son Tom: "it would not be possible, he suggested, "to add a little gay juvenility to the features, without producing (what I by all means wish to avoid) a Smirk!" But Flaxman was not in his profession to produce smiles, but to express the nearest approximation to "light-heartedness" humanly possible, to workmen in his studio.


6 "Deliver the Captive," for The Acts of Mercy, 144 x 327 cm. The British Museum.

"Chatterton receiving a bowl of poison from Despair," the high point of Flaxman's youthful romantic style, in which Sarah Symmons (surely correctly) has detected Flaxman's features in Chatterton's face; they also included medieval subjects taken from such works as Percy's Reliques, of the sort Blake too was painting at this time. Two early drawings by Blake, "Edward III and the Black Prince" and "The Death of Ezekiel's Wife," were included here for comparison. David Bindman, who provides perceptive commentaries on Flaxman's drawings throughout the catalogue, points out that the early drawings have a poetic and atmospheric quality which Flaxman never regained after experiencing "the severity of the antique" in Rome.

The Italian drawings of 1789-94 included the small but nobly-proportioned study of a woman and child (illus. 4) which proved capable of sustaining enlargement into an impeccable Neoclassical image for the Kunsthalle's exhibition poster. (In choosing a poster to advertize the London showing, the Royal Academy's exhibitions staff elected rather over-fulsomely to acknowledge generous support from the firm of Wedgwood: instead of the Kunsthalle's powerful and appropriate design, Burlington House's railings and London Transport's walls displayed the chessmen designed by Flaxman for Wedgwood in 1785, Gothic "toys" magnified not only out of all proportion to their purpose but also to the relative importance in Flaxman's long career of his work for Wedgwood.) The "Sleeping Man" (illus. 5) was described, fairly enough, as "one of the most spontaneous of Flaxman's Roman life studies": but few of Flaxman's drawings, whether made in Rome or at any other time, were as directly observed as this. Observations from life may have kindled Flaxman's imagination, but almost all his drawings are refined from life rather than studied directly from it, and almost all of them evince the sculptor's instinct to model his subject-matter, to redesign, rearrange and interlock its shapes. The results can be exciting, even on the tiny scale of his studies of women and children; they can be deeply moving, as in the designs for "The Lord's Prayer" and the "Acts of Mercy" (see illus. 6); but they are invariably deliberately generalized and potentially monumental.

Flaxman himself stressed that the designs for which he was most celebrated in his own time, the outlines to Homer, Aeschylus and Dante, were primarily made as compositions on which sculptures could be based. He wrote to William Hayley on 26 October 1793 that "My view does not terminate in giving a few outlines to the world. My intention is to shew how any story may be represented in a series of compositions on principles of the Antients, of which, as soon as I return to England, I intend to give specimens in Sculpture of different kinds, in groups of basrelieves, suited to all the purposes of Sacred and Civil architecture." Flaxman never in fact converted his outlines to sculpture; nevertheless, those outlines, engraved by Piroli and
first published by him in 1793, quickly secured Flaxman’s fame throughout Europe. The exhibition showed selections both of Flaxman’s drawings and Piroli’s engravings. The excitement felt throughout Europe on first looking into Flaxman’s outlines (especially in the form of Piroli’s rather genteel and monotonous line) is now difficult to recapture; but there is abundant evidence for the stimulus given to contemporary artists by these starkly dramatic sequences. “Cet ouvrage fera faire des tableaux,” David remarked. An important section of the exhibition (compiled by Sarah Symmons) illustrated the ways in which they provided inspiration for artists as different from each other as Ingres, Delacroix, Runge and Goya. Two works by Blake were included in this section, “The Hypocrites with Caiaphas” and “The Circle of the Lustful”; but it was decided to confine the coverage of Flaxman’s influence chiefly to the continent, as a separate exhibition devoted to Flaxman’s influence in England is projected. Perhaps the most bizarre suggestion for using Flaxman’s outlines was to come in 1863 from G. F. Watts, who suggested that they should be painted on the walls of public schools, so that “the young men of Eton would grow up under the influence of works of beauty of the highest excellence.”

Any present-day jaded appetite for Flaxman’s outlines may be whetted by a delightful spin-off from the exhibition entitled Superflax: Flaxman’s outlines to Hesiod’s Theogony, begun in 1807, engraved by Blake in 37 stippled line engravings and published in 1817 (no. 155 in the exhibition) attracted little of the attention received by the outlines to Homer, Aeschylus and Dante. Blake at this period was undergoing a period of extreme neglect and poverty. Throughout his life he received none of the fame which accrued to Flaxman. This is not, after all, surprising. Flaxman gave his contemporaries what they (or at least connoisseurs among them) considered to be in the best possible taste, especially where commemoration of the dead was concerned. His vision of eternity did not extend beyond that of accepted Christian teaching; he was untouched by mysticism, and not temperamentally inclined towards exuberance. His morality was unimpeachable and, above all, it was readily intelligible. Blake’s work by contrast seemed to his contemporaries to be unconventional and worse, unintelligible; few of them bothered to discern that (in Dibdin’s phrase) Blake was “flapped by the wings of seraphs.”

A brief tabulated survey of the chief editions of engravings after Flaxman’s outlines published between 1793 and 1845 (pp. 184–5 of the exhibition catalogue) testifies to their wide circulation. Compiled by Detlef W. Doerrbecker, with acknowledgments to Gerald E. Bentley Jr.’s study of 1964, it draws on further material kindly supplied by Professor Bentley from his new and greatly expanded edition of The Early Engravings of Flaxman’s Classical Designs, publication of which is expected shortly.
7 "Ulysses terrified by the Ghosts," Odyssey Book XI, 779, pen, 22.9 x 29.8 cm. Royal Academy of Arts, London.
“POISONOUS BLUES,” AND OTHER PIGMENTS

By Ruthven Todd

NOTE: Several years ago, in Blake Newsletter 28, we published a short piece by Robert M. Ryan on Blake’s phrase “poisonous blue,” concerning some of the chemical properties of the painter’s pigment “prussian blue.” Soon we received a letter from Ruthven Todd giving us his preliminary thoughts on the matter and promising, as Ruthven’s letters always did, further thoughts in publishable form. After his death in 1979, the following unfinished draft was found among his papers. THE EDITORS.

DRAFT 28 DE NOVIEMBRE DE 1974

As a consistent contributor to "Minute Particulars" I feel somewhat abashed in querying or even contradicting any other contributor, so I hope that Robert M. Ryan will accept my apologies in advance.

For a man whose principal occupation has been that of a writer, I have spent a possibly unreasonable amount of my life experimenting with and using the tools and materials of the graphic artist. Abetted by my friends, particularly S. W. Hayter, Joan Miró, Fred Becker and the late Harry Hoehn, I have engraved and etched, learning how to handle a burin and how to behave with acids, for more years than I like to recall. Most of my interest in the techniques having been historical, I had never, until the spring of 1974 (when I made some experiments with Harvey Breverman and his associates at Buffalo) tried zinc or any other etchable material, such as magnesium or iron. So my experience practically, and visually, can be said to be that of a worker in copper.

The basic mordant used in the biting of copper is Nitric acid (HNO₃), prepared as follows, according to that standard work, S. W. Hayter, New Ways of Gravure, Oxford University Press, London, New York, Toronto, 1966, p. 57: "1 part nitric acid to 2 parts water. There should be some copper in the solution or the acid will not bite regularly. Some old acid may be added; or a copper penny dropped in for a few minutes until the acid is coloured blue. Nitric acid reacts with copper to produce bubbles of nitric oxide gas."

The virulence of this brilliant blue liquid, from which the fumes curl off, as the copper is bitten, in yellowish-brown purlings, has always suggested to me that this was the “poisonous blue” with which “They stain’d him” on Plate 65 of Jerusalem. I knew that the acid destroyed clothing easily and that my skin, over-dipped in the stuff, and inadequately washed, peeled off in vegetative or seaweed-like strips of autumnal coloring. I also knew that the fumes hurt my breathing during the long bitings which I used when experimenting with Joan Miró.

Now it seems to me that, firstly, since I will not live forever, and, secondly, the information should be immediately available, I should go beyond the assumption which I had, and give away whatever information I have at hand or can remember.

For a start, and in support of my belief that nitric acid was, indeed, the "poisonous blue," I have looked up and quote from W. F. von Oettingen, M. D., Ph. D., Poisoning A Guide to Clinical Diagnosis and Treatment, Second Edition, W. B. Saunders Co., Philadelphia, London, 1963, p. 454: "Nitric acid is a clear colorless, fuming, corrosive liquid, which upon contact with air and exposure to light turns yellow as a brown-red because of formation of nitrogen oxide. [This is sometimes allowable for the bluing action of copper]. The reagent grade nitric acid [used by etchers] contains 68 to 70 per cent and the 'diluted' nitric acid, 10 per cent of nitric acid. Nitric acid is used in many industries and trades and in medicine as a caustic agent. Its contact with the skin causes yellow discoloration (xanthoprotein reaction), very painful inflammation, blisters, necroses, and gangrene. Prolonged exposure to the fumes of nitric acid causes discoloration and corrosion of the teeth. Splashes in the eye cause severe conjunctivitis, palpebral edema, ulceration of the conjunctiva and cornea, and subsequently turbidity of the latter. The inhalation of the fumes causes more or less severe irritation of the upper respiratory tract."

While "There is no chronic copper poisoning analogous to that of lead," it should be remembered that copper, particularly in its various combinations with other substances, is also a poison. When I was young and the modern pesticides or parasiticides had not yet appeared, those who were unlucky enough to be attacked by the crab louse, Phthirus pubis (which, according to The Merck Manual, Twelfth Edition, Rahway, N. J., 1972, p. 1457, is acquirable "from such objects as toilet seats, clothing, and bedclothes") used to go to a chemist's and buy, for a few pence, a jar of "blue ointment" with which to rout the invaders. This was Cupric Sulfate, also known as copper sulfate, blue vitriol and blue stone, and commonly understood to be a solution of copper in dilute sulfuric acid. While it is no longer listed as a cure for crabs, it still retains its place in United States Dispensatory and Physicians’ Pharmacology, 26th Edition, J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia & Toronto, 1967, p. 343, for, among other uses, its value in abolishing algae from swimming pools.

I think I have shown that copper, in combination with acids, is not only blue but also poisonous. I could, with access to a larger library than I have here in Spain, probably extend the matter, with gruesome details, but feel that to do so would be to attempt to blue the Mediterranean. Further, I cannot think of any liquid blue capable of staining
and also leaving the impression of vegetation, in
the peeling strands of yellow-grown skin, which
Blake could have meant except the nitric acid,
colored with copper, which he used all his working
life.

II

By chance it happens that the other blues, with
two exceptions, which could have been known to Blake
are reasonably innocuous. In this part, I am going
to have to rely very largely upon that most important
book, Rosamond D. Harley, Artists' Pigments c. 1600-
1835 A Study in English Documentary Sources, London,
Butterworths, 1970, and I am going to steal from it
in the most unashamed way since it seems that my
effort to say how important it is, in Blake News-
letter, 4 (August 1970), has passed unnoticed. All
references to Harley are, unless specified as coming
from personal correspondence, to this book.

To dispose, first of all, of the matter of
Prussian Blue, I am going to give Dr. Harley's
entry on this from her book, pp. 65-68. [In all my
quotations from Rosamond Harley and, later, Geoffrey
Grigson, I have omitted their references to their
sources, not only because such an action saves
space, but also because I think that students should
also investigate them, as nobody knows what
peripheral material may prove to be pertinent.]

Prussian blue, potassium ferric ferrocyanide,
has been described as 'the first of the artifi-
cial pigments with a known history and an
established date of preparation'. However,
the idea that a definite date may be associated
with it may be a modern misconception. It is
ture that the circumstances of its accidental
discovery were reported by Stahl some years
after the event and that his account has been
referred to many times since, but it is
noticeable that throughout the period up to
1835 every writer who mentions any date in
connection with the pigment states that it was
discovered circa 1710, whereas the date, 1704,
given by so many later writers was not mentioned
until the late nineteenth century. Earlier
writers based the date on the knowledge that
the pigment had been advertised for sale in
Berlin in 1710 and on the words of the German
chemist, Stahl, whose account of the discovery
was printed in 1731. He wrote of it as occurring
by chance twenty years previously 'ante
quattuor forte lustra' (one lustre being a
period of five years). Unfortunately, nine-
teenth-century and twentieth-century writers
who quote the date 1704 fail to state the
source on which their information is based,
and, in the absence of new evidence, any
enquiry into the date of the discovery must
begin with an examination of the remainder of
Stahl's account: he mentions two people,
Diesbach the colour-maker who made the discovery
and Dippel the alchemist who supplied some of the
raw materials, and he states that both
were resident in Berlin. Dippel did not live
there permanently, however; an eighteenth-
century biography contains the information that
just before 1704 he was in Giessen and
Darmstadt, and, after some time, he went to
Berlin. From there he went to Frankfurt-am-
Main and then moved on to Holland at the end of
1707. This evidence suggests that the
discovery of Prussian blue could have been
made at any time between 1704 and 1707. A
modern authority states that Dippel is known
to have been practising chemistry in Berlin in
1705.

Stahl's account of Prussian blue was
written because the fortuitous nature of its
discovery appealed to him. The chance manu-
facture of the pigment resulted indirectly
from Dippel's production of an animal oil
which was used medicinally; in the purification
process the oil was distilled over some potash
which was then treated as waste. Diesbach,
who used to make Florence lake from cochineal,
alum, English vitriol (ferrous sulphate) and
a fixed alkali, ran short of alkali and asked
Dippel for some of the potash which he saw
had been thrown away. He was allowed to use
it, and, after he had proceeded by his usual
method, the lake appeared to be very pale.
When he attempted to concentrate it, it turned
purple and then deep blue. Diesbach returned
to Dippel for an explanation and was told that
the potash was tainted with animal matter.
Stahl's account concludes with the comment
that for some considerable time the pigment
was made only in Berlin.

Details of the manufacturing process were
kept secret until 1724, when an account was
sent from Germany to Woodward in England who
allowed it to be published in Philosophical
Transactions. The instructions were lengthy,
but the method can be summarised as follows.
To an alkali calcined with bullock's blood,
solled and brought to boiling point, a
solution of alum and ferrous sulphate was added
while also boiling. During the effervescence
which followed the mixture turned green, and,
after it had been allowed to stand, it was
strained. The residual greenish precipitate
turned blue as soon as spirit of salt (hydro-
chloric acid) was poured on it. The pigment
was then washed and was washed several
times with pure water the next day, after which
it was filtered and dried under gentle heat.
Woodward's communication was written in Latin
and it doubtless became common knowledge quite
quickly. By the 1730s manufacture of Prussian
blue was widespread, as Shaw states in his
Chemical Lectures, which contain manufacturing
instructions in English: 'The Method of making
this Prussian Blue in perfection, has been held
and purchased as a very valuable Secret, both
in England, Germany and elsewhere; but it is
now got into several hands.' No evidence
has been found concerning the early manufacture
of the pigment in England, nor has it been
possible to verify statements concerning early
manufacture which appear in nineteenth-century
and twentieth-century works. For example, a
number of modern writers give the impression
that a colour-maker named Wilkinson was the
first English manufacturer and that Wilkinson's
blue became a synonym for Prussian blue. The information can be traced back to Hurst writing in the late nineteenth century, but he merely states that Wilkinson developed the pigment.\footnote{33}

Literary Sources of the eighteenth century contain no evidence that the name Wilkinson's blue was ever used by artists. Colour names listed by Field in the nineteenth century are Berlin blue, Parisian blue and cyanide of iron. The origin of the first and last is obvious, and the second can be explained by the fact that a good quality blue was made in Paris. During the second half of the eighteenth century, considerable research was undertaken by French chemists in order to analyse the pigment and extend its use to the dyeing industry.\footnote{104}

Although Prussian blue was at one time used as a dye, it must be emphasised that it was originally advertised in 1710 as a pigment for artists' use. Following a summary of the limitations of other available blues, the notice in *Miscellanea Berolinensia* contained the announcement that the new blue which had been discovered a few years previously had been subjected to accurate tests. It was said to be absolutely durable in either oil or water colour and totally unaffected by nitric acid, fire or exposure to air. It could be ground to an impalpable powder and easily tempered with a knife, so it was suitable for miniature painters and oil painters alike; in addition, its softness meant that it would brush out well and mix easily with any other colour. Its versatility was such that, at full saturation, it was useful in painting shadows and, when thinned, it could be used as a lighter and brighter colour without any need for tinting with white. A great recommendation was its non-poisonous quality; it was said to be made from a kind of sugar so that it was edible, which meant that beginners could safely lick their brushes with it. Finally, its price was attractive, being scarcely one-tenth that of ultramarine.\footnote{105}

Following the extravagant claims of the original manufacturer, one might expect the pigment to have been acclaimed immediately by artists, but such was not the case. Dossie states that anyone desiring permanent Prussian blue should prepare it himself instead of buying the pigment from a shop, because the commercial sort varied in strength and was unreliable. He further states that it can be used in all techniques except enamel, apparently overlooking fresco, a technique for which it is unsuitable. Quite possibly English painters were not particularly concerned with fresco, but Dayes mentions that Prussian blue is liable to be destroyed by alkali and that its colour is extracted by lime. Although no very early references to the uses of the oil colour in England have been found, it appears to have been well established by the middle of the eighteenth century, and painters in oils were well satisfied with the colour. Bardwell states that it 'is a very fine Blue and a kind working Colour', adding only the reservation that it should not be used alone in painting flesh. Nevertheless, he does not give is such high praise as ultramarine, and it was not until the second half of the eighteenth century that Prussian blue came to be the most important oil colour blue, as in Williams' *Mechanics of Oil Colours* where it is the only blue mentioned. The colour was reasonably priced, so amateurs used it as well as professionals, although not always without difficulty. It was probably no coincidence that a writer chose Prussian blue, a strongly staining colour, as an example in describing the difficulties to which self-taught amateurs were prone: '... a bladder of Prussian blue bursts over one's arm, and paints one's fingers and clothes.'\footnote{106}

In water-colour painting Prussian blue was held in distrust for a considerable time. It appears somewhat as an afterthought in Smith's *Method of Painting in Water Colours*, where ultramarine is recommended for the best painting, otherwise smalt 'or Prussian-Blue will do as well'. In *The Art of Drawing*, 1731, the colour is said to be difficult to use because of its oily quality. Water colours were kept in shells ready for use, and it appears that whenever a wet pencil was applied to Prussian blue in the shell the colour went yellow where the water ran round the edge, suggesting therefore that the pigment was poorly manufactured at that time. Naturally, the presence of yellow was unwelcome because it accentuated the tendency towards green which is a natural characteristic of Prussian blue. By the end of the eighteenth century its manufacture must have improved, because Payne states that it is a good colour for miniature painting and that no other blue can equal its strength and transparency. Even so, there were many complaints that it did not flow freely and some writers, including Field, cast doubts on its permanence.

I hope that this, rather lengthy, quotation will clear things up a bit. [Over the years, I, myself an amateur given to pointing my brush (or pencil as it would have been called in the 18th Century), with my tongue and lips, must have ingested a monstrous amount of Prussian Blue without real hurt.]

My immediate feeling, not having access to the translation of Scheele's *Essay* by Thomas Beddoes (father of the author of *Death's Jest Book*, is that there is a general chemical mix-up which has led Robert M. Ryan astray, and that the sorting of matters requires further reference to Scheele's essays in German and in the modern translation by L. Dobbin, London, 1931, as well as the *Encyclopédie*, in French. It should be mentioned that the Swedish Scheele, investigating the properties of arsenic, did discover a green later to be refined as Emerald Green, of copper arsenite. This discovery was made in 1775, but its composition is "made known because, as Scheele explained in 1777 in a letter to another scientist, he felt that potential users should be
warned of its highly poisonous nature, and, in addition, he wished to prevent anyone else claiming credit for the discovery," Harley, pp. 75-76. Ralph Mayer, whose The Artist's Handbook, Third Edition, The Viking Press, New York, 1970, is invaluable in many ways, is slightly untrustworthy on the history of pigments, during the period with which we are concerned, as are the authors of another necessary book, Rutherford J. Gettens & George L. Stout, Painting Materials A Short Encyclopaedia, Dover, New York, 1966, but both mention the more widespread use of copper aceto-arsenite, Emerald Green, probably first produced commercially in Schweinfurt in 1914, as a popular insecticide, Paris Green, which was in use, to my personal knowledge, into the 1940s, and it still retains an important place in von Oettingen, op. cit., p. 282, as well as, still a pigment, in the newspapers recording the misfortunes of children eating the flaking paint in old houses.

One thing that is certain is that Prussian Blue has nothing whatever to do with the Zyklon-B used at Auschwitz or the cyanide-tablets formerly employed in certain American states. There is no possible excuse for giving a good color a bad name, Junkers, Berlin, Prussian, and condemning it with no trial or reason, as Robert M. Ryan has done in Blake Newsletter, 7 (Spring 1974), 87-89. [If I can digress for a moment, I would like to say that whenever I have a brilliant idea, I note it down and then spend a week or two in playing the Devil's Advocate and trying to tear it to pieces. If it stands up to my vicious attacks, I assume that, even if I am wrong, it is worth exposing to the blasts of my peers. A plenitude of references is too persuasive, and, even though the theory is false, can lead others astray.]

Now, having stated my tentative idea that the 'poisonous blue' was merely the nitric acid with which Blake bit his copperplates, and having done my best, thanks to Dr. Harley, to show the Innocence of Prussian Blue, I feel that I should list the various blues, with some note of their toxicity, which were available to William Blake. In doing this I draw not only upon Dr. Harley's book but also upon personal correspondence with her. I should remark here that Woad is kept for a third section of these notes. It had a more symbolical than actual pigmentary meaning by the end of the 18th Century.

[Todd's typescript leaves off here.]

**YOUNG'S NIGHT THOUGHTS (LONDON: R. EDWARDS, 1797): A NEW UNI ILLUSTRATED STATE**

By G. E. Bentley, Jr.

William Blake's five hundred thirty-seven watercolor drawings and forty-three folio engravings for the edition of Young's Night Thoughts which Richard Edwards published in 1797 were the largest commercial undertaking on which he ever engaged, but surprisingly little is known of it. No review has ever been discovered, only one periodical announcement is known, and the publisher evidently went out of business within a year or so of its publication. Any light in this obscurity is welcome.

The work is generally known today in two illustrated States:

1) With the forty-three engravings uncolored—though in a few copies (such as that in Bodley) one or a few of the plates may have been accidentally omitted from the text-pages on which they were supposed to be printed—these uncolored copies are not uncommon;

2) With the engravings colored, at least some of them by Blake and his wife—some twenty-one copies of these are traced in Blake Books (1977), 642-646, 956-957.

A new unillustrated State of the work has recently been noticed:

3) Without any of the normally integral engravings.

Note that the engravings were normally printed on the same leaves as the text, surrounding the text. Consequently there is no question of the unillustrated copy having been separated from its illustrations during its subsequent history. The engravings were never present at all. And fairly clearly this was an original mode of issue, though no other copy in this unillustrated State has yet been traced.

The unillustrated copy may be described as follows:

**BINDING:** Bound in original pale green (card)boards, now much faded, covered with green paper in the same shade, with a leather label on the spine reading "YOUNG'S / NIGHTS." There is no clear ownership mark or date in it, but a modern printed slip inserted reads "3530 / 994°²; the recto of the first flyleaf reads "[2.298 del] 2. 323" (presumably a shelf-mark); the top left and bottom right corners of the inner front board read in pencil "J / E" (?for James Edwards, Richard's brother); the bottom right corner of the back inner board has, upside down, "5/-" and, right side up, "9 / 70 / eoo" (presumably a code for the price at which a dealer bought it in September 1970). The first and last free flyleaves are watermarked 1794 / J WHATMAN and are conjugate with the front and back paste-downs, indicating that they were probably bound about the same time the work was printed, since the binding uses the same paper for fly-leaves and paste-downs as is used in the text.

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As is the case with most Blake discoveries, this raises as many questions as it answers. If this copy of the unillustrated State is unique, was it printed for Richard Edwards, or was it an accident? If there are other such copies, were they part of a commercial issue? If so, the book might have been issued by pre-arrangement in three States:

1) Unillustrated, for the benefit of Richard Edwards, who had paid the paper and letterpress printing expenses;

2) Illustrated but uncolored, for the joint benefit of Richard Edwards and William Blake;

3) Illustrated and colored, for the benefit of Blake, who had apparently borne all but about £21 of the expenses of designs, engravings, and perhaps plate printing.

At any rate, we have one more fact about the edition of Young's Night Thoughts which Richard Edwards published in 1797. Fortunately it does not answer any question very clearly.

1 The Monthly Epitome and Catalogue of New Publications, I (Jan, 1797), 79: "Young's Night Thoughts, with Etchings and Engravings, in Four Parts, Atlas sized 4to. to Subscribers 51.5s. to Non-subscribers 61.6s. (Part I. in a few days.) Edwards, Bond-street." It cannot have been published before June, for some plates are dated 1 June 1797. Notice that Blake is not named.

The integral "Advertisement" to the book is dated 22 December 1796. If the notice in The Monthly Epitome is to be trusted, the letterpress was probably printed not long thereafter. The letterpress text may therefore have been finished six months before the last of the plates.

2 I cannot identify this symbol.

3 Roger R. Essayon & Robert N. Essick, William Blake: Book Illustrator: A Bibliography and Catalogue of the Commercial Engravings, I (1972), 13, argue that the work was imposed as a quarto on whole sheets ("the absence of conjugacy can only be explained by the necessity of imposing the plates on quarter-sheets"), whereas the new evidence indicates that it was imposed as a folio on half-sheets.
JOHN DENNIS AND BLAKE'S GUINEA SUN

By Edward Strickland

In the long fourth chapter of his 1704 essay "The Grounds of Criticism," John Dennis draws a distinction between "Vulgar Passion" and "Enthusiastick Passion, or Enthusiasm." In delineating the latter he uses as an example our various perceptions of the sun: "... [T]he Sun mention'd in ordinary Conversation, gives the Idea of a round flat shining Body, of about two foot diameter. But the Sun occurring to us in Meditation, gives the Idea of a vast and glorious Body, and the top of all the visible Creation, and the brightest material Image of the Divinity." In his famous conclusion to "A Vision of The Last Judgment," Blake echoes Dennis' exemplary contrast both in his imagery and diction. Blake, however, is contrasting the world of Imagination, rather than Enthusiasm, and Generation: "What it will be Questiond When the Sun rises do you not see a round Disk of fire somewhat like a Guinea O no no I see an Innumerable company of the Heavenly host crying Holy Holy Holy is the Lord God Almighty ...." In the original, ironically, Dennis, while acknowledging the aesthetic superiority of "Enthusiastick Passion," proceeds in most un-Blakean fashion to recommend to poets the mastery of eliciting "Vulgar Passion," since more readers are capable of experiencing it.


BLAKE'S ARGUMENT WITH NEWBERRY IN "LAUGHING SONG"

By Thomas Dilworth

Although David Erdman claims that "Laughing Song" in Songs of Innocence owes much to Anna Barbauld's Rhyme in Prose for Children (1781), and David Bindman has discovered a visual influence on Blake's illumination for "Laughing Song," no specific literary source or influence has been proposed for Blake's lyric.1 Certain affinities in form and content suggest, however, that in literature for children Blake's song does have a prototype—a short lyric entitled "How to Laugh," which appears in Newberry's A Pretty Book for Children (1761) and A Collection of Pretty Poems (1770).

John Newbery (1713-1767) wrote, printed, and published some of the best and most beautifully bound books produced for children during the eighteenth century. His collections of rhymes are relatively free of the repressive moral and religious indoctrination characteristic of the vast majority of books for children then in print. For this reason, he has been seen as a possible influence on Blake.2 At the very least, Newbery's work can be said to stand largely outside the implied criticism, in Songs of Innocence, of traditional and contemporary literature for children. His rhyme "How to Laugh" seems a special case, however, in that it is Newbery's only lyric to which Blake specifically alludes, and with which he apparently takes issue.

The verbal and conceptual similarities between Blake's "Laughing Song" and Newbery's "How to Laugh" are striking. Newbery's four-line rhyme concerned human laughter as an expression of Nature in relation to other of Nature's modes of expression:

Nature a thousand Ways complains,
A thousand Words express her Pains:
But for her Laughter has but three.
And very small ones, Ha, Ha, He.

Blake's subject is the same, and he uses the same laughing sounds to conclude the last two of his three stanzas.

But Blake contradicts the assertion in Newbery's rhyme that Nature has only "three words"—"and very small ones"—to express happiness, whereas her numerous other sounds complain and express pain. In Blake's lyric, expressions of pain are altogether absent. And instead of personifying nature as a whole, Blake humanizes her various aspects. Parts of the landscape, together with birds, grasshoppers, and even the air, laugh independently though in harmony with man's own preverbal "Ha, Ha, He":

When the green woods laugh, with the voice of Joy.
And the dimpling stream runs laughing by,
When the air does laugh with our merry wit,
And the green hill laughs with the noise of it.

When the meadows laugh with lively green
And the grasshopper laughs in the merry scene,
When Mary and Susan and Emily,
With their sweet round mouths sing Ha, Ha, He.

When the painted birds laugh in the shade
Where our table with cherries and nuts is spread
Come live & be merry and join with me,
To sing the sweet chorus of Ha, Ha, He.3

Joyful innocence is here shared equally by man and by nature in its broad diversity and particularity. This is not mere personification or pathetic fallacy, but a clarity of vision in which, as Blake later put it, "All Human Forms" are "identified even Tree Metal Earth & Stone" (Jerusalem Ch. 4, p. 59:57).

The whole of Songs of Innocence implies the metaphysical equality and communion of man, nature, and the divine. But there is more human expression on the part of nature in "Laughing Song" than in all the rest of Songs of Innocence. That makes "Laughing Song" a focal point in the Songs for the
visionary identification of "Human Forms" in nature. The poem is exceptional in this regard probably because it was conceived and written as an anti-
thesis or corrective to Newbery's "How to Laugh," which excludes nature from full and equal participi-
pation in human life.

In Blake as an Artist (Oxford, 1977), pp. 59-60, Bindman dis-
cusses the probable influence on Blake of Stothard's illustration
for "Drinking Song" in Joseph Ritson's English Songs (1783).
Blake executed engravings after Stothard for this book.

2 Foster Damon, William Blake, His Philosophy and Symbols (New
York, 1924), p. 42.

3 The Poetry and Prose of William Blake, ed. David Erdman (New
York, 1970), p. 11. The subsequent quotation from Blake is
also from this edition.

4 In "Night," the moon smiles, and a lion speaks. In "A Dream,"
an emmet and glow worm speak. In "Spring," birds delight--
which may or may not be a humanization.

BLAKE'S TRIAL DOCUMENTS
By G. E. Bentley, Jr.

The court documents concerning William Blake's trials for sedition and assault at
Petworth in October 1803 and at Chichester in January 1804 are set out in Blake
is next to mine and whose field is the administration of justice in England in the eighteenth
century, whether the court documents reported in Blake Records were likely to be all that
survived and whether they were there interpreted plausibly. After reflecting for an embar-
rassingly brief time, he replied in as friendly and helpful a way as possible, No, and No.
More important, he explained the way trials of the time were recorded and preserved and lent
me his copy of a directory of the Sussex Record offices. The most obvious point he made is
that the court documents quoted in Blake Records are in the West Sussex Record Office in
Chichester, while no reference is made to the East Sussex Record Office in Lewes, which
preserves materials relating not only to East Sussex but to the County as a whole. I am
sorry to say that it had never occurred to me that there might be another relevant Sussex
Record Office. The tardiness of this note I can only attribute to John Beattie's not telling
me so earlier.

I therefore wrote to Lewes and was sent very promptly by A. A. Dibben, County Records
Officer of the East Sussex County Council, reproductions of four documents relating to
Blake's trial. Two of these are minor; the third and fourth are of major importance but are
already quoted in their entirety in Blake Records from the transcripts of Herbert Jenkins,
who had not indicated the locations of the originals. Using the information so generously
provided by John Beattie and A. A. Dibben, the alterations to Blake Records should be as
follows:

PAGE 127, for the last paragraph read:

On the morning of Tuesday the 16th, Blake, the soldier named Scolfield, his
accomplice John Cock, and their lieutenant, who was responsible for preferring the
charge, entered into recognizances for their appearance at the Quarter Sessions: . . .

PAGE 128, for the end of the top paragraph and the beginning of the next read:

Blake misremembered Hayley's recognizance as £100 rather than £50. N.B. No money
changed hands.

Scholfield and Cock had to enter recognizances for £50 each:

No "bonds were taken" from them; they merely acknowledged that, if they didn't appear at the
Quarter Sessions, they would "be indebted to our Sovereign Lord the King" in the sums speci-

fied. No borrowing was necessary, no cash was needed.

PAGE 131, fn 2: Omit

The primary source is in the Sussex County Record Office . . . . The secondary document,
which amplifies the primary one and which may be the transcript Blake's lawyer applied
for on December 25th 1803 (q.v.), was transcribed, from an original I have not
traced, by Herbert Jenkins in a typescript (now in my possession) and printed in his
'The Trial of William Blake for High Treason [i.e., Sedition and Assault],' Nineteenth
has a few words . . . Sussex County Record Office . . . Sussex County Record Office . . .
The primary source is in the West Sussex Record Office. The secondary document, transcribed from a reproduction of QQ/EW35 (Order Book) in the East Sussex Record Office, has a few words in the West Sussex Record Office. West Sussex County Record Office. East Sussex Record Office. West Sussex Record Office. East Sussex Record Office. West Sussex Record Office. East Sussex Record Office.

As I understand, the main document, the Indenture &c., was inscribed on a parchment roll and annotated as the trial proceeds, e.g., "Trav'd". The lesser documents such as recognizances were inscribed on paper and often wrapped in the parchment roll to preserve them. Sometimes the paper documents were separated from the parchment roll and even destroyed, but the main parchment document was normally preserved if anything was. However, in this case there seems to be no surviving roll, and the paper documents are widely dispersed.

I ignore most differences in capitalization (the East Sussex document gives "ff" for "F"), punctuation, and size of writing. The substantive differences in the East Sussex document are as follows: PAGE 131, 1. 5 of the document adds after "(that is to say)" "SUSSSEX, to wit"; PAGE 132, 1. 3 omits "said"; 1. 7 reads "said said"; 1. 13 reads "incite"; 1. 16 omits the dash; PAGE 133, 1. 17 "(to wit)" is within parentheses; PAGE 134, 11. 3-5 are omitted.

The Jenkins transcript was wrong in giving "would" for "could" on p. 132, 1. 30.

PAGE 134, 1. 11, for "raise" read "cause"; 1. 13, for "Aoknd 100L" read "Aoknd 100L"; 1. 14, "William Hayley" should not be in capitals; 1. 15, for "50/6" read "50/4"; 1. 17, for "Aoknd" read "Aoknd".

The East Sussex document continues:

THE SAID WILLIAM BLAKE late of the Parish of ffelpham in the County of Sussex, Designer and Engraver came here in Court in his own proper person and desired to hear the Indictment of Record against him. Read why he on the twelfth Day of August in the forty third year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland now King with force and Arms at the Parish of ffelpham aforesaid in and upon one John Schofield in the Peace of God and of our said Lord the King then and there being Did make an Assault and him the said John Schofield then and there Did beat wound and ill treat, so that his life was greatly despaired of and other wrongs to the said John Schofield then and there did, to the great Damage of the said John Schofield and against the Peace of our said Lord the King his Crown and Dignity, And having heard the same Read says and pleads that he is thereof not Guilty and for his Trial puts himself upon the County and William Ellis Gentleman Clerk of the Peace for the said County who for our Sovereign Lord the King in this behalf prosecute & doth so likewise therefore the Sheriff of the said County is Commanded & to cause to Come a Jury & to try &

AND the William Blake Aoknd. 100f

AND William Hayley of ffelpham aforesaid to prosecute

AND Requирe and Joseph Seagrave of Chichester 50f each in the said County Printer 

UPON CONDITION for the said William Blake to appear at the next Sessions and try his Traverse with Effect & otherwise & // .

This True Bill was also reported upon a printed form:

ADD at the bottom of the page:

It should be noticed that the violence of these statements concerning Assault ("his Life was greatly despaired of") is in the printed part of the document and is merely a matter of form.
If Blake had pleaded Guilty to the Indictment (a rare occurrence in 18th Century rural courts), the case would have been tried immediately. When the accused pleads Not Guilty, however, 'the officer of the court asks the party whether he be ready to try then, or will traverse [put off the trial] to the next sessions', as was normal. Blake clearly denied his guilt and chose to be tried for sedition and assault at the next Quarter Sessions in January 1804, so the Bill was marked 'Trav'd'.

And in the summary of the proceedings in the Minute Book was recorded:

Wm Blakes Ind[5] for Sedit'n
                      BV for an assault
                      Ind'ts trav'd

Wm Blake's 2 Trav'd tried--

Purged of redundancies, 'said' and 'to wit', what Blake was alleged to have said was:

The English know within themselves that Buonaparte could take possession of England in an hour's time, and then it would be put to every Englishman's choice for to either fight for the French or to have his throat cut. I think that I am as strong a man as most, and it shall be throat cut for throat cut, and the strongest man will be the conqueror. You will not fight against the French. Damn the King and Country and all his subjects. You have told this before to greater people than you. Damn the King and his Country; his subjects and all you soldiers are sold for slaves.

PAGE 134, fn. 1: Omit paragraph 2 and all but the first sentence in paragraph 1 as being no longer necessary.


PAGE 134, fn. 3: East Sussex Record Office QM / EW 16 (Minute Book).

PAGE 135, fn. 1 should read:

These sums [£1,000] are absurdly exaggerated, for in Jan 1803 and Oct 1804 Blake's recognizance was for £100, and those for Hayley and Seagrave, his two sureties, were for only £50.

PAGE 140, 1. 7: for "registered the indictment" read "taken the evidence."

PAGE 140, in the indented quotation read:

ffogden ... premised [for premises] ... Assault [not Assualt] ... alleged [not alleged]

PAGE 145, at the end of the first paragraph add:

As a last formality, Hayley, Seagrave, and Blake were discharged from their recognizances, since they had appeared at the trials:

Sussex / J[anuary]s / Epiphany Sessions at Chichester on Tuesday the 10th Day of Janry 1804--

In CoP last Sess Wm Blake of Felpham Co[m] Sussack[1] 100! Wm Hayley of the same place Esq & Joseph Seagrave of Chichester Co[m] pr[interscribed] printerucKd 50! ea. Cond for s'd Wm Blake to app' at the next Sess & try his traverse with effect for Sedition

D'D The s'd Wm Blake accn 100! & the s'd Wm Hayley & Joseph Seagrave accn 50! Cond for s'd Wm Blake to app' at the next Sess & try his traverse with effect for an Assault on John Scholfield--

WILLIAM BLAKE of Felpham Co[m] Suss[1] [in the County of Suss[1]c] Designer & Engraver accn 100! William Hayley Esq of the City of Chichester Printer accn 50! ea. Cond for s'd Wm Blake to app' & answer to the above--

PAGE 145, fn. 1: Quoted from a reproduction of QZ / EW 9 (Recognizance Book) in the East Sussex Record Office.
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